Guide to the FX13 Hottentot File

[The Hottentots are divided into four primary divisions: East Hottentot, Cape Hottentots, Korana and Nama. Most of the information in this file is on the Nama, whose indigenous social organization has not yet been completely obliterated by European influence. 1: Schultze (translated from the German) and 2: Schapera are the two major sources. L. Schultze was a noted German zoologist. His book is a scientific investigation of the natural resources and inhabitants of the Namaland. He was also an assiduous collector of folklore. I.Schapera, a noted authority on South African tribes, is on the faculty of the University of Cape Town and a member of the International African Institute. His book is an excellent compilation of existing knowledge on the Hottentot people and their society. Ethnographic descriptions of the early Cape Hottentots are represented by 8: Dapper, 9: Ten Rhyne] and 10: Grevenbroek, based on seventeenth century eye-witness accounts. Sources 11, 12, and 13 give information on the little known Korana Hottentot. The remaining sources are articles on specific topics which provide information on particular aspects of Hottentot culture not covered adequately in the major works. --]

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Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentots" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people. 101

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65) 175 619

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony; they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the captaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of 131 619

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country:

a) *omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.]

) *!ga./marib· (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ǂna·bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)*/kʉu·bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called */a·miǂai·b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na·ranin from the gourd fruit !na·rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March.

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or ǂgao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mũ//(e)ĩn and !norabagu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Kʌoǂ-kʌoǁn, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã ǂhaos kʌoētsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

either "na-ǂmata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then he answers: "kχoë-kχoëta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kχoë-kχoëta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kχoĭ-kχoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *per excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hŭttentŭt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hetta hie* (? *Haitsi Eibib*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF !NAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

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The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of !Gamí-ǂnūn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂĂunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of
177
the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with
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whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂĂunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. χ indicates a guttural *ch*; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˜ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˆ the high one. The sign ̣ under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ¨ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

[p. 65]

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous !nâras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[1] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂÂunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidized by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Àmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[1] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOTS OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA[1]

BY A. WINIFRED HOERNLÉ

101 THE people with whom this paper deals live in the territory known to-day as the Protectorate of Southwest Africa. They form one branch of the people known generally as the Hottentots, but from the very earliest days of the Dutch settlement at the Cape this branch of the Hottentot peoples has been called the Namaqua, and Nama is the name by which they call themselves to-day. The meaning of the word is unknown, but it is, according to tradition, the name of a remote ancestor of all the tribes calling themselves by the name. The old form, Namaqua, is probably derived from the dual form, *Namakha*, *Namab* being the masculine singular, *Namas* the feminine singular, and *Naman* the common plural.

101 131 To the early Dutch settlers two groups of the Nama were known, viz., the Little Namaqua, inhabiting what is known to-day as Little Namaqualand, and the Great Namaqua who inhabited what is to-day known as Great Namaqualand. Both of these groups of people at times visited the settlement at Table Bay,

104 [1] In transcribing the Hottentot words, I have used the system of K⁺3nlein's *Wortschatz der Khoi Khoin*, Berlin, 1889, as this is the system used by the Nama themselves nowadays in their writing. It is not strictly accurate always from a phonetic point of view, especially for the Swartbooi pronunciation, but it is the conventional script of the Nama, and in this paper which is not concerned with phonetics it seemed best to follow it.

There are three tones in Nama each of which may give an entirely different meaning to an otherwise identical word. ` indicates a low tone, ' a medium tone, " a high tone. In order not to complicate the manuscript, I have indicated these tones only where it is essential in order to avoid confusion in the reading.

~ is the sign of nasalising; - indicates a long vowel; X indicates a harsh guttural *ch* something like the Dutch *ch*.

/ indicates the dental click, ≠ the palatal, ! the cerebral, // the lateral.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

●101 131 and their area of migration seems to have been a very wide one in the early days. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of the Hottentot peoples, and early in historical times they settled definitely in the country to the north of the Orange river.

HOTTENTOT TRIBES
IN THE SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

131 The whole area of the Southwest African Protectorate is approximately 322,450 square miles, and Great Namaqualand

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

175 some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable [191] infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced 175 by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are called collectively Orlams by the indigenous people, a name the 101 origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Orlams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //ain*), the Witbooi (*/Hobesen*), the Bethany Hottentots (*!Aman*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauan*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauan*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are [173] taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauan* from the personal name, */Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hobesen*, from */hobe* or */howe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

173 The indigenous people were in historical times divided into seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are 101 known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kafir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1913. There

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were once, so he said, five brothers, each one of whom was the founder of a tribe of the Nama. The eldest was the ancestor of the *Gei //Khauan*, or Rooi Natie, the tribe acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. The other brothers are said to have founded the *!Gami ≠nun* or Bondelswarts, the *//Haboben* or Veldschoendragers, the *!Kbara Gei Khoin* or the Simon Kopper Hottentots, and the *//Khau /goan* or the Swartboois, who are said to be the descendants of the youngest brother. According to another legend, the *//Haboben* are a branch of the *!Gami ≠nun*, and this agrees with the information given to us by the traveller Sir James Alexander, who reports that when he visited the *!Gami ≠nun* in 1836 the *//Haboben* were still part of the people owing obedience to the *!Gami ≠nun* chief.[2] The other two major groups of these Nama people, the *//O gein* or Groot Doode, and the *≠Aunin* or Topnaars or *!Gumin*, are not linked up with the others in the legend of the five brothers, but they themselves claim to be offshoots from the Rooi Natie, and the Rooi Natie on their side support this claim.

The names of these tribes are in many instances exactly translated by the Dutch names by which they are now chiefly known. Thus the *//O Gein* are the great dead, or Groot Doode as the Dutch has it; the *!Gami ≠Nun* are the people of the black bundle or Swart Bondel. Their own legend concerning their name is that they once formed one group with the Rooi Natie; that on the death of an old chief his sons quarreled among themselves, the elder going off with his supporters, while the younger brother stayed behind with his little group of people huddled together so that they looked like a little black bundle. The *//Haboben* are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch, *Veldschoen*, Nama, *//Habob* or *//Hawob*). The Rooi Natie and the Swartboois are closely related. As late as 1855 the chief of the Rooi Natie expected the Swartboois to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., but they did not always do so.[3] The Nama names by which these two groups are called still record this close

[2] Sir James Alexander, An Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838. Pp. 187, 197.

[3] Berichte der Rheinischen Mission, 1855, p. 18.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

101 connection. They mean the big group of *//Khauan*, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the *//Khauan*. The derivation of the name *//Khauan* I do not know. The Topnaars, or the *≠Aunin*, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the *!Gumin* of which I do not know the meaning.

621 All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, 423 these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Orlams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[4] the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

175 A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the 621 Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gami nu Khois.[5] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gami ≠Nun*, or *!Gami ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gami ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[4] p. 155.

[5] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 261. The author spells the name "Caminouquois."

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

THE NAMA.

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics.

101 1. The Nama nation lives in South West Africa. Its principal seats are in the territory between the Orange and the Swakop rivers. Ethnographically it forms a portion of the Hottentots, once a nomad people consisting of many tribes which wandered over the broad plains of Southern Africa before the arrival and expansion of the Europeans.

141 2. The Nama are mostly of medium height. Some of them attain a height of 1.70 m., which is the reason for the observation made in old reports that the Nama are a tall race compared with the Hottentots of the Cape. Their general height, however, varies from 1·50-1·65 m. Members of both sexes are frequently met with, however, who are less than 1·50 m. in height.

142 3. The colour of their skin is remarkably light. A light-skinned people among the dark races of Africa is in itself an enigma and leads one to the assumption that the Nama migrated with other Hottentot tribes from Northern Africa in prehistoric times. This view gains in probability in the light of linguistic research and is supported by old legends.

The colour of the skin, which on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, is hardly different from that of European races, may be described as pale yellow, tinged, particularly in the case of the old tribe of the Red Nation, with a red undertone. Over the spine there is a darker patch. The membranes of the lips are a pale dull red.

141 142 4. The skull is of peculiar shape. The narrow forehead, which is usually slightly arched, has no bumps. The back of the head is more or less arched and never flat. The cheek-bones are prominent. The receding chin is pointed. The prominent cheekbones and pointed chin give the face an almost triangular appearance, especially in the case of elderly people, whose rounded cheeks have been superseded by numerous wrinkles. The root of the nose hardly protrudes, the bridge has the appearance of having been pressed back and ends in a flat, broad snub nose, the openings of which are clearly visible.

142 5. The prominent cheekbones and the flattened bridge of the nose cause the eye-lids to seem slanted. The glaring sun of the country and the frequent lack of vegetation force the ocular muscles to contract, causing the eyes to blink and this accentuates the impression of slant-eyes. The iris is always

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

181 their mode of thought. Only then may we hope to obtain a clear impression of their psychic condition. Anyone who for any length of time has travelled in the company of Hottentots and has suffered starvation and thirst with them, has shared their joys and sorrows, will doubtless discern under that rough exterior a good heart, will learn to appreciate them and inevitably admit that their good points outweigh their bad."

II. Divisions and Distribution.

101 1. The origin of the tribal name "Hottentot" has not yet been cleared up. The old reports spell the name in different ways: Ottentoo, Hottnot, Hodmodod, Hottentott. It is assumed that the meaning attached to the word by the old settlers was "a stammerer" and that the name had reference to the peculiar clicks of the language, which give its speech a distinctive character. At any rate the name is not of Hottentot origin, nor had the Hottentots a distinct name to include all their tribes. Old reports state that they also called themselves "Quaiqua" or "Khoi-khoin"; but these names differ merely in spelling, not in meaning. He who knows the language sees at once that the word Quaiqua is an effort to fix the word Khoigua in writing. But Khoigua merely means men, while Khoin is the word for "people," and Khoi-khoin means people of pure race, *i.e.*, excellent people.

174 2. In all probability the Hottentot tribes migrated from the region of the Central African lakes in prehistoric times and moving westwards, crossed the Kunene, and then entered present-day South West Africa, passing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. It is impossible now to say with any degree of certainty what the cause of the migration may have been, but it may be assumed that the numerous Bantu tribes pressed them southwards. In the case of a nomadic people, other causes, however, are also possible. At the time of the Hottentot immigration, South West Africa must have been well-nigh uninhabited, for the Herero had not yet occupied the land. In all probability the Bergdama laboured as herdsmen or servants for the nomadic Hottentots, whose language they had adopted, and first came to South West with their masters.

The traces and paintings of the Bushmen on rocks betray that in all probability they were the first inhabitants of the vast territory, which was to become the grazing and hunting ground of the most varied African tribes.

3. While the great majority of the Hottentots moved South with their herds, until they reached the utmost point, the very //Hui-!keib, *i.e.*, place of the snakes, where Cape Town now lies, some tribes settled in South West and led a nomadic life between the Orange and Swakop Rivers.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS, OTHERWISE NAMED HOTTENTOTS.

The country or land of Kaffraria (or, according to Marmol,[1] Quefrerie) is so named after the Kafirs, its native inhabitants. They are commonly known to our countrymen as Hottentoos or Hottentots, because their language is so clumsy and difficult;[2] and they live without any laws of religion.

* * *

The land of Kaffraria, although not divided into any special kingdoms of which we know, is nevertheless inhabited by different indigenous peoples. Some of them are governed by kings and some by chiefs, while others live in the wilds without any leader at all. I shall describe several of these peoples, together with their customs, government, religion and other characteristics, as far as these have come to our knowledge from some reports recently sent over by men who have dwelt in those parts for some time.[3]

The principal peoples, then, whom our countrymen have up till now discovered in this southernmost portion of Africa, are the following:[4] the Gorachouquas, Goringhai-

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[1] *Descripticn general de Affrica*, by Luis del Marmol Caravajal. 3 vols. Granada and Malaga, 1573-99. (French trans., Paris, 1667.)

[2] See below, p. 71.

[3] On Dapper's sources of information, see above, p. 2.

[4] In the Cape records of this period the names of the Hottentot tribes and clans are spelt in a variety of different ways. All, however, are obviously so inaccurate that the correct versions according to Hottentot pronunciation are no longer obtainable, now that the tribes concerned have ceased to exist. The names as given above are all written without the clicks, and most of them have the suffix for the third masc. plur. (*-qua*, *-kwa*, or *-gwa*) or, sometimes, for the common plur. (*-sa*). The forms given by Dapper are for the most part identical with those used by van Riebeeck in the "Instructions" he left for his successor (Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Cape Archives: Letters Despatched*, 1652-1662, vol. iii, 239-43), except that *k* has been uniformly substituted for *c*. Van Riebeeck in his list (*loc. cit.*) describes briefly the following tribes: Goringhaiconas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, Cochoquas, Little (and Great) Chariguriquas, Namaquas, Chainouquas, Heussaquas, and Hancumquas; and mentions also the Chamaquas, Cenaquas, Atiquas, Houtunquas, and Chasiquas. "After these is said to begin . . . another race of men, called . . . Choboqua or Chobona." Wagenaar, in a similar memorandum written four years later (1666), mentions only the first nine of these (Moodie, *The Record*, Part I, 291).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

KOBONAS.

000 De *Kobonas*, aen wiens lant de *Chainouquas* na by gelegen zijn, is een heel zwart volk, met zulk lang hair, dat hen over de ruch speelt, en tot op d'aerde neerhangt.

Deze zijn rechte mensch-eters: want zoo zy eenen *Hottentot* of ander mensch kunnen bekomen, dien braden zy levendigh en eten hem op. Zy hebben ook vee, dan niet zoo veel als andere volken, en planten kalbassen, daer zy zich mede erneren.

Zy hebben, na het verhael der Hottentots van de Kaep, rare maekselen, die zy uit het geberghte weten te vinden, en meer andere rariteyten. Noit heeft eenigh Neerlander van de Kaep by deze volkeren geweest, ter oorzake van de verre te lande in.

Voor zeven of acht jaren, te weten des jaers zestien hondert negen-en-vijftigh, was een van des *Chainouquas* volk, genaemt *Chaihantimo*, ontrent de *Kabonas*-lant geweest, en had van daer, met hulp van zijn by-hebbende volk, een hunner vrouwen, uitgestreken met allerlei fraie dingen, wegh gestolen en geschaekt, en na zyne negerye gevoert, om voor zyne eigen vrouwe aen te nemen.

d'Onzen met begeerte ontsteken, om dit vreemt slagh van menschen te zien, (want zy had, volgens het zeggen van den gemelden schaker *Chaihantimo*, die zich toen aen de kaep bevont, hair op 't hooft, dat haer, los-gemaekt of ontvlochten, op de aerde nasleepte,) verzochten op *Chaihantimo*, deze vrouwe aen het Fort van goeder hope te willen ontbieden, waer in hy, op belofe van genot, hen te wille was, en schikte derwaerts eenigen van zyn volk af, om dezelve, met al wat zy had, te halen, en te zeggen dat haer jonghst getroude man haer ontboden hadde by een volk, genaemt Duitsman, dat vol kiederen gingh behangen, en by deze vrouwe, noch noit by gene van de hare gezien was.

● 101, [34]) Mentioned in van Riebeeck's list (*Letters desp.*, iii, 342) under the name of "Choboquas or Cobonas." In reality they were not Hottentots, but the name by which the Hottentots spoke of the Bantu (AmaXhosa). Van Riebeeck, on hearsay, speaks of them as "another race of men, who live in permanent dwellings made of wood, clay and other material, and also subsist on cattle and wear clothes" (*loc. cit.*). They are first mentioned by him in Oct. 1657, when he heard from the girl Eva a marvellous tale of "an emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives, and called them Chobona. He lives far inland, and is rich in gold, which is taken out of sand. They also know how to coin and stamp the coins, which they make as big as, or even bigger than, the palms of the hands. They have large

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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KOBONAS.

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The Kobonas,[24]) near whose land the Chainouquas dwell, are a very dark people, with hair so long that it flows over the back and hangs on to the ground. They are real cannibals, for if they can get hold of a Hottentot or any other person they roast him alive and eat him. They also have cattle, although not so many as other tribes, and plant gourds upon which they live. According to the reports of the Cape Hottentots, they have curious objects which they know how to get from the mountains, and still other rarities. No Hollander at the Cape has ever been to this tribe, owing to its remoteness.

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About seven or eight years ago, in 1659, one of the Chainouquas, named Chaihantimo, was near to the land of the Kobonas, from which, assisted by his companions, he stole and carried off one of their women, decorated with all sorts of beautiful objects, and took her to his village to be his own wife.

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Our countrymen, stirred with curiosity to see such strange people (who, according to the tale of this abductor Chaihantimo, then present at the Cape, had hair on the head which, when loose or unbound, dragged behind them on the ground), requested him to summon his wife to the Fort. To this he agreed, on promise of some reward, and accordingly sent several of his people to fetch her with all that she possessed. They were to tell her that her newly-married husband had summoned her to a people named Dutchmen, who went about fully covered with clothes, and whom neither she nor any of her people had ever seen.

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houses of stone and beams, sowing with rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wear clothes and speak another language than those nearer the Cape" (D., Oct. 21, 1657). But Harry, a fortnight later, when van Riebeeck insisted that the Chobonas were the supreme rulers of the Hottentots, retorted angrily that his informants were "mad" (D., Nov. 15, 1657); he had seen some of them among the Chainouquas, although he had never been in their country, and describes them accurately as "black Caffres, like the Guinea and Angola slaves, dressed in calf and sheep skins, of which they have many" (D., Dec. 16, 1660). Van Riebeeck, however, haunted by the thought of their great wealth (in 1650 he speaks of them as "dwelling in towns and castles, and rich in gold and ivory"), sent out several expeditions to the north-east in search of them, "who found no Chobona and no gold, but plenty of Nama and abundance of copper" (Maingard, *op. cit.*, 490, where the official records are summarised). It was not until 1702 that the settlers first came into contact with them overland, when a party of freebooters "made a drive into the country of the Chabuquas, called the Great Caffres" (Maingard, *op. cit.*, 494).

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Cape Hottentot

342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they
354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of
372 it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these
194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck.
● 101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They
192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kxoikxoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LIT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[101] 114 The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[161] The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

121 Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

[p. 103]

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

TSŨI-||GOAB.

CHAPTER I.

The facts of language, however small, are historical facts.—
MAX MÜLLER.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE ETHNICAL CONDITION OF THE KHOIKHOI IN PREHISTORIC TIMES, BASED ON THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE.

●101 THE Khoikhoi form a branch of the most peculiar and, doubtless, of the most interesting race of all the representatives of mankind on our continent. These Khoikhoi generally go by the name of *Hottentots*, a term to which I must object, as up to this moment it has been the cause of gross misunderstanding and heartburning, especially to ethnologists, when they had in view the classification of the South African races and nations.

In order to introduce to the reader the worshippers of ǃTsũi-||goab and to lay a secure basis for the study of the Science of Religion as regards the ǂKhoikhoi branch, I shall endeavour in a short sketch to delineate their prehistoric ethnical condition.

When the first European navigators, especially the Dutch, became acquainted with the Cape of Good Hope, they found a yellowish race of men, who possessed large herds of ǂcattle, sheep and goats, and were on the whole, even after they had received a very provoking treatment at the hands of the Europeans, peaceably and ǂhospitably

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

101 inclined towards strangers. On account of their curious language abounding in harsh faucal sounds and clicks, the Dutch called them Hottentots. Hottentot or 'Hüttentüt means in Frisian or Low German a quack, and therefore the old Dutchmen, who were so much puzzled and did not know what to make of such an unheard-of language, more akin to the chat of a parrot than to human speech, called it Hottentot—*i.e.*, a mere gibberish. They very little knew that they had before themselves a highly-developed language, so highly, indeed, that the ingenious Martin Haug supposes that its higher and more refined constituents must have been acquired by contact with a civilized people.

The old Dutch also did not know that their so-called Hottentots formed only one branch of a wide-spread race, of which the other branch divided into ever so many tribes, differing from each other totally in language, and having only a phonetic relationship, as regards certain peculiar sounds, of which the clicks formed the essential part. This other branch differed also entirely in language from those the Dutch had met first. While the so-called Hottentots called themselves Khoikhoi (men of men, *i.e.*, men *par excellence*), they called those other tribes Sā, the Sonqua of the Cape Records.

This yellow race, consisting of these two branches, inhabited in ancient times the greater part of South Africa, at least the territory south of the rivers 'Kunéne and Zambesi.

The appellation Hottentot is now *en vogue*, and as Goethe has it:—

> "Wo die Begriffe fehlen,
> Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein."
> (For there precisely, where ideas fail,
> A word comes in most opportunely.)

It is useless therefore to extirpate it, for the custom of more than two centuries has sanctioned its use; and all we can do is to define it more accurately. We should apply the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

term *Hottentot* to the whole race, and call the two families, 101
each by the native name, that is the one, the *Khoikhoi*, the so-called *Hottentot proper*; the other the *Sān (Sā) or Bushmen*.

In the Nama language, one of the Khoikhoi idioms, 196
the Bushmen are called Sā-n (com. plur). The meaning of this term is not quite intelligible, and I frankly confess that, after nine years, of which I have spent nearly seven amongst the Khoikhoi, I did not succeed in arriving at a quite satisfactory etymology, and I must still adhere to the interpretation which I first gave in the *Globus*, 1870, where I traced the word Sā-(b) to the root SĀ, to inhabit, to be located, to dwell, to be settled, to be quiet. Sā(n) consequently would mean Aborigines or Settlers proper. These Sa-n or Sa-gu-a, Sonqua or Sounqua, &c. (obj. plur. msc.) as they are styled in the Cape Records, are often called Bushmen—the Bossiesman, Bosjesman, Bosmanneken of the Colonial Annals, a name given to them to indicate their abode and mode of living.

The word Sā(b) has also acquired a low meaning, and is not considered to be very complimentary. The Khoikhoi often speak of *!Uri-Sān* (white Bushmen) and mean the low white vagabonds and runaway sailors who visit their country as traders. One also often hears, "*Khoikhoi tamab, Sab ke*," he is no Khoikhoi, he is a Sā, which means to say, "*he is no gentleman, he is of low extraction, or he is a rascal.*" A Nama will say of a man who is very proud and reserved in his manners, who only mixes in good society, "*Khoikhoisen ra aob ke*," the man *makes-a-Khoikhoi-of-himself*, that is, *he stands very much upon his dignity*, and also, *he keeps himself very much to himself*.

Those who desire to have information on the natural 113
and physical condition of the Khoikhoi and Sā-(n), I refer to Dr. Gustav Fritsch's standard work, "Die Eingeborenen Sūd-Africas," and to three Essays published by me, Die Namas, and Die Buschmänner, in the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

113 *Globus*, 1868 and 1870, and Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentoten, in *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden, 1868; not to forget the chapter on the Hottentots in Friedr. Müller's excellent work "Allgemeine Ethnographie."

648 It is enough meanwhile to say, that the Bushmen lead the life of a Pariah, and that they are hated and chased by all other nations of South Africa, having to suffer most, however, from the hands of their own nearest kith and kin, the Khoikhoi, whom I have, on more than one occasion, seen manifesting more charity for a dog than for a starving Bushman.

101 The Khoikhoi are generally called, as I have already said, Hottentots, a term to which I would not object, were it not for the confusion it generally brings in its train, as far as ethnological, anthropological or linguistic terminology is concerned. Sometimes they are called the *Hottentots proper* in our Colonial language. But very often, again, our Khoikhoi in the Colony, or more particularly those remnants of the tribes formerly occupying the vicinity of Cape Town, are called *Hottentots, Hottentots proper* or *Cape Hottentots*, while on the other hand the inhabitants of Griqualand West, of the South Kalihari, of Great Namaqualand are called by their tribal names, Griquas, Namaquas, !Koras or Koranas, just as if they were not Hottentots as much as the Khoikhoi tribes of the Cape Colony. It would be as absurd for us to call only the Prussians, Germans, and apply to all the other tribes of Germany their tribal names, Bavarians, Suabians, Hessians, &c., denying to them the attribute German; or for Londoners to claim for themselves the title of Englishmen, while excluding the Northumberland and Sussexmen from it.

This is my reason for protesting emphatically against the indiscriminate and superficial use of the term *Hottentot*, and therefore I have taken the liberty of taxing the patience of my readers by dwelling at some length on this subject.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

legends, by supposing that the people among whom they are found descended from a common ancestry in primordial times. But such coincidences merely corroborate the old maxim that among different varieties of men, in different regions, and at different times, the same objects have given rise to the same idea.—Peschel, "Races of Man," London, 1876, pp. 461 and 462.

[26] *After the death of the snake.*—I shall hereafter, in the third chapter, come back to this superstition, and only now mention that the words, ǀau-b snake, ǀau-b blood, ǀau-s fountain, ǀau to bleed, ǀau to flow, ǀau to bear ill-feeling, ǀavi (from ǀauï to stream) to rain, ǀava red, are all derived from the root ǀAU to flow, to stream, and we shall see why it is that in every fountain there is a snake.

[27] Alexander is mistaken if he calls ǂNumeep a *Bushman.* The name of this so-called Bushman proves sufficiently that he was a Khoikhoi. The ǂAuni tribe live in the territory here spoken of. The poor Namaquas are also called by the others, Bushmen, especially when they are servants, or if they lead a Bushman's life, and have no cattle and sheep.

[28] *Labouring under an attack of dysentery.*—Sometimes the brackish water works so strongly on the bowels that one who drinks it is immediately taken ill.

[29] ǀ*naras.*—This fruit is a Cucurbitacea, almost as large as a newborn child's head. The flesh of it is eaten raw, and the seeds are kept for the dry season, when there is no fruit. The seeds taste almost like almonds, and are at present to be got from confectioners in Cape Town. The Topnaars or ǂAunis of Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, and all the Bushmen tribes along the coast of Great Namaqualand, live partly on this fruit. It is to be met with from the Orange River mouth as far as latitude twenty-one degrees: but it grows only on the sandy coast.

[30] *Redman,* or ǀAva-khoib, is identical with Khoikhoib,

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

101 while the Europeans are called ǃUri-khoin, white men, and the Bantu ǂNu-khoin, black men. For Toosip, or Tusib, see the third chapter.

000 [31] *The difficult task of translating the Bible.*—I mention this the more, as I had not long ago the opportunity of convincing myself that a missionary, in a farewell circular had assured to his brethren, that "*he was the only man who was destined by the Lord to give the Khoikhoi the Bible in their language.*" What I have seen of the publication of the said missionary does not corroborate this opinion, and I can state that his publications require much polishing in style and grammatical correctness.

[32] *They had left the colony.*—The mission station, Bethany, in Great Namaqualand, was founded by the Rev. Mr. Schmelen in 1814, who left with about three hundred ǃAmas the station Pella in Bushmanland, and trecked north until they came to the beautiful fountain ǃUiǂganis on the banks of the ǁGõaǀgib River. The ǃAmas bought the rights of this place and neighbourhood from the then paramount chief of Great Namaqualand. *Gameb*, for axes, knives, iron spears and tinder-boxes; and Schmelen gave the place the new name, Bethany. Amongst the leaders of the ǃAmas were the Xamǂhã (Lion tail) and ǁHõaǀara (Cat rib) families, or, as they are now styled, the Amraals and Boois. Their language is the one in which Knudsen's St. Luke is translated, and we have in this way an excellent specimen of the old Cape Hottentot idioms. In 1850 they told my father that they were called upon by the Dutch Government in 1805 to fight against the English. The Namaqua, according to the Cape Records, lived in 1665 as far South as the Olifants river. They have always been, and still are, by far the most powerful tribe among all the Khoikhoin.

[33] At first sight this myth shows some resemblance to the words of the Lord to Adam: "Of every tree in the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

just as the name Dyaus was used among the ancestors of our own race, and has been handed down to us, to our historical times. Certain it is, also, that hand in hand came the decay of the nationality went a retrogression and decay of the religious ideas. I do not speak too boldly if I maintain that the Khoikhoi language, if its makers would only have had the necessary inducement, must have become an inflecting language. And then the intellectual vivacity of the Khoikhoi, combined with their mythopœic power, undoubtedly would have produced as charming and fanciful mythologies as we admire in the myths of Eran, Hellas, and Thule.

NOTES TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

[1] Confer Pott: Die Sprachen vom Kaffer und Kongostamme, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, ii. 5–26, 129–158. Hans Conon von der Gabelentz on the same subject in the same Proceedings, i. 241.

[2] Max Müller, "Chips," ii. 262.

[101] [3] ǀAva-khoin—*i.e.*, Redmen—is a name which the Khoikhoi often employ, chiefly in order to distinguish themselves from the much-hated black races, whom they sometimes call *χun*, things, or more emphatically, *arin*, dogs.

[4] Theophilus Hahn, Der Hottentotische Tsũiǁgoab und der Indogermanische Zeus: *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1870, p. 452.

[5] The Bushmen whom Livingstone met in the Kalihari told him that death was sleep. Similarly Arbousset tells us about the notions of the Bushmen of Basutoland, and the same idea is entertained by the ǀKham Bushmen in the Northern Colony.

[6] Zuiver water is a corruption, for the correct word is "*Zypelen*," to filter.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hotte hie* (? *Heitsi Eibib*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed [illegible] in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. N. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatae descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

802 196 instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would ask, |*Gu*riseb hã ? Is he alone ?

|*Gam, two,* I derive from the root |ka, |kha, |ga, or |ya, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with, " added," " contributed," in connection with.*

|*Nona, three,* comes from |*no-na-s* or |*no-ma-s*, the *root*, the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger*, it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three*, because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the symbol of the abstract number *three.*

Haga, four, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gore, five,* which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *goreb*, for palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, " *Goreb* |na ta ni tani" (I will carry it in the [482] palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. *Goreb* is also the Euphorbia candelabra, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched 802 arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the 196 number *gore* and the *gore*-tree have derived the name 137 from goreb (also koreb), the open hand. It is also ● 103 certain that the number *gore* and the tree *kore* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gore*-tree has served [314] from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Koreχas in the North-western Cape Colony; a |Kora told me that he was born at Koreχas in the Free State;

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another Korexas is in the !Gami-ǂnus territory in Southern Namaqualand, and another Korexas in the North-western Kalihari, between Gobabis and Ghanze. It is well known that the Euphorbia candelabra shows the most beautiful and gigantic forms in the Khalamba Mountains and in Sekukuni's country and the Hoogeveldt (Highlands) of the Eastern Transvaal. From this we may conclude, as the *gore*-tree does not grow in flats, but is, in very few exceptions, almost entirely confined to mountainous territories, that the Khoikhoi before they separated lived in a mountainous country. This circumstance allows us to account for the higher development which they received before their cousins, the Bushmen. It also points out to us the primordial "fatherland" of the Khoikhoi.

We come now to the number *!nani, six*, where I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation.

Hū or *hūgu* (originally *hunigu*) mean the "mixed ones," the "amalgamated ones," from *hūni*, to stir, to amalgamate. For instance, if milk is thrown into coffee, a man says, "Hunire eibe ots ni !gāise ā." "Stir at first" (that is, mix the coffee with the milk), "and you will drink nicely." Whether here the seven colours of the rainbow gradually flowing into one another originated the idea of the number seven I cannot tell, but I think it possible.

!Khaisi or !khaisa, eight, is very clear from the root *!khai*, to turn; thus !khaisi means "turning number"—*i.e.*, four is turning back again.

Khoisi, nine, is not intelligible. All I can say is, that it has with *khoib*, man, the root *khoi* in common.

Disi, ten, from *di*, to do, would give us the meaning "*done*," "*finished*." And the Khoikhoi now continued *eleven*, disi-!gui-!kha; twelve, disi-!gam-!kha—that is, ten-one-with, ten-two-with, &c. &c., or simply with striking off disi, ten, !gam-!kha, two-with, and so forth. Twenty is !gam disi, two tens; thirty is !nona disi, three

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and rivers up to this day tell us of battles once fought, such as *ǃKhami* and *ǃKhams*, Battlefield, *ǃKho-||oa-tcs*, "You cannot catch me;" *ǃKhotoas*, the last one caught; ǂ*Kχīχas*, peace; *ǃHuritamas*, "I am not afraid." Other names again bear testimony to the love for dancing and singing, like *ǃGaī||naīs* and *ǃGaī||naiχas*, "Good, pleasant singing," ǂAχaīs, "Reed-dance." And even sentimental feelings seem to be as characteristic of them as of the writers of fashionable novels now-a-days. *||Ā||ōs*, "Dying from love," has probably been the scene of a very tragical love affair.

791 Prophets (gebo-aogu, *i.e.*, seers) could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan. We shall see hereafter that Heitsieibib, Tsu-||goab and the Moon, all were endowed with the power of prophecy.

196 I have already shown in the forms derived from *khoi*, that the Khoikhoi are able to form abstract words.

This distinguishes them most favourably from all the Bushmen tribes, and proves how high their mental development must have been before they emigrated from their primitive territory.

I shall give only a few specimens. ǂ*Eī*, to think, from ǂ*ani* to cut to pieces, to slaughter, hence, ǂ*eīs* (ǂ*anis*), the thought; ǂ*eī-*ǂ*eī-sen*, to consider, to think over again; ǂ*eī-*ǂ*eī-sen-s*, the result of one's own consideration, idea, perception.

Ī, to appear, to shine; *īsib*, form, shape, likeness, appearance; *īsa* and *īχa*, full of form, beautiful, pretty, handsome.

Sī, to come, to arrive; *sī* (from sini), to cause to arrive—*i.e.*, to send; *sīsen*, to send oneself—*i.e.*, *to work*; German, *sich anschicken*.

Ā, yes; *ama*, true; amab, truth: amasīb, truthfulness, love of truth.

ǃNams, love, fondness; nam|namsa, fond, dear; ǃnam, to love.

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we find the River *Zambere*; on the map attached to Dapper's work the *Zambere* is also marked. Valentyn, in his admirable work on the Dutch East Indian Colonies, gives a map, on which also a part of South Africa is sketched, and where the said river is pretty fairly laid down with the two names *Zambesi* and *Empondo*. The Kunene's name is also to be found with the quite correct translation "Groote Rivier."

[7] *Gorcb.*—That the Khoikhoi transferred other names of certain parts of the body, or utensils and furniture, to plants, is quite evident from the following examples:—ǂǁoāb, arm and branch of a tree; ǂgeigu, the ears, and the leaves of the trees and plants; ǁharan, the flowers, or little pockets from ǁhās or ǁhōs pocket, bag. We, for instance, call a certain flower in Germany *Pantoffelblume—i.e.*, the slipper-flower.

[8] *All the daughters are called after the father.*—Mr. G. Theal, our excellent South African historian and custodian of the colonial archives, who spent many years among the frontier Kafirs, N!gika and !Galeka, informs me that they have adopted the same way of name-giving from the Khoikhoi, and that this custom is still in vogue at the present day. Here we have also, as in so many other instances, an evidence that the Khoikhoi exercised an influence on the Kafir.

[9] ǁ*Hu-!gais.*—This is the name by which Cape Town is known wherever the Khoikhoi tongue is spoken. This name consists of two words, ǂhū the root of a verb, meaning "to condense," hence ǁhū-s, an old word for *cloud*, the word is still used; ǁhūs is also a game, and especially the game where !Gurikhoisib, who is also called ǂEiχa|kha‖nabiseb, or *lightning*, loses all his copper beads. This is metaphor; and ǁhūs or the ǁhūs game is the game, battle, or fight in the clouds—the thunderstorm. In the thunderstorm ǂEiχa|kha‖nabiseb loses the lightning, which falls down to the earth; !gai is to bind, to surround, to tie, to envelop. ǁHu-!gais

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

consequently means "veiled in clouds." And, indeed, every inhabitant of Cape Town will admit that this is a very significant name for "Table-mountain." We still say, if the clouds envelop the top of "Table-mountain," he has his "tablecloth" on.

everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should 114
be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty
that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research [123]
in my own special field, permitted, I made it a rule to note down only
those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the
natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend
upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the ex-
periences of an [173] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint
the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with
another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves
so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself
an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethno-

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

logical material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of
Theophilus Hahn, (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely men-
tion Ratzel's (70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2nd ed., 1894.

problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from
the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own
observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for
more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is [104]
said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the 177
basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the
people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ' //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ' ǂkʗaraga ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ' //goabats gye nĩ ʃũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question.

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kʗoma gai //goaga (e)ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ' //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (ǂnũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement.

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women.

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Dental /	Flat and broad	The front end of the tongue is placed against the inner surface of the upper incisors and canines	The lateral edges of the tongue, while the front end starts clicking, are so placed against the inner surfaces, and partly against the chewing surfaces of the side teeth, that you cannot see into the oral cavity.	Far down, right behind the incisors.
Lateral //	Rounded like a bullet, so that the oral cavity is visible on both sides of the tongue, even when the tongue is placed to begin the click	Most of the back of the tongue rests against the palate	The tip of the tongue rests against the front palate, also partly against the inner surface of the upper incisors. The side edges of the tongue lie on the inner surface of the upper molars.	Perpendicularly down, but only so far that the back of the tongue remains considerably above the chewing surfaces of the lower molars.

continued

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks (Cont'd)

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Cerebral !	Hollow like a basin, and broad	The front end of the tongue lies at some distance from the incisors against the front and middle part of the palate.	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces of the molars, just touching their chewing surfaces	Downwards and backwards
Palatal ≠	Flat and broad	The tip of the tongue lies closely against the front palate right behind the incisors	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces and the chewing surfaces of the molars	Downwards and so far to the rear that the ligament of the tongue is visible between the front edge of the tongue and the incisors

1; Schultze--142 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13 [343]

to that in Krönlein's [345] "Wortschatz" and that would lead to misunderstandings. The following nine different musical modifications of the Nama sounds divide into three groups.* 194

* The termini technici, which I had created for naming the newly differentiated sound elements of the Nama language, were reviewed by Professor Eduard Sievers in Leipzig and improved when necessary in the interest of a unified nomenclature. (81) I also received

81. E. Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, 5. Aufl., 1901.

decisive assistance in the task of reproducing the phonetic elements in such a way that they did not over-burden the sentence and so that they did not pile up in a muddle when combined. I mention again in this place my heartfelt thanks to Professor Sievers.

a) The initial tone level. By this I mean the level at which the voice regularly starts when pronouncing certain words, compared with the initial level of the voice in other words.

Three kinds of initial tone level must be differentiated; the signs which I have chosen for them are included in parentheses.

α) The middle tone is characterized by the fact that the voice does not begin either lower nor higher than on the average. What is meant by the "average tone niveau" of a person and how it varies according to age, sex and individual peculiarities, do not need to be defined in number of vibrations. One becomes to attuned to the organ of one's Hottentot teacher that one immediately notices a deviation of the voice either up or down. The middle tone does not need a sign. It is assumed wherever there is not a sign (if the signs for the tonal level are otherwise completed). 194 104

β) The high tone (sign: / after the sound) is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher,

γ) the low tone (sign: \ after the sound) by the fact that the voice is lower than normal.

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38. /no↓bo = to grow hair
/nobo· = to scrape
39. !noa· = to become gray
!no↓a· = to run away (shy animals), to awaken
40. !nõ·↓as = slovenliness
!nõ·ʔas = the heel
!nõʔa·s = stumbling
41. ≠noa· = to quarrel
≠no↓a· = to throw
42. õ·a = to seek
õ·↓a = to increase
õa· = to calf, to lamb, to have young
43. o·re = to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
o·ʔre = of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
(ore· = to make free)

[349] 44. !o↓m = to push
!oʔm = to be without horns (of cattle)
!o↓m = to become hard, to pull out a thorn
45. sao↓s = thy mother
saos = the pursuit
46. sĩʔ = to sneeze
sĩ↓ = to send
47. uru· = to stalk game
ᵒu↓ru· = to jump on an unsaddled horse
48. tsabi· = the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
tsa↓bi·s = the black ebony tree

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b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or dipthong of a one syllable word, when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

a) The even extension is characterized by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

β) The rising extension (sign ↑ after the sound) is characterized by a rising.

γ) the falling extension (sign ↓ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples:

1. ā = to weep
   ā↓ = to drink
   ā↑ = yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /ā = to wring out
   /ā↓ = to be sharp
3. ǀā = to be wet
   ǀā↓ = to pilfer
4. a↓ms = the mouth
   a↑ms = the roast
   a↓m = to the right
5. //ga↑n = to bake a cake in the pan
[350] //ga↓n = to pull in one's head
   (//ga↓↓n = verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. *!ga↓m = to have gonorrhea
   *!ga↑m = deep
   (!ga↓m = to bow)
   (!ga↑m = to kill)
7. /gē = to collect cattle of the same color
   */gē↓ = not wanting to give away his last bit
   (gē↑ = to have twins)
8. ǂgō↓↓ = to be sharp
   ǂgō↑ = to set up a scarecrow for animals
   (ǂgō↓ = to turn aside)
9. //gū↓s = the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
   //gū↓b = compulsion
10. !gū↓b = the long reed mat
    !gū↑b = following a track

1/2, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone. 194
3, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples:

1.	/ga/ri·b	(3, st.)	= name of a riverbank grass.
	/ga/ri·s	(1/2, st.)	= a boil.
2.	/go/a·b	(3, st.)	= name of a succulent edible plant.
	*/go/a·b	(1/2, st.)	= the call of the sitting /hunos owl.
3.	!go/ro·	(3, st.)	= to stay behind.
	!go/ro·	(1/2, st.)	= to roar.
4.	!gu/ru·b	(3, st.)	= poison.
	!gu/ru·b	(1/2, st.)	= thunder.
5.	/ha/na·	(3, st.)	= to be slow.
	/ha/na·	(1/2, st.)	= to smell of urine.
6.	!ha/ra·	(3, st.)	= to look on.
	!ha/ra·	(1/2, st.)	= to snort, to spit hard.
7.	/ha/ra·b	(3, st.)	= the wart.
	/ha/ra·b	(1/2, st.)	= the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8.	/haru·s	(3, st.)	= name of Cyperus species.
[353]	*/haru·s	(1/2, st.)	= Mesembrianthemum species.
9.	/ha/u·b	(3, st.)	= goat beard.
	/ha/u·b	(1/2, st.)	= visible breath.
10.	/ho/bo·	(3, st.)	= to paint the face.
	*/ho/bo·	(1/2, st.)	= to arrange a new-born one.
11.	na/ri·	(3, st.)	= to be thickened.
	na/ri·	(1/2, st.)	= this morning.
12.	!na/ba·b	(3, st.)	= the mend.
	!na/ba·b	(1/2, st.)	= rhinoceros.
13.	!no/ra·b	(3, st.)	= tobacco roll.
	!no/ra·s	(1/2, st.)	= the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

d) The accent (sign: · after the sound) should be placed with the sound modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Kroenlein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language. 194 [104]

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out. 194

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable. How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

«) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by ↓, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with ↑. 194 104

1.	ǂā↓	= to burst open
	ǂā↓	= to slaughter
2.	/a↑n	= to groan
	/a↓n	= to smoke (of the fire)
3.	//a↑↑m	= to clean oneself with cow dung
[354]	//a↓m	= placing stones in the hole game (see page 314); clapping hands
	//a↓m	= to eliminate
	•//a↓m	= to cover in order to hide
4.	//ā↑n	= to dwell
	//a↓n	= to ripen
	//a↑n	= to hold firmly together
5.	ǂa↓n	= to know
	ǂa↑n	= to give a blow
6.	dã↑	= to jubilate, make merry
	dã↓	= to be someone's enemy
7.	gā↓	= to be lost
	gā↑	= to be clever, to outwit someone
8.	!gā↓	= to burst
	!gāb	= the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

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37. /o↓m = to breathe
/o↓m = to wipe off

38. s̃ã↓ = to warm oneself
s̃a↓ = to pick one's nose

39. sĩ = to come there
sĩ↓↓ = ? [pforzen]

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /abi· (1/2, st.) = to rain (cf. p. 237 note)
/a↓bi· (3, st.) = to scratch the skin for purposes of healing

2. χore· (1/2, st.) = to release
χo↓re· (3, st.) = to joke

3. /ga↓i·b (3. st.) = name of a lizard, the Mabuia acutilabris Ptrs.
/ga↑i·b (1/2, st.) = dancing

4. gu↓ni· (3, st.) = to stalk game
gu↑ni· (1/2, st.) = to scratch one's closed eye or ear

5. //guru·s (1/2, st.) = quartz stone
*//gu↓ru·b (3, st.) = mountain ridge

6. !ha↓mi· (3, st.) = to hunt
!ha↑mi· (1/2, st.) = to be insulted

7. !huri·b (3, st.) = fear
!hu↑ri·b (1/2, st.) = the backbone

8. //naru· (1/2, st.) = to roast, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//na↓ru· (3, st.) = to impale in rows

9. !na↑ru·s (1/2, st.) = the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
*!na↓ru·s (3, st.) = name of a ray (fish)

10. u·↑ri (1/2, f.) = to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) = louse

[357] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.

[104] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·bu = to fold up
abu·s = the empty ostrich egg

δ) Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	=	the annoyance
	/ara·b		=	rib
	/a·ˀrab		=	the crack
2.	//a·ri		=	yesterday, tomorrow
[359]	//aˀri·		=	to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oˀˀn)
3.	!a·ba		=	to climb up
	!aˬba·	(3, st.)	=	to scratch
4.	χoa·		=	to scrape
	χo·ˀa		=	to write
5.	χuru·b		=	powdered coals
	χuˬru·	(3, st.)	=	to pull out
6.	χu·bu		=	to pulverize tobacco
	χuˬbu·	(3, st.)	=	to drink from [sip]
7.	gara·		=	to be cool
	ga·ˬra		=	to have German measles
8.	gaˬro·	(3, st.)	=	bend, bow
	ga·ro		=	to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		=	to sprinkle
	/gaˬbi·s	(3, st.)	=	the cup
	(/gabi·		=	to be high)
10.	//gaˬe		=	to imitate
	//gaë·		=	to chew
11.	//ga·mi		=	water
	//gaˬmi·	(3, st.)	=	to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		=	the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaˀna·s		=	name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

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[104]
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3. Orthography

The spelling which I use for Nama words in this report is closely pat- 104
terned after the general linguistic alphabet, which Steinthal (80) uses. I 194

80. H. Steinthal, Linguistik, in G. Neumayer's "Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen," 1891.

can therefore restrict myself here to a few remarks to orient the reader and as an explanation for several deviations from Kroenlein's method.

ā indicates the length of a vowel. If the long sign is missing, the vowel is short.

ã̄ indicates nasalization. Individual tendency towards nasalization of vowels, which follow an m (toma, "not," go ma·b, "ox," ma, "to give," etc.) I have observed frequently but I have not considered this in the script.

(a) indicates that the vowel involved is spoken hastily, almost supressed.

y is pronounced as the "j" in the German word Jena.

a/o and analogously all vowels that are separated by a sound sign, are not to be spoken as a dipthong but separately.

aë, aï, and oë etc. are to be spoken with the vowels separated with the accent on the first if no accent sign is given.

ai is to be pronounced as in the German "Kaiser," "Eile," "einerlei," etc. The dipthong ei (as pronounced in the linguistic alphabet) does not exist in the Hottentot language. The linguistic method of writing should definitely be preferred. Where Kroenlein writes ai, in many cases this could be confused with aë.

au is to be pronounced as in the German "Auge," "auch," etc. The linguistic dipthong ou does not exist in the Hottentot language [364] any more than it does in pure German. Where Kroenlein writes au, there is often a confusion with ao which is very close to it.

ao is to be pronounced with the emphasis on the first vowel and with such a quick transition to the second, that it sounds like a dipthong.

b at the beginning of a word is pronounced like our b, in the middle of a word usually softly like our w, and at the end of a word hard but not quite so hard as our p.

χ is pronounced as in the German "lachen," "Bach" etc.

kχ corresponds to Kroenlein's kh, that should be "somewhat harder,

but not much" than k. I have always heard this sound as k with a following χ and therefore write it that way.

r is rolled with the tongue, not made with the uvula.

s is pronounced weakly at the end of a word like the German sch in "Busch," "Bresche," but at the beginning of a word like the s in "salz," "Sonne," etc, often sharply as in the French "salon."

ts is pronounced as is German z in "Zahn," "Zunft" etc.

f and l are missing in the Nama language. When met with occasionally they occur in word stems borrowed from the Dutch: gurla·bigis, butterfly; f(a)la·migob, the flamingo, ff·lsib, the vuilziekte of the Boers (lues).

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B. Knowledge of Nature

8.2

[illegible]at we learned (from our consideration of the sustenance and medicine, handicrafts, animal husbandry and hunting as well as from the portrayal of the land and climate) about the Hottentot's specific knowledge of the three realms of nature was that it derived more or less directly from material exigencies and had always been connected with them. The question now poses itself whether this knowledge also exists independently of the cares of daily life, that is, to what extent it can be regarded as the free expression of intellectual stimuli. It will be shown that despite all the intellectual agility of the Hottentot his knowledge of nature at no time rises to an even rudimentary form of natural science. Only in two fields can we recognize at least the striving for a certain continuation beyond the rudiments or for an organization of the factual data: in the field of biology (which even today is closest to the hunter and cattle owner) and -- almost lost once again to oblivion -- in the field of division of time, whose seasonal changes and deep influence upon animated nature both give the herdsman cause to think.

1. Flora and Fauna

[365] The Hottentot's knowledge of animals and plants will not be discussed here. The zoological and botanical classification of the material I collected must be finished before we can attain a clear picture of the matter. We would gain nothing by simply listing the native names.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF !NAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

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The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of !Gamí-ǂnūn or Bondelswaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂĀunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of [177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with [796] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂĀunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. x indicates a guttural ch; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˜ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˆ the high one. The sign ˛ under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ¨ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

[p. 65]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOTS OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA[1]

BY A. WINIFRED HOERNLÉ

101 THE people with whom this paper deals live in the territory known to-day as the Protectorate of Southwest Africa. They form one branch of the people known generally as the Hottentots, but from the very earliest days of the Dutch settlement at the Cape this branch of the Hottentot peoples has been called the Namaqua, and Nama is the name by which they call themselves to-day. The meaning of the word is unknown, but it is, according to tradition, the name of a remote ancestor of all the tribes calling themselves by the name. The old form, Namaqua, is probably derived from the dual form, *Namakha*, *Namab* being the masculine singular, *Namas* the feminine singular, and *Naman* the common plural.

101 131 To the early Dutch settlers two groups of the Nama were known, viz., the Little Namaqua, inhabiting what is known to-day as Little Namaqualand, and the Great Namaqua who inhabited what is to-day known as Great Namaqualand. Both of these groups of people at times visited the settlement at Table Bay,

104 [1] In transcribing the Hottentot words, I have used the system of K⁵nlein's *Wortschatz der Khoi Khoin*, Berlin, 1889, as this is the system used by the Nama themselves nowadays in their writing. It is not strictly accurate always from a phonetic point of view, especially for the Swartbooi pronunciation, but it is the conventional script of the Nama, and in this paper which is not concerned with phonetics it seemed best to follow it.

There are three tones in Nama each of which may give an entirely different meaning to an otherwise identical word. ` indicates a low tone, ´ a medium tone, ˇ a high tone. In order not to complicate the manuscript, I have indicated these tones only where it is essential in order to avoid confusion in the reading.

∞ is the sign of nasalising; ¯ indicates a long vowel; X indicates a harsh guttural *ch* something like the Dutch *ch*.

/ indicates the dental click, ≠ the palatal, ! the cerebral, // the lateral.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

argument, be a good " blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; " there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai* aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloom. Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of " scientific " and " sympathetic " lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

*For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus :—D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

bear specially on our country. Then, and then only, the South African Public Library will thrive as a public institution, and soon become the workshop and nursery of South African science. With the spread of education, no doubt the interest in "Our Library" will increase. The name of Dr. Dale, the Superintendent General of Education in this Colony, is a guarantee that education will continue to advance with daily greater strides; and thus we may hope that, ere long, Colonial youths will aspire to distinguish themselves in historical and purely philosophical studies.

For the orthography of the Hottentot and Bantu words, I employed, with slight modifications, the excellent Standard Alphabet of Professor Lepsius, which proves, after all, the most serviceable, as far as South African languages are concerned.

The words and names quoted from travellers are given in their own orthography; in a few instances, however, I considered it necessary to substitute for their spelling that introduced by Professor Lepsius, in order to render the phonetic composition of words more transparent, and, consequently, their etymology more evident. The clicks, which are of vital importance for the etymologist, are very indiscriminately treated by most travellers, with the sole exception of Professor Dr. Gustav Fritsch.

Travellers and missionaries who wish to serve the cause of South African Philology should be well acquainted with the principles of Phonology before they venture to write down texts of illiterate languages. No missionary should be sent to the heathens without having acquired as thorough a knowledge of Phonetics as he has of the Gospel, and he should be taught to respect every vowel, every accent, every consonant; in fact, "*every jot and tittle in any, even the most barbarous, dialect he may hereafter have to analyse.*"* Comparative Philology is entirely based upon phonology, and if the laws of phonology for a group of languages are

* Max Müller, "Lect." ii. p. 42, ed. 1868.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

once correctly established, the natural offshoot will be a true scientific etymology. This science is *the* telescope with which, where all other records fail, we can draw prehistoric times into our immediate view, and which allows us a look far back into "the very dawn of man's life."

It is an urgent want for us here in South Africa that a Standard Orthography for the Native Languages should be introduced in all official, educational, and public departments. The task is not as difficult as it may appear at first sight, and where there is a will, there is a way.

In the present Standard Orthography we write the clicks as follows:—

The Lateral ‖,	[1] ‖a,	[2] ‖na,	[3] ‖kha,	[4] ‖ga,
The Cerebral ǀ,	[5] ǀā,	[6] ǀnā,	[7] ǀkhā,	[8] ǀgā,
The Palatal ǂ,	[9] ǂā,	[10] ǂnā,	[11] ǂkhā,	[12] ǂga.
The Dental ǀ,	[13] ǀā,	[14] ǀnā,	[15] ǀkhā,	[16] ǀgā.

The importance of the clicks will be best illustrated by giving the meanings of these words here at once, thus, [1] to wash, [2] to drop, [3] to be able, [4] to split, [5] to fall, [6] to light, [7] to bore, to perforate, [8] to serve, [9] to wash, [10] to pour, [11] to refuse, [12] to plant, [13] to be sharp, [14] to filter, [15] with, [16] isolated, separated, thin, &c., dotted.

Those who wish to inform themselves about the nature of these clicks and their bearing on the phonology of the Hottentot language, I refer to Henry Tindall's excellent "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language," and to my "Sprache der Nama."

In Tindall's book, however, and in my own no mention is made of a harsh faucal sound peculiar to the old Cape Hottentot dialects—of which Witsen and Leibniz have supplied some materials—to the ǀKora-Hottentot and to the Bushman languages of the ǀKham, ǀAi, ǀNuni, ǀKoang, Heiǂguis, Matsanakhoi and ǀGabe. I write this consonant, which most resembles a forcibly produced *short croaking sound*—just as if a person is endeavouring to get rid of a bone in the throat—with the Hebrew

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

F1 Africa
Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Identification

The Nama (Naman, Namaqua) are a major division of the Hottentot nation. They originally numbered about 20,000. They include the following tribes: Gei //khauan, !gami /nun, //haboben, !khara Gei Khoin, //khau /goan, //o Gein, /aunin or !naranin, all of whom constitute the Great Namaqua, and also the Little Namaqua tribes. The Nama numbered 24,000 in 1946.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral. No agriculture. Hunting is important, and gathering and fishing fairly so. Cattle, sheep, and some goats are herded, and dogs kept. Milk and game are the staple foods.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt. Women milk animals (unlike Bantu) and gather. Herding done mainly by boys and servants.

Property

Main wealth in cattle and sheep. Land is communally owned by the local group. Private property exists in livestock, movables, wells dug, and wild beehives discovered.

Livestock are inherited by ElSo; other property equally by children of both sexes.

Social Stratification

No true slavery. War captives or rescued fugitives were kept as servants, earning their subsistence in return for their labor, but were allowed to leave if they wished. Hired servants were paid by a share of the increase.

Marriage

The groom provides several cattle; some are slaughtered for the wedding feast, some given as presents (apparently not a true bride-price) to his parents-in-law, who give some in return as a dowry for the bride. Postmarital bride-service occurs during the period of initial matrilocal residence.

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Polygyny is permitted but not common. Monogamy is the norm. In a polygynous family each wife normally has her own hut.

Family

The nuclear family is the norm--occupying one hut (others in case of polygynous wives). No extended family organization, though patrilineally related men tended to camp nearby.

Residence

Matripatrilocal residence is the norm--matrilocal till birth of first child, then usually patrilocal in the camp of HuFa. Occasional matrilocal exceptions.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is the norm.

Bilateral extension is absent. Marriage with either cross-cousin is permitted, but is forbidden with parallel cousins.

Exogamous patrilineal sibs, divided into lineages. They share a marked fissive tendency.

Kinship Terminology

Fa, FaBr--//gun. Mo, MoSi--//gus. So, BrSo--oab. Da, SiDa--oas. Br--gab, Si, Br--gas. Br and Si often modified by adjectives "big" and "young" to indicate age distinctions. The above three pairs of terms differ internally only by sex gender endings.

MoBr--//naob. FaSi called "big Mo" or by special age-distinguishing terms. Avuncular and nepotic terminology is bifurcate merging in type.

Iroquois cousin terminology. Sibling terms are used for parallel cousins.

Settlement Pattern

Migratory bands.. Camps of mat-covered, dome-shaped huts arranged in a circle.

Community Organization

Patri-sibs (or parts thereof) are localized as patrilocal clan-communities.

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Local Government

Clan chief or headman, succeeded by ElSo (then Br or BrSo); council of adult males.

State

Twelve sub-tribes, each with a chief, the headman of the senior clan. Other clan chiefs formed a council. Little political cohesion, but often united for war.

Warfare

Intertribal warfare and intra-tribal clan feuds common.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Environment and Culture

H B 105

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

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The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

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A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the */naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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The Cape Hottentot, with whom are here also grouped the East Hottentot about whom practically nothing is known, speak a language of the Khoisan or Click stock. Since it is extinct, its exact relationship to Nama is not known, but doubtless both belong to the Central Bushman branch. The East Hottentot include the Damaqua, Gonaqua, and Inqua tribes; the Cape Hottentot the Goringhaiqua (Goringhaikona), Kora (Gorachouqua, later the Korana), Kochoqua, Little Grigriqua (Chariguriqua), Great Grigriqua, Chainoqua, Hessequa, Hancumqua, Attaqua, and Outeniqua.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral. Herding of long-horned cattle and fat-tailed sheep is followed in importance by gathering, then hunting. Fishing is reported for only one coast-dwelling tribe. Agriculture is lacking. Schapera (1930) reports dogs and goats, as well as cattle and sheep. Milk and meat are the staple foods.

Sex Division of Labor

The men herd and hunt. The women milk. Both sexes gather.

Property

Livestock are the chief wealth. Women as well as men own cattle. Land is communally owned by local groups.

Inheritance is patrilinea--by ElSo, in default thereof by Br or BrSo.

Social Stratification

Slavery is not practiced. There are wealth distinctions.

Marriage

A true bride-price is lacking, but marriage involves a token gift of one or two animals which are slaughtered for the wedding feast.

Polygyny is permitted but is relatively infrequent, being practiced mainly by wealthy men. The first wife is chief wife, and each wife has her own hut.

Family

The residential unit is the nuclear or polygynous families, although

patrilocal extended families are a possibility--rather more likely than among the Nama.

Residence

The patrilocal rule prevails. Initial matrilocal residence as among the Nama, though not reported, possibly exists. Children remain with their parents until marriage.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

One source reports that marriage with any consanguineal relative is forbidden.

Exogamous patri-sibs are highly probable.

Settlement Pattern

The local group is a migratory band. The main camp, where the older people remain and to which the smaller nomadic groups return from time to time, is a great circle of huts surrounded by a thorn fence. The dwellings were presumably hemispherical mat-covered lodges like those of the Nama.

Community Organization

The community is presumably a patri-clan as among the Nama. Age-grades are lacking.

Local Government

Each band has a hereditary headman, who is assisted by a council of elders. Succession is patrilineal--often by ElSo.

State

Though local groups are largely autonomous, they are grouped into tribal aggregations, each with a hereditary chief (succeeded by ElSo) and a council of local headmen. Political cohesion, however, is minimal.

Warfare

There are perpetual feuds or petty wars.

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Cape Hottentot

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1: Schultze, Leonhard. Aus Namaland und Kalahari [In Namaland and the Kalahari]. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1907

Pp. xiv, 752; bibliography; 25 plates; 286 text figures; 1 end map.

Yale: Nkd 84 +9075 [HRAF MS. pp. 1-322]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth C. Knight and Theodore Ziolkowski.

Only that portion of the book dealing with the Hottentot, pp. 170-549 was processed for the files.

[Schultze, a zoologist at the University of Jena, based this thorough and comprehensive study on fieldwork done during a three-year stay in the area. The source includes portions on physical anthropology, linguistics and the folklore of the Nama, including the original texts. Hunting and food-raising

1: Schultze, Leonhard.

are dealt with in detail, as is the life-cycle, acculturation, kinship and government. Also included are data on games, music, flora and fauna, and material culture. --Analyst]

Field date: 1903-1905
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-5
Processed in 1958

2: Schapera, Isaac. The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1930.

Pp. xi, 1-445; 14 plates; 2 end maps; bibliography; index.

Yale: Nkd84.930s

/This book is a comprehensive survey of the Khoisan peoples compiled mostly from the literature. Pages 73-220 and occasional references to the Bushmen included in the Hottentot sections have been marked for the FX10 Bushmen file. The remainder of the work appears in the Hottentot file. Most of the information on the Hottentots is concerned with the Nama people, but references are also made to the Cape Hottentots. The Bushmen section deals with various groups and frequently notes variations in culture and beliefs found among the different Bushmen tribes. Included in the source are materials on physical environment, tribal divisions, physical traits, social organization, habits and customs, economic life, political structure, religious beliefs and magic, art and folklore. The concluding chapter is a description of the Khoisan languages. The author is an ethnologist who specializes in South African native cultures. --Analyst/

Field date: No date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4, 5
Processed in 1958

3: Hoernlé, A. Winifred. Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of !Nau Among the Hottentots. Harvard African Studies, Vol. II (Varia Africana II), pp. 65-82. Cambridge, Mass.: The African Department of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1918.

Yale: Nkd74 H26 v. 2

/This source contains brief descriptions of various "rites de passage" as observed by and told to the author shortly before World War I. The various rites had survived in the main only in much reduced form and much information was derived only by questioning the oldest members of the group. Some material on the concept of "!Nau" or ritual impurity is included. General information on the "rites de passage" has been marked for 796, while specific information has been marked for the appropriate categories. --Analyst/

Field date: 1912-1913
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1958

4: Hoernlé, A. Winifred. The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South Africa. American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 1-24. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1925.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II, 27

/This article describes Nama Hottentot social organization. Data are given on the tribes and sibs, and a listing of the kinship terms is included with some discussion of interpersonal relationships as they relate to this terminology. --Analyst/

Field date: 1912-1913
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1958

5: Vedder, H. The Nama. In, The Native Tribes of South West Africa, pp. 107-152. Cape Town: Cape Times Ltd., 1928.

Yale: Nkd84.928t

/This is a general survey, by a missionary, of the Nama tribes of the Hottentots. The account is limited mostly to factual reports and probably was intended to serve as a practical guide to persons who are to be working with the native peoples. Relatively more space is devoted in this source to a description of tribal divisions and historical background than to material culture or social organization. The author's profession seems to have imparted certain moralistic points of view to his observations of Hottentot personal traits--Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1910
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Missionary--5
Processed in 1958

6: Hoernlé, Mrs. R.F.A. (A.W. Hoernlé). The expression of the Social Value of Water among the Naman of South-West Africa. South African Journal of Science, Vol. XX, pp. 514 - 526. Johannesburg: South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 1923.

Yale: A19 25 2D

/This article discusses the function of water among the Nama Hottentots. It describes native beliefs regarding the danger of water at life-crisis periods, and the use and taboo of water in ceremonies relating to these crises. --Analyst/

Field date: 1912-1913
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1958

7: Laidler, P.W. The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots. South African Journal of Science, Vol. XXV, pp. 433-447. Johannesburg: South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 1928.

Yale: A19.25 v.25

/This source is a brief description of Hottentot methods for the treatment of the sick and the injured. Types of treatment include herbal infusions, poultices, cupping, massage, and preventive medicine, including the use of charms, as well as magic. The technique of amputation is described briefly. It concludes with descriptions of native pharmaceuticals, their preparation and use. At the time of publication, Laidler was Medical Officer of Health, East London.--Analyst/.

Field date: ca. 1925
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Doctor--5
Processed in 1958

8: Dapper, Olfert. Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs, also Named Hottentots. I. Schapera, Tr., The Early Cape Hottentots, pp. 1-77, 301-309. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1933.

3 plates, bibliography, index, Dutch text.

Yale: Bk22.6h.14

/Olfert Dapper (1636-1689), the Dutch author of an important series of geographical works, published his account of Africa in 1668. The section dealing with the Hottentots was a compilation of contemporary printed sources and information gathered from correspondents who had resided in the Cape. The present translation has omitted his description of the country, its climate, and its botanical and zoological resources. It contains information on tribal divisions, material culture, and social customs of the Hottentots when they first came into contact with the Europeans. The translator has contributed valuable annotations in his footnotes. The bibliography and index are compiled for the volume as a whole, and the reader is advised to consult 9:Ten Rhyne, and 10:Grevenbroek, when using them. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Humanist--4
Processed in 1958

9: Ten Rhyne, William. A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Hottentots who Inhabit that Region. B. Farrington, trans., The Early Cape Hottentots, pp. 78-157, 301-309. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1933.

2 plates, bibliography, index, Latin text.

Yale: Bk22.6h.14

/Ten Rhyne, a physician of the Dutch East India Company, visited the Cape on October 15, 1673 and left on November 10. His account of the Hottentot, published in 1686, is a compilation of personal observations and interviews with European residents and Dutch-speaking natives. It contains information on physical environment, material culture, medical practices, trade, warfare, and tribal divisions. The translator has made pertinent annotations in the footnotes whenever necessary to point out dubious statements. The bibliography and index are compiled for the volume as a whole, and the reader is advised to consult 8:Dapper and 10:Grevenbroek when using them. --Analyst/

Field date: 1673
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Physician--5
Processed in 1958

10: Grevenbroek, Johannes G. de. An Elegant and Accurate Account of the African Race Living Round the Cape of Good Hope Commonly Called Hottentots. B. Farrington, trans., The Early Cape Hottentots, pp. 158-309. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1933.

2 plates, bibliography, index, Latin text.

Yale: Bk22.6h.14

/Grevenbroek (ca. 1644-1726) went to the Cape in 1684 as an employee of the Dutch East India Company; and served as the Secretary of the local Council of Policy from 1686 until his resignation in 1694 to live as a free burgher at Stellenbosch. During his residence in the Cape, he had been engaged in compiling an account of the region and its native peoples. The present version was translated from a manuscript copy of a letter he had written to a clergyman in Holland. It contains information on the physical environment of the Cape; the social customs, mode of life and warfare, ceremonial practices and treatment of diseases of the Hottentots. It also has information on the AmaXhosa (Amaxosa) whom he evidently regarded as one of the Hottentot tribes. The Bibliography and index are compiled for the volume as a whole, and the reader is advised to consult 8:Dapper and 9:Ten Rhyne when using them. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1694
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Foreign Resident--5
Processed in 1958

11:Maingard, L. F. Studies in Korana History, Customs and Language. Bantu Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 101-162, 1 map. Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1932.

Yale: Nkd74. B228. v. 5-6

[Professor Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology at the University of the Witwatersrand, visited the remnants of the Link tribe of the vanishing Korana Hottentots in December 1931 and February 1932. This article is primarily a reconstruction, through the examination of historical records and oral traditions, of the original home of the Korana and their migratory routes. The author has also collected information on puberty ceremonies, funeral rites, relationship terms, tools and weapons, and games. A short survey on Korana language and a number of genealogical tables are included in this paper. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931-1932
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Humanist-5
Processed in 1958

12: Maingard, J. F. Physical Characteristics of the Korana. Bantu Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 163-182. Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1932.

Yale: Nkd74. B228. v. 5-6

[The author, through the study of historical records and the measurement of menbers of the Links tribe of the Korana Hottentot, concludes that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated by Bushman and Bantu elements. Critical comments on the opinions of earlier writers on the physical characteristics of the Korana are made throughout the article. J. F. Maingard, son of L. F. Maingard, was with the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand at the time of writing. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931-1932
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Physician-5
Processed in 1958

13:Kirby, Percival R. The Music and Musical Instruments of the Korana. Bantu Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 183-204, 7 plates. Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1932.

Yale: Nkd74.B228.v.5-6

[P.R.Kirby, Professor of Musc, University of the Witwatersrand, accompanied L. F. Maingard in the 1931-1932 expedition to the Bloemhof area. While there he was able to locate a number of old Korana who still retained knowledge of their ancient music and musical instruments. He had some of the instruments reconstructed and the music transcribed. The results of his investigation are presented in this article under the following headings: musical instruments, vocal music, and musical terms. Information on the reed-flute dance is also included in the discussion. --Analyst]

Field date: 1931-1932
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Artist-5
Processed in 1958

14:Hahn, Theophilus. Tsuni-//Goam; the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi. London: Trübner & Co., 1881.

Pp. xi, 154.

Yale: Nkd85.H8.881h

[The author, a trained linguist, attempts to reconstruct the general prehistory of the Hottentot people. He treats in particular the origin and nature of their gods and heroes through an etymological analysis of their vocabulary. It is his contention that many early writers, especially missionaries, had misunderstood the religious feelings of the Hottentots because of personal prejudice or the inability to understand the original meaning of the Hottentot terms.' For this reason, the book is somewhat polemical in style. It has been categorized rather lightly because many of the cultural elements mentioned in the book were originally reported in other sources processed for this file. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1870-1880
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1958

Schapera, Isaac and B. Farrington. The Early Cape Hottentots, described in the writings of Olfert Dapper (1668) Willem Ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus De Grevenbroek (1695). Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1933.

Pp. 1-309

Yale: BK22.6h.14

[This source is composed of three early accounts of the Hottentots translated by Schapera and Farrington and edited by Schapera. The introductory section by Schapera has not been processed because it is duplicated in 2: Schapera, this file. The three accounts have been processed as separate sources; 8: Dapper, 9: Ten Rhyne and 10: Grevenbroek.--Analyst]

Hottentot Bibliography

[The following bibliography was compiled during the processing of the Hottentot file by Dr. George Peter Murdock of Yale and various members of the Hraf staff. The numbers and letters following date of publication are call numbers for the Yale library.]

Identification

The Hottentots are divided into four primary divisions: East Hottentot, Cape Hottentot, Korana, and Nama. Most of the information is on the Nama.

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11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hot:s n:ot FX13
Korana

Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its feet. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its feet. If you look at its feet in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then omuses are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the " law."

Notes:

The *dowo* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wurms. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

It is the first time that the full *dowo* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the " laws " and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says : " They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuanas and the Morolong nations ; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dauro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wurms'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wurms differs :

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the " *dowo*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts : (i) " the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text ; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate ; (3) the " laws " given to him.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from //ha:, "To make a hole" and //ha:s is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *guessing*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then presenting both his hands closed, he exclaims: "*kaxe //kamiy //xa ka?*" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: *//kanga*. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aiway //ain* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

(i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies over Koranataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt der Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wurm*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels.* Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

173 114 *Kopi* and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Wingatbosm meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1879) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book* C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 263).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Missrow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Admonetie*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

173 113 Sources: Informants at Bloemhof; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1846-1854). *Totsé*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

173 114 *gwig !haroip*, " great " or " old Haroip " is the " alte Haroip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chaabep*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *a* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

12: Maingard D-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

This sketch is only a stepping-stone which, it is hoped, will lead to further somatometrical research not only upon the Korana but the other living races and tribes of South Africa – a subject the fringe of which has so far only been touched.

D. SUMMARY

1. The work of earlier writers on Korana anthropology is reviewed and criticised. So far there has been considerable theoretical discussion and insufficient investigation of known Koranas.

(2) Historical evidence is adduced to show that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated with Bush and Bantu elements.

(3) The external appearance of eleven members of the Links tribe of Korana is briefly discussed and is also shown to point to racial impurity.

(4) The available skeletal characteristics of Links Korana are discussed. This group is shown to be mainly of "Bush type" in these respects.

(5) There is no evidence apart from the effects of this extensive admixture with Bush and Bantu, that the Korana differ appreciably from other "Hottentots" in skeletal characteristics.

(6) The matter of nomenclature is discussed. Faulty nomenclature and methods of research have, up to now, led to confusion in this subject. The importance of field work and the necessity for exact identification of the material under examination is emphasised.

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(33) *Shrubsall, F. C.* 1897. Crania of African Bush races, J.R.A.I. XXVII, 1898. pp. 263-90.

(34) *Dreyer, T. F.* 1931. The Bushman-Hottentot-Strandlooper tangle. Trans. R.S.S.A. XX. 1. Pp. 79-92.

(35) *Stibbe, E. P.* 1930. An Introduction to Physical Anthropology, Ch. XIII.

(36) *Schultze, L.* 1907. Aus Namaland und Kalahari.

(37) *Laing, A. D.* 1924. Strandlooper Skulls from Zitzikamma, S.A.J.S. XXI, pp. 528-41.

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14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

term *Hottentot* to the whole race, and call the two families, 101
each by the native name, that is the one, the *Khoikhoi*, the so-called *Hottentot proper*; the other the *Sān* (*Sā*) *or Bushmen*.

In the Nama language, one of the Khoikhoi idioms, 196
the Bushmen are called Sā-n (com. plur). The meaning of this term is not quite intelligible, and I frankly confess that, after nine years, of which I have spent nearly seven amongst the Khoikhoi, I did not succeed in arriving at a quite satisfactory etymology, and I must still adhere to the interpretation which I first gave in the *Globus*, 1870, where I traced the word Sā-(b) to the root SĀ, to inhabit, to be located, to dwell, to be settled, to be quiet. Sā(n) consequently would mean Aborigines or Settlers proper. These Sa-n or Sa-gu-a, Sonqua or Sounqua, &c. (obj. plur. mec.) as they are styled in the Cape Records, are often called Bushmen—the Bosjesman, Bosjesman, Bosmanneken of the Colonial Annals, a name given to them to indicate their abode and mode of living.

The word Sā(b) has also acquired a low meaning, and is not considered to be very complimentary. The Khoikhoi often speak of *!Uri-Sān* (white Bushmen) and mean the low white vagabonds and runaway sailors who visit their country as traders. One also often hears, "*Khoikhoi tamab, Sab ke*," he is no Khoikhoi, he is a Sā, which means to say, "*he is no gentleman, he is of low extraction, or he is a rascal.*" A Nama will say of a man who is very proud and reserved in his manners, who only mixes in good society, "*Khoikhoiseb ra aob ke*," the man *makes-a-Khoikhoi-of-himself*, that is, *he stands very much upon his dignity*, and also, *he keeps himself very much to himself.*

Those who desire to have information on the natural 113
and physical condition of the Khoikhoi and Sā-(n), I refer to Dr. Gustav Fritsch's standard work, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Africas," and to three Essays published by me, Die Namas, and Die Buschmänner, in the

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

113 *Globus*, 1868 and 1870, and Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten, in *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden, 1868; not to forget the chapter on the Hottentots in Friedr. Müller's excellent work "Allgemeine Ethnographie."

648 It is enough meanwhile to say, that the Bushmen lead the life of a Pariah, and that they are hated and chased by all other nations of South Africa, having to suffer most, however, from the hands of their own nearest kith and kin, the Khoikhoi, whom I have, on more than one occasion, seen manifesting more charity for a dog than for a starving Bushman.

101 The Khoikhoi are generally called, as I have already said, Hottentots, a term to which I would not object, were it not for the confusion it generally brings in its train, as far as ethnological, anthropological or linguistic terminology is concerned. Sometimes they are called the *Hottentots proper* in our Colonial language. But very often, again, our Khoikhoi in the Colony, or more particularly those remnants of the tribes formerly occupying the vicinity of Cape Town, are called *Hottentots*, *Hottentots proper* or *Cape Hottentots*, while on the other hand the inhabitants of Griqualand West, of the South Kalihari, of Great Namaqualand are called by their tribal names, Griquas, Namaquas, !Koras or Korannas, just as if they were not Hottentots as much as the Khoikhoi tribes of the Cape Colony. It would be as absurd for us to call only the Prussians, Germans, and apply to all the other tribes of Germany their tribal names, Bavarians, Suabians, Hessians, &c., denying to them the attribute German; or for Londoners to claim for themselves the title of Englishmen, while excluding the Northumberland and Sussex men from it.

This is my reason for protesting emphatically against the indiscriminate and superficial use of the term *Hottentot*, and therefore I have taken the liberty of taxing the patience of my readers by dwelling at some length on this subject.

the nineteenth century. Five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Nãũna-o is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are: [5] 68

1. The ǂAo-ǁain or ǃGo-ǁnun, who are sometimes called °ǂNa-tsain by their neighbors because of their great (tarse) fields, the Topnaar of the Boers.

2. The ǃKŭa-tsaĩ-b‖aĩn, shortened to ǃKŭa-ts(a)ĩb‖ĩn, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.

3. The ‖Ha-hoba-o or Veldschoendragers,

4. The ǃGa-mi‖ãũ-ǁa or Bondelswarts,

5. The ‖Kŭãũ-ǁgãũ-a or Zwartboois now settled in the southern bushveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The ‖Kŭãũ-hen or the Red Nasie,

7. The ǃKŭa-ng‖ã-an or the Tsaibochen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop,

8. The ǀOgain or Groenlanders.

b) °Gã‖ain is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The ǂA-mãĩn or Bethanie Hottentots,

10. The ǀHai-ǁkŭãũ-an or Berseba Hottentots,

11. The ǀKŭã-hain or Witboois,

12. The Gai-ǁkŭãũ-an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes,

13. ‖Aũ-ǂa‖a-an or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, 14

everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research in my own special field, permitted. I made it a rule to note down only those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [178] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethno-

68. G. Fritsch. Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau. 1872.

logical material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn. (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII. 1867).

original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's(70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the

70. Fr. Ratzel. Völkerkunde. 2nd ed., 1894.

problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

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The first contact of the Hottentots with the Bergdamaras goes beyond any time from which we have historical dates. Pieter Brand, the companion of the explorer Willem van Reenen (14), who led an expedition in

14. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I - VI, London, 1888-1902.

September 1791 into Great Namaland, found the language of the Hottentots in use among the Bergdamaras. Their own mother tongue seems to have been forgotten at that time as it is today. Although the Bergdamaras have obtained their freedom under the German protectorate and have been freed from the yoke of the Hereros as well as from that of the Hottentots, they have often remained in voluntary dependency as household servants as the Buhmen have.

Although generally known as good-natured and docile and therefore treasured by the whites, the derogatory name given the Bergdamaras by his oppressors has remained. The Hottentot calls the Bergdamaras ǂau-daman, i.e. shit Kaffirs." I also heard them called ǂhau/kxoĩn, i.e. (according to the claim of the Hottentots themselves) "Manure people."* A friendly

*Derived from ǂhau/b = manure. Krönlein (57) [114]

57. J. G. Kroenlein, wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

does not know this word and derives the above designation, which, according to him, the Bergdamaras have given to themselves, from the word for "to be right." But to my ear it is not ǂhau/ but sounds like ǂhau-, the two vowels pronounced separately and with a rising (one third) accent. I can only place my opinion beside Kroenlein's as the actual result of my findings without deciding which is better. Schinz (50) mistakenly writes !haukhoin and his

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

typesetter muddled the click even more in the index.

shown whether the fragments published by Lichtenstein, Burchell and Wuras of the !Kora dialect, whether the parts of an eastern dialect which Sparrmann, Thunberg and Barrow have heard, and whether the notations of Herbert, Ten Rhine and Witsen of the dialect of the Capeland Hottentots of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries could be so arranged that they would at least give us a vague picture of the lost languages. The tribes of Great Namaland now form linguistically unified group with the fugitives from the south. Their language is that of the old Namaa or Namaqua as older authors write using the former ending of the masculine plural. 197

The language of the Hottentots was the greatest hindrance during the first six months of my journey in getting closer to the spiritual life of the people. In the second and third year it was the most fertile source of my studies. Where war troubles or the unfavorable time of year stopped my zoological studies, I turned to the study of the language. A small work by Theophilus Hahn (78), a concise presentation of the 114

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama, Leipzig, 1870.

language that contains many errors by A. Seidel (79) and especially

79. A. Seidel, Praktische Grammatiken der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrikas, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, (ohne Jahreszahl).

Kroenleins Wortschatz (57) gave me a first start and later a basis for

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

testing my own results against older ones.

The Hottentot words in the text all stem from the natives. If I have avoided all the information of the whites who know the language, it is not because I underestimated the help that I could have received here, but because I wished to drink exclusively from the source. Therefore I have also avoided natives who could read and write, because they looked at their own language through the glasses of the white man who first gave written signs to these sounds, partly in close connection with the Dutch

language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conventional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the animals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies came other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large, South African ant-eater, the aardvark, which animal is very difficult to shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising word-tone (/kxubu·s), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a falling word-tone (/kxu· bus). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple. After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native, reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the conviction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks

Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," 70.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 94; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–13.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF ǃNAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

114 101 The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of ǃGamǂnūn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂĂunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of [177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with [796] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂĂunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. χ indicates a guttural ch; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˜ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˚ the high one. The sign . under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ¨ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

[p. 65]

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous !náras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[3] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂĂunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidized by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Ămib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[3] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

FOREWORD.

114 Olfert Dapper, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Dapper and his wife Trijntje Heeres, was born in Amsterdam in 1636. Of his private life very little appears to be known.* The available records show that he registered as a medical student at the University of Utrecht in 1658, but there can be little doubt that he soon abandoned his studies and took to writing. The degree of M.D. which adorns the title pages of his books seems to have been conferred upon himself by his own authority; there is at any rate no record of his graduation, nor of his having ever practised medicine. All his energies must have been devoted to reading and writing, for in his comparatively short lifetime (he died in 1689) he produced a number of large and important works. His first book, an historical description of Amsterdam (1663), said to be far superior to anything previously done on the same subject, was followed by a Dutch translation of Herodotus (1665). From now on he seems to have applied himself with indefatigable zeal to learning all that he could about foreign lands. As a result of his studies he composed the great series of geographical works upon which rests his fame. The first to appear was a description of Africa (1668), which met with so favourable a reception that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to geographical writing. In 1670 appeared an account of the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Far East, followed by an exhaustive study of Asia (three parts, 1677-1680), and finally by several works on the Near East.

Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, dealing as it does at considerable length with the topography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the whole continent and its adjacent islands, was long regarded as one of the most authoritative early accounts of Africa. For many years after its first publication it was freely quoted, translated and plagiarized. Even so well known an authority on early Cape affairs as Abraham Bogaert, who visited the settlement six times, has in the chapter he devotes to the Hottentots in his *Historische Reizen door d' oostersche Deelen van Asia* (1711) drawn practically all his information and many of his actual sentences from the pages of Dapper. And yet, like all Dapper's other geographical works, the account of Africa was essentially a compilation.

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*The biographical details here given are based upon the short sketches of Dapper in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographische Woordenboek*, vol. 7, and Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

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He does not appear to have ever left Holland to see with his own eyes any of the countries he describes. For his material he relied solely on printed sources and on memoranda specially prepared for him. That this circumstance does not guarantee the accuracy of his work is obvious. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that he ranged very widely in search of information, and that he had a shrewd eye for relevant detail. His work was comprehensive and painstaking, and as the first great compendium of modern knowledge about Africa it became deservedly famous.

The pages dealing with the Cape and the Hottentots are based to some extent upon the anonymous *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (Amsterdam, 1652), itself a compilation, which he pillages freely enough when it suits his purpose. He also used very sparingly the records of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595). The bulk of his information, however, is not to be found in any contemporary published account. He says himself in the foreword to his book that most of what he relates, especially about the tribal divisions, manners and customs of the Hottentots, is derived from manuscript accounts sent to Holland by a certain "diligent observer" at the Cape, and that he has added only a little from printed sources. In his text, too, he refers several times to information sent over by men on the spot.

Theal, in a brief notice of Dapper's book,* points out with justice that the pages dealing with the Cape seem to have been prepared by someone who was not there at the commencement of the occupation, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was obviously studying the customs, manners and language of the Hottentots. He goes on to suggest that Dapper's unnamed correspondent was probably George Frederick Wreede. There is much to be said in favour of this attribution.

Wreede was a runaway German student who enlisted in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and came to the Cape in 1659.** Here he devoted himself to a study of the Hottentots. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and was often employed as an official interpreter and messenger to the Hottentot chiefs. By November, 1663, he had compiled a vocabulary of Hottentot words with their Dutch equivalents, which the commander of the Cape forwarded to the

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History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795, iii, 276.

**On his life and career cf. Theal, *op. cit*, ii, 139-141, 176-177; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 215-6.

Directors of the Company in Holland, with the request that it might be printed and some copies sent back to the settlement, where it would be useful. The Directors, though more anxious that the Hottentots should learn Dutch than that the settlers should become familiar with the native language, promised to have the work printed; but the promise never seems to have been carried out.* The manuscripts of the vocabulary are no longer preserved in the Archives of either Holland or the Cape. It is generally believed that they were lent to the historian Ludolf and never recovered, for in a biography written of him by Christian Junker and published in 1710 there is a long Dutch-Hottentot-Latin vocabulary whose source is not mentioned, but which is now universally attributed to Wreede.** The latter was rewarded for his studies with a small grant of money, and offered promotion by the Directors to any branch of the Cape service that he wished to select. He was ultimately appointed commander of Mauritius, where, after some vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death by drowning in 1672.

Wreede therefore seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with information about the Hottentots. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that the account upon which Dapper drew was written about the time that Wreede's vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663. Thus of the old chief Gogosoa he says, "In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old"; he speaks in the present tense of Herry, who died in 1663, and of the Chainouqua chief Soeswa, who died in 1664; he says (erroneously) that the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa died in 1661, but does not name his successor; he gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later; and so on. Whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede cannot be ascertained; it is equally probable that he may have obtained the latter's account of the Hottentots through the famous Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolas Witsen, to whom many of his books are dedicated, and from whom, incidentally, Ludolf is supposed to have received the loan of Wreede's Hottentot vocabulary.

Dapper's informant certainly managed to ascertain a good deal more about the Hottentots than had previously been known. His long list of tribes, with the careful description of their known habitations and rulers, is the

*The relevant official correspondence is reprinted in Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 271-79.

**This vocabulary is reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 215-24.

114 first ever printed, the more authoritative list compiled by van Riebeeck being of course preserved as manuscript in the Archives and not published for more than two hundred 127 years. The discrepancies between the two lists seem to show clearly enough that neither Dapper himself nor his informant had access to the official records. His general account of Hottentot life is far more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, and reveals an intimate first-hand acquaintance with the people; while much of the information, especially in connexion with religion, legal procedure and marriage customs, is completely new. It deserves special praise for the way in which, passing lightly over customs simply quaint and curious, it discusses in detail the ordinary, daily life of the people, a feature which modern ethnographers too are now beginning to emphasize as of outstanding importance. With all its inaccuracies (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots.

114 The passages here reprinted from his pages on the Cape are those referring directly to the Hottentots; his description of the country, its climate, botanical and zoological resources have been omitted as irrelevant to the scope of this volume. The text followed is that of the second edition (1676, Tweede Deel, pp. 251-260, 263, 268-278), which, except that misprints have been corrected and several other slight errors rectified, is substantially the same as that of the first edition (1668, pp. 626-636, 643-653). The translation is the first complete one ever made into English. John Ogilby's *Africa* (London, 1670) was based largely upon Dapper's work, and its information relating to the Hottentots (pp. 576-583, 589-595) was all taken from the latter; but a good deal had been omitted, and much of what remains had been paraphrased. I have made no attempt to reproduce Dapper's rather laborious style or employ any corresponding archaisms. Mr I. W. van der Merwe, M.A., Lecturer in Nederlands and Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town, was kind enough to read through my translation and help me over some puzzling passages, but for the final version here printed I must assume all responsibility. I have occasionally taken the liberty of modernizing Dapper's punctuation, which in the original is apt to be confusing; and have used most (but not all) of his marginal notes as paragraph headings.

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

FOREWORD.

● 1/4 Ten Rhyne's account of the Hottentots, unlike that of Dapper[1] is the product of personal acquaintance with the people. Although typical in some respects of the many descriptions compiled by transitory visitors to the Cape, it is well above the average in regard to the value and amount of information it contains. He nowhere states explicitly how long he was at the Cape, but it appears from the official records that the ship on which he must have arrived, the *Ternaten*, reached Table Bay on October 15, 1673, from Amsterdam, and departed for the East on November 10, after a stay of nearly four weeks. During this time he seems to have inquired fairly industriously into the natural resources of the country and the manners of its native inhabitants; and although his primary interest was obviously botanical, he also managed to learn a good deal about the Hottentots. It is evident from what he himself says that his information regarding the latter was obtained from all the available sources, his own observations, discussions with local European residents, and conversations with such Hottentots as could understand Dutch, of whom he names especially the famous Eva.

When stripped of its verbiage and classical allusions, his account of the Hottentots can by no means be regarded as detailed. Nevertheless his remarks on their mode of life, warfare, cattle trade and medical practices are particularly valuable additions to the scanty information previously published on these topics, and he also has some useful observations on their physical peculiarities and bodily mutilations. His list of tribes, too, is of considerable importance. It shows how within twenty years from the foundation of the settlement the groups in its immediate vicinity had degenerated into mere hangers-on and followers of the Dutch, how tribal distinctions were being lost and individual leaders coming into prominence, and how only the more remote tribes still retained their original character. It is significant too that he gives pride of place to the Hesequa, then valued as the principal market from which cattle could still be bartered in large quantities. On the other hand he says little that is new about Hottentot clothing, dwellings, food and social customs generally; his comments on their religion and system of government are distinctly weak; and occasionally he indulges in some rather fantastic statements suggesting a lack of critical ability or at least a naive credulity.

[R81]

[1] [see 8: DApper, this File. - Analyst]

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114 Of the man himself but little appears to be known.* He was born in Deventer about 1640, and studied at Leyden under the celebrated Dubois de la Boë. After practising in Holland for a while, he was appointed physician to the Dutch East India Company's settlement in Java; and it was on his way there in 1673 that he passed through the Cape. In Java he worked hard at his professional duties, also making a voyage to Japan, where he successfully treated the emperor for a grave illness. But he devoted himself especially to studies in natural history, above all botany, collecting numerous specimens of the exotic Eastern plants which he sent back to Holland. Of his later career hardly anything can be ascertained, not even the date of his death, but it appears from the title page of his book on the Hottentots that he was a member of the East India Company's Council of Justice. The British Museum Catalogue lists six works from his pen, all, save that on the Hottentots, dealing with medical and botanical subjects. A description of the plant collections he made at Saldanha Bay and the Cape in 1673, together with some other botanical observations of his, can be found in *Plantarum Exoticarum Centuria Prima*, published by the botanist Breyn in Danzig, 1678.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The Latin text of the present edition is reprinted exactly from a copy of the small octavo volume printed at Schaffhausen in 1686 and now in possession of the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

This 1686 edition was made from a MS roll and was provided with corrections and annotations by the editor. It is not easy to say what the annotations provided by the editor were, as most of the footnotes seem to belong to Ten Rhyne himself; and the text is still in need of correction. In my translation I have silently ignored errors of punctuation. Slight verbal errors have been corrected in footnotes. In the few places where I suspect a deeper corruption I have not suggested any emendation. The grammar may be bad, but the sense is clear enough, and a critical discussion of the text seems uncalled for.

The translation is not the first that has been made in English. Within twenty years of the publication of the original an anonymous version was printed in England (*A Collection of Voyages and Travels, etc.*, printed by H.C. for Awnsham and John Churchill at the Black Swan in

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*The few details here given are drawn from the biographical sketch in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

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Pater-noster-Row, London, 1704; vol. iv, pp. 829-45). This version contains a few happy phrases, some of which I have been glad to borrow. It is, for instance, to the anonymous translator that we owe the description of Aeva as "a civil, modest body, of rational discourse." But his is on the whole a poor version, full of mistakes and omissions, quite unfit to be reprinted.

As is characteristic of the time, the Latin of Ten Rhyne is somewhat laboured and affected, often conveying simple information in a pedantic and allusive fashion. But the style is, nevertheless, graceful and sensitive, and the translator feels challenged to render not merely the matter but the manner of the original. However little Ten Rhyne succeeded in learning about the Cape in his brief stay, he was alert and interested and his narrative has freshness and charm.

On the scientific value of the information he has to give it is not for me to pronounce. But I have been at pains to set forth in the footnotes his naive dependence on his classical models for many eloquent sentences supposed to be descriptive of the Hottentots. The curious may find some instruction and amusement here. It is always worth while to impair the authority of print.

A point of general scientific interest in the present work is the attack on Descartes. It is worth noting in this connection that Ten Rhyne had imbibed his hostility to the *à priori* method of interpreting natural philosophy from an early work of Greek science that has attracted much attention in modern times. In 1669 and again in 1672 Ten Rhyne published discussions on the Hippocratic tract On Ancient Medicine.

B.F.

FOREWORD.

● 114 The manuscript account of the Cape and its native peoples, the original text of which is here for the first time printed, was purchased at the sale of the Sunderland library in 1882 by the late Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, who subsequently presented it to the South African Public Library, Cape Town, where it now is. A small quarto volume of 120 pages, neatly bound in vellum, it is evidently the copy of a letter written to an (unnamed) clergyman in Holland, and is dated 1695. How it got into the Sunderland library is not known.

Its author, Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (as he usually signs himself), was born in Holland about 1644. Of his early life the only facts he reveals are that he visited Italy in 1673, and had also been to Madrid. There is, however, good reason to believe that he was employed at home for some time as a clerical assistant in the Rotterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company. In June 1684 he sailed to the Cape in the Company's service, and in October, soon after his arrival, he was promoted to be Secretary of the local Council of Policy. He seems to have accompanied the Commissioner Ryklof van Goens to India almost immediately afterwards, and did not take up his regular duties until after his return (1686). A large number of the official records for the next few years have preserved for us his beautifully clear handwriting and decorative signature. He served as Secretary until June, 1694, when he resigned voluntarily, and went to live at Stellenbosch as a free burgher. Adam Tas, in his famous Diary (1705-6), on several occasions mentions Grevenbroek, then an elder of the Church, but does not tell us much about him. It is evident, though, from stray remarks in this book, that Grevenbroek was on the whole sympathetic with the movement of the discontented farmers against Governor Adriaan van der Stel, although his name is not attached to their memorandum of complaints addressed to the Chamber of Seventeen.

His will, signed at Welmoed, Eerste River, on February 3, 1714, when in his seventieth year, shows him to have been a careful man of business and a grateful friend. Apparently he never married, for there is no reference in it to wife or family. The bulk of his estate, after various legacies to friends and acquaintances in both Holland and the Cape, is left to a certain Isak Schepers. The date of

his death is not known, but it must have occured some time before 1726, when his will was filed with the Cape Orphan Chamber (*Cape Archives O.C. 4 No. 14*). In it he directed that his body should be buried not in church or churchyard, but in the courtyard of the house where he died; and he chose as his own epitaph the words: "Hic exspectat resurrectionem J. G. de Grevenbroek C. F."

That Grevenbroek had been engaged in compiling an account of the Cape and the Hottentots seems to have been fairly well known during his lifetime. The earliest reference to his work appears in Peter Kolb's *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (Nürnberg, 1719), the most detailed and serviceable treatise we have on the early Cape Hottentots. In discussing the Hottentot customs relating to the Mantis, Kolb says: "For long I did not know what to call this insect, as I had never seen it, nor could I believe that they worshipped such an insignificant creature, although I had occasionally heard this stated. At last Mr. Johann Wilhelm de Grevenbroek, a man of remarkable industry, understanding and knowledge, who after serving several renowned ambassadors had finally come here as Political Secretary to the Illustrious Company, taught me from the notes, which he had likewise made concerning the Hottentots during his residence here, that this insect was really a sort of beetle" (p. 416). There is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work.

Valentyn's *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoope* (Amsterdam, 1726) tells us more about these "notes" of Grevenbroek's. Writing of the Hottentots, Valentyn says: "I have seen a Latin treatise by Mr. Secretary Grevenbroek, who had taken the trouble to write an elaborate and able account not only of their manners and customs, but also of their language; this treatise he allowed me to read in Stellenbosch in 1705" (p. 106). He adds that from it he learned about the dialectical differences of the local native languages as illustrated by the forms of the numerals; and also extracted a small Latin-Hottentot-Dutch vocabulary, which he then prints (pp. 106-8).

There is no further mention of Grevenbroek's work until 1763, when in his posthumous *Journal historique du Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* the Abbé de la Caille, who was at the Cape from 1751 to 1753, violently attacked Kolb as unreliable and inaccurate, and went on to assert that everything Kolb had written about the Hottentots was derived from Grevenbroek. "M. Grevenbroek, . . . an extraordinary man," says de la Caille, "had made some researches into the manners and customs of the Hottentots. After his death his papers were sent to Kolb, who pieced them together without any skill or judgement. This I was

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told by the most intelligent local residents, especially the Governor, M. Grand-Pré and M. Dessin" (pp. 156-57). And again: "All that Kolb says in the rest of his book [i.e. concerning the Hottentots] is taken from the memoirs of a certain Grevenbroek, Secretary of the Council at the Cape, who had put into writing what the Hottentots whom he had seen had replied to his questions" (p. 322).

The story of this alleged plagiarism is told at greater length by de la Caille's editor. Kolb, it is well known, had been sent to the Cape in 1705 to make astronomical observations, but by his incompetence soon lost the favour of his patrons. He lived for a while without any employment, and was then installed as Secretary to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch; but after a couple of years he was superseded, and returned to Germany in 1713. "Kolb's mission being almost over," says de la Caille's editor, "he discovered that during his stay at the Cape he had done nothing but drink and smoke. Not knowing what to report in Europe or to show as the fruits of his expedition, he applied to some residents of the Cape, who took advantage of the occasion to serve their own ends as well as his. These men had tried several times, always without success, to convey to Holland their complaints against the maladministration of the Colony. The memoirs on this subject which they had sent to the Estates-General in Holland had all been intercepted, and the Colony continued to groan beneath its oppression. They now conceived the idea of dictating to Kolb a description of the Cape; and in order to make it seem more interesting they collected all the current popular beliefs and palmed them off on to Kolb, who did not know the country, together with numerous marvellous details derived from their imagination. These oracles of Kolb's also lifted much of the matter in Grevenbroek's compilation, to which reference has already been made; nor did they ignore themselves in the course of the work, into which they inserted their observations on the government of the Cape, exposing all its iniquities and suggesting the means of remedy. These revelations, coming from a stranger, could be published without compromising anyone. Kolb, delighted at the service thus rendered to him, left the Cape with his work. He caused it to be printed in Holland, *as a translation from the German*. The book was read with astonishing avidity, and the edition soon sold out. The Dutch Government, roused by what was said in it concerning the state of affairs at the Cape, made inquiries which confirmed Kolb's report. The principal officers of the settlement were recalled, and proceedings taken against them on their return," etc. (pp. 317-19).

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114 A somewhat similar story is told in greater detail by Mentzel in his *Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung* (Glogau, 1785-7). After discussing Kolb's career at the Cape, he goes on to say: "We can note that Kolbe had very little time during his short period of office as Interim Secretary [at Stellenbosch] to travel over the country and to make topographical observations. He had certainly gathered much information and heard many stories from local inhabitants during his eight years' residence at the Cape, but without investigating whether these were authentic or legendary. Unexpectedly, Kolbe came into possession of a store of remarkable information that proved both interesting and useful. Herr Grevenbroek, a former Secretary to the Council of Justice, had made various notes about the Hottentots and other Cape peculiarities. Had he lived longer he would have undoubtedly studied more closely the subject-matter of his notes and arranged everything in proper order. On his death his notes were handed over to Kolbe, who thus acquired a rich collection of material, but bundled together higgledy-piggledy" (Mandelbrote's translation, V.R. Soc., 4, p. 19).

I have thought it necessary to give these statements in full, as they have an important bearing upon the history of Grevenbroek's MSS. Let us first examine the charges against Kolb. The story consists of two parts: (a) that he was the medium through which the discontented farmers of the Cape brought their grievances against the Governor to the notice of the Dutch Government; (b) that Grevenbroek's MSS found their way into the hands of Kolb and were used by him as the basis of his description of the Hottentots. The first may at once be dismissed. The only possible event to which it could refer is the movement of the colonists against Adriaan van der Stel. The latter in consequence of a memorandum conveyed to Holland in 1706 by four of the disaffected burghers was recalled the following year. The whole affair was over within two years of Kolb's arrival at the Cape; and he stayed there for another six years. That his book, which in its Dutch translation (it was originally written in German) was not published until 1727, could have been instrumental in bringing about the recall of van der Stel twenty years previously is utterly ridiculous.

This does not of course do away with the charge that Kolb based his account of the Hottentots on Grevenbroek's manuscript. As we have seen, he himself admits having read it; and there is other evidence to suggest that he used it. His vocabulary of Hottentot words is almost identical with that quoted by Valentyn from Grevenbroek,

and in all probability therefore was also derived from the same source; especially as Kolb says that he made some attempts to learn the Hottentot language and could never succeed. Moreover some of the statements he makes about Hottentot custom and belief are also found in Grevenbroek's account printed below, and nowhere else in contemporary descriptions of the Hottentots. The coincidences are occasionally too striking to be entirely due to independent observation.

The difficulty about accepting in its entirety the story told by de la Caille and Mentzel is that Grevenbroek was still alive when Kolb left the Cape. The latter can therefore hardly be held to have taken away with him the notes found in the dead Grevenbroek's effects. There is on the other hand no reason why Kolb could not during Grevenbroek's lifetime have borrowed substantially from the latter's notes on the Hottentots, or even have received them all from him. We know from Valentyn that Grevenbroek allowed others to draw upon his manuscript, and we also know that both Grevenbroek and Kolb were living at Stellenbosch from 1710 to 1712. Certainly some suggestion of this sort is necessary to account for the total disappearance of Grevenbroek's later manuscript. It is evident from what both Kolb and Valentyn say that between 1705 and 1713 Grevenbroek was in possession of a detailed study of the Hottentots compiled by himself. The account here published is dated 1695, and appears to have been sent as a letter to a Dutch clergyman, who must have had it copied, for the manuscript is not in Grevenbroek's writing. That it cannot be the manuscript to which Kolb and Valentyn refer is evident not only from the date it bears, but also from the fact that it does not contain the long vocabulary on which Valentyn drew.

Now Grevenbroek himself hints at the end of this letter to a future study of the same sort in more detail. "I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence, fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus." Is it going too far to suggest that Grevenbroek may many years later have seen in Kolb the new Lysippus, and willingly handed over to him the additional notes he had meanwhile compiled? It may reasonably be objected that if Kolb had thus acquired Grevenbroek's material he would have made full acknowledgment to the latter. It is on the other hand equally conceivable, though far less creditable to Kolb, that he may have deliberately suppressed this indebtedness in order to enhance his own reputation. That he was not too

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114 scrupulous about carrying out his obligations is evident enough from his career at the Cape.

All this, however, is pure speculation. The established facts are that in 1705 and later Grevenbroek had in his possession an account of the Hottentots written by himself; that this was never published under his name, and the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and that there is every reason to believe that Kolb actually made much fuller use of it than is suggested by the quotation given above in which he refers to Grevenbroek.

The manuscript here printed must be looked upon therefore as a preliminary draft of the presumably more detailed and now lost account. It is a very badly arranged piece of work, passing confusedly from one topic to another, with frequent irrelevancies and repetitions. Despite its title it is by no means devoted exclusively to the Hottentots. Towards the end there is a eulogistic account of the Cape's natural beauty and fruitfulness which would do credit to any modern publicity agent; the adventures of the ill-fated Guillaume Chenut and the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686) take up far too much space; and running right through the whole is a violent denunciation of the European colonists coming very oddly from one who ten years later was held to be among the champions of their cause. The ethnographical information that makes up the rest is by no means all based on original research. A good deal of it, referring to the Ama-Xhosa, is taken directly from the accounts of the "Stavenisse" survivors, which were copied into the official records of the Cape by Grevenbroek himself in his capacity as Secretary of the Council. He almost certainly made notes for his own use of their valuable and accurate information about the manners and customs of the natives, for there is a very close correspondence between his statements and the official records, although the literary embellishments in which he indulged compare most unfavourably with the simple narratives of the sailors. His account of the adventures undergone by the latter is much less accurate, and suggests that here he was writing from memory alone. In describing native customs, he does not always distinguish clearly between the AmaXhosa and the Hottentots, whom he obviously regarded as people of the same stock; but a comparison of his statements with the relevant "Stavenisse" records makes it possible to disentangle his own contributions from those of the shipwrecked crew. The information relating to the Cape Hottentots alone does not make up more than about a third of the whole. But it is well worth having, particularly for the descriptions of various social customs, mode of life and warfare, ceremonial

practices and treatment of disease. The details Grevenbroek gives in this connexion are often new and sometimes valuable, and show that he had managed to learn much about the Hottentots. Nevertheless, the reputation he has acquired as an outstanding ethnographical authority can only be based on the supposition that his later account formed the basis of Kolb's book. The present account, important as it is in some respects, is inferior both in quality and content not only to that of Kolb but also to that of Schreyer, and in arrangement to those of Dapper and Ten Rhyne. 114

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

● 114 The Latin text of Grevenbroek's letter on the Hottentots is now transcribed and printed for the first time. It is a well-written MS in a large hand and rarely offers any difficulty to the reader. I have slightly modernized the punctuation. I have curbed the lavish and erratic use of capitals. I have silently corrected many small slips. In other cases I have preferred to reveal my corrections, using round brackets to enclose letters added by me, and square brackets to indicate letters I would have removed. Very rarely I have had recourse to a footnote in elucidation of the text. But the text still retains many faults and obscurities most of which are probably to be ascribed to Grevenbroek himself and not to the unknown person who made the copy of it we possess.

For the Latin of Grevenbroek is not a satisfactory medium. It is dictionary Latin, laboriously compiled by a man of poor taste and inaccurate though very likely wide scholarship. It is full of tags from Virgil, Horace, Lucretius and others. The alleged elegance of the Latinity consists largely of curiosities of diction culled from Plautus, Cato, the Natural History of Pliny, Varro on the Latin Language and any other available store-house of archaic and unfamiliar words. A peculiarly distressing feature of the style is the accumulation of masses of synonyms which add nothing to the narrative but confusion. Furthermore the sentences are often shapeless and endless, lumbering along from clause to clause till they seem to drop from exhaustion rather than to reach any intended goal.

In my translation I have permitted myself a few archaisms in order to keep some of the flavour of the original. I have kept very close to the sense of the Latin, as it was essential to lose nothing of the information that may be extracted from his pages. But I have also laboured to make my version readable, and if I have succeeded in this Grevenbroek owes me a debt that nobody will ever owe to Grevenbroek.

At the same time I should like to say that to translate Grevenbroek has been a labour of love. In spite of his infelicitous, pedantic, helpless style, the man reveals so much both of his own curious personality and of the Cape society of his day, that a readable Grevenbroek, if I could make it, seemed to me a possession that many beside the anthropologist would be glad to have. For Grevenbroek is

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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114 a character. If he repels by his perpetual insistence on his own unmerited and unspecified grievances, he attracts by his honest indignation at the abuses of the time and by his charming, if absurdly expressed, enthusiasm for the Cape and its native inhabitants. He really had something to say that lay very close to his heart; and for that reason it has been a delight to disencumber his thought from the clumsy toils of his laborious Latin eloquence.

One other translation of Grevenbroek exists, that made in Dutch by Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt and printed in the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Tydschrift* for January and February 1886. This was reprinted in 1932 in vol. xxxvi of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*, uitgegeven door Dr. E. C. Godée-Molsbergen. Vierde Deel). Dr. van Oordt omitted some few portions of the original, notably a page or two dealing with initiation ceremonies. This edition then comprises not only the first English translation, but the first complete translation in any language, as well as the first transcription and publication of the Latin text.

My version was made in complete independence of the Dutch. On comparing them subsequently I was glad to find how closely Dr. van Oordt and I agreed in our general interpretation of the sense of this difficult author. Two sentences of mine embody corrections which the reading of his version led me to adopt. I have also acknowledged suggestions of Dr. van Oordt's once or twice in footnotes.

B. F.

[p. 171 is blank]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

EDITOR'S NOTE

This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language ; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people ; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. *or* B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. *or* Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

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STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LIT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[10] 114 The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[161] The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

121 Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

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nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheoa in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."*

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[1] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[2] and by Molema[3] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,[4] in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[5] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

*B. C. p. 290.
[1] Lindley-*Adamantia*, p. 10-11.
[2] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[3] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[4] B. C. p. 136.
[5] G. M. II. p. 78-138.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

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If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the " law."

Notes:

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The *doro* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

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It is the first time that the full *doro* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the " laws " and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says : " They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuana and the Morolong nations ; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dorro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wuras differs :

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the " *dunb*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts : (i) " the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text ; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate ; (3) the " laws " given to him.

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Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ko:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sāb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */kaep ;* (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !kūb ;* (v) */gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the */konabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ko:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ko:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !koab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx²ai !nae ha. ikje !koab hwa kx²omina !go kx²ai. //na: //kae, kx²omina /harukwa xu die ha. ikje /harukwa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedi !garib !na /hākwa di /hou /hou.

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Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhwedi na !o:kwa !khares thi heib thikha khau /kwa. //kwa ka ka kje na !kû, ina !uri //kae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai //nâukwa na /oro //na:e. !kharedi kx²aysakwa xa takakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje diba. //guru /uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:kwa kukje di kwa.

Translation :

The women dig for " uintjes " with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

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Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !karib* (honey beer)

danisa u: ≠ke:i.

||nāib ina !hũe, ina |kũ |kũe, ina ||karae, ina thamsa !kaib ab u:e. ina danis |kwa ≠gobe.

ina |kamsa ||gamm ha ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx²aie. ina |kũ |kũe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *||nāib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels*." II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " dregs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *haap* or " haarwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *||nāib* was described by *Tabab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *||hu:s*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

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524 Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, " To make a hole " and *//hu:s* is thus properly " a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, " hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims : " *ham !kumiŋ !na ha?* " " In which hand is it ? " If the opponent guesses correctly, he says : *!kaugu*. " You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous " Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

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VI. LANGUAGE.

197 This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aremŋ //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works :

197 113 (i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

194 *Note :* The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels*. Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *ẽ* and

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GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources :

(i) the deposition of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom Meeting in 1869. (B. C. 290-291) ;

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Rooy, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B. C. pp. 291-292) ;

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hanto ;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana ;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 10-13, which is signed by Massow Rijt Taaibosch himself ;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110 ;

(vii) and *passim*, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Massow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Rooy's deposition. The names of the descendants of Massow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (ii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Massow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Stow, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family, (*The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Massow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling ;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *ktangy* may = *kuenonkei* (*p*)

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kt represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *kuen* = *kn*, *ue* being a glide sound; the combination *kn* does not exist in French. The *g*=*k*, the second one of the French transcription, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal.

(b) *knaughoe* may = *konga* (*p*); and (c) *gauw* = *kau* (*p*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikomo* and *Kuebib* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Indentity of Hanto = Jan Taaibosch = Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries actually saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: " This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a young son.

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

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Kopi and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Witgatboom meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1878) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book*. C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 293).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Massow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

Sources : Informants at Bloemhof ; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Teteb*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

geiŋ !hareip, " great " or " old Hareip " is the " alte Hareip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chudeep*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r* ; and the *u* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

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syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiŋ !hareip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Saron Mission. This is not in disagreement with the Berichte.

Ouhanas, " old Hanna " is the pious " alte Hanna, die Frau des alten Hareip " (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Saron Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Saron (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1869, as he appeared at the Witgatboom meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Witgatboom after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3635, 83, p. 5). His grave is at Saron (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Brune (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (Imperial Bluebook. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Teteb* of Bloemhof). He must=

Katsilib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Teteb* is now looked upon as the *goaxaob*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Omissions :

Ursõb, the *Urson* of the Berichte and the *Oelson* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matlabane's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiŋ !hareip*. *Matlabane* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

Finally, these members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions Berichte, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiŋ !hariep* ; (ii)

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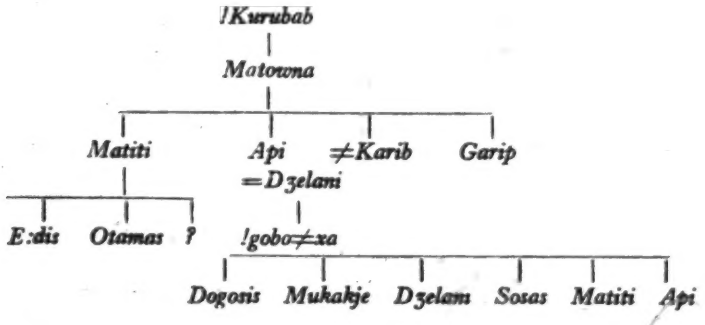
old *Rooy*, the eldest son of *geiŋ !hariep*, a drunkard and ne'er-do-well. Was he the same as *Ursŏb?* (iii) the unnamed daughter of *geiŋ !hariep* and *Ouhanas*, who, according to the Berichte, was not the mother of *geiŋ !hariep's* sons.

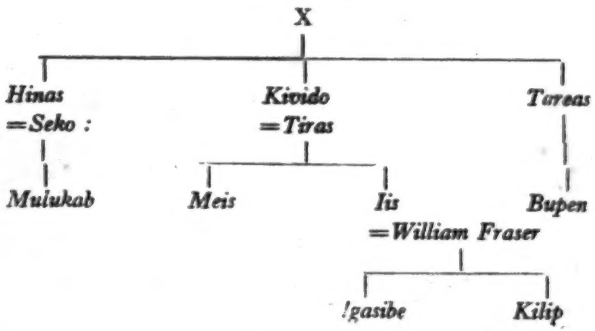
GENEALOGY OF TABAB

Habasisap's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Molitsane as being under him, to the two Free State emissaries Schneehage and Meyer when they visited him in 1859 (*Bas. Rec.* ii. p. 509). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabab's* birthplace was Senekal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF *MATITI* AND *!GOBO≠XA*



GENEALOGY OF *MEIS* AND *IIS*



12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KORANA.*

By J. F. MAINGARD, B.SC.

A. INTRODUCTORY

114 During the month of February 1932, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity of making anthropological measurements on several members of the Links tribe of Korana Hottentots at Bloemhof.

These measurements are the more interesting because the actual physical characters of the Korana and their relationship to other South African peoples have been matters of considerable speculation within recent years. No writer on the Korana has denied that culturally and linguistically the Korana are Hottentots, and the general consensus of opinion seems to be that anthropologically also they are similar to other Hottentots. Yet there are some writers who maintain that there are certain other elements entering into the composition of the Korana. Thus according to Broom (1 and 2) the Korana " appear to be Hottentots who have acquired some strain of Negroid blood and a considerable strain from some Australoid (sic) race." In *Nature* of 1929, Broom (3) attempts to differentiate the Hottentots from the Korana. He writes : " The Hottentot and Korana are very distinct from the Bush. . . typical Hottentots are not improbably the primitive race contaminated by a considerable Bushman admixture while the Korana are apparently nearer to the primitive type, but with a considerable Australoid element." Two years afterwards we find a seeming contradiction of Broom's theory of Australoid admixture in the Korana in the following statement by Dreyer (4) : " Disregarding those Australoids found up to the present in South Africa the Australoid character of which is sought in one or two features only, one need only consider one skull seriously, viz. that described by Drennan " (5), (i.e. the Cape Flats skull). From this statement of Dreyer's it appears that the distinction drawn by Broom between Korana and Hottentots is not generally accepted. In *Nature*

*I wish to record my indebtedness for assistance more particularly to Professor R. A. Dart, who helped me with books and instruments and whose kindly criticisms proved invaluable, to Mr. L. H. Wells for much helpful information, to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé for allowing me access to her library, to Miss Wilman, the Director of the Kimberley Museum, and to my father, Professor L. F. Maingard.

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● 114 of 1929 also, speaking of the Springbok Flats man, then newly discovered, Broom (6) regards the Korana as the direct descendants and modern representatives of the Springbok Flats type ; yet Keith (7) in 1931 says of this same Springbok Flats type " He was a tall strong fellow with a big brain, and a long and wide head, a drawn out face, great mandible and small teeth—*a type which we cannot fit into any African type known to us*."

From my experience the Korana can hardly be said to conform to Keith's description of the Springbok Flats individual, but it is possible that some of them may show such features. In any case Keith's description of that skull is not in accordance with what Broom describes for his typical " Australoid " Korana !

Allen (8) tentatively advances the suggestion that the intrusion of the Australoid element into the Korana is due to admixture with Bushmen and that such a strain " may be found mixed with all the Yellow-skinned (i.e. Bush-Hottentot) peoples of South Africa."

Schapera (9) says that " the Korana skulls appear to be somewhat separated from those of other Hottentot tribes, and resemble more closely those of the Bantu-speaking Negroes of South-Central Africa (i.e. the Bechuana) with whom they have been in contact for a long time, but they also approximate on the whole, *more* towards the Bushman type of skull." This is a quotation from Shrubsall which is somewhat ambiguous. Schapera quotes Broom as one of his sources, but makes no mention of Australoid characters in the Korana. No measurements are given.

Further he says " Most (Hottentot) skulls are cryptozygous but among the Korana, mesozygous and phaenozygous are also found," and again " the cephalic index, owing to the greater length and lesser breadth of the Hottentot skulls is definitely dolichocephalic, especially in the Korana skulls." This seems to show that he agrees with Shrubsall in regarding Hottentots and more especially Korana as characterised by a mixture of Bantu and Bush features. He also adds that the Korana mandible as contrasted with that of the other Hottentots, resembles the mandible of the South-Eastern Bantu. Nevertheless he seems to think that still another element contributed to the physical structure of the Hottentot but refrains from committing himself as to its nature.

Sollas (10) apparently considers the Korana as negroids although he is not very explicit. Drennan (11) in his discussion of Bush and Hottentot does not mention them at all. Dart (12) in a general survey of South African Anthropology says " Investigations . . . . have not in my opinion

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revealed any satisfactory means of separating the Bushmen from the Hottentots physically." He therefore believes it more serviceable for the present "to regard the Bushmen, Hottentot and Strandlooper as members of one and the same racial group, i.e. the Bush race." Without making specific mention of the Korana, he states that the work of Broom and Allen has revealed the presence and wide distribution of an Australoid element in the Native races of South Africa. This appears to be the most logical way of regarding the matter. Hence it would not seem that Australoid features are *peculiar* to the Korana.

On examining the literature to find what ground exists for these statements about the Korana, no data derived from known living or dead Korana could be found.

As making statements about the Korana, before any anthropometric survey of certifiable specimens was available, seemed to me to be somewhat precarious, I availed myself of the opportunity to examine some living Korana of known parentage to see whether they agreed in physical characters with the published statements.

The foregoing review clearly shows the rather unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Korana. It is therefore important to gather all relevant information which may lead to a real understanding of the physical nature of these people.

Elsewhere in this volume, cultural, linguistic and musical data concerning them have been discussed, and judged according to these standards, there is no doubt that *the Korana are Hottentots*. In the next portion of our study we shall turn our attention to the earliest descriptions of the Korana, to see if new light may be derived from them. The historical method of approach, although seldom used by anthropologists, happens to be of undoubted value in this instance.

It is however essential while discussing the historical evidence to bear in mind the defects inherent in the mode and time of its collection.

In the first place those old observers were not trained anthropologists,—anthropology had not yet been established as a science—nor with very few exceptions, such as Lichtenstein or Holub, were they even medical men. Hence we cannot expect to find any precise anatomical descriptions, but only those of a general and superficial character,—those relating to the colouring or the more striking external features—information in which one may trust the faithful observer, although here and there individual differences in terminology may exist. But when there is a series of corroborative observations, drawn from different authors regard-

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THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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Professor of Music, University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg.

114 Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

126 534 Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified ; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the " Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

534 A drum, named */khois*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called *//hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *ǂa:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina ǂna:r ǂnammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*/hare khuedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kca:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:ɔ*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved. The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *beijebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

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533 that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *kha:ɪ* 533 accompaniment were recorded at Pneil by Meinhof in February 1928, and 114 transcribed by Heinitz in his *Struktur-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *kha:ɪ*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed sounds associated with their corresponding syllables.

Further, Heinitz' description of the *kha:ɪ* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects; for he suggests that the string is "stopped" by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a 533 plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gotis showed me a method of playing this instrument *pizzicato*. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the "nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style "playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *kha:ɪ*.

533 In my paper of July 1931, entitled "The Mystery of the Grand 114 Gom-gom," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

534 (c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *goras*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *goras*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *!gabus*. By applying 533 the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain

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harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele:ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

once correctly established, the natural offshoot will be a true scientific etymology. This science is *the* telescope with which, where all other records fail, we can draw prehistoric times into our immediate view, and which allows us a look far back into "the very dawn of man's life."

It is an urgent want for us here in South Africa that a Standard Orthography for the Native Languages should be introduced in all official, educational, and public departments. The task is not as difficult as it may appear at first sight, and where there is a will, there is a way.

In the present Standard Orthography we write the clicks as follows:—

The Lateral ǁ,	[1] ǁa,	[2] ǁna,	[3] ǁkha,	[4] ǁga,
The Cerebral ǃ,	[5] ǃā,	[6] ǃnā,	[7] ǃkhā,	[8] ǃgā,
The Palatal ǂ,	[9] ǂā,	[10] ǂnā,	[11] ǂkhā,	[12] ǂga.
The Dental ǀ,	[13] ǀā,	[14] ǀnā,	[15] ǀkhā,	[16] ǀgā.

The importance of the clicks will be best illustrated by giving the meanings of these words here at once, thus, [1] to wash, [2] to drop, [3] to be able, [4] to split, [5] to fall, [6] to light, [7] to bore, to perforate, [8] to serve, [9] to wash, [10] to pour, [11] to refuse, [12] to plant, [13] to be sharp, [14] to filter, [15] with, [16] isolated, separated, thin, &c., dotted.

Those who wish to inform themselves about the nature of these clicks and their bearing on the phonology of the Hottentot language, I refer to Henry Tindall's excellent "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language," and to my "Sprache der Nama."

In Tindall's book, however, and in my own no mention is made of a harsh faucal sound peculiar to the old Cape Hottentot dialects—of which Witsen and Leibniz have supplied some materials—to the ǃKora-Hottentot and to the Bushman languages of the ǃKham, ǃAi‡, ǃNuni, ǃKoang, Hei‡guis, Matsanakhoi and ǃGabe. I write this consonant, which most resembles a forcibly produced *short croaking sound*—just as if a person is endeavouring to get rid of a bone in the throat—with the Hebrew

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

114 ʒ (ajin). *The very fact that this sound is produced by expiration and not by inspiration places it among the consonants proper, and not among the clicks.**

Most of the materials contained in this treatise have steadily accumulated during the last nine years. Aware of the responsibility resting upon me, I have been careful to adduce such facts only as I can with full confidence declare to be genuine productions of the Khoikhoi mind.

The following pages were written down in their present shape in the months of August and September last year, as is known to Professors Max Müller, of Oxford, and Friedrich Müller, of Vienna, and other friends to whom I either wrote or spoke on the subject at the time.†

CCC I mention this the more as to-day a copy of the *Ausland*. February 16, 1880, comes to my hands, in which an article, Die Religion der sogenannten Wilden, reviewing Gustav Roskoff's book, "Das Religionswesen der rohesten Naturvölker," Leipzig, 1880, contains views and opinions coinciding so strikingly with those expressed by me, that the reader could easily be led to believe that either I must have perused Professor Roskoff's work, or that he had corresponded with me. This, however, is not the case, and therefore this peculiar coincidence may serve as a striking evidence of what I say, towards the conclusion of the third chapter, about the *psychical identity of the human mind*. At the same time it is a great satisfaction and encouragement to find that one does not stand alone with his views, and that there are comrades and fellow-labourers in the battle-field, where one least expected them.

I desire to inscribe these leaves to the memory of the late Herr Geheimrath Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, and to Professor August Friedrich Pott, of Halle. These scholars will always be mentioned first in the history of

* Vide Theoph. Hahn, "Sprache der Nama," § 2, &c.

† The full manuscript was read over to my friends Profs. Walker and Marais of Stellenbosch.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

still at the time when Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape, and when Governor Jan van Riebeeke hoisted the banner of the Netherlands at the foot of Table Mountain, below the old Khoikhoi kraal '||Hu-ǃgais. And such we find it still to be amongst the tribes of Great Namaqualand, and the remnants of the ǃKora and the so-called Cape Hottentots.

The orthography of the few specimens of the old Khoikhoi language of the Cape Colony, given by Witsen, Kolb, Valentyn, Ludolf, Leibniz, Thunberg, Spaarman, Le Vaillant, Barrow, Liechtenstein, Burchell, &c., is very much distorted, when compared with that of the excellent publications of Schmelen, Knudsen, Vollmer, and Tindall. Nevertheless, the language of the Khoikhoi tribes, such as the Kochoquas, Charigurunas, Hessaquas, Outeniquas, Attaquas, now swept from the face of the earth, and the present living idioms of the Namaquas, ǃGonaquas, ǀKhauas, ǃAmas, and ǃKoras, and few remnants of the Chrichriquas, the present Griquas, show the same structure, the same sex-denoting tendency, the same agglutinative peculiarity, the same decimal system of counting, and an equal abundance of abstract ideas and expressions well fitted to interpret the most sublime and sacred feelings of the human heart.

An unmerciful fate has overtaken the Khoikhoi; the most powerful tribes have been annihilated, and with them their traditions, sacred as well as profane. Those still extant have lost so much of their national peculiarities by contact with civilization, and have adopted such a number of Indo-European beliefs and customs; and the Christian ideas introduced by missionaries have amalgamated to such a degree with the national religious ideas and mythologies, that for this reason I have in the following pages preferred to give less than I could give, lest I should be accused that from a certain natural interest in, and sympathy with, the Khoikhoi, I had been carried away to assign to them a higher station in the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

of civilization in our colonies will be removed. Only a sound study and an unprejudiced knowledge of the native mind will qualify us to produce a sound and safe native policy.

We will learn to appreciate in the native what is good, and be anxious to bring the good qualities to a harmonious development. For his faults and vices our education and training will supply the necessary remedy. This would be the practical value of the study of Ethnology, under which heading I comprise the theoretical study of the South African languages, for the purpose of learning the prehistoric condition of the Aborigines, and their present natural condition, customs, manners, and religion.

When Bopp, Pott, and Grimm laid the foundation-stone of that glorious work, the Comparative Grammar and Comparative Mythology of the Aryan races, we should not forget that more than twenty centuries had contributed towards the bricks and mortar and tools with which that magnificent temple was erected. And here, in South Africa, what have we to boast of? Since Sir George Grey left our shores, and Dr. Bleek is not more amongst us, it almost seems that the work, so energetically commenced, is going to collapse. We cannot yet think of constructing such an edifice, which could stand a comparison with that grand temple erected by Bopp, before all the materials are prepared and their collection is secured. Our task, and that of the next generation, is to collect every possible and reliable material; and what already is collected should be thrown on the market, to be moulded and shaped into bricks. The linguistic and ethnological world, both of Europe and America, daily ask, *Quid novi ex Africa?* The foundation-stone is well laid, but where are the languages, the myths, and legends of those nations, of whom we had some dim idea, and whose existence has been confirmed by the discoveries of Cameron and Stanley? And in the most southern part

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

114 of our continent—that is, British South Africa, a vast territory bordering in the north on the banks of the Kunene and Zambesi rivers—there lives a most unique race, represented in two peculiar branches of the Hottentot race, by the Khoikhoi and Bushman family. What may I ask, has been done to secure the necessary materials for a comparative study of their languages, mythologies, customs and manners? There are sundry translations of parts and extracts of the Bible, but more or less in one and the same Khoikhoi dialect. Twelve dialects, spoken in Great Namaqualand, are still unrecorded. The little we know of the ǃKora, which bears the most ancient type of the Khoikhoi, like Sanscrit among the Indo-European languages, is very insufficiently known, and this tribe is now on the point of dying out. Of the old Colonial Khoikhoi, the so-called Cape Hottentot, we know little or nothing. The few words recorded by Witsen, Ten Rhyne, Hervas, Kolb, Valentyn, Leibniz, Spaarmann, Thunberg, Barrow, Liechtenstein, and Le Vaillant, and few others, are written in such unintelligible and distorted orthography that they are useless for comparative purpose. Even the student who is well acquainted with a Hottentot dialect is hardly able to use these specimens with any success.

Four years ago a man of the tribe, to whom the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, brought the Gospel, died at Bredasdrop; eight months ago, another old Cape Khoikhoi died at Moddergat, Stellenbosch district; another last year close to the Paarl; and six years ago one in Cape Town, who all spoke their old language.

The late Dr. Bleek therefore was misinformed when he stated that the old Cape type had entirely died out. There are at this moment some alive, *and it is of vital importance that our Government should grant* a small sum for the purpose of searching for such individuals, and collecting from their lips these long-forgotten dialects.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

114 perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these
101 people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form
[262] their present home, attracted thither by the famous !náras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

124 The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle
181 of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

[796] The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great
115 poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[3] !Amatis was, before she married among the ≠Ǎunin, a member of the //Khau-≠Gôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidized by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Àmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[3] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

matters. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Berseba Hottentots, a very capable man who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable his people to be at less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was therefore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the statements of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke willingly of what he knew.

Common characteristics of all transition rites among the Hottentots. All periods of crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admirable illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage." There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis acquires a characteristic unknown in the group to which he has hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and */karesin*.[4] But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclusion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there is a difficulty, for a !nau person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become !nau. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called upon to restore the !nau person to the community. But not any old woman or old man will do. It must be one who has the same characteristic as the !nau person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one !nau by recent loss of wife or husband. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease. Preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, if we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

[4] "Take care of himself", in this special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

123 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them.
161 I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart
177 from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Go:tis* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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specimens of their sex, and *Meis's* younger, very much younger sister, *Iis* were of great use in reviving the sometimes failing memories of their menfolk, in giving full details of the */habab* ceremony and in playing the musical instruments peculiar to their sex.

The younger generations included */Gobo ≠xa* (Piet Kraal, 52), *Tsi:ta*, the son of *Teteb ; !Kutsi*, a man of mixed Griqua and Kora descent, the son-in-law of old *Tabab ;* his wife, *Oreas* and *Ebis* her sister ; *!gasibe*, the twenty-two year-old daughter of *Iis*, and *Kwakwalis*, */Kutsi* and Piet Kraal have a large family of young sons and daughters.

Both *Tsi:ta* and */Kutsi* work for very small wages in town. The old men, so the Magistrate of Bloemhof informed me, have small pensions. They seem very poor. In fact, it is a wonder to me how they live, in the location, when they have to pay small rentals to the Village Management Committee for the site on which their mud brick little "pandokkies" stand. They seem to feel unhappy in that restricted space. For a number of years they tried hard to regain possession of the Saltpan. *Teteb* showed me a mass of correspondence in which Hermanus Links, their late chief, engaged with a Kimberley lawyer for that purpose. Even a petition was sent to the Governor at the Cape. But in vain.

The older women seemed fairly busy with their household duties, cooking the scant family meal in modern iron pots, which have replaced the old clay *su:di*, on the smoky wood fires outside. They no longer have to milk the cows as their ancestors did when they came home in the evening ; nor do the old men, as in the days of their youth, spend their time in hunting and seeking new pastures for their cattle and sheep. Unable to adapt themselves to the new ways of life, and too old to work, they seem to lead an aimless life, reminding one of Tennyson's Lotus Eaters,

> "Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil. . . .
> "Oh ! rest, ye brother mariners, ye will not wander more."
>
> • • • • •

I searched the district for more Korana. There is a very small number living at Christiana. I motored to Schweizer Reneke—the old Mamusa,—where I discovered a very old man, *Xras*, who had almost forgotten his language, his son and wife and a small family ; and another very old man, *Sele:ki*, who told me about the battle between David Massow and the Dutch in 1885. They vaguely said that there might be a few stray Korana working on the farms in the neighbourhood. At Wolmaranstad which I visited this last May, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas S.

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115 Leask, I discovered *!Korakje* at Witpoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Shepperd Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

127 In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomatapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Marais and Roos, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had " absented " himself from his post of scribe in the Company's service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Kei or Great Korana, bounded towards the north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 173 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River. He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kora*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for Kora died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[2]

115 173 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[3] He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

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[2] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[3] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: "Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khora. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots' Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Koranna are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitskop, called T'Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift)."[4]

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the "trek" would then be from Cape Town to the Ghoup (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Sanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

But consider, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the second language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kaptein or Jan Taaibosch,[5] and from whom he most probably learnt that "the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

[4] B. C. p. 290.
[5] See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles, vol.* 4, *p.* 3) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair." 534 535

2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named *//arey :as*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *≠a:di* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen. 534

A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885. 534 726 202 [115]

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *≠a:di*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the 534

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29¼. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǫās* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute ≠*'ās* and the reed-dance ≠*'ā-s/aī-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lora" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 814 115

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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534 824 115 type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about 15½ inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No " ictus " could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

534 115 I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds,

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them " boys ") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being " whipped " with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called *!khon!a !kausab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows,

(1) *≠ko:≠ko:ɪ*
(2) *!namis*
(3) *geiŋ≠a:ɪ*
(4) *tusana*

The meaning of the third of these names is " the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of " tonic," since from it the

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The ǂ*a:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina*ǂ*na:x* ǂ*naammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina* //*am*) and shaking their buttocks (*!hare khuedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka horoo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kua:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

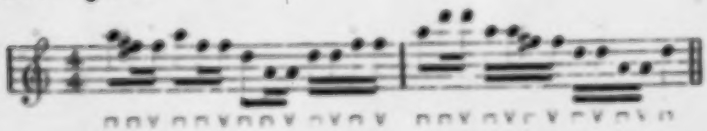
535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 left hand supports the stick by grasping it at a convenient point, but no pressure must be brought to bear upon it, since the tightening or slackening of the bow would cause the pitch of the string to vary, and this is not desired by the Korana. With the right forefinger the player plucks the string, the principal sounds being executed with a downward action, and the subsidiary ones with an upward action. I have indicated these in the examples quoted by means of the signs used by violinists for downward and upward bowing, ⊓ and ∨ respectively. The string, of course, produces but one sound when plucked, although implicit in it are the overtones known as the "harmonic series." These the Hottentot has recognised, and has discovered or learned that some of them may be isolated and reinforced by the variable cavity of the mouth. The following examples will show the nature of the performance: they were played by Tabab, who is seen performing on the instrument in Plate VII. It will be understood that the prime tone of the string is present throughout, although it is not the main sound; it serves as a kind of drone to the bugle-like tune played on the harmonica. This instrument is best sounded in quiet places, when its sweet tones can be clearly heard.

Ex. 1. ♩=120.



534 (b) A second development from the hunting-bow is played exclusively by the women. It retains the original name of *khaːr*. Like the *!gubus* it is made from a branch of *henjeshus*, about three-quarters of an inch to one inch thick and about thirty-eight inches long. The bark should be removed, and the wood allowed to season, although in the example made for me the bark was left on and the wood dried by fire. A stout string of twisted sinew is prepared, and is secured by a slipknot in a groove made at one end of the stock. This end is then placed on the ground and the stick forced into a semicircular form, when the other end of the string is secured to the tip of the stick just as in the case of the *!gubus*. A thin piece of seasoned wood or reed about fourteen inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter serves as a beater, for this
533 instrument is normally sounded by striking. The player, having tuned the instrument (to suit her voice), seats herself upon the ground, and takes the bow in her hands. The lower end, where the string is knotted, she places upon a bag of skin (*//hoːb*) or a dish of willow wood, which
● [115] acts as a resonator. (Gotis, who played for me, and who appears on Plate VI, used a one-gallon paraffin tin as a substitute and is placed to her right.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper " *The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added " You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Seleki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

533 [114] [115]

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

534 184

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

534

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour : " *The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

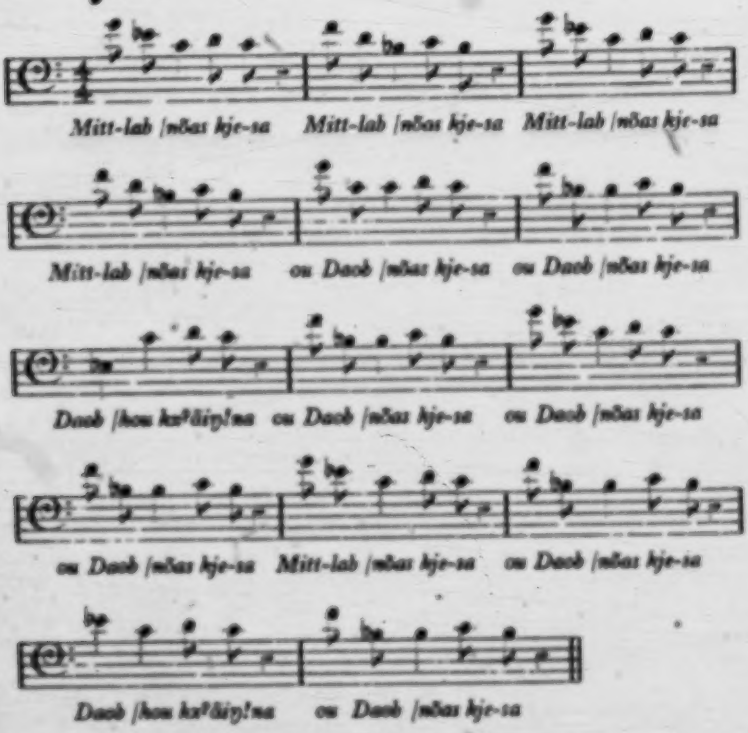
533 126 115

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana
126 texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first
115 was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him.
His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

533 Ex. 3. *Mittlab /noãs kjesa*
539



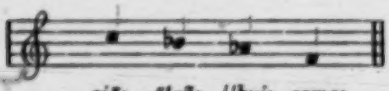
This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mittlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Old Daob ! It is his cow !
Daob ! You have a beard all over your face !

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */aua gowab sān* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.

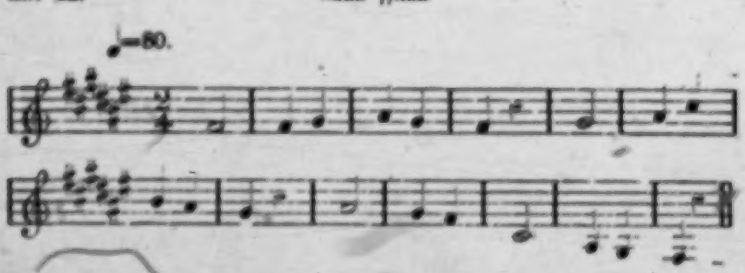


aiās dlgās //huis gomas

As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

533 177 539 [115] In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotis and Keis. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12. *hada //nāu*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were 533 177 539

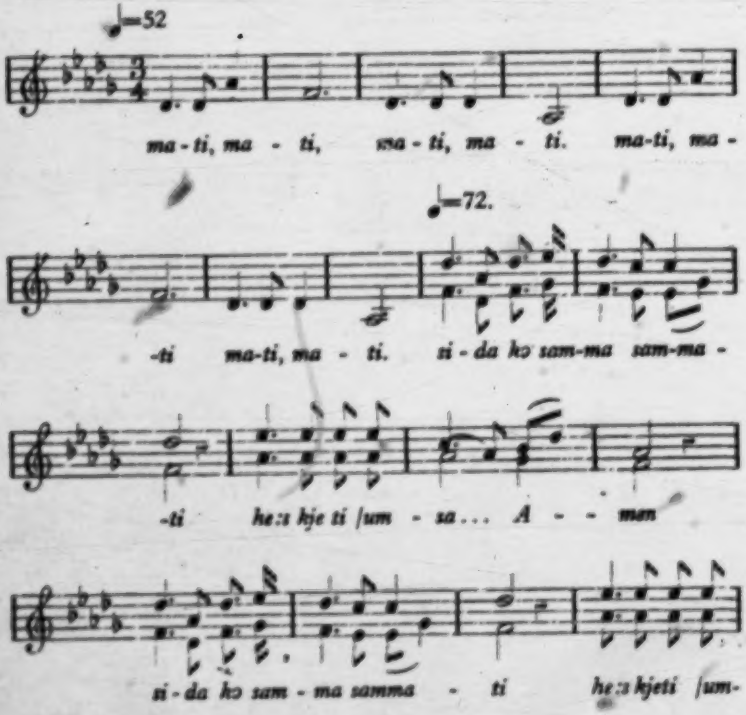
hada //nāu he: buruxa mis,

which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the " songs of Zion ; " for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris. [115]

Ex. 13. *mati, mati*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE I.

• 115
142

Xras (Schweizer Reneke.)

Sele:ki (Schweizer Reneke).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE II.

115
142

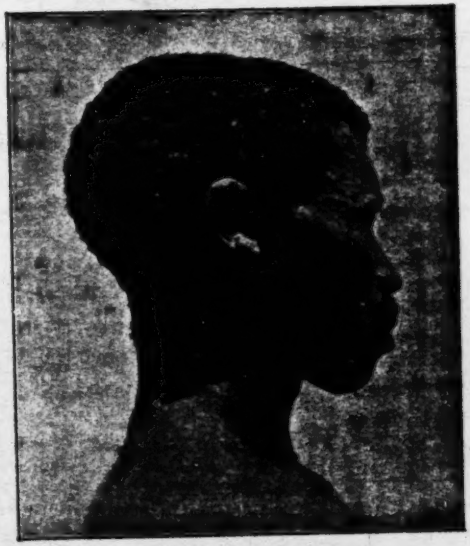
Tabab (Bloemhof).

Kheis (Bloemhof).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE III.

115 ●
142



A. and B.
Abraham Links.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE V.

Matiti plugging a Flute

Matiti blowing a Flute.

115
142
292
534

Method of blowing the *Reed-Flute*.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VI.

115
142
192
534

Gotis playing the *Kha:s.*

Sele:ki playing the *Goras.*

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VII.

115
142
292
534

Tabab playing the *!Gabus*.

Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

1:Schultze N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

000

In Namaland and the Kalahari
[Aus Namaland und Kalahari]

By Leonhard Schultze

Jena, 1907

Gustav Fischer

Translated from the German by Elizabeth C. Knight and
Theodore Ziolkowski

Human Relations Area Files
1958

[title page]

Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentots" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people. 101

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65) 175 619

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony; they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the captaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of 131 619

the nineteenth century, five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Na!ma·n is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are: 131 6A

1. The ǂAo·/nin or !Go·/men, who are sometimes called ᵓ/Na·ranin by their neighbors because of their gourd (naras) fields, the Topnaars of the Boers.

2. The !Kχa·ragai·kχoĩn, shortened to !Kχa·r(a)kχoĩn, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.

3. The //Ha·bobe·n or Veldskoendragers.

4. The ! Ga·miǂnũ·/n or Bondelzwarts.

5. The //Kχau·/gõa·n or Zwartboois now settled in the northern kookoveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The //Kχau·ben or the Rooi Natie.

7. The /Kχa·roᵓõ·an or the Tsaibschen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop.

8. The // Ogain or Grootdooden.

b) ᵓGũ!nũn is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The !A·maĩn or Bethanie Hottentots.

10. The /Hai·/kχau·an or Berseba Hottentots.

11. The /Kχo·besin or Witbooi's.

12. The Gai·/kχau·an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes.

13. //Aʇ·χa//a·en or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, 1/4

everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research in my own special field, permitted, I made it a rule to note down only those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [173] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethno-

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

logical material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn, (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's(70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2nd ed., 1894.

problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. 142
The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has 171
the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The [516]
tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its [291]
movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)] $\frac{1}{A}$

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and 142
by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [see p. 88. – Analyst]

1: Schultze--4A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

142
171

A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on p. 8(B))

Plates X-XIII, XV and XVII also serve as illustrations.

142

those that deviate, produce the following: The top of the skull has no special characteristics. The forehead is moderately curved. The crown, which slants in a moderately steep direction toward the sides [175] lies well-centered, rarely protrudes forward and even more rarely backward and the knobs of the parietal bone do not stand out. The back of the skull is never flat, and projects forward sometimes moderately, sometimes considerably. When looked at from above, the top of the skull has a definitely ovoid form, the pointed pole turned toward the front.

The most characteristic part of this view of the skull is the narrowness of the forehead, but otherwise the brain section of the forehead reveals nothing remarkable. It is moderately rounded, of medium height and steepness but the protuberances of the forehead are not marked. However the projection of the eyebrows gives the forehead a strange appearance (especially in the lateral parts. A glabella roll is usually lacking).

The cheekbones usually spread out so far to the side that the cheeks under the eyes protrude like two powerful swellings.

The chin is barely rounded, runs to a point and recedes. Thus the whole face appears pointed not only upwards above the eyebrows to the edge of the hair but also downwards from the cheek bones to the chin, when all the peculiarities of the above-mentioned parts are well-defined.

The Hottentot's nose is to our eyes of extraordinary ugliness. The nasal bone is set so deep that in many cases it is not externally evident at all where the root of the nose is joined to the forehead. The bridge of the nose is so wide and rises from the face with such a flat saddle that it nearly disappears. The lower part of the nose is all the more prominent. The bridge which in profile progresses sometimes in a straight line, is sometimes concave and sometimes convex, ends in a flat bulb at the place where our nose is pointed. This bulb continues to form a short, uptilted nose base. The enormously wide, blown-up nasal wings spread out sufficiently at the bottom so that one can look into the large transversely placed nostrils as easily as into two chimneys.

The prognathism of the jaw is often emphasized by a proboscis-like extension of the lips. The upper lip with its shallow, middle furrow appears long when compared with the lower lip. The lips, brown, thick, cracked and puffy surround a medium-sized and normally straight mouth line. The receding chin and the sunken bony part of the nose make the area of the jaw protrude even more like a snout. (cf. Illustration, p. 176). The

142

teeth are usually in a straight row, and, as is typical for ours, show an increase in size [176] in the upper incisors toward the middle of the jaw as well as of the bicuspids and the molars of both jaws and a similar decrease in size of the lower incisors.

The eyes, which have a dark-brown iris, peer out of lids of medium length, which are not widely opened. The connecting line of the outer corner of the eye with the middle of the caruncula lacrymalis often reveals a faint slanting of the lid (towards the outside and upwards), although this slanting is not at all evident to the casual glance nor does it deviate from corresponding findings in our race. The space between the eyes is large.

Even if there were no crows feet in the area of the eyelids, the fold of the upper lid is usually so well developed that the lid itself disappears at the middle and sides under it. In many cases a fine skin fold extends around the outer corners of the eyes like a sharp seam, sometimes passing without interruption into the medial part of the lid fold, sometimes separated from it by several millimeters of unfolded skin. (Anatomically this) corresponds to an epicanthus, but it is differentiated from the typical Mongolian fold in that it leaves the caruncula lacrymalis free. The well developed caruncula lacrymalis covered with nictitating skin [Picture. Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old.] is hidden under the tarsus of the lid in the rare cases in which it is not exposed. The part of the conjunctive tunica normally protected by the lids when the eyes are at normal aperture, is smooth and of a bluish-white color. On the other hand, the exposed part which suffers greatly from dust and smoke has a yellowish [177] color and an uneven surface. I never saw the upper tarsus descend with a sharp edge. The black lashes are short and thickly massed. The eyebrows are usually short and narrow, sparse, relatively thickest in the middle; the individual hair is curly. Sometimes the eyebrows are straight, sometimes curved; they are low and placed horizontally, (sometimes ascending towards the outside) and do not meet.

[Picture. Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old. (The same person depicted on page 176.)]

For purposes of orientation in the comparison of physiognomies, the portrait of a young Herero is included here (pages 178, 179.) (cf. also the portraits of the Bergdamaras [Kaffirs] the Betschuans and the Bushmen that follow later).

The ear is usually flat against the head. Either completely or semi-adhering lobes are the rule; I saw a Darwinian point only in the rarest cases and usually only indicated on the incurved helix.

1: Schultze--6A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[A176]

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Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old.

1:Schultze--68 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[177]

Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old. (The same person depicted on p. 6 (A).)

The Hottentots and the darker Bushmen whose skin is light-brown or fawn-colored stand alone among the blackish-brown to black human races of their neighborhood. A pale, fawn-colored, brownish-yellow is the basic color of the Hottentot's body. On the face the skin is often brown but on the sole of the foot, it becomes the slightly tanned skin color of our race, even more so under the nails of the feet and hands, sometimes seeming yellower, sometimes pinker. They do not have our bright red lips. The mucuous membrane of the mouth (including the parts of the lips which are invisible when the mouth is closed) [178] and of the throat is a dull red tinted with violet. That is also true of the vulva. The glans penis, however, is a bright pink color. I never saw a single case of circumcision.

The Hottentots cannot consciously move either the muscles of the skull or the ears, only the platsyma, as I later tested.

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old]

The body hair is extremely scant. Because of this and the strong curl in each fine hair, wherever the hair grows in bunches (except for the eyelashes, the eyebrows, the moustache and the beard), it mats together into separate, isolated tufts between which the skin shines brightly. But these visible parts of the skin are not bald: The implanting of the hair in the skin is regular, at least no group arrangement can be identified which would correspond to those matted tufts. That is true for the hair on the skull as well as around the genitals and in the armpits. The stronger the spiral curling of the individual hair and the scantier the total amount of hair is, the firmer and smaller the tufts. There are variations in all stages from compact formations that measure only a few millimeters across to loose clumps that are centimeters large. Only in a few rare exceptions is the hair on the head so strongly developed that it forms curls as long as the finger, thickly massed, but individually differentiated, which then stand straight up in confusion or dangle around the head in a fantastic way (cf. Plate V.) The Hottentot himself [179] designates the black round knots of hair on his head with the same word that means goat dung (!noŋra-s). The Boer compares these hair knots with peppercorns and calls the Hottentot "Pepperkopp". Among several hundred Hottentots I met only one bald one.

The Hottentot has only those parts of a beard that our race has best developed, namely, a weak mustache (especially developed towards the side) and a chin beard. The separate hairs of these are well developed. He does not have side-whiskers and a complete hair covering

1: Schultze--7A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[P178]
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171

Herero, about 20 years old.

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs. 142

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII). 142 145

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matrons. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place. 142 [832]

B. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of deportment, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hõ!//goa *. 516 576

* I could not find the word "!hõ!" listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !ho!- to be bent, as from !hõ!- to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning . . . [Picture. Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "sa arii ǂtoma !hõ! //gũga (e)ĩts" i.e. "Your

1:Schultze--8A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 : FX13 Hottentot FX13

142
171

Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on p. 7(A).).

1: Schultze--8B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

142
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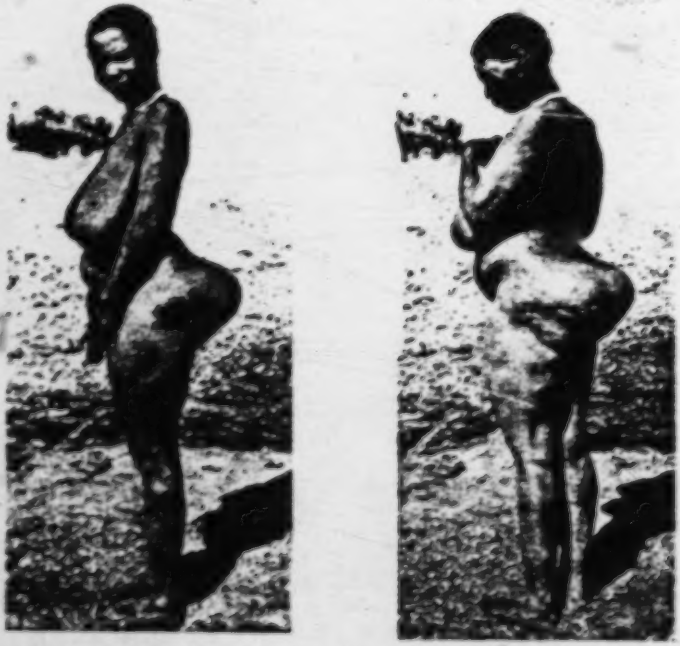

Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ! //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ! ≠ǂaraga ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ! //goabats gye nĩ ʃũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question.

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kǂoma gai //goaga (e)ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ! //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (≠nũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement.

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women.

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the

seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blessing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gabu aib gye /gĭrib ŏaba, sores gye ti ŏasa," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [157
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows 171]
great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

Actually we must keep in mind, that the Hottentots have borrowed a great deal from the gestures of the foreign peoples in their present surroundings. Their receptivity for foreign things is great. When this is considered, the number of gestures which can be considered original because they are unique or dominant among the Hottentots, is greatly reduced. As a gesture of affirmation, they usually throw back the head slightly at the same time shutting the eyes. This is frequently observed, especially among the women. 201 [177]

Negation is expressed in a careless manner by an inarticulated sound with the mouth closed. The sound resembles a short, light cough, only it is voiced somewhat with a notable rise in tonal level at the beginning and a fleeting fall at the end.

They themselves call an expressive gesture of astonishment *//a·mana·m (from *//a/m - covering to hide and ǂams - mouth). For this gesture they cover the mouth and the entire lower half of the face with their hand flat and turn the head to one side, at the same time raising the eyelids. Lifting the upper eyelids (without raising the eyebrows), which I often observed during a conversation whenever there was a sudden dawning of recognition or awakening of interest, can only be designated here as a common human mode of expression. 201 152

Shame cannot be recognized by a blush because of the fawn-colored character of their skin. Bending the head sideways and covering the face with the elbow is a frequent manner of expressing the feeling of shame.

I found a gesture of repugnance or strong dislike very marked among the women. The face is turned to one side and slightly tipped backwards from the person against whom the gesture is directed. The eyelids droop limply, the mouth is distorted into a snout, the upper lip coming quite close to the nostrils as though to plug them up. Using the same gesture, called ǂonam, a person who has overeaten turns aside when food is offered to him.

It is no longer possible to decide whether embracing and cheek kissing as a tender gesture of greeting is original among the Hottentots or a gesture they have adopted. An old woman embraced and kissed one of my young companions with feelings of joy, when he [184] returned to her dwelling after years of separation. She summoned other women and couldn't express her joy sufficiently. Her eyes were too deeply encased in wrinkles for me to see if she was weeping. One may probably consider weeping as an expression of joyful emotion a

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [797]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hã↑, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [262] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (*/ai·χadai·b) or cooled (*/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (*/kχabĩb) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, */ũdaib. *aũdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

1: Schultze--14A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

415
252
234
281

Butter calabash, encircled with hide.
1/5 natural size.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kχao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kχao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari, is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kχāb) of the plant is well covered (χa) with hairs (/ũ·/gu) it bears the name /ũ·/χa/kχā·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (≠hũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kχaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, *//kχuri·s (in Little Namaland: /hu·ǂrob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size] 1/1

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called *!nuǂms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). 2/1 The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kχũ·ǂu·ǂnis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1/1 [see p.16(A)-Am.] 2/1 [see p.16(B),-Am.]

1:Schultze--16A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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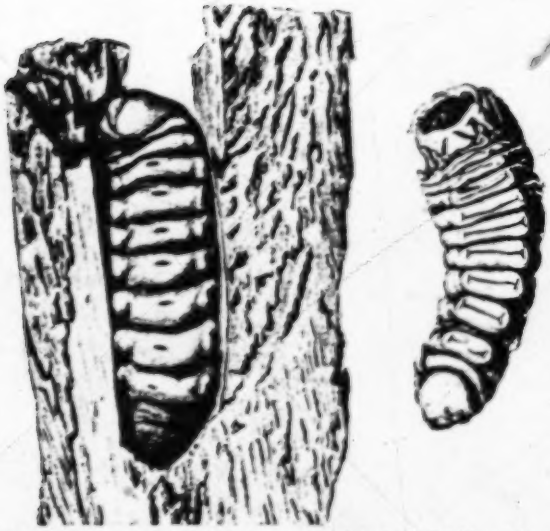
262

[p.188]

Zonurus polyzonus Smith. Actual size.

136
262

[p.189]



Larva of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size.

Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.

passages, pea-sized openings in the ground. If one follows these passages, one will come to the house at varying depths, sometimes only 1 to 1 1/2 feet under the surface, if a rock or hard layer of ground sheathes the soft ground and gives the house protection from above. Sometimes, however, one must dig down 6 feet before one reaches one's goal. 222 136

The underground dwelling has the shape of a lens, about 1/2 meter in circumference and 20 to 25 centimeters high. The material used for building is a brittle, fragile, yellowish-grey, paper-thin mass; it is resistant to water. One can immerge the house in water for days without its falling apart. It merely becomes soft and less fragile. 136

The house is built up of about 40 stories, each averaging about 1/2 centimeter in height. Although at first glance the labyrinth with its many hundred rooms that communicate on all sides may seem complicated, nevertheless a simple principal of construction can be divined: the spiral passageway. The innumerable spiral passageways are sometimes widely separated, sometimes right next to each other, sometimes with even, horizontal flights, sometimes with sharp angled axes and correspondingly steep paths, but the construction is always such that the course of each passage passes into that of the neighboring one without any interruption. Thus chambers, halls, corridors, gates and columns arise.

The composition of the inhabitants changes according to the season. In July of 1904 I found in one structure eggs, larvae in all stages up to the adult worker, workers of various sizes, large-chinned soldiers, [191] three queens about 2 1/2 centimeters long, and finally,* in addition to a few undeveloped insects, numerous nymphs,

*In the nests of Hodotermes viator (Latr.) I found a new Cetoniinae, Trichoplus aepytus Kolbe. The Hottentots know this companion of the termites well. It is about 9 centimeters long and of an even black color. They call it //k‡au≠ams.

mostly without wings.

These fat white nymphs, that are 12 millimeters long, are the goal of the Hottentot. First he shovels the whole house with its inhabitants and clinging earth into a sack. He sorts out what is edible in his hut. To do this he shakes the mass bit by bit into a vessel containing lukewarm water and stirs up the bottom with a stick 222 252

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," *!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added. 222 252

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches *!ga/e-hu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, *!kx̃u/i-hu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen. [262] 222

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw. 252 [262]

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense. 786 731 [834]

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of 262 576 [753] 262

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kʇai-ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *ǂgũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classify *ǃgao-beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ǂha-ǂob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ǂgarib), is supposed to have given its

1: Schultze--19A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[A193]
222
137
262

Babiana spec.
2/3 natural size

Moraea spec.
2/3 natural size

Ana. /ob
2/3 natural size

137
262
name to the place Karibib (ǂga-ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the undergroud reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. 221
The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called °/ũ-/ robis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (°ǂha-/ob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L.f. (called !kʒa-ros) is [252]
considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be 137
mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The 221
!hafni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Forschungreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "ǂkʒara-!goreb kʒoma !hanʒa tanasa ǂ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, °/ao-beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call °!kʒũ-aireb, and which plant corresponds to the °/a-mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to 137
the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is 262
usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: °!kʒu-ib, or °tsã/xaǂgai-eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture, Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

1: Schultze--20A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

137
262

[p194]

Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size.

Schultze--208 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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137

Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country:

a) "omami gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a stong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture, omami gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.]

) "!ga-/marib- (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or #ha-hab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)"/kfu-bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called "/a-mi#si-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Walvis Bay received their name !na-ranin from the gourd fruit !na-rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year; the chief harvest time is in February and March.

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves

Schultze--21A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Omami gaub.
1/2 natural size

the "Ostrich foot."
2/3 natural size

1: Schultze--218 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

222
137

Grion

Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size.

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man. 222 423 628

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, *ǂā-ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (ǂā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.] 252 412

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness. 262

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dōdi-b (also called !no/bo-s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *ǂgoa/g(a)a-ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realised that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth. 251 262 [415]

1: Schultze--22A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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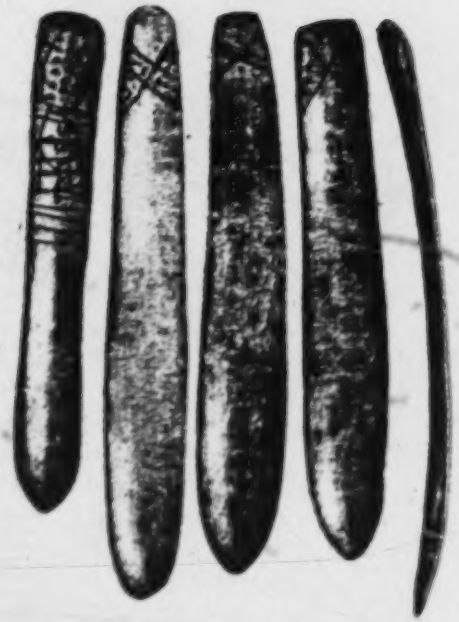
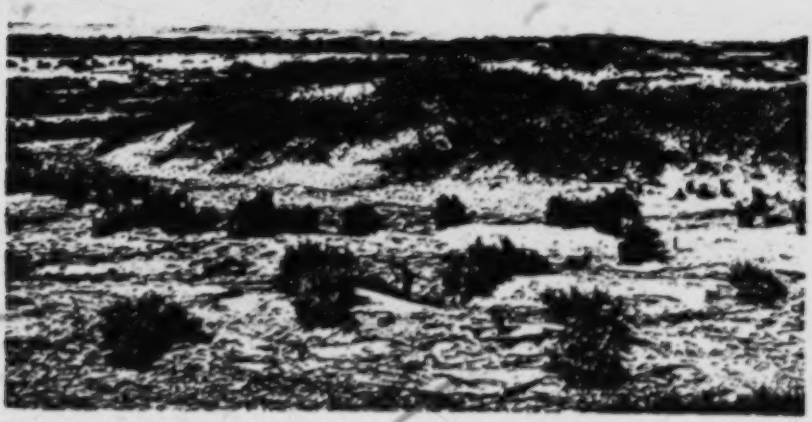


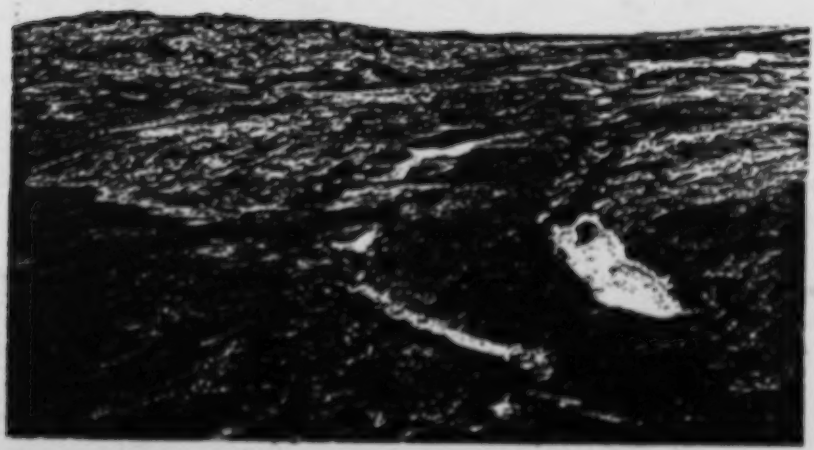
Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars,
about 1/2 natural size.

1: Schultze--22B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[Between 198 and 199]



Nara-Dune in the Kuiseb River.



Salt Crusts in the Namid behind Walvis Bay.

252 262 415 137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[824 771] The cup for mashing ʻhai·os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush [412] wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ· ab (- arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call 137 252 262 tsa/ma·b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, ʻso·robe-tsa/ma·b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the !asenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma·s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a tani bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a·nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the frûits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaũ/s) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [222] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Aizoa capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped lamellae, are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa·/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[p199]

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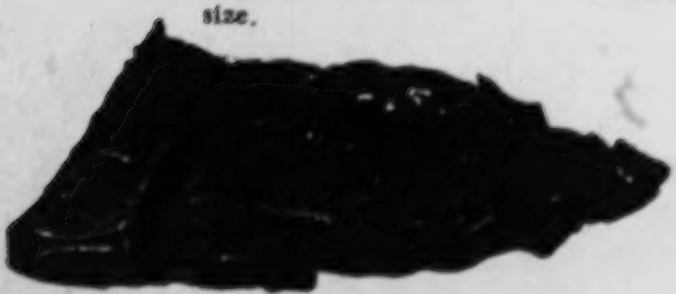
Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size.

Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size.



Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

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[p.200]

Pestle for nara seeds, 1/3 natural size.

[201] Finally, the food called //kχuni-b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kχu-ǂnibe-b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is °!ga-riao!ga-ǂmi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaǂm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (°/nu-bi!o-reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !naǂbaǂkχaǂrab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called /goǂa-b and !kχo-bab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called °//huǂms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called °/kχo-rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

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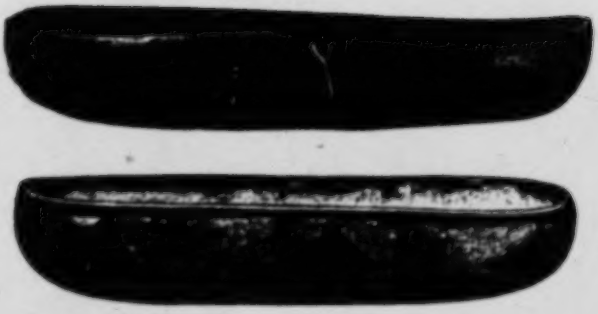
[201]



Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are re- [252]
moved, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are
eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called °!go·bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name °/gī·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible [824]
blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kχã°s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

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Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size.

Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.

1: Schultze--258 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

137
222
262

Codon Royeni Thlg. Natural size.

[272] 276

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern, 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it ᵓχao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da·ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ǂnuni·//ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa/rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (ǂna/o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called ᵓ/ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and ᵓtsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [134] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, ᵓ!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

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[p.204]

Farob, a tea fern. 4/5 natural size.

222 413 [405] makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes a honey bag, °//kxo·rob, from the hide of an iguana, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263 317 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206]

5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264 415 Th: branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !ore·s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //go/a·b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two occasional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot 264 enjoys a childish pleasure called °a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264 524 Tsu·bugu/ho·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

1: Schultze--21A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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413

Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.

1: Schultze--27B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[206]

Wooden spoons, 1/5 natural size.

E. Care of the Skin

515 The care the Hottentots take of their skin cannot be judged exclusively by our standards of cleanliness, principally because water is so valuable in that land.

1. Cleanliness

[207] During the hot season of the year, when there are great accumulations of water, as in the area of the Fish River, the Hottentot bathes. It is even said that he swims excellently. (66) But he shuns

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

wash water as a daily method of keeping clean.

On the other hand, fresh ox dung and cow dung take the place of water, brush, and soap, and the dry air substitutes for a towel. However extraordinary this may seem at the first glance, such a way of washing is effective. The moisture in the manure suffices to loosen the sweat that has dried on the skin, the fine plant fibers scour ever more effectively, the drier they become in the course of the rubbing and finally the flat hand brushes off the last bit as a light dust from the part of the body that has been cleaned and at the same time pleasantly rubbed.

2. Massage

302 237 In order to give their skin the necessary suppleness, the Hottentots smear themselves with fat (ǂkx-aus(c)n or so/bos(c)n). They smear at least the face, the skin of the head, the hands and arms, but best of all, they like to smear their whole body. This is especially true of the women.

302 415 237 The containers for fat, ᵓǂkx̃ū-nas or ᵓǁgō//nā̃ǂs, which are found in every hut where the inhabitants have pride in their appearance, are cut out of an oxhorn and the two openings are closed with cowhide, the bottom being firmly attached, the top moveable. The fat from

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers.

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu·ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nõe(e)n). The buchu, sãb, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste:

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and °ǂgari-ǂga-eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bulbes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called °/u-i//kxao-b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names °!na-/roheb and °!u-/risã-b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried spore container by a thread around their necks [209] and it empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust.

1: Schultze--28A N-8 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Homeset FX13
Nama

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Horn fat containers, 1/4 natural size.

1: Schultze--288 N-8 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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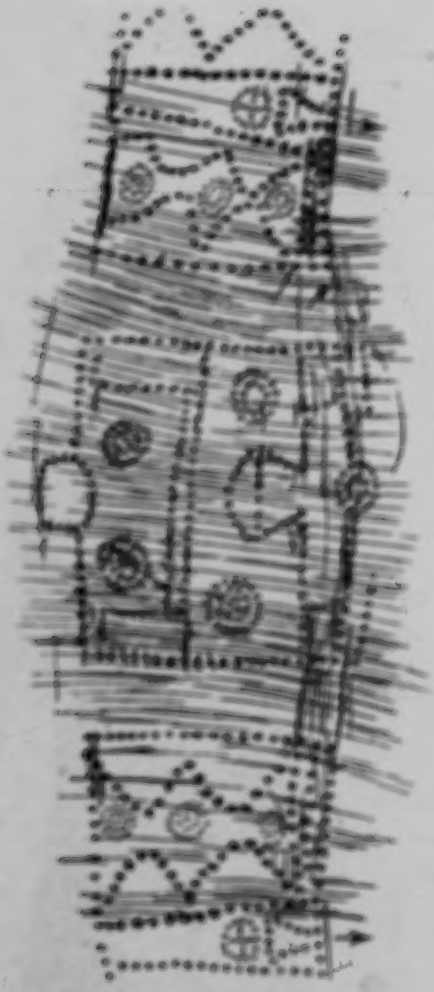

Pricked ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container, 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.

//gure-s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ûi ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ie(e)s) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/hoa/ba) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/o-i aon-(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

1: Schultze--BOA N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 396
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 829
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gaib from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief 293
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 829
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na-bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [136]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

eg is massaged in the direction towards the foot to empty them. Thus 753
he excrement is supposed to be pushed out; where it goes does not 757
worry them. The actual success which they often have with this cure
onfirms the diagnosis sufficiently in their eyes.

1. Surgical Treatment

Their procedure is clearest when surgical treatment seems necessary. 757
a) Blood-letting is a universal treatment for every difficulty localized
o any extent. In the simplest case, cuts about one centimeter long,
go-regu, are made in the skin above the ailing part of the body. Nearly
ll the Hottentots, whom I examined closely when taking physical meas-
rements, showed traces of this blood-letting. In one case the pubic area
nd the small of the back were covered with some forty scars a half
entimeter long. The wounds had been made when he was a child by
is father to cure "the deep descent of the intestines into the lower
unk" from which the child suffered.

[212] They call blood-letting in the narrower sense *!hui-ǂkxo-rub 5
pening a vein). It is used particularly for stiffness and pains in the
mbs and is supposed to prevent them from swelling. The patient must
rst take a hot drink before the cutting. Then the blade of a sharp
nife is placed across the vena mediana cubiti in the elbow joint of the
ght arm and the handle of the knife is struck with a little piece of wood
that the blade enters. They take about 300 centimeters of blood as
r as I could estimate.

Bleeding /go/m follows the opening of the vein. A goat or calf horn
rves as an instrument for bleeding (*!hũ-///nã/, from *!hũ/ - sucking
arrow out of bones), by cutting off the point, they make a second
pening for sucking which the bleeder puts in his mouth. The opposite,
der opening which is also filed smooth is firmly pressed on the bleeding
t. They do not empty the horn filled with blood on the ground but on
wet cake of cow dung to get rid of the sight of human blood quickly.
Picture, Horn for Bleeding. 1/2 natural size] [Picture, Closing a
ound].

The wound is closed in the following manner. They stick a thorn, 752
firmly into the skin, twice (by c, to the right and also to the left
ar the vein a) in such a way that it lies diagonally across the cut b.
nder the free end of the thorn they slip a thread and tie it firmly

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[p212]

Horn for bleeding. 1/2 natural size.

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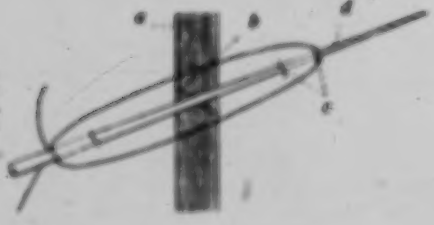

Closing a wound.

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated 752
is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously.

[213] To the west of !Hoarxa!nas, in the border territory of the 757
Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded barelegged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there.

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls "xu/!xo/a-b, or more frequently calls ǂi-laib, [169]
borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /xganis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the 273
Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called "//hãã'b), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water.

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with fingernails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scabs, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, [753]
for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired.

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Fotzenfuss," ǂnũãgyeǂâi-bes, or pea-foot, ǂâi-!naro-s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhâ-s, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound. 757 [278]

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called ǂa-ragyeũî-bes, i.e. "curling toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa-bagu, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and bast if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, uncleaned reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name ǂhâ-/ra[illegible]. [752 278]

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllum cardifolium L. f. (called ǂnu/hâib because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat. 757 278 752

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name !nu-/nge.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds huts" (om, v.). 753

Splinting (/gom-) of a broken bone (ǂkõa-s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely. 752

[215] 2. Midwifery

One can gain an insight into the intimate problems in this field only after one has acquired the confidence of the older women after a lengthy stay in the country, making a serious broach of the question possible. Once one has this confidence, one is probably safe from deliberate lies. However, one should never depend on the information of one person, but always test the reliability of what one has heard on other people in different places, without ever revealing the least bit of information which one has already acquired. In this way with time and patience I was able to acquire information that was plausible and not contradictory about a series of points from the natives. It was impossible for me to make direct observations in this area. I have tried to fill out the gaps by having a trusted person show me personally the techniques which I had learned were used with pregnant women, those giving birth, and those who have just given birth. 124

a) Pregnancy (!kūi, !go/m, v.). The Hottentot woman does not usually consider missing a period the first symptom of pregnancy, but rather the discomforts of pregnancy, *//gao-rab, such as loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, etc., assuming that the person concerned otherwise does not suffer from these disturbances. The loss of color in the face during pregnancy they designate with the same word that is used for make-up: /ho/ho. Whether the afore-mentioned custom of painting the face originally had some connection with pregnancy is difficult to decide. 843

The Hottentot women claim that they can definitely determine pregnancy in the second month by massaging the abdomen and by feeling the changed uterus through the wall of the stomach. As soon as pregnancy is suspected, the greased abdomen is massaged 2 to 3 times a week by two women for 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The massage begins at the middle line between the breasts and works downward. They work sideways along the curve of the ribs with wide spread thumbs, and work back again with all five fingers flat, from the area above the iliac crests to the front wall of the abdomen. They listen very carefully to see if they hear a gurgling in the large intestine. If they have found gas, [216] they are satisfied. They push it down on the left side of the body until it escapes to prevent it going "to the head," because there it would produce fever in the woman. The massage ends with a gentle pressing upwards of the groin on both sides of the middle line between the breasts. [153]

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 893

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [242]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [879] Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [263] are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //xuru-s. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/nu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hâi. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hâi, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhâi. They often explain

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b) Delivery. (//oa-s, giving birth, !na-/es, being born; one also hears the word ‘u’hu-s, relief, hõ/s, getting. oa-s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I [278] have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been [129] active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority.

Cases of Hottentot women giving birth in the fields and cheerfully carrying the babe home in the evening or delivering herself in a warm cow stall (66), cannot be considered average. Sufficient number of

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten, Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867.)

cases of Boer women giving birth under equally primitive conditions while traveling are known, but that would not allow one to draw conclusions about the customs of our race. Birth among the Hottentots, as with us, occurs in orderly circumstances and is an event they prepare for carefully.

Whoever can, has an experienced midwife, even if she must come from far away. The Hottentots give this important woman various names. She is either the !kgõ-ris, i.e., "she who catches the child (!kgõ)," or the ǂnũ-ris, i.e., "she who sits there (ǂnũ)," waiting hours, even half a day until she can take hold. Corresponding to our chief midwife, insofar as she makes the decisions, is the "!kgõi-/naǂaos, "the woman who cuts the umbilical cord."

Usually there are several women present at a birth and not merely as observers. When the first strong pains begin, the woman in labor lies on her left side. The women now group themselves, as far as I could determine, in the following way. One sits behind the woman in labor at the head of the bed and supports her shoulders and back with one knee to keep her in a half-upright, half-lying position on her side. Opposite the first sits a second woman who puts her right arm around the upper part of the woman's body. Her job is to bend the woman's upper body forward as soon as a pain begins, to hold the head against the breast and to place a cloth on the woman's mouth [219] so that she cannot scream out. It would mean the death of the child if the mother should lie on her back or stretch her legs. Her left leg, bent at the knee, lies flat on the floor. The right leg, also bent, is straight up, its thigh spread out as far as possible, its foot braced against the knee of the left leg. The third woman, who sits near the foot of the bed opposite the woman in labor, has two jobs. With her left hand she must hold the woman's leg in the position just described. Her right hand presses on the abdomen with spread thumb against the uterus to control the progress of the delivery. The old woman, who takes her place opposite the third woman behind the woman in labor, has charge of the delivery. Her left

hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. 847
Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain.

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt 845
is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked.

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which 849
covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not.

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of [921]
a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?"

[220] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end of the cord. A span's width from the navel [804]
of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger) the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily.

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She [759]
is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl.

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly [787]
dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //gu-haras (lateral clicking sound), our good luck cowl.

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth. 844

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A resin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ǂho-ms, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */nuru-b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body. [278]

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily. [278] [753, 826]

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */hoǂae-s). If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat. 846 278

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given skimmed goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor 853

1: Schultze--40A N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p221]

A nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 25 years old.

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 877

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" [illegible], is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wring it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 946

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the case of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [811]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 895 [771]

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward. 845

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning. 757 278

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties. 757 278 825

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kyb-tas, consists in the following: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have. 757 278

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[224] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake ǂhao-/ho/ao-ǂ'i, Scelotes capensis Gthr. is considered an infallible antidote for snake bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of 752 825

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. 752 825

[Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.]

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !hum- //hui- b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [151] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gâ aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind 757 278 testing and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives.

The excrement of rock rabbits, !aũ- /aru- b, which piles up five high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

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The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr.,
1/2 natural size.

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, "!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the "!garisab plant." [751]

> "When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [223]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called "!gu/bi-b or "xamexa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai-/aob or magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients. 755 756

The magic box is also the Hottentot's poison supply. Whereas billygoat fat possesses only healing properties, the other ingredients are said to have a poisonous effect when secretly mixed with the enemy's tobacco or smeared on the bit of his pipe.

The box is also a soothsaying apparatus. A thread is placed in the fat. The end which sticks out of the closed box is lighted and held towards the wind. The direction of the smoke is followed by the Hottentot, if he does not know where he should look for a runaway cow or a lost companion. If he wants to catch up with a companion on the way to a meagre water hole so that he can water his oxen first, he ties a knot in the thread and lights it. Just as the glimmering fire goes out and is stopped, so his companion is supposed to be stopped until caught up with. Whoever has the reputation of controlling events in this way, is usually highly regarded as a doctor. Besides conscious deceit, medicinal magic has many procedures which are based on faith and perhaps work by suggestion. Pains in the head and limbs are charmed away by two rather large glass beads, !gai-/!a/mus, which serve only this purpose. A thread is tied firmly around the head and the two beads are placed close together in the middle of the forehead. If in the course of hours they slip far apart, then the pain has to be gone.

[227] A Hottentot woman ties a loin chain, //mĭ-b, made of round little pieces of ostrich eggshells, around her own or her child's hips for pains in the abdomen.

The so-called "fright illness" of children which supposedly manifests itself by the child fainting for no particular reason, gets its name !kxa/us from the eland antelope, whose skin is highly prized as a cure for this illness. The skin is cut into small octagonal pieces and into strips 1/2 centimeter wide, dried, and made supple with eland fat. The cure consists in the following: a little piece of the skin, scarcely the size of a lentil, is turned to ash, pulverized with the fingernail, mixed into a swallow of milk, and fed to the child. The strap is bound around the child's breast as the illustration shows. When it falls off of its own accord several days later, the cure is considered successfully concluded. In the case that I knew about the magician received a goat in payment. [Picture. Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.]

Inadequate and irregular food, privations of all kinds, uncleanliness, premature sexual intercourse and excessive use of alcohol and tobacco are the principal destructive forces from which the Hottentot's body suffers. Tuberculosis (//noba-b) and venereal disease are extensive. Syphilis claims many victims.

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[illegible]

Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.

Syphilis claims many victims.

Although probably based on superstitious fear, the custom of the Hottentots of destroying a hut after a death has occurred in it and re-building it somewhere else on new ground is of great practical hygienic value.

Capitulum II

The Hut and Handicrafts

A. The Hut

The hut, o-mi, of the Hottentots is characteristic of nomadic housing. It is airy, yet protected against wind and rain, light in weight, [220] simple in material and in construction and therefore easy to take down, pack up and rebuild in another place.

1. Material and Construction

a) The framework of the hut is best made of thorn tree wood because of its elasticity. Next to be used is the more brittle hakjes (Acacia detinens Burch.) thorn. Other woods are used only as a last resort.

The dome shape of the hut demands that the framework of the hut have a definite curve.* The freshly pelled and trimmed branch (about

*This curve is the basis of a Hottentot designation for rainbow as tertium comparationis: °/a-hi|ha-/nab, i.e. "rain hut-pole."

5 centimeters across at the base) is placed flat on the ground. One end and the middle are weighted down by heavy stones. The free end is bent and braced against a stone block and kept in this position until the wood has dried and therefore stays bent. Or they place the branches in bundles upright in the ground, tie the free ends together, bend them down and hold them with a strap which is anchored to the ground. [Picture, Framework of a Hut].

i: Schultze--46A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Framework of a hut.

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as °!na/nihaigu. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called °/gurihaib or kxā!nab, also °/naihaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rush, a Mariscus species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called /hu- mi-haru s by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view. 2/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried.

Piercing and hemming (kxa-iam or °kxa-im) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, °/kxa-ru nā-b, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point so that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row."

"In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

chaukwe--41A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Cyperus, reed for a mat hut.

Bone needle for sewing mats.
a) side view; b) full view.
2/3 natural size.

flat iron awl. The awl was placed on a slant so a path for the thread would be held open. A reed was threaded instead of a needle and then worked into the opening. The Little Namaland people call this reed /kʔo-reub, but the Topnaars use this word to designate the end of the bast thread that is threaded into the bone needle. 342 285

When a few thousand reeds are lined up in this manner, they are pierced and sewn again in reverse order a few centimeters from the first row of sewing (see the arrows in the illustration). This is repeated in alternate directions until each meter long reed is pierced 16 to 18 times.

The free ends of the reeds are now bound together as the picture shows either in pairs or in threes and tied to the outer sewing thread all along the mat. Whatever part of the reed sticks out beyond this hem is cut off evenly with a knife leaving an amount the breadth of a finger. [Picture. Piercing and Hemming the Mats (Plan). a) Reed, b) Sewing Thread, c) Hem Thread.]

The mat is now ready for use. It is generally called /haru-b (3, m.). A mat called !gʔi/b is prepared from considerably longer and stronger reeds.

The length of the mat varies with the size of the hut (it must span the whole dome in one piece) and depending on the mat's position on the dome, is between 4 and 8 meters long and not quite 1 meter wide.

The reeds in the mat are placed only sufficiently close together to keep out direct sunlight. They let in enough scattered rays through the cracks to light up the hut pleasantly and also enough air to ventilate it. In comparison, the clay hut of the Herero is gloomy and dank but offers better protection against the rain. Only when it drizzles slowly and the mat has time to swell do the reeds contract to form a rainproof roof. [231] A mat lasts 10 to 15 years. When it reaches that worthy age it is called /ha-mi. [m]

c) The mat is fastened to the framework with straps or bast threads to the loops of the sewing threads that stick out like handles, in other words along the narrow sides of the mat. Mats (usually three) are hung (na/mi) with their long sides parallel to the ground from the bottom of the hut wall to about the height of a man. They thus embrace the framework like a crown. The edges overlap a great deal. The other 342 285

I: Schultze--48A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hannover FX13
Hanna

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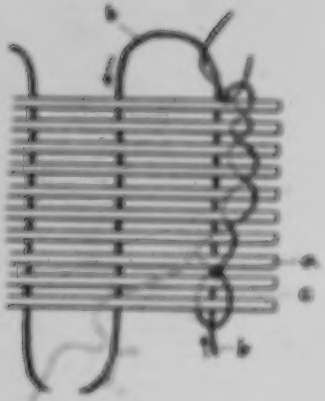
[illegible]



Piercing and hemming the mats (plan).
a) reed, b) sewing thread, c) hem thread.

mats are placed over the framework vertically to the others, usually so 352
that they run from door to door. [Picture. Completed Mat Hut.]

1. The furnishings of the hut consist of nothing except the barest [352]
necessities of daily life. Two doors, only one of which is ever used, the other being kept closed, control the ventilation. The door openings, "ǂnamaxa, i.e. "hut mouths," are about 60 centimeters wide and 1 and 1/2 meters high and are opposite each other. The front one faces east. The door itself is a hard goat skin or calf skin that has been dried stiff, "ǂgũ/kwagwa. A thong is fastened on each side and in the middle of the upper edge. These can be fastened to the hut wall in bad weather. If the inhabitants go out, a stone is placed on the overlapping edge of the skin to close up the hut completely. Here and there someone would remember that in the olden times elephant ears were made into door skins. [Picture. Floor Plan of a Hut. a) Front Door. b) Back Door. c) Fireplace. d) "Raiser" e) Framework Poles. f) Side Rooms. g) Back Room.]

[232] On the inside the levelled ground is covered with skins, ex- [352]
cept the hearth, located in the front half towards the door. 354

If the family is large, a hearth is built outdoors beside the hut and protected from the wind by a semicircle of transplanted bushes. But even if the cooking is done in such a kitchen protected from the wind, //haob, there is always a hearth in the hut. The evening fire that is lighted immediately after sunset unites the family and the inevitable boarders, friends, relatives and neighbors.

The sleeping places, ǂã-rogo, are right on the ground. All kinds 513
of skins are used as mattresses and sheep skins (cf. p. 234) as covers. 352
The sides of the hut, ǂanixa, i.e. the area behind the hearth to the right and left of the back room, (see below) are the best places for sleeping, and are reserved for the master and his wife and after them the older members of the family. The unmarried servants, hired man or maid-servant, usually Bergdamara people or Bushmen who look after the children and the cattle, sleep near the door.

The household utensils (cf. handicrafts) and the food supplies hang 415
from the poles of the framework or are packed in sinew nets or in skin 352
sacks. On the floor in the back room, ǂgu-rub, i.e. of the room between the place for the fire and the back door, stands the so-called "raiser", ǂhã/s, made from four vertical branches with twig stubs that are used as hooks for hanging things on. (ǂã/ti).

[331]

Completed mat hut.

Floor plan of a hut. a) front door, b) back door, c) fireplace, d) "raiser," e) framework poles, f) siderooms, g) back room.

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie. (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !hafs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

8. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 28|

1. Tanning, /no-ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [86]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (ǂa-mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [128]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/mi) with a piece of tanning stone (ǂkoms) the size of one's fist. [103]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no-ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (ǂhai, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles [129] [38] wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth.

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, 28| ǂgo'a-n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, 352. springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo'a-s. ǂgo'a-b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews.

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna-mti, made from sheep, jackal, 28| Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur 29| cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by [177] European clothing.

γ) The front apron °(!ga/a-b, 2, m.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, °//k!a-ngun, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, °/hõ/am/hoas, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail.

δ) The back apron (!gõ/s) of the girls (also specially called /gõ-/hes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The hat is called ui-mi!gõ-/hes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman.

ε)A11 the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 98) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Aba Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[235] ζ)The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ a/hõ s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis).

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin.

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hõ/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.]

Li Schubert--SBA N-8 (1803-1805) 1803 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Namaqua

[Between 234 and 235]

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in an apron.

A Tegnaar Hottentot woman with a child in Afra skin.

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in a karos.

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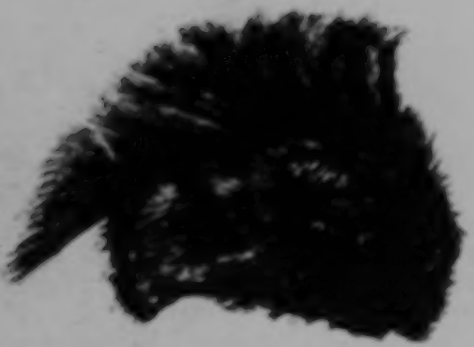
[p.236]



Cap made from the back skin of the Aardwolf. 1/6 natural size.

/hã/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari·, vb.). Further
preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for
oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag
Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular
outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and
has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the
irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is
about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles
[Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the
spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an
overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and
weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like
a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick
is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and
round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin
that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly
twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls
out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again
in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed
with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap
is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox
straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the
Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [?]
Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the
same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã·gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba·b is
cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 294
/a·bill) in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls.
1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a prepared [illegible]
goat skin. One has tried to connect the word /a·bill, [illegible] 196
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

1: Schultze--53A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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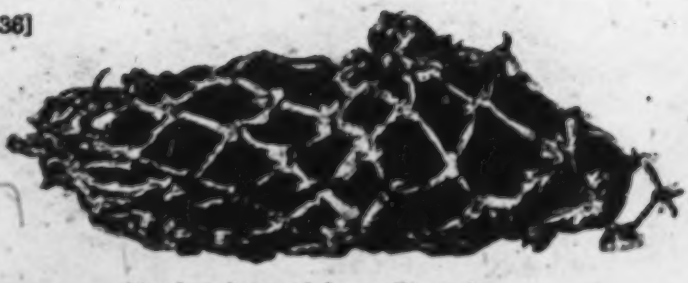

Net bag knotted from skin strips.
1/7 natural size.

Twisting the ox straps.

1: Schultze--538 N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[237]

Apron front of the girls.

The apron -- naturalia non sunt turpia -- may occasionally drip. Schinz (50) derives 196

> 50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc., Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

the word from the verb "to rain" and translates it as "drip." That is not possible linguistically since "to rain" is not /a-bi but /abi-. Krönlein (57)

> 57. J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

connects the word with the designation for "to slit," obviously connecting it with the apron's slit strips. But the word used for slitting the skin for medical reasons is pronounced /a^bi- (3. st.), which is different from the word for front apron in its initial, tone level, its word-tone, and the place of its accent. [Ed. note: These terms are explained on pp. 143-151.] In my opinion this is a case of three words which are not derived from each other; there are three stems with the same arrangement of letters, each one of which is independent phonetically and in its meaning.

1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a depilated sheep or goat skin. Then one side is slit (from the future bottom edge) into long strips about 2 millimeters wide. On the opposite end an edge about 15 centimeters wide is left, the future upper edge of the apron. The piece of skin which has thus been cut is folded three times so that the hanging strips are thick enough to cover nakedness. The upper edge is folded [238] and the strap that holds it up is drawn through. The strap tsõ-ab, is one centimeter wide and sewed to the apron to the right and left. It is drawn around the hips and fastened in back. 294

e) The economy sack, /na-ma//hã/s, holds all the household scraps which might perhaps be useful later. Here a few coffee beans may be lying about, there gourd seeds, here a strip of leather, there 415

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in 415
the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles.
For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Oreotragus saltator (Layard)] 281
skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews
except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is
just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the
sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls
of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have
collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, ǂkʗa·bis, to store tobacco. A 415
pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, 276
sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the
pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and
then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he
crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the
stuffing (/kʗaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from
nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up
the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap
of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used 294
for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces
(/kʗa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a
bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in
moist sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten
with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used
without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the out-
side surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo·b, also means shoe). It is to be [294
assumed that sandals, /kʗabu·s, were the original foot wear of the 177]
Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally
wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is 415
made into a large water bag, ǂga/ba·b. The left front leg of a freshly 281
killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of
the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening.
Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hõ‡ti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro //hõ‡s*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

[p.239]

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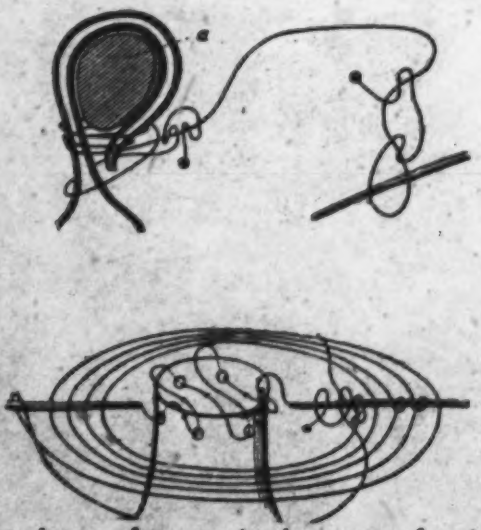
Woman's shoe.
1/4 natural size.

The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. Cf. next figure.)



Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

1: Schultze--56B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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415
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[p.240]

Traveling knapsack made from a goat's skin.
1/6 natural size.

Small household knapsack, made from kid skin.
1/6 natural size.

word stem doro- which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari). 196 372 [m]

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro /ho̱ḍs, about 1/4 natural size.] 281

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa-ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used. 283

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips. [824]

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /a̱ḍb, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. [516]

1: Schultze--57A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[241]

Doro //hõ/ɪ. About 1/4 natural size.

they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. The flat surface of the leg 283
serves as a base for their work. Two bast fibres are stretched out across the leg, held between the fingers of the left hand and with the right hand rolled firmly over the skin of the leg so that each fibre twists over itself. During this rolling motion towards the knee each of the two fibres is twisted individually. They are rolled back immediately which twists them together into one thread.

They solve the problem of making one long knotless string many meters in length out of hundreds of short fibres in the following way: [Picture. Twisting of Long Strings From Short Threads (plan)].

1. (See Figure I.) The end of thread a, which is to be lengthened, is spread out in a fork shape. Thread b, also spread in a fork shape, is placed on thread a so that its longer tine lies on the shorter tine of thread a and its shorter tine is on thread a's longer one. Thread b_1 is half as large as a.

2. (See Figure II.) Each fork that consists of two fibres or threads that lie loosely beside each other (until *) is twisted into one thread by rolling it towards the knee. The reverse rolling makes the twisted tines into a single piece of thread. Thread b_1 is now anchored. The free end of thread a is now forked making two tines, one longer than the other. The latter now is attached to the free end of thread b_1.

3. (See Figure III.) A double rolling motion brings the loose ends together to **, making a new piece of thread. The longer piece of thread b_2 is placed on the last little end of thread a, and the shorter side of thread b_2 is placed on the free end of thread b_1 and all these pieces are twisted together to one piece of thread to ***. [Picture. A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.]

In this way all the shorter threads are twisted into one string, the strength of which leaves nothing to be desired. [Picture. Making the sinew knots in the net bag.] [Picture. Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.]

The only useful object made exclusively [244] of sinews (and 283
preferably from those of an oryx) is a large net bag, ~~fu'i.s~~, which is 415
used in the hut as a kind of bag drawer for keeping all kinds of things. 286
When traveling it is used as a rucksack for bedding. A similar bag is 484
also knotted from narrow strips of chamois skin.

283

[p.242]

Twisting of long strings from short threads (plan).

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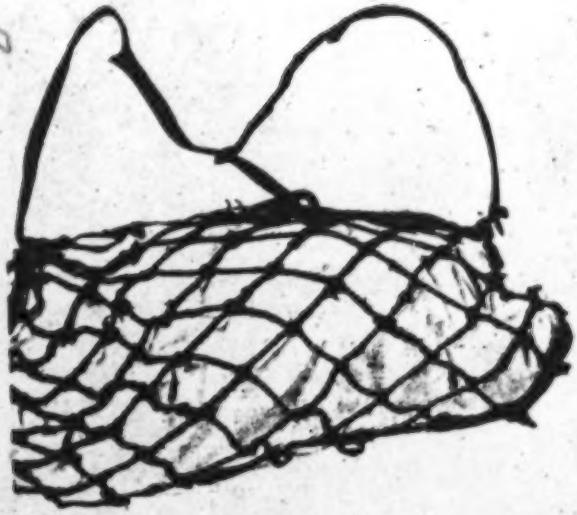
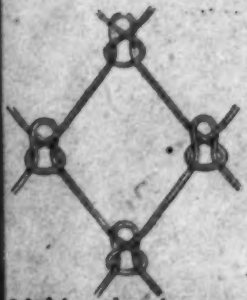
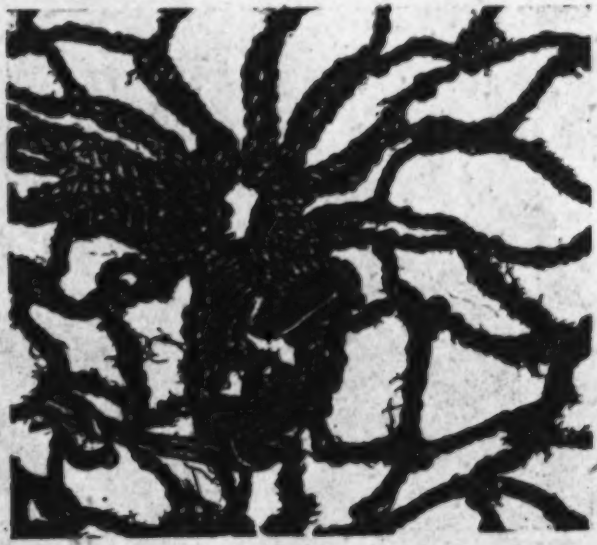


A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.



Making the sinew knots in the net bag.



Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare·s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoĕti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoĕti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ≠aigaĩ //hoĕs, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[Refer to diagram on p. 59 (A). — Analyst]

1:Schultze--69A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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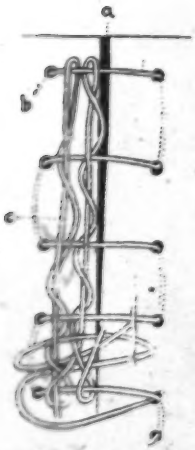
[244]

f

!ao//hoẽti, milk pails, "neck bamboo."



Repair of wooden article.

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Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: /algaĩ//hoëti, "foot bamboo." b: !ore-s, dish used for eating.

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūⁿs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *ǂkʟoē.kʟoēsūⁿs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gūⁿs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂkʟanu·b and *ǂkʟanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation.--Analyst]

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[p246]

Baked clay vessel of the old kind.
1/4 natural size.

1: Schultze--60B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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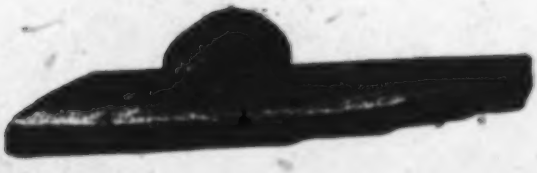

Stone mill for hand use. 1/4 natural size.

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nõ-ti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kχõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõ-hs (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukausib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !hai-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /uiǃkʔõb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call ǃha·bes. 324 276

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available. 325 301 [439]

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, ǃganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1] 325 301 57

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross-lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

[1] [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see cat. 116, p. 62(B). -Analyst]

1: Schultze--62A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f a serpentine pipe of European design.

1: Schultze--628 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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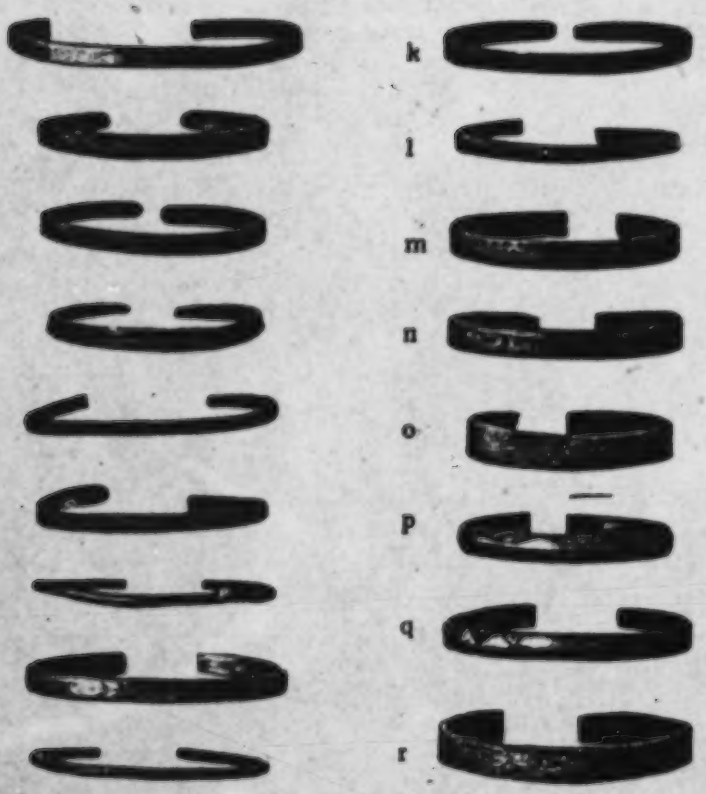

Bracelets. 4/5 natural size.

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to prehistoric ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i. 301 325 531

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (l). The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251] A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, !gamti, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are 301 304

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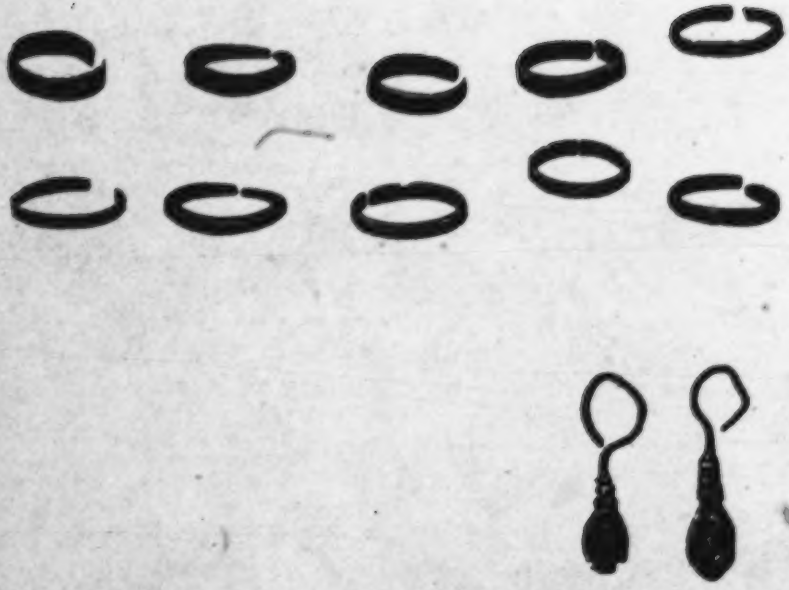

Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

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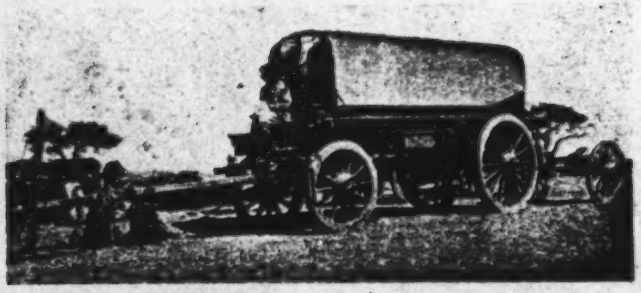
[p252]

Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin.
In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.

1: Schultze--64B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

493



South African ox wagon.

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (ǂhabu·, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle. 221 233 492 493 494

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight. 233 221 484

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at 175 233

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 233 178

earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 233 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72). 233 174

71. E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

72. G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland all together, so that the race which the Hottentots originally owned, i.e. at the time they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and

1: Schultze--66A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p.254]

Namagua trek ox, about 6 years.

1: Schultze--668 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and squattier body.

squattier body.] The only clue is a tradition maintained by the natives and the settlers which designates a certain cattle type as native to Namaland and the model of the old cattle of the Hottentots. This cannot be proved. It is probably only a general likeness. Two such cattle are presented here.[1] An expert on domestic cattle will perhaps be able to distinguish what is characteristic of the Namaland race by a comparison (73) of these pictures with those of the "afrikaner," the 233 174

73. H. v. Francois, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe). [n.d.] ed.

Bechuans' and Damaras' cattle. */hō·nati is the name the Hottentot gives [256] cows imported from Europe, whose most noticeable characteristic for him are its small horns.

b) The propagation of South African cattle has certain common characteristics in spite of the different racial mixtures. At the time of the best pasturage, i.e. in the fall when the summer rains of the so-called "great" period have fallen, in other words in our territory in March and April, the bull copulates most frequently and most effectively. Since the cow carries for nine months, calving time comes in December and January. The irregularities in the arrival of the rain and therefore of the sprouting of the pastures cause the time of copulation to vary and along with it the calving time. [Picture. "Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.] 233

The Hottentot keeps careful track of the increase in his herds by noting the life history of each individual cow. He knows the age of his cattle better than his own. He also knows about each cow in his herd, whether she is pregnant (*tra·nu, v.) and calving (!kya/n/ī) for the first time, or whether she is bearing for the second or third time (/gam and *!nona· //kxum go/ma·s).

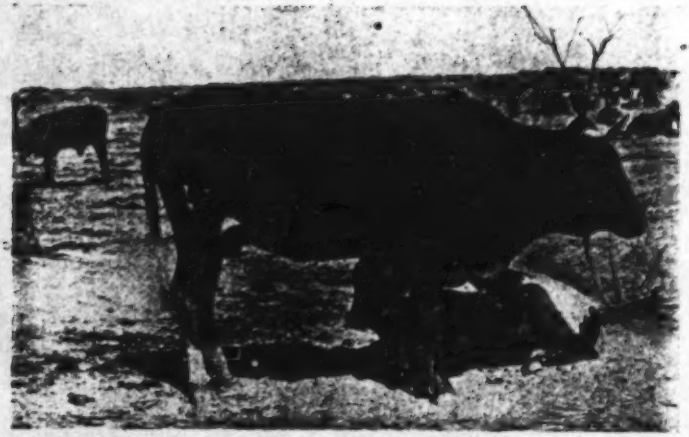
When the part right under the root of the tail of the pregnant cow loses its tension and the inner parts shake under the skin with every step, the calf is expected that same day. A herdsman [257] has to guard the cow then specially and bring the mother and the calf immediately back to the house.

The milk secretion of the South African cow, in contrast to our native cattle, has preserved its original function as a phenomenon of

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 66(A) and 66(B). --Analyst]

1: Schultze--67A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p.256]



"Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.

reproduction, is periodic like the latter, and adapted in quantity to 233
the nutritional needs of the calf. Therefore the Hottentot calls the milch cow *//ora·go/mas (from //ora·, to bear). When the calf is old enough to nourish itself, the milk secretion stops and the cow "goes dry," */õ or ũ/. The milk production of a single cow varies greatly. There are native cows who give milk, although in diminishing amounts, until shortly before the next calf, if the pasturage is good. If all the conditions favorable to milk production occur simultaneously, even the South African cow is supposed to be able to give 10 to 15 liters a day. About 4 liters a day seems to be average for the "afrikaner" race. (73) In dry years under certain conditions the cow gives so

73. Ibid.

little milk that the calf starves and therefore milking cannot be considered.

If the calf dies early or is born dead (≠kxa/m), the cow at first gives only a little milk, 1/2 to 3/4 of a liter night and morning during the first week, except for the "biesmilk" (see below) which is easily drawn off. Gradually, with proper treatment, the cow will give as much milk as one with a living calf. If the calfless cow does not wish [232]
to give milk, the Hottentot blows air in her genitals or he deceives her with the skin of a dead calf. All kinds of cattle, whether cows, goats or sheep which are milked without the aid of the calf or lamb are called oro·s. The milk production of the South African cow is supposed to be greatest after the third or fourth calf.

c) Although milking is man's work among the cattle-owning Bantu [171]
tribes, among the Hottentots it is regularly the work of the women and girls, the man only doing it to help out (concerning milking time see management of the herd).

Before being milked, the cow's hind legs are tied together with straps; if a peaceful animal above the ankle, if unruly right under the shoulder. Ones that buck are also firmly tied to a pole near the hut or to the kraal by a strap around the horns. The three methods of tying are differentiated as *!go·robis, *ǂī·bis and *χo·mais.

[258] If the cow is standing, the calf is allowed to suck for a short time (the younger ones longer than the older ones) and then the woman comes with the wooden pail, drives the calf away from the udder with a stick and milks. Where there are many cows, milking is done all

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai·daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called °tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk °tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop. 233

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //ha/mi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (°ǂhirasãb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called °!kũã//gyere//ha/mi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called °da//ha/mi. [824]

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals. [312]

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, go/ma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

sharpened for generations and practiced since youth, and then the knowledge that a mistake will cause him to wander around half-starved and without success for days, enable him to accomplish things which no white man can equal. [Picture. Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.] 233

The cows, go/ma·ti, are driven to the pasture early in the morning, then left to themselves. Evenings they come back of their own accord to the kraal. The milking cows know that they will find their calves there and the others are accustomed to go with the mother animals. Old cows which can no longer have calves are fattened for slaughter by placing them with the oxen. The latter wander farther afield than the cows that come home every evening, and therefore find better grass and graze longer, as they do not lose any time wandering back and forth. A sterile young cow, ǂgõ/a·s (also called gau'/kʊãs i.e. fat body), is [260] usually left with the herd as an ornament because she normally stays well-nourished and has a shining coat.

The calves (called tsaũna until weaned) are separated from the cows in the evening after they have sucked and placed in a kraal. The kraal, !ha/ra·s (3. st.) is usually made by the Hottentots from topped thorn bushes, more rarely from stones and clay and is an outdoor enclosure about as high as a man. The mother animals bed down in the open near by. Early in the morning the calves are allowed to go to their mothers and then are driven out into the field in a different direction from the latter. They stay out until evening under the constant guard of a herder. Only when a calf becomes seriously thin is it allowed to go along with the mother to the meadow (sao', vb.). [Picture. "Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.]

Breeding in the sense of a selection of certain animals or a regulation of the time and place of propogation is unknown to the Hottentot. The bull, //gõ/b, rules with complete freedom over his harem in the field, at the watering places and in the kraal. During the rainy season, from October and November until February or March he follows the cows closely. At the beginning of the dry season, after he has impregnated them all, he absents himself and lives alone in the field until the time of the first rains. Only when he cannot find enough water does he come near the kraal to drink. Otherwise he (//an) "lives" outside. Because of this and because of his bad temper, he is called [232]

1: Schultze--70A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

233

Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1, 60 meters.

1: Schultze--70B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

"Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.

233

*//kxao//an//gō!b. //kxaob- is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground. [824]

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

e) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called *//kxamgo/mab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep, 1/4 the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

The Hottentot who has the job of catching the young untamed ox, quickly makes his way through the crowd of cattle in which the ox is standing and places a stick between its legs. On the stick is the noose of a "catching strap" about 10 meters long. The frightened animal jumps forward with one foot, it does not matter which one, and is caught. Four to six men hold tightly to the other end of the strap and wait until the animal has more or less worn itself out with raging. Then two men approach the ox cautiously from behind, the one to the right, the other to the left, holding a long strap right across the back of the ox. When the strap is across the horns of the ox, one man goes [262] around the ox at a respectful distance, makes a noose and lets the other man tighten it. While the animal is now drawn to one side by the men with the "catching strap" and by the one who holds the noose on his horns, another man twists the animal's tail in an arc across its back in the opposite direction with such violence that the ox falls down and gives up all resistance. The Hereros are said to do the same thing. [171]

I have not observed how the Hottentots castrate, dabi-, the animals. I found out from the natives that formerly rich Hottentots celebrated the successful conclusion of a mass castration by slaughtering a calf. The meat was supposedly boiled with the testicles of the castrated animals and mashed. When the horns of the calves are between the length of the little finger and a hand, they consider it the proper time for castrating. A bull that is castrated later is distinguished from the other oxen by the term *kxoa-kxoa-dabi-b, because he has become 1/4 [i.e., whip. -Andrzej]

232
233

1: Schultze--71A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

492
493

A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long Zweep[1/2] the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.

[1/2] [i.e., whip. - Analyst]

"strong" (kx'oa-kx'oa-, vb.) by the postponement of castration. Actually 232 he is stronger than those castrated young but he does not have anything 233 like their endurance. [Picture. Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.] I was not able to observe how they train the riding oxen and the pack oxen (both called !ga-rub) and how they accustom the draught and trek oxen (ǂgaēgo/mab) to the yoke.

2. The Sheep and the Goat

Sheep and goats have exchanged their roles as to relative numbers 233 in the herds of the Hottentots in the course of the last century. The [178] fat-tailed sheep, gũ'b, according to reports from the beginning of the previous century, (6) once existed in tremendous numbers, but are now

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc. [so printed in Bib., ed.] from the Year 1822 to 1831. New York, 1841.

fewer in number than the goat, b(i)ri-b, which formerly was not kept at all. [Plate XI. A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia. Hottentot boy in an apron.]

[263] What the original race of sheep kept by the Hottentots looked like can no longer be determined. The illustrations here show sheep that are today designated as the Nama race by the settlers and natives. The same is true of the goats. [Picture. Nama wether.] [Picture. Nama goats.]

Goats and sheep are tended during the day in the field as are the calves and during the night are kept in the kraal. Individual goats or small groups do not need tending. They quickly get used to coming back home by themselves in the evening, recognize dangerous predatory animals which threaten them and flee, whereas sheep are stupid. But a larger herd of goats or sheep always needs a herdsman. Without him (not counting dangers and theft) the animals crowd each other in the pasture or scatter too far. An important job of the herdsman is to collect the animals in the shade of a tree or rock during the hot hours so that they rest. This gathering of cattle seeking shade is characteristic for the noon landscape of the pastures.

The lambs (//kx'aogu) and kids (b(i)ri-rogu) stay permanently in a special kraal as long as they are little and are allowed [264] to go to the

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[p.262]

Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.

342
142
291
133
415

[Between 262 and 263]

Plate XI.

A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

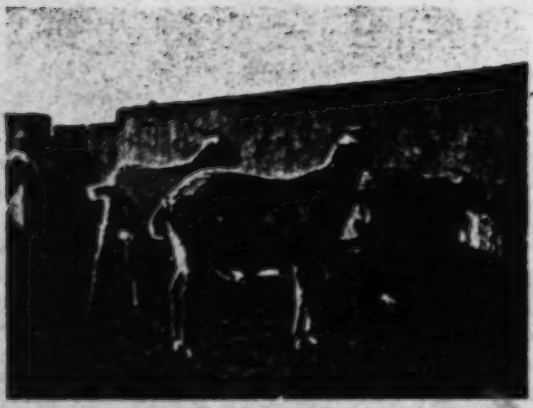
Hottentot boy in an apron.

1:Schultze--728 N-5 (1903-1906) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

1: Schultze--72C N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[263]

Nama wether.



Nama goats.

233 mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (ǂhau·ǀbe, vb. I heard older people say ǂhau·ǀra

The billy goat (ǂkʰaǀra b(i)rib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (baib, i.e. the butting one) (57) always pasture freely with the

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

[565] The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called tsau· b(i)rigu. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail [262] fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name, 233 as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat 552 race] I only came across two instances [265] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru·s and ǃxã·sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (ǃxã) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual 233 names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

1: Schultze--73A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

233

[p.264]

Kapater of the Nama goat race.

233 One is forced to define more precisely several popular designations. Checked: a few, large, irregular colored areas, often joined together. Spotted: numerous medium-sized separate colored areas. Speckled or dotted: innumerable, little, separate colored spots. We may disregard the solid colors.

a) The following designations are exclusively for cattle (unless otherwise stated):

1. *ǂkχ!na/m: With any general coloring, a black spot on each side is characteristic.

2. /hõ: black and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and dogs).

3. //gani·: Reddish-brown and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and horses).

4. *ǂnũ!/garu: speckled with black and white, (also for sheep goats and dogs). The marking of the guinea-fowl, for example, is characterized with /garu· (cf. the leopard).

5. */a·ba/garu·: speckled red and white.

6. *!aũ!huni·: referring to the greyish yellow-brown coloring of the rock-rabbit; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

7. *!u/ri ǂgui!gã/: white around the mouth, nostrils and end of the nose bridge.

8. /a·baχ!gã·/: general red coloring with a white back (not the reverse as might be surmised from a translation that is close to it but contradictory in meaning).

9. ǂnũ/χ!gã/: general black coloring with a white back.

10. *ǂnũ/!na/meri: general black color. Belly white to the flanks.

11. */a·ba!na/meri: general red color. White belly.

[266] 12. *ǂnũ/!nã/: general black color. Middle of the forehead and bridge of the nose white; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

13. */a·ba!nã/: general reddish-brown coloring, otherwise like 12.

14. *!buni!nã/: general yellow coloring with a blaze i.e. white stripe on the middle of the forehead and the bridge of the nose.

15. ǂnũ/!ao: any general coloring, but a black ring around the neck.

16. */a·ba!ao: like 15 but with a reddish-brown ring around the neck.

[Picture. A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer States.] 233

17. *!nā/kχao: any general coloring, but with white on the buttocks, also for goats.

18. *!huni· //gani·: yellow and white checked; also for goats.

19. *!nā//aē: any general color, only white in the groin.

b) only valid for goats.

20. *ǂnū/ǂūra: spotted black.

[Picture. Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.]

21. */a· baǂū· ra: spotted red.

22. *!goa/!ao: with a blackish-brown band around the neck.

23. */haiǂga·e: white behind the ears.

24. *!kχan!gã/: with a light-colored stripe on the back like an eland antelope.

[267] 25. //aru·: (used by old Hottentots) speckled black and white.

c) Valid only for sheep:

26. *ǂu/niam·: black marking around the mouth (the black coloring on the mouth of the white sheep is as striking as the black jaws on a colorless insect larva (/u ni·s).

27. *ǂnū!- or /a·ba-χõ·b: with black or reddish-born cheeks.

28. *ǂa·rib, also called *b(i)ritsinã·χas by children when teasing, is what a sheep or goat with naturally stubby ears is called.

[Picture. Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white)]

A favorite hobby of the Hottentots is collecting (/gẽ, vb.) animals colored the same. To this end they trade cattle, sheep and goats. The Hottentot marks his cattle by definite cuts or notches, piercing or lopping the ears. 233 523

4. The Horse

The horse lives free in the fields as the cattle do and is easily caught at the watering places. Sometimes, especially in the broad plains of the Kalahari, the horse begins to turn wild and flees as soon as it sees a man coming from afar. If the tamer horses (easy to catch when alone) become accustomed to the leadership of such a shy animal, the owner is in a critical situation. In one case shooting the unapproachable horse was the only way of getting possession of the others. 231

1: Schultze--75A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

233

A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer states.

Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.

1: Schultze--75B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white.)

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama·, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they fend off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 224 [177]

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1. The Wild Animals*

*This will only be a list, and when it seems valuable in the interest of lucidity for those not familiar with local conditions, there will be a brief description of the huntable animals of Great Namaland [Footnote goes on to p. 269] according to their most obvious characteristics. Closer observations about their way of life and a completion of the list from the zoological standpoint will be given later.

The wild animals which the Hottentot still hunts represent only a skimpy remnant of the wealth of his former hunting grounds. All the wild animals which can be hunted are called am/nēn, [269] χa·manin, *χabaran or χamaren. The large wild animals of the Hottentot hunter are, except for the ostrich and the zebra, only of historical interest. Foremost stands:

1. The elephant, Elephas africanus (Blumenb.) (Cape D. Oliphant)[1] called ǂkχoa·b.

Although for two generations or longer no Hottentot has seen an elephant in his homeland, I still found a few recollections from the time when it was hunted. It is supposed to have been a major rule that none of the hunters should have intercourse with his wife the night before a hunt; otherwise the elephant would point at him with his trunk and throw earth at him. The guilty one could no longer take part in the hunt then.

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The position of the teats in front on the breast and the shape of the vulva awoke the easily excited sensuality of the Hottentots. One Hottentot told me the following hunting story: Two brothers-in-law went out and after a successful hunt the older one warned the younger one not to approach the downed elephant from behind, but he paid no attention to the warning and was punished by an uncontrollable erection which made him walk lame (*/ĩ) and still makes him the laughing stock of all hearers of the joke. The wording of the story was: kχoē /uigukχa χa ĩ gye gye !auhe ǂkχoana. okχa gye ǂkχoasa gye !gam. ob gye gaiba go sĩ tsĩ: "tã kχaos /kχãb ai ĩ," ti go mĩ. χabeb gye ǂkχama go ĩ tsĩ ǂkχoas di /oasa mũ tsĩ ǂgũi tsĩ /ĩ go /kχĩ. ob gye gaiba: "tareē dĩ tsi?" ob gye: "m'm, χũ tomaĩ" ti go mĩ.

[1] [i.e., Cape Dutch or Boer. – Analyst]

Nowadays the elephant has vanished from Namaland forever. In 136
the northern parts of Herero Land it is supposedly slowly returning.

Formerly the elephant was widespread in South Africa. In the Transvaal, in the territory of the Matabele chief, Moselikatse, Captain Harris found an astonishing number of elephants, alone in a valley, peacefully shut off, hundreds of giants. Today a hunter could roam through the Matabele land and the Mashona land for a year without finding an elephant. Kaffraria, Natal and Zululand which were inhabited by large elephant herds in the previous century are now forever depopulated. In northern Bechuan land (in the territory of the Bamangwato) and especially in [270] the Ngami Lake region the brutal business of the ivory hunters flourished. It has been estimated that for the annual world consumption of ivory a total of 100,000 elephants are killed. (74) South Africa has paid its tribute and is now bankrupt

74. H. A. Bryden, Kloof and Karroo, London, 1889.

in the ivory market. Only a few herds of elephants are kept in the southernmost tip, in game preserves in the Addo-Bush, in the Knysna and Zitzikamma forests.

2. Of the rhinoceros, uncertain whether Rh. simus Burch. or Rh. bicornus (L.), -- (Cape D. rhenoster), there is only a vague remembrance in Namaland, based on the name !na/ba·b. The name of the plant mentioned on page 201 indicates that the rhinoceros was formerly well-known in Namaland. As late as the second half of the eighteenth century the Rh. bicornis was widespread (cf. p. 168, no. 75) in the Cape colony. The last one is supposed to have been seen in the Addo-Bush in 1849.

3. The true quagga, Equus quagga Gmel. has been completely exterminated. Not even its Hottentot name remains for certain. Only once did a native mention the name /goa-χab when I enquired after the vanished zebra that only has stripes on the front half of its body.

We have only a small amount of usable information about the former extent of the quagga in South Africa. It is certain that it once lived here in great numbers. In the great Karroo and in the plains of the northern Cape colony, in Griqualand and in the Orange Free State, it was usually found in the company of the black wildebeest and the ostrich. The Boers hunted the quagga to feed their Hottentot and Bushmen slaves and thus to save their cattle. They traded their hides

and did not desist until the last quagga had vanished from the earth. 136
That was achieved about 1880.

4. The zebra, !go·reb, is known to the Hottentots in two forms, which we differentiate as Equus Zebra L. (= E. montanus Burch (Cape D. wildepaard) and E. burchelli Gray (Cape D. bonta quagga). The first zebra, which the Hottentot himself designates as the smaller kind living in the mountains, he calls *//kǂao·!goreb, probably from the spurge (cf. p. 150), the juice of which he uses to poison the animals [224]
at their watering places. Another name for E. zebra is */hõ·/!goreb, i.e. "the one marked black and white." This designation, which would be suitable for all zebras, is only understandable as a diagnostic term taken from its antithesis: [271] the dark striping of E. burchelli, that inhabits the broad plains, is scantier than that on the other kind, the white basic color of the body shines out and is broader and therefore they call this kind *!u·/ri!goreb or the "white zebra."

The remote mountain country in the west of the lower course of the Fish River and the eastern Namib plains in the northern border country are the last refuges of small zebra herds in Great Namaland.

At the end of the 80's the Equus zebra could still be found in the mountainous parts of the eastern Cape colony. In the mountains around Naroekaspoort (74) (70 miles from Willomore) a zebra herd,

74. Ibid.

except for one male zebra, was killed by the Boers and the natives. The lonely animal attached itself to the horses of a farmer that were pastured in the open, followed them on all their wanderings, followed them even into the kraal of the farm. There the zebra starved to death, since it refused to eat even the food that was brought to him from his former pasture grounds. [Picture. Equus burchelli Gray.]

5. The hippopotamus, Hippopotamus amphibius L., (Cape D. Zeekoe), called !kǂaos or *ikǂums, formerly numerous in all the rivers on the Cape, exists today in only a few examples in the lower course of the Orange.

6. The giraffe, Giraffa capensis (Lesson), (Cape D. kameel,) called !na/i·b, as older travel reports all relate, could still be found at the turn of the [272] nineteenth century in Great Namaland but is now wiped out there and lives only in folk tales. [Picture. Young male giraffe.]

7. The ostrich, Struthio australis L., (Cape D. vool struis), called /ami·b (Illustration with the folk tales) can be met in all parts of Great

1: Schultze--79A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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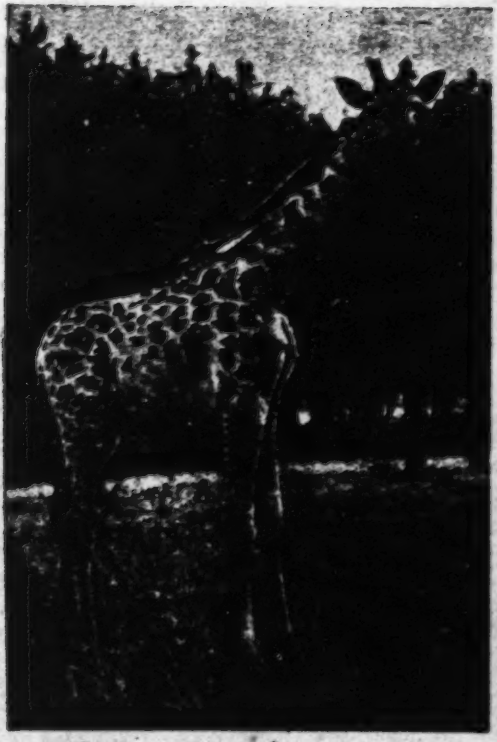
[R271]

Equus burchelli Gray.

1: Schultze--79B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama



Young Male Giraffe.

Namaland, and in greatest numbers in the transitional zone of the Namib to the hinterland. I also saw them south of the Orange in the Little Bushman land. 136

Because of its incomparable sharp sightedness the Hottentot also calls it °//ga°ba mũ°s (from °//ga°ba·-to see far in the distance, mũ°s - eye). The native hunter distinguishes among the females a certain hen that appears alone in a flock, is easier to drive off and has a tendency to grow fat. He gives her the name °ã·bes, distinguishing it from the other female ostriches which he calls °/hai·! noro·s, "the one with the fallow back of the head." /naba·b (3. st.) is the young ostrich. 136 224

Next to the ostrich the bustards, Eupodotis species, are the stateliest wild birds of Namaland. 136

8. The lion, Felis leo L., (Cape D. leeuw), called ǂa·mi, has also disappeared today from the Namib and the bordering territories, its last refuge, and is only found in the northeast, in the transitional zone between Great Namaland and Kalahari.

9. The kudu, Strepsiceros capensis (A. Smith), called ǂaib begins the series of antelopes. Large, strong and of a wonderful symmetry, the kudu is rightly considered [273] the noblest horned wild animal of the South African savanna, just as in our woods the deer is, which the kudu also resembles in size. It is also like our deer in that only the male has antlers. There is no more beautiful trophy that the horns of an old kudu bull with their bold spirals,

The color of the kudu is a plain yellow grey. About seven narrow whitish stripes cross the back and hind legs. From the root of the tail to the back of the head, a stripe of somewhat longer hair grows along the middle of the back. It is too short to be called a mane. [Picture. Felis leo L.] But a stately beard begins between the lower jaws of the bull, descends down a middle line, decorating the front surface of the darker grey neck and continues sideways above the shoulders as a little neck-mane.

The kudu loves dense undergrowth and is restricted to the interior of Great Namaland in the mountainous parts. It becomes frightened when it observes an enemy. The nearest relative of this marvelous antelope,

[274] 10. the eland, Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), called !kǂa/ns is quite the opposite in its outward appearance. The short strong legs with the clumsy hoofs and the awkward burden of the bulky, extended body reveal nothing of the antelope. The long dark mane on the

1: Schultze--89A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Felis leo L.

136 forehead of the bull, the well-developed dewlap and the hump on the back over the shoulders rather give the impression of a gigantic bull. The long thin tail with its (black) tassel is also similar to that of a bull. The antlers of the male consist of strong stubby cones, of the female of less strong, slimmer and somewhat longer cones, which go up at an angle towards the back with a markedly protruding spiral twist in the lower half. Eight to ten thin whitish stripes across the back, which dissolve into the lower parts of the flanks, recall, as does the greyish-yellow of its general coloring, the skin of the kudu. The eland seems to be restricted to the extreme northeast of Namalagid and even there is rare.

11. The "gemsbok," Oryx gazella (L.), called /gaêb, is the antelope of the flat semi-desert country. The border territory of the Namib and of the hinterland is at the time of the best pasturage his favorite territory.

The gemsbok has the size of a small deer. Next to the springbok, he has the most varied coloring of the south African antelopes. The basic color of the trunk and neck is a light grey-brown, that becomes whitish on the flag. A dark-brown stripe goes along its back, continues forwards to the short mane of the back, backwards broadly along the small of the back and into the long bushy tail, that at times seems very dark-black. A similar dark stripe extends from the throat down the middle of the neck and forks between the front legs. The prongs of the fork diverge as broad bands along the stomach and proceed to the hind legs. The white wedge-shaped field, which they have a tendency to bite into, continues to the area of the knee of the hind legs. A broad dark-brown band surrounds the upper leg of the front legs. The white area of the knees and hoofs is interrupted on the front side by a long, dark-brown spot. The black-brown marking of the face resembles a deep and richly cut mask which contrasts sharply with the exposed parts of the face that shine a brilliant white.

Young gemsbok, with little horns about the length of half a finger and bent at the ends, are colored an even light-brown. Only the bushy [275] end of the tail has a lot of black hair. A dark stripe that extends from the front edge of the eye towards the corner of the mouth indicates the black facial coloring of the grown animal (blurred over the forehead and nose). The Hottentot calls an oryx calf up to this stage /kya-reb. 136 825 An older calf, the horn of which is the length of a small arm is called ‘nanb. Finally the hunter differentiates the grown animal before the first

pairing as ǂnũ///nãũseb, i.e. "black horn," because the horns still have a fresh dark color, not the grey flaky surface of the older animal. The native hunter calls the old gemsbok bull that has been driven from the herd, //naisib. [Picture. Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young springbok ♂] 136 125

The horns (in the male stronger and stubbier) are like two strong spears, ringed in the lower half, up to one meter long, which diverge slightly on the flat of the forehead and then rise towards the back at a slant. The Boer name, "gemsbok," which has been accepted everywhere in South Africa, shows, as do so many other names, what a childishly vague memory of his school-days the Boer had when he approached the animal world of his new homeland. 136

12. The springbok, Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm., called //gũ, is in build, marking and size the prototype of the delicate light-footed gazelle. It has the size of a large deer. The symmetrical body rests on tall, slender legs; a slim neck bears the little head with the lyre horns. From the lower shoulder a dark-brown, wide band rises up obliquely and continues to the hips and separates sharply the light yellow-brown of the back from the snow white of the belly. In front, the brown of the back continues to the neck and the outer sides of the front legs. In back, it extends along [276] the outer side of the upper hind legs, but leaves the whole front half of them free. The flag is also white. From it a sharply drawn white stripe runs down the middle of the back and ends shortly before the center. The white of the belly also covers the breast and extends as a narrow band down the middle line of the neck to the throat. The face of the springbok is also white. The large dark eyes peer out expressively. A dark-brown band, that unites the upper lip with the front corner of the eye, enlivens the features. A spot over the eye and one on the forehead (at times, especially in young males, extended over the whole bridge of the nose) complete the simple, yet lively marking of the little animal.

The springbok lives on the open plains in herds of many hundreds, sometimes of many thousands. His striking movements have given him his name. The animals jump so high that in spite of the speed of each motion, a measurable length of time passes before they touch the ground again. They seem then, when they have nearly jumped straight up into the air, to stay up there for a second with all four legs. Even more graceful are the motions of these animals when they are suddenly disturbed and are propelled into the air as if by an invisible power, now to the right, now to the left, expressing their excitement in whimsical jumps which go half-forwards and half-sideways. Then they

1: Schultze--82A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p275]

Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young Male
Springbock ♂

set off in full flight. And then sometimes one sees them jump straight up into the air in the middle of the speediest gallop, leaping over the bushes like a kangaroo. The back is bent, the head outstretched and the broadly unfolded flabellum, a bundle of long snow-white erect hair, shines out. 136

The lamb of the springbok is called //gu·nib by the hunter. The old ram who has been pushed out of the herd is called */gu·riseb or */gurimāb, i.e. "he who stands alone." [425]

13. The steinbok, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), called !a·ris, is a small (the size of a fawn) reddish-brown antelope that usually grazes alone. The male is armed with straight, thin, smooth, black, pointed spearlike horns that rise straight up. There is often a striking black spot on the bridge of the nose, that extends halfway up to the eyes. Sometimes one hears a Hottentot, who wishes to make fun of someone's dirty nose, say: "!aris k‡oma ǂnū ǂguisa ũ," i.e. "you, with a nose black as that of a steinbok." [522]

[277] 14. The klipspringer (see illustration p. 278) Oreotragus saltator (Layard) (Cape D. klipbok), called //k‡aĩ·is or //k‡aĩ·sis, could be called the chamois of South Africa. It lives in small herds exclusively in clefted mountain country. With certainty and grace it climbs over the cleft rocks. Without taking a running start, only bending the hind knees slightly, he jumps nearly straight up into the air the height of his own body to ascend the steep steps of the weathered gneiss and granite hills. He knows how to judge distances so accurately and so to judge the amount of strength needed, that even after a bold leap he can land with extraordinary certainty on an edge scarcely a handsbreadth wide. The hoofs of the little animal do not extend flat towards the front in a pointed triangle, like those of other antelopes, but are shaped like powerful cylinders that go up at a slant. The animal stands on the outermost tips of these hoofs as though on cothurni. [Picture, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.) Steinbok ♀]

The skin of the klipspringer is also remarkable. Thick bristly hairs form a soft, elastic cover, which rustles peculiarly when a hand runs over it. The tips of most of the hairs are colored a light yellowish and are set off sharply from the exposed dark parts of the shafts of the hair. The skin, that from a distance seems to be uniformly greyish-brown, proves on closer inspection to be brilliantly variegated. The male has horns like those of the steinbok.

1: Schultze--83A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.277]

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.). Steinbok, ♀

15. The duikerbok, Cephalophus grimmi (Gray), called *tõa·s or 136
also */ha/nu·s, lives, as the steinbok does, alone or in pairs. The male, more rarely the female, possesses a short, straight pointed spear-horn. The duikerbok ducks to the ground as soon as he has seen an enemy, and creeps away to a stretch protected by the thick bushes that are its favorite habitat.

[278] The blue wildebeest, Connochaetes taurinus (Burchell), called /g̃ũ·ob, resembles, as does the closely-related gnu, pictured below, more closely a small calf than an antelope in its outward appearance, especially in the formation of its head, including the antlers. The basic coloring of the body is sometimes a darker, sometimes a lighter grey that changes into a light brownish tone on the small of the back and on the legs. The throat and the side parts of the front of the body are banded across. Sometimes they are broad, brownish-black, connected stripes, sometimes narrow, split stripes. The bushy black tail nearly rests on the ground. A long-haired semi-erect black mane extends from the back of the head to about the middle of the back. Behind the corner of the mouth, a bunch of hair like a beard sprouts forth. Towards the throat it becomes a thin shaggy mane that continues down the middle of the front of the neck for a ways. [Picture. Oreotragus saltator (Layard). Young klipspringer, ♂] I have seen neither the blue wildebeest nor his tracks in Great Namaland, only in Kalahari. If and where it might still be found in Great Namaland today, I cannot tell.

17. The red hartebeest, Bubalis caama (Cuf.), called //kxama·b, concludes the series of antelopes in the hunting districts of Great Namaland. It may [279] still be encountered in the most northern and north eastern border territories (Komas Highlands, Rehoboth and Nosob territory).

Right above the prominent swellings of the eyebrows, the tower-like sub-structure of the antlers rises. In front, it drops in a straight line to the forehead and to the bridge of the nose that is greatly lengthened and slanted steeply. In back, it drops in just such a straight line to the neck which sets stiffly on the shoulders. Thus the back of the animal's head seems to be completely missing. The nape of the neck and the bridge of the nose on the forehead run to a high triangular point. Antlers, that are bent back in a remarkable way, are set in this area. They are massive in the male, slim in the female. [Picture. Connochaetes gnu (Zimmermann). Black wildebeest. A bull.] The animal's back rises gently toward the front and then with a hump over the shoulder area. The overall coloring of the hartebeest is a light

1: Schultze--84A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Otocyon caligata (Layard). Young Klipspringer, ♂.

1: Schultze--848 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Naina

Connochaetes gnu (Zimmermann). Black Wildbeest. A bull.

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

[533 825] [280] The tail is insignificant: "!naësi gye ǂkʔaris ǂaresa ĩ" "it has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 825 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard, Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture. Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest?] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called !hurdu·/garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (ǂkʔã = to refuse) to be noticed (ǂhau/) (-he pass. ending, -sa adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it ǂhau·/hesagyeǂkʔã·b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is ǂhũiseb.

136 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipard), called !a·rub, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back [522] seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "!arub kʔoma gaʔu !gãba ũ," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis caffra Desm., (Cape D. graauwkat), called /hã/a·b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

1: Schultze--85A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.280]

Bubalis caama (Cuv.). The red hartebeest, ♂.

136 resembles our house cat, the most but is stronger and above all has longer legs. The tail is slightly bushy at the end. The basic coloring is grey, mixed with light-brown tones, which are more prominent on the ventral side as far as the throat. The bending side of the front legs and of the hind legs from the heel down is colored more or less black. The stretching sides and outer sides of the front legs are spotted black, those of the hindlegs from the knee down have black crossbands. The rich black banding of the tail is irregular. On the belly as well as on the inside of the legs and in the area of the throat, the brownish-yellow sometimes lightens to a pure white. There are also black horizontal bands on the inside of the front legs.

21. The lynx, Felis caracal Guldenst., (Cape D. rooikat), called !hā‿b, is not uncommon in Great Namaland. The tufts of hair on the ears prove the identity of the pelt at first glance. The pelt is nothing special, colored an even brownish-red with little shading. Only on the head, ears and upper lip and on a stripe between the inner corners of the eyes and nose does any black appear.

Whether the other kinds of cats known in South Africa, the so-called tijgerkat, Felix serval Erxleben and the little Felis nigripes Burchell can [282] be encountered in Great Namaland, I cannot say. The Hottentots with whom I hunted, did not know them. The former is supposed to be not uncommon in northern Namaland (51), the latter

51. K. Dove, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Ergebnisse einer wissenschaftlichen Reise im südlichen Damaralande, (Ergangzungsheft Nr. 120 zu "Petermanns Mitteilungen," 1896).

could wander over from Kalahari in the east.

[857] 22. A favorite wild animal of the youthful hunter is a Viverridae, the "dwarf," a Cynictis species, probably Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), (Cape D. geel meerkat), called °!u‿ri/ēb, not unlike a weasel in flight. The little animals can often be seen sitting upright in front of the holes of their colony.

A related, but somewhat larger and darker kind, the °ǂnū//ēb of the Hottentots, seems to belong to the Herpestes genus.

Whether the genet, Genetta, exists in Great Namaland, as I assume it does, I was not able to discover. It does not seem to be numerous although it is common in Little Namaland, in southern Hereroland and in the Kalahari and therefore could penetrate our territory from the south, the north and the east.

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /ga'mirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called */ha'rebab or */ha'retsub, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin than he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally grey.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho'mi, the same name they give the coastal eared seal.

[224 281]

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [283] 26. the "caparism" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales), Canis mesomelas Schrbr., (Cape D. fox), called /gī·rib, also frequently called /gai·rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

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*I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /gīb = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (57) since the desig-

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

nation for odor of fat is not /gīb but /gī/b. */gī·'ri - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

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The light golden-brown color of its pelt has also given it the name gold jackal. A broad black stripe mixed with white covers its back like a caparison from the neck to the root of the tail and the upper parts of the flanks. The last two thirds of the long thin brush are black; the throat and a line along the upper lip have a whitish color.

27. One of the prettiest of the South African jackals is the silver jackal, Vulpes chama (A. Smith), called !kxama·b. The round brush, as soft as wool, is larger than the thin body and is just about as long. The body itself is no larger than that of a Cape hare. The back and the nape of the neck, the outside of the upper legs and the root of the tail are silver grey mixed with a fine dark color. The rest of the body is yellow-brown, shaded variously. The broad end of the brush is black and there are black specks on both sides of the first third.

A belief of the hunters is that whoever says the name of the silver jackal while hunting will not catch one. Whoever is forced to speak of it, therefore calls it *≠gai-/hetoma·b, i.e. the one (-b) who is not (toma) called (gai/) (-he a pass. ending). [224]

28. Like the silver jackal, the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar) (Cape D. A-jackal), called //ā/b, is a small, harmless fellow that never attacks a herd. Its greyish-brown pelt is highly prized. The bushy tail is long, but thin, its tip colored a blackish-brown.

29. In contrast to all its South African relations the Cape hunting dog, Lycaon pictus (Temm.), is dangerous in the highest degree. In packs he chases the fleetest game, attacks herds and even men.

The Cape hunting dog does not have the fine pointed nose of the jackal, nor the broad skull of the hyena. One would be more likely to take its head [284] for that of our household dog. Its pelt is checked a blackish-brown, white and a light brownish-yellow. On its neck and behind its shoulders the yellow flows together to form several rather large spots. A dark stripe usually extends along a middle line between the eyebrows over the skull and continues over the nape, becoming narrower. The trunk and neck are very long in proportion to the head. Inevitably we compare the animal to a house dog and therefore the legs seem to us to be relatively long and strong. The thin slightly bushy tail reaches a little farther than the heels.

Because the front black part of the animal's nose stands out from the lighter areas next to it like a "mush beard," the Hottentots call the wild dog *!ga/u·b (from *!ga/u· « to have food sticking around the mouth). The name of the animal may also not be mentioned on the hunt. [224]

136 30. That the spotted hyena, the Hyaena crocuta (Erxl.), (Cape D. tijger-wolf), developed from a crossing of the leopard and the hyena, is the firm conviction of the Boers. The dark-brown or black spots, which are scattered over the whole dirty yellow-grey short-haired pelt (except for the head and the lower part of the throat), plus its lust for killing and the force with which the animal attacks cattle, actually remind one of the leopard. Otherwise the animal outwardly as well as by its inner structure is a true hyena.

31. The brown hyena, Hyaena brunnea Thunbg., (Cape D. strand-wolf), differs from the tijgerwolf, in its smaller size, and in the uniformity of its brown to grey coloring which has only a few rather large vague dark spots. In the more beautiful ones the marking is somewhat sharper. Dark bands circle the front and hind legs. The markings are clearer on the former. The pelt has long hair, only the broad skull with the coarse stubby nose is covered with short-haired fur. The head sometimes seems to be peering out of a mane because the fur is especially thick and long behind the pointed ears and jaws.

How the Hottentot differentiates between the two hyenas just described, I was not able to determine with certainty. It is only certain that the general term for hyena, ǂhĭ·ras, is further specified in ǂnũ/beǂhĭ·ras and !na/ibeǂhĭ·rab. I surmise that [285] the first word refers to the darker one (ǂnũ/ = black), H. brunnea, the second to the H. crocuta, the markings of which have always reminded the hunter of the giraffe (!na/i·b). Added to that is the constancy of the gender differences of the two names. The former always has a feminine ending, the latter a masculine ending. That would correspond objectively to the differences in the strength and character of the two animals and subjectively to the language sense of the Hottentots. But this is just mentioned as a guess.

32. The aardwolf, Proteles cristatus (Sparrm.), called /gĭ'b, concludes the series of predatory animals. This small predatory animal, about the size of a fox, resembles outwardly a hyena despite its gracefulness. The skull seems broad, the back slants down and ends in a dark, bushy tail, like that of the strandwolf, but the five toes on the front legs and the peculiarities of its teeth show that the animal is neither hyena nor dog and give it a special place as a representative of its own family.

Four to six black horizontal bands cross the yellow-brown trunk. They run into a black stripe that runs along the middle line of the back, which spreads out into a spot where the back is highest. The

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot formerly had against the hare, !õ·as, as wild game (66), has now vanished.

[224 177]

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kǂa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kǂa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called */a·bara-ǂga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tso/aru·s or tso/ara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *ǂa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

1: Schultze--90A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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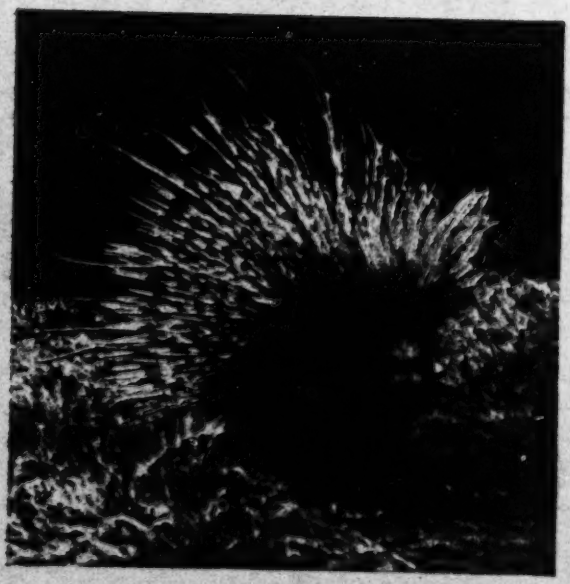
[p.286]



Hystrix africae australis (Peters.).

begin right behind the ears, lie like a dark-brown pelt. Towards the back they change suddenly into pointed white and dark-brown banded quills that are as thick as a pencil. From the nape to the beginning of the quills there is a comb of long flexible bristles that extends down the middle line of the back. When the quills are erect, the animal seems to be twice as tall as it actually is. The rattles at the rear end of the body complete the list of the animal's weapons of terror. 136

[287] The Hottentot name for the porcupine, !noa·b, is perhaps connected with !noa· = to become grey. Both words correspond in initial tone level and rising word-tone. !noa·b would then mean "grey head," corresponding to the general impression that the nocturnal animal arouses in the dark or the pale light of the stars.

36. The mouse and rat-like rodents are hunted and eaten by adult Bergdamaras as well as by half-grown Hottentots. A study of the skins and skeletons that I collected, will tell us how to classify the rat-sized animal which they call *!haēb. duru·s (3. st.) is a collective name for various mouse species. They distinguish a night mouse, tsū·χudurus or !uru·s, and a kind with a pelt striped lengthwise belonging to Arvicanthis which they call *≠goma·b. [E24]

37. The ground squirrel, Xerus capensis Kerr., is called */ga·eta ≠nā/b.

38. The smallest hoofed animal, rodent-like in its mannerisms, the rock rabbit, Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), (Cape D. dassie), called !aũ/b, often finds its way into the hunter's pot. The young are called *//gi/bigu. The rock rabbit inhabits the clefts in the rocks in great numbers near watering places.

39. In conclusion there are a number of mamals to be mentioned which the Hottentot occasionally traps rather than hunts regularly. He will not let the aardvark, Orycteropus afer (Pall.), called /kχubu·s, escape if he should happen to meet it during the day in an open field. But he must be really suffering from hunger before he will decide to undertake an uncertain difficult ambush at night in front of its hole. (See Kalahari.) 224 136

40. Hunting the elephant shrew, Macroscelides, called baus (in Little Namaland called !kχau/≠guib) is an amusement for boys. They differentiate two kinds as far as I could see, justifiably so: a lazy one, which is easily caught, "sleepy mouse," *//um·baus, and the "quick mouse," *!kχoē·baus, which can be recognized by its bald ears that shine through reddish when it is alive. [857]

41. The baboon, Papio porcarius (Boddaert), (Cape D. baviaan), called /nē·/rab, or as the older people call him /nō.rab, is seldom

nted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, 136
tinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kχē.aob, "scout," and 224
e oldest leader as °/ga/ro /nē/rab, because it presses toward the water
st [288] (!ga/ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in
e herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill.

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of
boon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the
ange bush country. They call it °/hai·/nē/rab, i.e. "pale baboon"
cause of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mis-
ief). [Picture. Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack 136
eopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to 825
ery native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously
t the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth.

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an 224
pedition, !ha/mi·, that takes several days or weeks.

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game].
ly the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game
χuri·, //ga/m, u°ru). First he sights the game at great distances and,
spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes,
cognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has de- [151]
loped the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intel-
ct to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One
ed only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has
en shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the
il is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly
vered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a
ndred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards
e sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it
d will then point out the direction with his finger where the search
st continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground
overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the
rounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings
ck a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal
s brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours

1: Schultze--92A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p. 288]

Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.

may pass, he finds the place where the wild animal lies dead. 224

Stalking supplies him with an unsurpassed knowledge of the way of life of the game. Although it might not seem to us to be sportsman like, still to the native hunter, to whom each bullet is of great value in the wilderness, it seems the safest to creep up on an oryx and wait quietly until it goes into the bushes after grazing to sleep away the hot noon hours. The Hottentot then follows it noiselessly and shoots the sleeping animal from close up.

Dogs are indispensible for hunting predatory animals.

Protected by the herd of cattle, the herder approaches the steinbok which is innocently grazing with the goats and the sheep and kills it with a precise stone throw (ǂno/a·s), or he corners klipspringer with his dog. The dog also performs good services in hunting oryx. Under certain conditions the dog stops it so well that the Hottentot can kill it with the assagai, his "throwing knife," //haĭ/gõab. One especially smart dog had the habit [290] of biting the cornered gemsbok in the nostrils, so that the animal could not move from the spot. The dog finally fell victim to a dying gemsbok, which it had carelessly approached, with a short motion of the neck sideways and back, the animal that was already shot down plunged a horn into its body.

b) The chase on horseback, !ha/e·s, seems to have been undertaken early by the Hottentot, if the information of a native hunter, who told me that elephants were hunted in this way, is based on truth. The elephant supposedly was the pursuer, since one rider after another let the elephant chase him until the animal was so exhausted that it could be overcome. [492]

The eland is supposed to be easy to chase.

Pursuing the ostrich on horseback is more successful than stalking which is difficult even for the native because the bird is very far-sighted. [492] [223]

A single oryx is a beautiful sight in itself, similar to a grazing stag. But no comparison with the game and landscape of our homeland, will suffice when one has had the good luck (as I did in May, 1904, south of Kubub) to see about 250 of these wonderful animals standing together, suspecting no danger, their heads deep in the grass, so sharply lighted by the evening sun that the movements of each animal could be clearly followed. Then suddenly they become aware of the riders. The uneasiness of the nearest ones spreads to the whole herd and in a few seconds the whole herd is off at a gallop and soon only a great yellow cloud of dust reveals the direction of the fleeing animals. Then one must dismount quickly and be very calm for a sure shot.

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A peculiarity of the oryx, which makes their pursuit easier, is their habit of always fleeing in the direction against the wind. An oryx herd that one approaches from the east, for example, will always flee to the north if there is a north wind, never towards the west. In this case one only needs to swerve towards the right, if the horse can hold out long enough at a fast gallop, to see the wild animals fleeing close by across one's path at an angle from the left.

c) Waiting at water holes is the surest way of ambushing the larger antelopes and the zebra.

[291] The leopard usually does not drag its booty into its cave when it does not have young, but tears it apart in a hiding place not far from the place where it made its kill. Therefore the Hottentot follows the fresh tracks of the robber from the kraal it broke into to the place where it ate. He kills it when it comes back to fetch the rest.

The animals that burrow (Oxycteropus) or live in clefts in the rocks (rock rabbits) are ambushed in front of their holes in the morning or evening.

The sociable antelopes, especially the springbok and the gemsbok, wander during the dry season from the interior of the country towards the west into the area of the winter rains. They wander slowly, sometimes in accustomed places, sometimes seemingly blindly across the veld, towards the north winds that bring the rains. The Hottentot is accustomed to place himself in the protection of a kraal made of bushes beside the place where the game will pass (*/ga-nob). The enormous mass migrations, which the springbok undertake during droughts, are to be differentiated from the minor migrations that depend on the season and the local pasture conditions. The mass of migrating springbok (Cape D. trekbok) is at times so wide and so thick, that avoiding human settlements cannot be thought of. Actually the animals overrun the courtyards, trampling the crops and the gardens. In the year 1892 (74) the

74. H. A. Bryden, Kloof and Karroo, London, 1889.

civil commissioner of Little Namaland had to distribute about 100 guns to the Boers to turn aside the charge of the springbok herds. In one case the springbok overran a farm in such a dense and wide column that a part of them -- since none of them could turn aside -- were pushed into a cattle kraal and massacred there. The column will divide around an ox wagon. The animals swerve to the side as much as the pushing animals

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. 227 Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Hottentot follows the train of springbok (ǂdoē//gūs). As late as the year 1896 (19)

19. W. L. Sclater, The Mammals of South Africa, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

d) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/5 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center ǂāē, and wings, /gubi·s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nā·/kya, horns, or //oa·kya, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hō·as, best made of tai [292] bush wood). Throwing the kirri, ǂgūē or /nami·, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kyaru !oaē, ǂam ǂam /araē, nāū /aoē, aū /aoē, ǂkagu ǂaise!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick [262 blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned 262] cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (ǂam ǂam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (nāū, aū = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (ǂa·es, is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a-ǂagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -s, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.

1: Schultze--SSA N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p. 291]

A Kiri. 1/5 natural size.

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e) Trapping is well developed and corresponds to the Hottentot's predilection for outwitting his victim, whether man or beast.

Pitfalls, which the Hottentots seem to have copied from the Bergdamaras, are used for catching zebras. On the paths of the wild animals to the water, as a native hunter reported to me, [293] a ditch about 3 meters long, 3 meters deep and about 1 meter wide is dug out with straight sides and covered across the top with light twigs of freshly cut bushes. The Bergdamaras call such a pitfall !gai-seb.

Stone traps, !nu-!gu, are used for catching jackals and hyenas. The Hottentots build a jackal trap out of large flat rocks. It is about 3/4 of a meter high and about 2 meters in diameter and resembles the base of a little round tower. When closing up the top opening, a hole is left through which one can look into the inside of the trap room and hit the captured animal in the back with a cudgel. [Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)]. The jackal gets to the bait by a side opening. The bait is in the center of the room. As soon as the animal tugs at the bait, an apparatus made of sticks is loosened which causes a heavy stone to fall down in front of the entrance. Sometimes it falls straight from above, sometimes at an angle from the side. [Picture. Hyena trap on the flatland to the north of Chamis.]

The hyena trap is built stronger than the jackal trap. Heavy flat rocks are built up, so that there are holes but held by their own weight to make a square structure. The inside room is about 1 1/2 meters long, a good 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 - 1 meter high. Large flat stones form the roof. On one of the narrow sides of the [294] structure a wide entrance, 1/2 meter high and 1/3 meter wide, is left open. Right behind this opening a horizontal chink is left open in the roof and surrounded by especially strong stones, so that the wall will stand the weight of the falling stone. In the back or the room is the bait (intestines of cows and such) tied by strings along the floor to two upright sticks on which a stone weighing a hundred pounds is loosely set. By tugging at the bait the hyena pulls the sticks out from under the stone which falls down and seals up the entrance. A thick wall of irregularly piled up blocks of stone braces the side walls on the outside. The roof is also weighted with such stones so that the whole stone building is a structure 3 1/2 meters long, 2 meters wide and easily 1 1/2 meters high. Such a trap stands for years.

The "jerking gallows" (see Kalahari) is a good name for the type of trap used for catching small antelopes, especially the klipspringer. A fresh branch, thick as an arm and several meters long is placed firmly in the ground, the thick end down. A noose of strong sinew thread is

224 [p. 249]

Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 187, no. 63)

Hyena trap on the flat land to the north of Chamis.

attached to the top end. Down the middle of the noose, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the noose are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The noose is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the noose. The branch jerks up, pulling the noose over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows. 224

Spring traps, //nõ-agu, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [295] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-n(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture. Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-a(a)das- wood. f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-n(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps °/hâ/n-n.

Capitulum IV

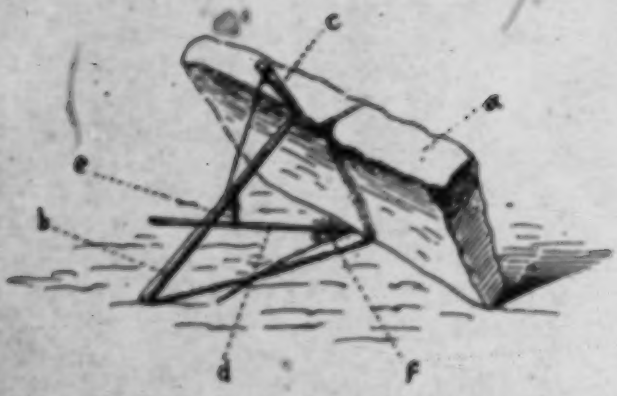
Social Life

A. Family

1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, !naru-b or /ha/ha-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future 89/[582]

224 [p.295]



Springtrap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge,
d) horizontal stick, e) !a·x(a)das-wood, f) bait.

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 881
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around
her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and
serve honey beer to the guests.

[296] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 881
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excuged) have their scrota 751
rubbed with buchu powder as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called */na·ra/ra/ra·. (*/ra/ra·b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle stroking of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 881
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleansed, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 881
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/m/ai (//a/m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure. /a·i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is called oemes (not oeisis (57)).

57. J. G. Knoblein, Wortschatz des Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called *//gu·rurubeb.

341 [145]

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *//kx̃a/a·es(e)ni, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture. Plate XII. Topnaar Hottentot Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 210). [302]

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I know of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race. [145]

b) Marriage, !ga·meb, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization. 581

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the *taob of the girl, the girl the *taos of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word (tao = to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom. 584

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways; openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians, 584 832

Schultze--99A N-5 (1903-1906) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Plate XII

Topnaar Hottentot girl.

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "ǂâ/gu hã kxoëra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate." 584 832

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality. 177 836 684

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him. 584

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/ǂâs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations. 585 431

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂamago/mas. The term kxã/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxã/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an, 854 [601] Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Haniba !kχara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩ°). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kχao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (°-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (°maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ǂ/bes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti°dīb or dā·tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dāda·b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. "For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ‿b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ‿b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ‿b, sa ĩ‿b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is *õ!gã‿//gũ‿s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation *abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as *ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called *sirõ·s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as *a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called *bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u‿i·b and /u‿i·s in the third person.

The wife is called *!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called ǂaɛ̃.s.

[302] /u·‿iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·‿igukǂa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u‿iaob //goɛ̃!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 789

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!" 784 787

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation. 601

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister *gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister *dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father *mĭgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father *mĭ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister *o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother *o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother *ais gais or *gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother *ai·ros or *ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the 604

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Ruskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle *ũ//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited. 604

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84). [[171]]

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

We have two chief groups of family names, /o-/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here. 551 553

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //k!unibes, the son is called

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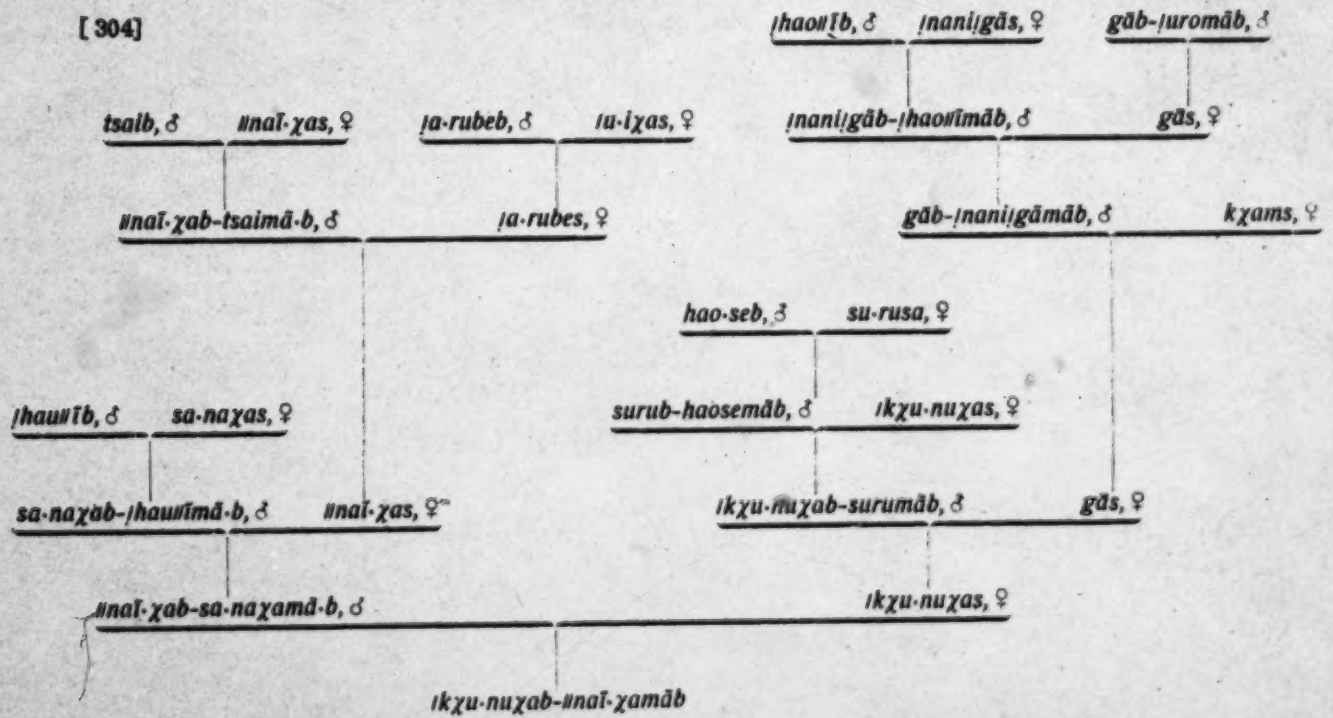
Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.

[304]



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//kχunibeb and the daughter gomaris.

The son adds a secondary name to this main name when he is grown up. The main name of the father with the insertion of the syllable -mã̄ before the final personal suffix serves as the son's secondary name. The son of the afore-mentioned parents is thus called //kχunibeb-gomarimã̄b. (There seems to be less use made of such double names by the female sex. The daughter of the parents mentioned above would have as a full name gomaris-//kχunibemã̄s.)

In order to convince myself that this method of name-giving is pursued consistently for several generations, I have traced back the names of a family as far as the memory of my authorities reached. I was assisted by the village elder of the Topnaar settlement in Rooibank behind Walvis Bay. The result proved the consistency of this rule of name-giving.

In everyday life there are consequences arising from the way names are inherited that could easily lead to confusion, except that, as we will see, a second group of names provides a remedy. The rule by which children receive their parents' names results first of all in full brothers having the same name and all full sisters having the same name. A simple consideration, using as an example, the last generation of the second family tree, results in the following: the same main name, /kχu·nuχab, which the brothers have, will also be the name of all their cousins that are the sons of a maternal aunt, in other words all sons of /kχu·nuχas' sisters. Different from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins who derive from the father's and mother's brothers. The cousins that stem from the father's sisters are all called sa·naχab.

Analogous are the relationships among the sisters of the brothers /kχu·nuχab: the chief name, which they have, //nī·χas, is also the name of all their cousins that are the daughters of a paternal uncle, in other words, daughters of the father's brothers. The daughters of the father's sisters would all be called sa·naχas. The maternal cousins, that are the daughters of an uncle (of a brother of the /kχu·nuχas), would [306] all be called gãs. Differing from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins that stem from the mother's sisters.

Although the parental names reveal the origin of the bearer to another Hottentot sufficiently so that they suffice for identification in a foreign kraal, they still do not provide enough differentiation within the

narrow bounds of the family. The names of a second group fill this gap. We will call them, 551 553

b) Nicknames.

In the simplest instance, these names are a simple characterization of the person based on an identifying mark or a fact. Thus a young Hottentot girl with thin hair on her head was called ǂgā'ŝ, i.e. baldy, bare-headed. A young boy was called °/gu·ru//a·reb, because he was left-handed. A man who stood cold well was known by the name °!kχai·t(o)mab, as "one who is not (t(o)ma) cold (!kχai)." Another, notorious for being unpunctual, was called °!aũ·'//kχui·b, "he who makes you wait (!aũ') in vain (//kχui·, to miss)." A feared cattle thief in lower Swakop territory was named for the color of his hair °/haihãb, the "dun horse." A peaceful old man who had planted near the water a tobacco bed that was always green (!am) was called !a·mχab etc.

Certain events are the basis of two other names: °hã·/gyeb, i.e. "he who came," because this man came to this place from far away and now lives here. A boy, whose mother died shortly after he was born, received and kept the name, by which a Hottentot designates a newborn being, whether man, lamb, or calf, that is raised on the milk of a strange woman or different mother animal: °hã·ŝib.

Such names can attach themselves so firmly that they become the first name of a person for all his life. It is not unlikely that such nicknames were formerly the original and only names of the Hottentots and that even today they still become main names that can be inherited and thus bring new elements into the vocabulary of parental names.

Sometimes only those closest to a person can understand the personal connection in the name of the person. Thus I have not been able to find out the references of the various nicknames of Hendrik Witbooi which I heard many times: !hu·iseb, °/gã·mab and °kχabu·b.

Some of the nicknames are terms of endearment which are only used for a certain time and then forgotten or only used occasionally. [Pictures, Plate XIII, Topnaar Boys]. [307] Thus a Hottentot woman called her little son °ǂkχa-ri!kχu·bib, i.e. "the little viei." She wished to indicate that the sight of her child made her as happy as an expanse of water does in the dry desert. Another mother had a naive pleasure in the pretty ("clean") privates of her little daughter and therefore named it !a·nuǂnũi·s. A Hottentot child, that had Negro blood from its father's side and thus had a darker skin color, was usually called °ǂnũ·/sagyeanu·s by its mother, i.e. "you who are so sweetly black."

1: Schultze--108A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Plate XIII.

Topnaar boys.

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him °ǂnũ-/nôgũ-/oatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 263). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: °//kxa-naib was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from °//kxaa, to forego evacuating the bowels); °//go-re-ũũa-tao/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; °!ho/nqõe, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; °ǂkaũe-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; °//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc. 551 552

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called °a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name °a-mi!kxoa/go-ita-naeb, i.e. as one "who has many (/gui) wives (taes, i) just as an ostrich (ami, i) has hens." [508]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," °!ao-!kab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ami) as a dog's lips (°//ga/hu-b) over its snout and so he is called °//gabu-!kaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Rachydactylus species, °!na-nigyeemũũ, another one, because of his stamping gait °!nũ-/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man !a-hatoma!nao-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (!a-ha) on the wagon to load it" (!nao).

They called another !a-oa/ũ-hataxa-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (taxa-i) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

every step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ā i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" *!nā/b by the men; by the women: */ā-aŋ!ā-b, because his penis (!āb) was new (/ās) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person (*//kxō-aob), the person with a pot belly (*//ā-otab), the person with red hair (*/a-batasa-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a stone or a beetle was called the "junk collector," *ka-boreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named *!u-/rila-ogurab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called *ǂnū-soreǂgā-√b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (ǂnū) there even when the sun (so-ros) goes down" (ǂgā√).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 859

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd. 524

[308] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered foregoats reeds as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 48) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 859 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large winglew grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 859 527

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 524

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 857 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is clasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are 857
therefore called go/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious 526
soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the haul in the game of raffling booty.]

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy 857
of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic 527
drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about 323
eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give 532
it nuances of color as well as hardness.

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I. $\frac{1}{2}$] The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [steatopygia]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

1 [Figure refers to p. 112. — Analyst]

1: Schultze--112A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p. 310(a)]

Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.

1: Schwabe--1128 N-8 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p. 311]

The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.

3: Schultze--111C N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Homemkt FX13
Name

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An ox wagon. The kid boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide swats the way.

[p.3:4]

526
[525]
[313] Betting games are played by boys with throwing sticks in two ways. A stick as long as an arm, called //a-rab, best cut from the wood of a Rhus species or a Grewia, is seized by the thick end (about one centimeter in diameter) and thrown down flat on the ground with such violence that it bounces up and shoots forward like an arrow.

The game with the somewhat shorter */kxaui's sticks is related. They are seized near the pointed end and, after a running start as in the previous game, thrown towards a bush in such a way that the twigs (the smooth Cyperus bushes are especially adapted for this) stop it in its flight. The stick flies in a wide or narrow arc with the heavy end towards the front over distances greater than I could span with a stone.

524
The children practice their finger skills with little juggling games. For example, they hold three pebbles in each hand while squatting on the ground and throw two symmetrically in front of them, dropping both hands at the same time, -- as everyone believes, one from each hand. Then they open their hands and laughing show you three pebbles in one hand and one in the other. It requires no little skill to throw two pebbles from a hand which just a second ago was tightly closed in such a way that one falls down below the hand and the other falls sideways in front of the other hand. [Picture, /kxaui's- and //a-rab throwing sticks.]

526
They compete in skills in another way by making twisting paths in the sand and trying to run the paths as quickly as possible without making a misstep. During the game they call on a buzzard-like bird with the words: "hisarase, //gama daose, hisabese, //gama daose," i.e. "Hisaras, the waterway, Hisabes etc." (Why they call on this particular bird, whether it shows the way to water as the flight of the doves does, is not clear.)

524
The hole game, called //hui's is widespread in South Africa and played with equal pleasure by Hottentot children and adults. I watched the natives play it with special interest since it demands thinking and is played with passion. Without reference [314] to the way this common game is played in other parts of South Africa, I will reveal here briefly the observations I have made among the Hottentots about this game.

a) The game is played by two sides (I and II) that sit opposite each other, with any number of players. The team mates can all discuss each move but one person carries it out. [Picture of the plan of the game.] 1/4

β) The playing field consists of four rows of holes, each row having sixteen to twenty-two holes, dug out of the sand by hand, called //hui-'ti, which are divided evenly between the two sides. In the first row (a) of each side each hole is filled with two tokens, in the second row (b) only the right half of each team's row. Small stones, often goat manure, are used as tokens.

1/4 [For picture, see Carnap-Host, col 116, p. 314. - Ann/rst]

526

/Aexqu²s- and //a·rab, throwing sticks.

[p. 313]

524

γ) Four beginnings are possible. You can move:
from a^7 to b^6 and b^5
or from a^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from b^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from a^9 to b^8 and b^7.

δ) Moving the tokens. Only during the first move is one permitted to take tokens from the middle of one row and place them in the other row. After that one must move without skipping a hole and only counter-clockwise. Moving from one row to another occurs only around the right hand corner of the playing field (see arrow).

Moving consists in the following. The player picks up the tokens from one of his holes and divides them singly in the following holes. If the player ends his move in a hole containing more than one token, he must pick these up. They are taken out and moved forward. If, however, he ends with only one token in the last hole, the opposing team plays. If two or more tokens end up in the last hole that is used, and if at the same time the opponent has one or more tokens in the corresponding hole (of the same number) in row b, then one does not take the tokens from the hole where one ended but robs his opponent of all his tokens, which [315] lie in the row with this hole (i. e. all the tokens which are in the holes with the same numbers of the opponent's a and b rows).

One moves the stolen tokens according to the rules that obtain for moving them in one's own holes. The number of tokens in a hole can increase at will.

The winner is the team who succeeds in taking away all the opponent's tokens in the way indicated.

c) As an imaginative game, an amusement of the children and the women should be mentioned which consists in making certain rhythmic noises. The toy is called ǂa-bubu-s. A rectangular, flat little piece of wood is pierced in two places and a leather string is pulled through the holes. By swinging the two leather strings are so twisted that the piece of wood is set by rhythmically tightening and loosening the strings in a lively whirling motion as the string twists and untwists. Depending on the rhythm used they imitate the sound of a trotting horse, then a galloping one, then one running away. By blowing on the whirling wood they make the fleeing horse snort. A thin piece of wood serves the same purpose, the name of which, //ha-buhaib (from ha-bu = the running away of a shy animal) is evident from what has been said before. A little stick or a stalk of a certain kind of grass is placed between the lips and moved up and down with a finger, so that its humming imitates the rushing hoofbeats of a horse that has gone wild.

857 [517] 524

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (//hā-ǂ, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hā-ǂn) their life long. Each is the °//hā-ǂsab or the °/hō-ǂsab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao-tse in the masculine and a-χase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life.

[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown.

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field.

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered *until shortly before interment*, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely.

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68) 764

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic buchu powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him. 765

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf., folk tale XXX). 775

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also each change in weather, calm, storm, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man. 787

2

B. The Tribal Community

The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power. 178

1. Property

The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power. 423 [721] [649]

Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power). 422

Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "ǀâes ge ǂkereya cta nĭ te ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you." 426

In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of getting some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood. 425 [579]

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name "soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ǂ//nāǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaixāba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara χāba ūts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." ("!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩǂnũĩsoats," "you (-ts) son (ōab) of the genitals (ǂnũĩs, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse ūs !gāsa χaē "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "ǂgũĩts go hā o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũĩ, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or "gao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mũ//(e)ĩn and !nɑ̃abagu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, *in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.*

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: KKoĕ-khoĕn, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã !haos khoĕsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

Plate XIV

Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.

1; Schultze--121A N-5 (1903-1904) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

029

either "na-ǃmata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then he answers: "kxoē-kxoēta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kxoē-kxoēta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kxoī-kxoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

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The first contact of the Hottentots with the Bergdamaras goes beyond any time from which we have historical dates. Pieter Brand, the companion of the explorer Willem van Reenen (14), who led an expedition in

14. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I - VI, London, 1888-1902.

September 1791 into Great Namaland, found the language of the Hottentots in use among the Bergdamaras. Their own mother tongue seems to have been forgotten at that time as it is today. Although the Bergdamaras have obtained their freedom under the German protectorate and have been freed from the yoke of the Hereros as well as from that of the Hottentots, they have often remained in voluntary dependency as household servants as the Buhmen have.

Although generally known as good-natured and docile and therefore treasured by the whites, the derogatory name given the Bergdamaras by his oppressors has remained. The Hottentot calls the Bergdamaras ǂau-daman, i.e. shit Kaffirs." I also heard them called ǂhau/kxoĩn, i.e. (according to the claim of the Hottentots themselves) "Manure people."* A friendly

*Derived from ǂhau/b = manure. Krönlein (57) [114]
57. J. G. Kroenlein, wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

does not know this word and derives the above designation, which, according to him, the Bergdamaras have given to themselves, from the word for "to be right." But to my ear it is not ǂhau/ but sounds like ǂhau-, the two vowels pronounced separately and with a rising (one third) accent. I can only place my opinion beside Kroenlein's as the actual result of my findings without deciding which is better. Schinz (50) mistakenly writes !haukhoin and his

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

typesetter muddled the click even more in the index.

half joking address, also used for the baboon, which the Hottentot sometimes uses with a Bergdamara, is °/no-ro /kxo-nibetse, with a reference (unclear to me) to an edible plant. Or he calls him the same as a baboon, °/hu-nitsi /hai-tse, mockingly, saying he is as pale (/hai) as the /hunis tree (a Boscia species).

[324] Of the tribes that are grouped together as Bantus on the basis of their common language structure, we can pass by the Ovambo, /nabe-n, and the Bechuana, b(e)rin, i.e. goats, as only coming into occasional contact with the Hottentots. The Hottentots have only tested their strength in centuries of ancient enmity with one Bantu tribe, the Ovaherero, who penetrated into the lands south of the Kunene about 100 years ago. (70)

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2.Aufl., 1894.

The power of the immigrating Hereros was broken by the Hottentot tribe of the Red Nation and the followers of Jonker Afrikaaners about the middle of the previous century. But from the beginning of the sixties the tide turned and after bloody battles the Hottentots were completely defeated. But a subordinate role of conquered and victors similar to that between the Bergdamaras and the Hottentots did not develop. [Picture. Hereró, 17 years old, with his mouth open to show his teeth. The four lower ones have been broken and the upper center incisors filed.]

The great wealth of cattle, about which all the battles revolved, gave the Hereros the name go/ma-damab, i.e. °cattle Kaffir.° Another mocking designation for the Hereros is °ǂna-/nomagye//habo-kxoũ-an, i.e. °the human - (kxoũ-s, fem.) children (o-an) with skin shoes (//habo-), who do not (tsuma) look around (ǂna/s)°: The crafty Hottentot, who never leaves a place without looking back to orient himself as to what is happening behind him, thus expresses the heedlessness of his opponent with this nickname.

2. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the White Race

a) The first contact of the Hottentot with the white man, /nũ-s, occurred at the end of the fifteenth century, in the golden age of the Portuguese. Curiosity and a thirst for knowledge on the explorers' part but also fear on the Hottentots' part were naturally the dominant feelings at the first meeting. So Vasco da Gama's people (12) had to surround the natives whom

12. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I-VI, London, 1888-1902.

L: Schultze--USA N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Homeless FX13
Nama

Hoveve, 17 years old, with his mouth open to show his teeth. The four lower ones have been broken and the upper central incisors filled.

[p. 324]

they discovered in November, 1497, at the foot of a hill in the St. Helena Bay and catch them like wild animals to have any contact with them. The good treatment of the one captured and the rich presents received when released lured others of his tribe to the ship. They also got something and so both sides were pleased.

Distrust, based on the impossibility of understanding each other properly, soon split the recently formed bonds. The soldier, Fernão Veloso, was on his way accompanying the natives to their village, when he suddenly got suspicious of their intentions and hurriedly turned back to the ship. The Hottentots followed him -- as it seems without hostile intentions, because it would have been easy for them to kill him. The men on the ship were mobilized and landed with their weapons and the parties separated with bloody heads, without really knowing what was the reason for the whole affair. Distrust also seems to have been the reason for a skirmish that Saldanha had in 1503 with the Hottentots near Table Mountain by Capetown.

The rash decision to revenge a scuffle between Hottentots and soldiers of the ship with a punitive expedition, in which the soldiers were apparently at fault, sent over sixty Portuguese to their destruction on the first of March, 1510. It seems incomprehensible to us today how the Viceroy of India, Francisco d'Almeida, who was traveling through, could not only tolerate but also personally lead an expedition of revenge and cattlerobbing during which even children were abducted from the peaceful kraal, all for the sake of avenging a trifling matter which had cost no lives, but merely wounded his pride. He and a dozen of his dignitaries were killed by blows from sticks, stones and assagais while doing this.

The successors to the Portuguese at the Cape, the English (see p. 34) had good experiences with the Hottentots. The trade went well (a sheep was traded for a knife, an ox for two knives) [326] and there was no friction. But in the long run the relationships of the whites to the natives have suffered under the Portuguese as well as the English from their sending criminals to the Cape, men who have forfeited their lives or freedom at home but who still seem to be unable to track down Hottentots. Although we know little about the fate of these deported people and almost nothing about their activities, still it only seems likely that they have not inspired the natives with confidence or respect for our race.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch entered a badly predisposed country. They did nothing to improve it (59) until Johann van

59. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Riebeeck's Journal, part. I-III, Cape Town, 1897.

648

Riebeeck realized that the opening of the natural resources of the country was only possible with the assistance of the natives and systematized the relations of the yellow and white races.

For understanding the time of the first close contact between the Dutch and the Hottentots the diary of van Riebeeck is a most valuable document because it describes not only the facts but also in the short daily phases of development which are precisely noted, he documents the motives and aims of the people involved. Here not only the historian but also a person who watches the meeting of two extremely different human races with psychological interest comes to account. We must be content here with merely a few hints. In the first stage a mutually friendly and obliging 459
manner reigned and peaceful trade was concluded on both sides. Copper and tobacco and also spirits were the best articles for barter. Three 648
pounds of hammered copper and one third of a pound of tobacco was the price of a cow, a pound of flat copper and some tobacco for a sheep, one quarter of a pound of copper wire and some tobacco for a lamb. Game, sometimes elephant teeth and young ostriches were traded cheaply.

In the second stage a decline in the desire for copper brought on a price increase on the part of the Hottentots. After they had enough copper, the Hottentots no longer wanted to sell their cattle, from which they lived. But freshly slaughtered meat was a necessity for satisfactory provisions for the travelers to India and since provisions were the only purpose of the white settlement in South Africa, ownership of cattle was just as much a question of life for the Dutch on the Cape as it was for [327] the Hottentots. And so the first discord appeared and with it the old distrust -- not without reason -- on both sides. The Hottentot could not resist the temptation to take possession of his sold cattle again and stole. What he sells from now on is of inferior quality. He gives the white men hope that the next ones will be better and in the end deceives them.

On the other hand the Dutchman, incensed by this behavior of the Hottentots, have their own crooked designs. He waits for the proper 648
moment to further his own interests brutally and conceals his plans till then. Just as previously in England using criminals as an avantgarde against the Hottentots was justified with the reason that it was "a very merciful deed for these criminals and a way to lead them to God since they were given time for penance and for praying for forgiveness of their sins etc.," in the same way the Dutch-Indian Trading Company received the following recommendation from the officers (July 26, 1649) concerning the erection of a fort on the Cape: not only was it good business but by converting heathen "many souls would be brought to God -- certainly the very best deed for the glorification of the Highest One and for the

spreading of His holy Gospel. In this way your undertaking in India will be blessed again and again." Van Riebeeck also believes that he will attain his goal without offering God shares of stock. He hopes to exploit the Hottentots' blind confidence at the right moment to rob cattle on a large scale and to capture a lot of slaves for India (Entry in the diary for the 13th of December, 1652). For this purpose he suppresses his annoyance, is friendly and considerate, all of which the Hottentots take for weakness. At the same time bitterness increases on their part as the native sees himself pushed out of valuable stretches of pasture by the foreigners.

In the third stage open enmity appears, complicated by the traitorous behavior of individual influential Hottentots who are playing a double game with the Dutch. Theft of cattle and murder here and there seems to eliminate all chance of an agreement but after a while peaceful relations are renewed and barter flourishes again. This unpredictable switch from friendship to enmity characterizes the relationship of the whites [228] to the Hottentots from the beginning and characterizes it up to our day as the relations of the two races moved beyond occasional friction to the stage of a conscious and ever deepening collision of interests.

We do not wish to give a history of the Hottentot wars. He who would write about them, would have to study in detail how the Cape Colony of the British Empire grew from the little stronghold and vegetable garden of the Dutch Indian Company. We are only concerned about becoming acquainted with the people who were in command on the white side in the battles of the following centuries. We must use van Riebeeck's colony as a base. It received reinforcements first of all from Holland and from France after the revoking of the Edict of Nantes. These are the ancestors of the present-day Boers.

b) The Boer has become the cultural pioneer of South Africa. A tough body, a fertility undiminished by the new climate, endurance and a minimum amount of physical and spiritual needs enabled him to found permanent settlements with the few cultural means which he brought from his homeland and to push deeper and deeper into the interior of the country. History depicts him as a brutal egoist. In order to understand the Hottentot's opinion of him, it is necessary to seek out the Boers who live in the remote northern parts of the Cape Colony today. You will still find here strong remnants of the autocratic feelings that became second nature to the Boers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on his lonely frontier post of civilization. He only feels at home there if no white man comes within four miles of his hut, where he himself prescribes the rights and customs for his family and especially for the natives who are in his power. Today he

grudgingly gives in to the law before which the native is a being with 695
human rights. The idea that one has responsibilities to one's neighbors,
when combined with the idea of the common weal, involving some denial
on the part of the individual, is but a vague concept for this family hermit
in northern Little Namaland, either politically, socially or religiously.
Even a formal marriage contract often seems unnecessary to him. That
his children are legally illegitimate does not bother him. That they grow
up unbaptized does no damage to the standing of Christian families among
his own kind. At the end of the nineties an English minister discovered such
paradisical conditions [358] in the area between the mouth of Orange
River and Port Nolloth. Then bearded men were baptized and grandparents
married to make the grandchildren legitimate. The only social instinct
that the Boers still possess is their hospitality.

This lack of political unity degrades the Boers of Namaland in the eyes
of the Hottentots. The hereditary captaincy is the proud expression of a
tribal right to the possession of land as well as of an orderly (according to
his concepts) national life. From this standpoint the Hottentot, aside from
his hate of the intruder, despised and still despises the Boer settler as a
newcomer and masterless person, and points to the Germans in contrast
who, as he does, have a captain and are one nation as he is.

Much stronger than such national feelings are the purely human feel-
ings which have alienated the Boers from the Hottentots for ever. The
Boer has always openly treated the natives with such a scorn for the colored
race making an understanding impossible by its very nature. This scorn is
characteristic of the Caucasian at a low level of racial and national con-
sciousness. Even today the Boer calls the Hottentot a "schepsel," i.e. a
creature in the sense of a being that happens to exist next to him as so
many other mysterious and unnecessary things do in the world. Or he calls
the Hottentot "goel goed," "yellow goods" which one can harness or trade,
as one does cattle. The custom of seizing Hottentot children and rearing
them "goot maak" is less rewarding than formerly when the master still
had complete power over the life and death of his slaves and punished dis-
obedience or running away by shooting them. That the culture penetrating
the country has taken away these ancient rights is the chief reason why
the Boers whom I met in Little Namaland despise the English rule (which
otherwise leaves them as free as can be imagined).

These Boers were strangely disappointed when they discovered that
the Hottentots also have rights in the German territory to which they wished
to migrate. When I became better acquainted with the Boers, I tried to
get an explanation from them, as to what they imagined that their God,
before Whom they knelt three times a day, might think of their concept

of neighbourly love in regard to colored people. I was referred to the Bible. I would not have taken their arguments from the Old Testament [330] seriously, if they had not been presented so seriously and if they actually had not been used in other places as a guide for their activities. In the ninth chapter of Genesis Noah damns Ham's son Canaan and his descendants to slavery. The Boers have extended this curse to all Hamites and include the Hottentot in this category, looking upon him as a born slave. Who is now the lord whom God has placed over them? What the people of Israel were in the old covenant, Christ is in the new. In the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Deuteronomy the extermination of the Canaanites is ordered. So God has placed the Christian Boer as the heir of Israel as lord over life and death of the cursed descendants of Canaan down to the last generation (the natives of South Africa). The Boer clings to this interpretation the more narrow-minded he is and the greater his racial pride is. This kind of gospel is a cover for the more liberal-minded that reveals most clearly what it is supposed to hide: the unbounded egoism of the Boers, that left the Hottentot no alternative than relentlessly to pursue a slow war to the death. Whoever had the upper hand in such a situation acted and still acts where the power of law is inadequate according to this concept.

c) The Hottentot entered a diametrically opposite relationship with another class of white men, the representatives of the Christian missions, which are maintained today in Great Namaland by the representatives of the Rhenish missionary society of Barmen. Whoever reads the older reports of this society can measure the difference between the present day Nama-mission and the one of fifty years ago. At that time service among the Hottentots in this country without any government, where there were many battles among the natives, was a sacrifice of the first rank. Without any government protection the missionary threw himself on the mercy of the people, following the restless tribes on their migrations and sharing hunger and thirst with them. In order to keep in closest touch with the people, the missionary did not even shy away from marriage with a native girl. Gradually the opening up of the land led to the establishment of permanent mission stations. The protection of the government gave new guarantees to life and property and today the mission houses are the best and prettiest buildings in the country thanks to the excellent trade schools of the missionaries. They are places not only of work but also of comfort and, as I would like to emphasize with honest gratitude, show the traveler friendly hospitality. [331] The swing towards

the better in the material conditions of life at the mission has certainly 797
contributed not a little to the solidifying of their prestige among the Hottentots. But even aside from this the Hottentot has a great measure of reverence and (when he does not have to fear shocking pious feelings) trust for the missionary in the knowledge that he has in him the best representative of his spiritual and bodily interest.

Only a blind enemy of the mission would fail to recognize the meaning of this bridge which Christianity has built for the peaceful understanding of two heterogeneous yet interdependent human races and its importance for the cultural development of the country. But it is also as clear as day that the mission will become the curse of the land when it loses sight of the political or economic good of the country in a one-sided pursuit of clerical and hierarchical aims. For the most part this well-being depends on the extent to which the struggle of the various interests of the native and of the invading races can be peacefully regulated in proportion to the economic contributions of the competitors. This is a truth that is often ignored both by the humanistic utopian as well as by the egoistic of power. It is necessary to picture the disasters of the native labor question in the Cape Colony in order to understand how economical it is to be able to combine one's interests with those of the native (even if it is only the despised Hottentot). The first condition is naturally an exact knowledge of the necessities of life and the ideas of the natives. As long as it is only the missionaries (with a few exceptions), who find it worthwhile to establish this contact on the basis of thorough studies, just so long the mission will have a high secular trump in its hand. It has played it successfully during the eighties in the Herero country and in Namaland, by disabling English influence in favor of German. (78)

78. C. v. François, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi, Berlin, 1899.

How do matters stand in spiritual affairs? Can the mission be satisfied with the successes in the Christianization of the Hottentots?

Older missionaries with whom I spoke gave a negative answer. The work of nearly a century should have ripened other fruit. To what extent a Hottentot is able to accept the spirit of Christianity so that it determines not only what he does not do but also what he does, could best be judged by an unprejudiced missionary. My own [332] rather sad experiences in this area have been confirmed too frequently for me to believe them to

he unfavorable and happenstance judgments which biased my general opinion. Although I generally mixed with those Hottentots who did not belong to the elite of the missions, I also avoided the lowest level which would have readily given me good reason for the most pessimistic judgment. 797

Not the least part of the average Hottentot's judgment of Christianity is that it is an advantageous attribute of the white man. Just as he considers himself better in the white man's jacket, trousers and bright coat than his brother or sister in a skin apron, so he also sees his membership in the Christian church as a social accomplishment in keeping with the rank of modern Hottentot. This view is usually combined with disdain for the old customs of his people, even when they do not come in conflict with the new religion. One might accept this mutilation of the self if it were only the overenthusiasm of energetic resolution to elevate oneself to a new level. But the Hottentot is too lazy and also smart enough to see clearly the contradiction of Christian theory and practice in the social and private life of the white man (cf. folk tale XXVIII), to set himself different ethical ideals than those from the heathen era that at best still serve as the social norms of his own people: loving one's neighbor which for the Hottentot means reciprocal help, respect for age, restraint in regard to the property of others (if only in regard to that of other tribal members), these are all autochthonous commandments that coincide with those of Christianity.

The folk tales and the other imaginings of the Hottentots had perhaps so little in common with Christianity that the two could not be organically joined, as germanic heathen traditions were to Christianity. The moral principles and rules of conduct of the Hottentots that we have learned about are rooted in the tradition of folk customs. The loss of these folk principles along with the complete revolution in the economic basis of their existence since the dominance of the white man has left the Hottentots ethically ruined. Such destruction cannot be repaired with a Bible, catechism, hymnal, attendance at church, Sunday school, holy communion and classes in reading, writing and singing. That attempts have been made to reach such a goal by these methods, would never be held against the individual missionary who has dedicated his life to these people. [808] The harm lies in the system. Only he may bear the name of the Founder, whose whole life was a single great self-sacrifice, who is at least capable of the smallest sacrifice in the service of his fellow man, namely, of work, even though it be only for

himself and his family. In this sense few Hottentots have become Christians. The systematic education of the natives for work has been demanded often enough for economic reasons. But this seems to me to be an unavoidable religious requirement of the Christian mission. Work represents in Namaland, as in every colony, the only possibility that the native has to hold his head economically above the tide of the inrushing cultural stream. And experience has shown further that a primitive people that is economically demoralized is also morally demoralized because it is for sale for any service to the superior race for its own livelihood. Thus the requirement that the native be taught to work does not seem to the missionary a secularization of his duties but only points a way to a firm basis for his religious duties. Moreover the white population is more grateful for a Christian trained for work than for ninety-nine candidates for heaven that know the Bible well but don't want to work.

Whether it would prove successful to appoint a special official for native affairs according to the English model, whether such an official could work together with the mission in the execution of his duties towards a systematic training of the natives for work and towards an organized employment bureau and labor welfare, must be determined by a trial, if possible before the English employers have drawn our best workers away from us across the border. Then we will also see whether the Protestant or the Catholic mission is more vital in this area. In the future this decision may have consequences far beyond the bounds of the mission.

d) The relationship of the Hottentot to his German master. The Hottentot learns our language quickly, at least to understand it. He observes foreigners carefully and has the sense to hide his opinion. In all three points he differs to his advantage from the majority of our people. It cannot be held against the settler and the merchant that they show no interest in the difficult language. That an official can triple his influence over the natives when he masters their language is an old saw, but one would have run into enormous [334] difficulties applying the moral to the Hottentot language if one had ever thought of applying it at all.

There is usually only contempt felt for the Hottentots' language because of its clicking sounds. That can be harmless enough, but a large part of our countrymen are content with finding only the humorous aspects of the Hottentot and that is more serious. If the hundred little upsets are then added, which no one can avoid who has to depend on natives in his work, then all these feelings combine with the outward impression of a ragged, dirty fellow to a general opinion, which is unconcealed scorn.

This scorn may be humorous or bitter depending on the experiences and situation of the individual, but usually there is combined with it our feeling of enormous superiority that seems to make any closer study of the Hottentot unnecessary. We think we can manage him without this knowledge. 648 649

In addition enormous contrasts appear in our dealings with him. A captain, whom on occasion an official invites into his house as a "leader," is offered hospitality by a trader with the words "Will you have a schnapps, old pig?" On the one hand a white man is punished because he ejected a wise-aleck Hottentot bodily, but on the other hand an official in an understandable rage dealt out stripes himself. Punishment in itself is not the bad thing; it is the contradictions in the treatment that are. One may deplore the ruthless methods of the Boers in particular; the consistency, however, with which even the gentler Boer, in complete agreement with his own people, sticks to his severe principles towards the Hottentots, is the heart of that which must be admired, namely, the ability of the Boers to deal with the natives.

Such a uniformity in the treatment of the natives cannot be achieved by ordinances. It must be the spontaneous expression of a consistent appraisal of the native's character and of the situation. Those who know the Hottentot agree that two things are essential to get along well with him. In innumerable cases I have had the experience that a Hottentot expects punishment if he is convinced he deserves it. In his eyes it is a sign of weakness or stupidity if the punishment is remitted or given a sugar-coating. He may [338] thank you touchingly for your indulgent pardon and if he is a Christian wish you the reward of the "Lord Jesus" -- but he who can see behind the facade knows that the Hottentot is amused at this kind of treatment (cf. folk tale XLI); he wants to be treated firmly. The demands of justice should be emphasized in the interest of authority, even when it is not a matter of serious punishments. The harsh and blind scolding of a number of Hottentots by a high official, who could not even speak Dutch with them, was interrupted by a Hottentot (who thought that only his own people could understand him) with a warning to his companions: "Ikgau/ hã gaigye tã kuom." "he is crazy, therefore do not speak." Such situations can occur more often than is good for the strengthening of our prestige, even in the short time that the individual official is allowed to stay in the southwest (cf. the chronicle of the district bureau of Keetmanshoop).

Also the person who is not an official should be aware that his private dealings with the natives in the half-civilised land are not purely private matters. Each individual directly bears a part of the responsibility for the good or the bad relations of the two races. The result of these meetings, in which the individual bears direct responsibility is the sharpest test of the maturity of a people in dealing with other peoples. Here we show up clearly as novices. We fluctuate too much between undisciplined fraternization and bureaucratic overbearing. The middle way is not natural to us yet: the understanding of foreign peculiarities while quietly maintaining our own superiority. Our cousin on the other side of the Channel is more cosmopolitan. 648

In the meantime we must openly confess that the Hottentot knows us better than we do him. Even while aware of his own weakness he never loses interest in the study of the white intruder. Taught for generations and from boyhood up to operate with trickery he only lets the white man see the results of his observations of humans in the rarest cases. We have lost a great deal in not recognizing this situation. In the critical time after the outbreak of the Warmbad unrest, think what was said about war policy around the beer bench in front of the stores in the presence of Hottentot men! Relentlessly, when patriotism had reached its height after the sixth bottle, the refrain was "What can the fellows do?", after some-one had hinted that unbidden listeners were there. And they miss nothing: they comment more thoroughly on such [336] idiotic and thoughtless speeches than on any of the governor's decrees. Whoever thinks he can demand every kind of service from the Hottentot for tobacco and bad gin, ought to have at least as much information about the families of this "trash" in these critical times so that he does not select the man to spy on the leader of a band from a related family.

But we will not give any further examples here. Even without them the conviction that underestimating the Hottentots in the small matters of daily life as well as in the most important was a basic error in our relations with the natives will make headway. We have had to pay for this mistake so dearly with blood that it is the duty of every witness to point it out that it may be avoided in the future.

He who measures the Hottentot as a fighter not exclusively according to the measure of the dragoons or the paragraphs of the Geneva Convention, cannot deny him recognition in more than one point. To be sure, one does not need the eyes of a general to recognize that it was not Hendrik Witbooi who was our chief opponent in the battle with the

Hottentots but his ally, the countryside, that showed waterless deserts, pathless mountains or interminable flatlands between us and the enemy. The enemy vanishes here with his entire outfit. His provisions come from the living cattle that the children drive and the women milk. In remote districts or rocky hollows that only the native herdsman and hunter know they find water and they sleep in open bush-kraals as they usually do when they go out with family and possessions for weeks and months seeking pastures. And so the Ovaherero Hottentot feels himself to be in his own element no matter how badly things are going. We had the task to transplant all at once and efficiently our entire cultural superiority into a country where it would normally take decades for the culture to conquer. In order to mobilize all the resources of modern war here it meant that, long before we could attack the enemy, we had to do battle with nature, which even today places enormous demands on the individual.

The Hottentot is our superior in this battle, not only because he can live on meat and roots, -- experience gives [337] him the edge. Our army is like wild game to the Hottentot, which he hunts with assurance, as he has learned the tricks in former battles. Whereas our soldiers pay the cost of learning in blood again and again, he uses his old methods. He waits in ambush for the enemy at the water hole just as he did for the zebra at the Vlei. He fires at a pawing detachment from the rocky hiding place as he did at a herd of migrating springbok. He stalks a weak patrol as an oryx antelope in the early dawn. He surrounds a supply train the way he surrounds kraws when encircling them to throw the kirri at them.

And when he himself was surrounded, how did it happen that he always escaped again? During the entire war our troops tirelessly covered the battlefield in all directions with patrols, covered the entire country with a net of telegraphs and heliographs at enormous sacrifice and then overcame heretofore insuperable difficulties of time and space with wireless telegraphs. (78) That the Hottentot often surpassed us in pawing

78. L. Schultze, Nachrichtenwesen während der Kämpfe in Deutsch-Südwestafrika ("Tägliche Rundschau," Jahrg. 1908, Nr. 511 u. 513).

information in spite of all this, reminds us most uncomfortably of that which we easily forget from pride in our cultural level: the fact that simple practice of the naked senses of a primitive race plus primitive intellectual experience, sharpened only by everyday things, can be

raised to such perfection that they can compete successfully with a numerically and intellectually far superior power, using the most modern equipment. 648

The strength of the Hottentot in comparison to his enemy, who is trained from youth to work cooperatively and according to regulations, lies in the independence of each individual. When we compare him with the German soldier, we see how many primitive abilities gained by direct contact with nature have been lost by us.

Added to this is the fact that the Hottentot warrior often is a mature man. The youth of our soldiers is very evident to him and he is aware again of a definite superiority in this area. One designation for the German soldier, which has lasted from the times of our former battles with the Hottentots, is "!gaikxpaos //gaĩ-uxaob, i.e. "the little boy (a-xab, boy; -s, dimin.) from the foreign place (//gaĩ), whose dress (the uniform coat that fits snugly across the small of the back) is fastened (!gaĩ) at the rear (uxaob)". But even though he laughs at his opponent here the way a sly old poacher does at [338] at a young game warden, he has still felt the strength of our soldiers sufficiently. He expresses his recognition in the expression "!hani!o/m. !o/m is a so-called "haikop". These animals are harder to handle than the usual oxen because of their lack of horns. They pull their heads out of the noose if they are yoked up in the usual way. They stick their heads through barriers that would be protected against horned animals. One is never certain about them. To the recognition of this readiness to fight, they add, without stretching the metaphor, the striking color of our blond (!hani, yellow) hair to the name.

I have not been able to find out from the Hottentots many details of their battle customs. In order to steel himself to his bloody work, the 726 man who has never killed anyone supposedly drinks the raw blood of a slaughtered animal before he goes into battle. [Picture. Hottentots' War Pipe.]

The battle reports of the troops will give the best information about 726 tactics. Signals are frequently given on a pipe that is carved from the horn of a female springbok. Since this signal pipe, !gâ/b, is blown the same way as a dance pipe, it is also called a reed or blowing horn, !nã/ĩ!nâ/b or "!oa!/ĩ!nâ/b.

It is the job of one of the sub-captains to determine whether a place or water hole which the troop is approaching is occupied by the enemy or not. He rides up spying, while his people conceal themselves around it. Not until he lets out a long drawn-out whistle do they appear. In this way the Hottentots are supposed to have approached the water hole /Aos in the

1: Schultze--135A N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p. 358]

Hottentot war pipe.

year 1890, in order to attack Kubub on the following morning. A series of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack. 726 202

The Hottentot also seeks hints from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called "go-bo go-bos, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture. Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go-bo go-bo a-maß , kxo-egu go ǂuo-aß?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows. 726 737

A ring around the moon, "xoǂgâ-b, (the moon is as though thrown, xo, in, ǂgâ-, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occured and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga-hexab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet 177

77. W. H. I. Bleek, A Comparative Grammar of South African languages, 2 Bände. London, 1862 und 1869.

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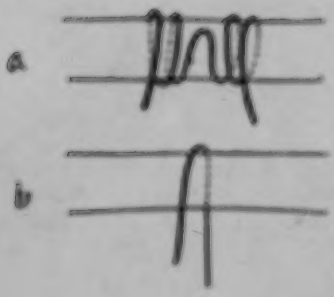

Figures a and b.

[p. 339]

shown whether the fragments published by Lichtenstein, Burchell and Wuras of the !Kora dialect, whether the parts of an eastern dialect which Sparrmann, Thunberg and Barrow have heard, and whether the notations of Herbert, Ten Rhine and Witsen of the dialect of the Capeland Hottentots of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries could be so arranged that they would at least give us a vague picture of the lost languages. The tribes of Great Namaland now form linguistically unified group with the fugitives from the south. Their language is that of the old Namas or Namaqua as older authors write using the former ending of the masculine plural. 197

The language of the Hottentots was the greatest hindrance during the first six months of my journey in getting closer to the spiritual life of the people. In the second and third year it was the most fertile source of my studies. Where war troubles or the unfavorable time of year stopped my zoological studies, I turned to the study of the language. A small work by Theophilus Hahn (78), a concise presentation of the 114

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama, Leipzig, 1870.

language that contains many errors by A. Seidel (79) and especially

79. A. Seidel, Praktische Grammatiken der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrika's, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, (ohne Jahreszahl).

Knenleins Wortschatz (57) gave me a firm start and later a basis for

57. J. G. Knenlein, Vorschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

testing my own results against older ones.

The Hottentot words in the text all stem from the natives. If I have avoided all the information of the whites who know the language, it is not because I underestimated the help that I could have received here, but because I wished to drink exclusively from the source. Therefore I have also avoided natives who could read and write, because they looked at their own language through the glasses of the white man who first gave written signs to these sounds, partly in close connection with the Dutch

language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conventional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the animals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies chose other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large, South African ant-eater, the aardvark,which animal is very difficult to shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising word-tone (/kxûbe-é), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a falling word-tone (/kxu-bee). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple. After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native, reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the conviction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks

Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and

unavoidable elementary stage. This has been the stumbling block for many who wished to learn Nama. Once you have learned to distinguish the four clicks by ear, then you [342] can make the job of reproducing them easier by having a native pronounce selected click words slowly and at the same time look as far down his throat as possible without influencing the tone by any interruptions. You will then see and hear that the shape, the placing and the withdrawing of the tongue determine the character of each click.

The click sounds of the Hottentots have been compared to the "inspirata" and the "expirata" of the consonants (78), unjustly in my

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

opinion. The question, whether inspiration or expiration is involved in the formation of the clicks can be tested by anyone pronouncing a click. You must hold your breath and try to click. The sounds come forth effortlessly, powerfully and typically. The same is true for all four sounds, no matter whether they are formed during inspiration or expiration. Breathing, in other words, plays no part here. Rather the formation of clicks is exclusively an effect of the energetic withdrawal of the tongue from the place where it begins the click. In the empty space that is thus formed the air rushes in creating the four different sounds without any physiological assistance. The air also finds its way through the oral cavity but this inrushing is not inspiration. The independence of the diaphragm and the lungs is in my opinion characteristic of making click sounds.

The use of click-like sounds in the language of other peoples than that of the Hottentot - Bushman group of South Africa has not yet been systematically investigated. The dental and cerebral click sounds seem to have been transferred with least modification into the language of several South African Bantu tribes. But their use in word formation is not supposed to correspond to that of the Hottentots. I myself had no opportunity to compare the click sounds of the Zulus, Bantus, etc. with those of the Hottentots.

2. The Musical Modifications of the Nama Sounds

The musical modifications of the Nama sounds are supposedly sufficiently differentiated by three signs. Knenlein's signs are not precisely

defined by the author. Bleek says of them in the preface to "Wortschatz," probably basing his opinion on Th. Hahn or older authors, that they designate the middle, low and high tones." A comparison with the living language shows, however, that pure tonal levels are produced only in a number of cases. In most of the cases the signs are used rather for the designation of such relationships of sounds [364] that are combinations of very different musical elements. The usual three signs do not represent simple sound relationships in most cases but complex ones, reproduce them incompletely, since the sound elements are only partly considered, and the way they are combined not at all, and reproduce them ambiguously, because they reproduce similarly sounding words without consideration for the various sound components.

A. Seidel, who never heard the Nama language himself, in other words proceeds purely theoretically, differentiates the usual three tonal levels as "intonations", but does not see the various tonal levels as of a decisive nature in themselves, but the rising and falling of the tones as most important. This rising and falling of the tone has been now completely amalgamated with the tonal level in the most unfortunate way in that the start of the voice at the middle tonal level has been established as the point of departure. That is completely contradictory to the facts. The assumption that the voice always rises or falls from the middle tonal level when it changes its level is actually false and therefore the whole tonal system built on this assumption collapses.

Clarity cannot be won by abstractly adjusting and assimilating old concepts but only by a renewed study of the living language itself. Therefore, proceeding purely empirically, I wrote down all the phonetic elements that concerned the tonal level and its change, as soon as I heard them turning up repeatedly in a word. A special consideration of the accent later proved to be necessary and required a revision of the designations in that direction. The results of my observations, which were tested often over a period of time in every detail, are the following: the musical character of the sounds is determined in the Nama language not by those isolated modifications of sounds synchronized with a strong accent, but by eight sound modifications, which combine with each other as well as with the ninth factor, the accent, in many, many ways.

The circumstance, that Kroenlein's signs are already in use in two different definitions, of which one is too general, and the other of which contradicts the facts, has determined me not to adopt these signs in my orthography after several unsuccessful attempts to do so. They could only be used if they were redefined. Their use then would not correspond

[text continues on p. 197. -Trans.]

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Stage of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Dental /	Flat and broad	The front end of the tongue is placed against the inner surface of the upper incisors and canines	The lateral edges of the tongue, while the front end starts clicking, are so placed against the inner surfaces, and partly against the chewing surfaces of the side teeth, that you cannot see into the oral cavity.	Far down, right behind the incisors.
Lateral //	Rounded like a bullet, so that the oral cavity is visible on both sides of the tongue, even when the tongue is placed to begin the click	blem of the back of the tongue rests against the palate	The tip of the tongue rests against the front palate, also partly against the inner surface of the upper incisors. The side edges of the tongue lie on the inner surface of the upper molars.	Perpendicularly down, but only so far that the back of the tongue remains considerably above the chewing surfaces of the lower molars.

continued

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks (Cont'd)

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Cerebral !	Hollow like a basin, and broad	The front end of the tongue lies at some distance from the incisors against the front and middle part of the palate	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces of the molars, just touching their chewing surfaces	Downwards and backwards
Palatal ≠	Flat and broad	The tip of the tongue lies closely against the front palate right behind the incisors	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces and the chewing surfaces of the molars	Downwards and so far to the rear that the ligament of the tongue is visible between the front edge of the tongue and the incisors

L. Schapera--1933 H-S (1929-1930) 1931 FX15 Hottentot FX15 [345]

so that in Kröhnke's [345] "Wortschatz" and that would lead to misunderstandings. The following nine different musical modifications of the Nama sounds divide into three groups.*

* The terminal technics, which I had created for naming the newly differentiated sound elements of the Nama language, were reviewed by Professor Eduard Sievers in Leipzig and improved when necessary in the interest of a unified nomenclature. (81) I also received

81. E. Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, 5. Aufl., 1901.

decisive assistance in the task of reproducing the phonetic elements in such a way that they did not over-burden the sentence and so that they did not pile up in a muddle when combined. I mention again in this place my heartfelt thanks to Professor Sievers.

α) The initial tone level. By this I mean the level at which the voice regularly starts when pronouncing certain words, compared with the initial level of the voice in other words.

These kinds of initial tone level must be differentiated; the signs which I have chosen for them are included in parentheses.

α) The middle tone is characterised by the fact that the voice does not begin either lower nor higher than on the average. What is meant by the "average tone niveau" of a person and how it varies according to age, sex and individual peculiarities, do not need to be defined in number of vibrations. One becomes so attuned to the organ of one's Hottentot teacher that one immediately notices a deviation of the voice either up or down. The middle tone does not need a sign. It is assumed wherever there is not a sign (if the signs for the tonal level are otherwise complete).

β) The high tone (sign: / after the sound) is characterised by the fact that the voice is higher,

γ) the low tone (sign: \ after the sound) by the fact that the voice is lower than normal.

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If there is doubt about the type of initial tone level in a word, then a comparison of the questionable word with others made up of the same sounds is decisive. Thus you might doubt whether the word for "green" should be written !am or !a^{h}m, because the voice is so close to the border between the middle and high tone. A comparison with the word !am "to join to each other" which is pronounced obviously deeper down decides for the high tone (combined here with a falling tone extension). But that in this word the voice actually has a middle and not a low tone setting we learn from the designation for "glass bead," the word !a$_{l}$m, because the voice reaches its lowest level in pronouncing this word.

[344] The musical modifications of the Nama sounds stand out most clearly in their variations and in their value for the understanding of the language, when they separate distinctly two words that would otherwise sound alike.* To illustrate this meaning of the three different initial tonal

* The signs used here and in the following text are missing still in some few words which were mentioned in the previous text. The method of writing them that is used in the following list is the correct one.

levels, the following examples are presented: 194 192

1.	/aha-	a: end
	/a/ha-ŋ	a: the north
	°/a/ha-b	a: the taste of blood in the mouth
2.	!a//	a: to test
	!a//	a: to jump
3.	!a/m	a: green (as a verb: to shine around)
	!a/m	a: to join to each other
	!a/ma	a: the glass bead
4.	/a!!	a: to whore
	/a!!!	a: to listen
	(a!?	a: to sprinkle)
5.	/ga^{l}/m	a: to be warm
	/ga^{h}/m	a: two
6.	//ga!	a: to hang bead necklaces around the neck
	//ga^{l}	a: to be thin
	(//ga!	a: to go off to war)

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7. //gx/ox-i
   //gox-b — n the skin sack
   //gox-b — f the hole that collects water in the rocks
8. /gox-b — f the obstruction
   */gx/ox-b — f the berry-like fruit of the Ilex kenea L.f. (Aquifoliaceae)
9. *!gx/ox-b — f name of a species of Rhinogum (Zygophyllaceae).
   !gx/ox-b — f the water bag
10. !gx/ — f to fasten a skin with pegs that is stretched on the ground to dry
    !gx — f to cross something on one's way
    !gx/ — v to make something even by lopping; to lump ankles when walking
11. gx/ — v to prepare sugar beer, to implant
    (347) gx/ — f to be laid
12. gx/ — v to hide oneself
    gx/ — v to become fat
13. /gx/n — f with bushy hair
    /gx/n — v to suck blood
14. /gx/ — v to give another nursing mother to a baby
    /gx/ — v to feel about in the dark
15. //gx- — v to beseech
    //gx- — v to threaten
    (//gx-a — v to become light)
16. /gx/o-b — n mud, the dregs of the sugar beer
    /gx/o-b — f the bed skin
17. /gx/oa-b — f the dregs of a liquid
    */gx/oa-b — v the striped mouse (see p. 187, no. 30)
18. /gx/ — v to push away with the fist
    /gx/ — v to bump into
19. //gx/b — f the father
    //gx/b — v the springbok
    //gx/b — f the tooth
20. //ha/i- — v to flee
    //ha/- — v to scrape hair from a skin
21. !ha/b — f the bone pipe
    !ha/b — v to cut up a fruit

32. [illegible]
[illegible]
33. [illegible]
[illegible]
34. [illegible]
[illegible]
35. [illegible]
[illegible]
36. [illegible]
[illegible]
37. [illegible]
[illegible]
38. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 39. [illegible]
[illegible]
40. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
41. [illegible]
42. [illegible]
[illegible]
43. [illegible]
[illegible]
44. [illegible]
[illegible]
45. [illegible]
[illegible]
46. [illegible]
[illegible]
47. [illegible]
[illegible]

- the strap
- the horn on the flint tinder box
- to be fat
- to knock off the burnt part from something baked in the ashes
- to provocate
- to hold oneself in readiness
- to uncover, lay bare
- to blow out air, kiss (*of* the horned viper)
- the rising up of the snake
- to do something for the first time
- to relax
- to hold back a bowel movement
- to squint
- to milk sheep or goats into the mouth secretly
- to follow tracks
- honey bear
- young
- to produce a dead calf
- to lay back the ears
- little
- to swoken
- to blink
- the beseeching
- hilly or mountain land, the Konso Highlands in the southern Hamar territory
- to bury
- to be coarse
- to make an arc, to go around
- the sled
- to the sword
- to have the bladder too full
- the cooking
- the kidneys

*to shoot out

38. /nu/ho • to grow hair
/nohe- • to scrape
39. !noe- • to become gray
!nu/a- • to run away (thy animals), to awaken
40. !no-/m • slovenliness
!no-/ha • the heel
!no/a-s • stumbling
41. /hua- s to quarrel
/hua/a- s to throw
42. o-a s to seek
o-/a s to increase
oa- s to calf, to lamb, to have young
43. o-se s to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
o-/se • of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
(ose- s to make free)
[349] 44. !o/m • to push
!o/m s to be without horns (of cattle)
!o/m • to become hard, to pull out a thorn
45. nu/i • thy mother
nuse • the pursuit
46. n/? • to sneeze
n/ s to send
47. uu- • to stalk game
u/ro- s to jump on an unsaddled horse
48. tsabi- • the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
tsa/bi-s s the black ebony tree

b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or diphtong of a one syllable word., when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

a) The even extension is characterised by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

(1) The rising extension (sign: ↑ after the sound) is characterized by a rising.

(2) The falling extension (sign: ↓ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples:

1. ǂ • to weep
ǂǂ • to drink
ǂǂ • yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /ǂ • to wring out
/ǂǂ • to be sharp
3. /ɢ • to be wet
/ɢǂ • to pilfer
4. ɢ/ms • the mouth
ɢ/ms • the roast
ɢ/m • to the right
5. //gu'a • to bake a cake in the pan
(306) //gu'n • to pull in one's head
(//gu'an • verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. !gu/m • to have gonorrhea
!gu'm • deep
(!gu/m • to bow)
(!gu'm • to kill)
7. /gǁ • to collect cattle of the same color
'/gǁ • not wanting to give away his last bit
(gǁ • to have twins)
8. ɢǁǂ • to be sharp
ɢǁ • to set up a scarecrow for animals
(ɢǁ • to turn aside)
9. //gǁ • the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
//gǁ • compulsion
10. !gǁ • the long reed mat
!gǁ • following a track

	ǃnī/	• wearing an apron behind
	ǃnī/	• to let someone ride on your shoulders
11.	ǂhxā/m	• chewing different foods at the same time
	ǂhxā/m	• pouring in
12.	ǂhxā/b	• the surface
	ǂhxā/b	• pushing in front of one or shoving
13.	ǂhxā/b	• the seed
	ǂhxā/b	• a black stone (such as is found near Aar in the neighborhood of Kubub, for example.)
14.	ǂhxā/	• pouring out
	ǂhxā/b	• the knapsack
15.	ǃhā/	• to fall on one's elbows (said of the small child that is creeping on hands and knees.)
	ǃhā/	• to mock
16.	ǃhx-/mi	• the mountain
	ǃhx-/mi	• the sail (see page 41)
17.	ǃhx/m	• to be lame, also: to untie oxen from the yoke of the trek rope (to span them in front of another wagon.)
	ǃhx/m	• to swallow something hot
[181] 18.	ǃhx/	• to blow something up
	ǃhx/	• to blow oneself up, to be inflated
19.	ǂhx/	• to leave
	ǂhx/	• to fall
	ǂhx/	• there)
20.	ʔnx/b	• the white blaze across the middle of the forehead and nose
	ǃnx/b	• the lower body
	(ǃnx/b	• a large kind of land turtle
21.	ʔhx/m	• flat and thin
	ǂhx/m	• to whistle
22.	ǃnx/b	• the stone under the cooking pot
	ǃnǂb	• peace (quiet)

33. /û • to make a noise
/ûé • to stop giving milk
34. ûé'ò • the resting
ûé'ò • the buchu powder
35. ûé'ûn • to pull the bark off a tree
ûé'ûn • to take out honey
(ûé'ûn • to intimidate a bird with a throw
• so that it ducks to the ground)
36. ìûʔò • claw, hoof
ìûʔò • forehead
(ìûûʔè • pinon)
37. ìûé'ò • gnaw for pips
ìûé'ò • licking
38. ìnûʔò • distance
ìnûʔò • dust cloud
(ìnûʔò • bush hut, bush shelter)

c) The word-tone. By this I mean the difference in the level of the voice between the first and last syllable of a word. We will not consider three syllable words at all, as no more than two syllables ever have this characteristic difference in level, the third syllable being about the same as one or the other accented syllables. Two kinds of word-tone are to be differentiated.

1. The rising word-tone is characterised by the fact that the voice is higher at the end syllable than at the first syllable.

[302] 2. Oppositely falling word-tone is characterised by the lower level of the voice at the final syllable.

In the rising and falling word-tone you must sometimes differentiate a long and a short interval which are independent of individual variations. The long one amounts to a short third to fourth, the short one only a half tone. Among the following examples are those which show that even this amount of word-tone can make a decisive difference in the meaning.

A special sign for the differences of the word-tone has not been introduced as I did not wish to pack the letters further with diacritical marks. This is readily justified where these differences of the word-tone go hand in hand with those in the position of the accent which has its own sign. But where, as in the following examples, it is a question of the same position of the accent and the same type of word-tone, the following abbreviations are added in parentheses to make clear a difference which is purely one of interval:

1/2, st. ˊmaaa . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone.
3, st. ˊmaaa . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. ˋmaaa . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. ˋmaaa . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples:

1. /ǂgu/ri-b (3, st.) : name of a riverbank grass.
   /ǂgu/ri-ˊ (1/2, st.) : a hail.
2. /ǂgu/a-b (3, st.) : name of a succulent edible plant.
   °/ǂgu/a-b (1/2, st.) : the call of the stirring /hoaxa owl.
3. !gu/re- (3, st.) : to stay behind.
   !gu/re- (1/2, st.) : to roar.
4. !gu/re-b (3, st.) : poison.
   !gu/re-b (1/2, st.) : thunder.
5. /ha/aa- (3, st.) : to be slow.
   /ha/aa- (1/2, st.) : to smell of urine.
6. !ha/re- (3, st.) : to look on.
   !ha/re- (1/2, st.) : to start, to spit hard.
7. /ha/re-b (3, st.) : the vent.
   /ha/re-b (1/2, st.) : the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8. /haro-ˊ (3, st.) : name of Cyperus species.
(365) °/haro-ˊ (1/2, st.) : Mesembrianthemum species.
9. /ha/o-b (3, st.) : goat beard.
   /ha/o-b (1/2, st.) : visible breath.
10. /ha/ho- (3, st.) : to paint the face.
    °/ha/ho- (1/2, st.) : to arrange a new-born one.
11. na/ri- (3, st.) : to be thickened.
    na/ri- (1/2, st.) : this morning.
12. !na/ha-b (3, st.) : the navel.
    !na/ha-b (1/2, st.) : rhinoceros.
13. !ny/re-b (3, st.) : tobacco roll.
    !ny/re-ˊ (1/2, st.) : the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

4) The accent (sign: ˊ after the vowel) should be placed with the vowel modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Knoechein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language.

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out.

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable.

How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

c) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by $\hat{}$, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with $\check{}$.

1. *ɓɛ́ɛ́* • to burst open
   ɓɛ̂ɛ̂ • to slaughter
2. */ɔ́ʔɔ* • to groan
   /ɔ̌ɔ • to smoke (of the fire)
3. *//ɔ́ʔɔm* • to clean oneself with cow dung
   (364) *//ɛ́ʔɛm* : placing stones in the hole game (see page 314), clapping hands
   //ɛ̌ɛm • to eliminate
   •//ɛ̌ɛm • to cover in order to hide
4. *//ɛ́ɛ́n* : to dwell
   //ɛ̌ɛ́n • to ripen
   //ɔ́ʔɔ • to hold firmly together
5. *ɗɔ́ɔ* • to know
   ɗɔ́ʔɔ • to give a blow
6. *ɗɛ̂ʔ* : to jubilate, make merry
   ɗɛ̂ʔ : to be someone's enemy
7. *gɛ́ɛ́* : to be lost
   gɛ́ʔɛ́ : to be clever, to outwit someone
8. *!gɛ́ʔɛ́* • to burst
   !gɛ́b : the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

12.	!g̱ɬ̱b	•	poison
11	!g̱ɬ̱b	•	the servant
	ʔg̱ɬ̱b	•	name of an Euphorbia that is probably identical with the one on page 280
9.	!gɛ-ɬ̱ ni	:	this
	!gɛ-ni	•	way [road]
	(!gɛʔ ni-	•	to pass)
10.	ɢ̱ɢ̱ɬ̱	•	to go in
	ɢ̱ɢ̱ɬ̱	•	to be steep
11.	χɔʔm	•	to wipe the dust off
	ʔɔɔ̱m	•	to draw a snare tight
12.	ɢ̱ɢ̱ɬ̱m	•	to mend something broken
	ɢ̱ɢ̱ʔm	•	to jump about
13.	ɢ̱ɢ̱ɬ̱o	•	to cover
	ɢ̱ɢ̱ʔo	•	to ask
14.	/gɛĩɬ̱	•	to be greedy
	/gɛĩʔ	:	to spread out skins for a bed
15.	//gĩɬ̱	•	to strangle
	//gĩʔ	•	to eliminate, excrete
16.	gõɬ̱	•	to refuse
	gõɬ̱	:	to see
17.	!gɛ̱ɬ̱m	•	to be pregnant
[384]	!gɛ̱ɬ̱m	•	the humming of the ostrich
18.	ɢ̱ɢ̱ʔm	•	to dip in
	ɢ̱ɢ̱ʔm	•	to believe
19.	/gĩɬ̱	•	near
	/gĩʔ	•	dirty
20.	!gɛ̱ɬ̱m	:	to bend
	!gɛʔm	•	to kill
	ʔgɛ̱ʔm	:	deep
21.	!gɛuɬ̱	:	to be left over
	!gɛuɬ̱	•	to throw towards
22.	!hĩɬ̱b	:	to winnow out
	!hĩʔb	:	lynx (see page 281)
	!hĩʔb	:	canine tooth of the horse

|92 33. ǂnaiʔ • to smear oneself with something sweet
|99 ᵑǂnaiʔ • to crush the !nara fruit (see p. 309)

34. /nuʔb • the scorpion
/nuʔb • anxiety, choking

35. /nuʔb • the white ants
/nuʔb • the smell of the billy goat

36. //nai • to bore through
//nuʔ • to lack

37. !nai • to flee
!naʔb • the country

38. !niʔ • to tie, combine
!niʔ • to pound cooked meat, to push up and away with the fist
ᵑǃniʔ • to suck marrow from bones (cf. p. 31)

39. /xoaʔm • to urinate
/xoam • to trickle through
ᵑ/xoam • the edible soft parts of sea snails (see p. 31)

40. xoaʔm • to pound fine
xoaʔm • to speak

41. //xoaʔm • to scratch out the remnants baked firmly to the pot
//xoaʔm • to bind up a body

42. /xuiʔ • to tremble
/xuiʔ • to pull out

43. ǂniiʔ • to pour
(306) ǂniiʔ • to be dry

44. ǂnaʔo • to strike fire
ǂnaʔo • to turn around

45. !noʔm • humpbacked
!noʔm • to smoke out bees (see p. 306)

46. ǂnaaʔ • to strike
ǂnaaʔ • to help

[92] 37. /ŋ/m • to breathe
[91] /ŋ'm • to wipe off
38. ŋ/ : to warm oneself
ŋ/ • to pick one's nose
39. ŋ • to come there
ŋ'ŋŋ • ? [phoneme]

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /ŋki- (1/2, st.) : to rain (cf. p. 237 note)
/ŋ'ki- (3, st.) • to scratch the skin for purposes of healing
2. ŋ'ŋm- (1/2, st.) • to scream
ŋ'ŋ/m- (3, st.) • to joke
3. /ŋ'ŋ/i·b (3, st.) • name of a lizard, the Mabuia acutilabris Pts.
/ŋ'ŋ'i·b (1/2, st.) • dancing
4. ŋ'ŋ/ni- (3, st.) : to walk gauze
ŋ'ŋ'ni- (1/2, st.) • to scratch one's closed eye or ear
5. //ŋum·s (1/2, st.) : quartz stone
°//ŋ'ŋ/ru·b (3, st.) : mountain ridge
6. !ha'/mi· (3, st.) • to hunt
!ha'mi· (1/2, st.) • to be insulted
7. !hari·b (3, st.) • fear
!ha'ri·b (1/2, st.) : the backbone
8. //naŋ- (1/2, st.) : to roar, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//na/ru· (3, st.) • to impale in rows
9. !na'ru·s (1/2, st.) • the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
°!na/ru·s (3, st.) • name of a ray (fish)
10. u·'ri (1/2, f.) • to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) : louse

[307] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.
[04] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·ku • to fold up
aku·s • the empty ostrich egg

192.	9.	/a-ob	a blood
193		/ao-b	a snake
	8.	/a-re	a to return home
		/ara-	a domed black and white
	4.	/aisa-	a to hate
		/a-ba	a to cut open
	5.	/aisi-	a to sweep dirt
		/a-bi	a to be bored
	6.	/a-ba	a to pioneer
		/aisa-	a to seize someone by surprise
	7.	ga-a	a to be half dry
		gai-	a to praise
	8.	!gai-	a to crack a whip
		?ga-a	a to lie deep
	9.	ga-ri	a to gnaw bones
		gari-b	a the year
	10.	°//gaisa-	a to see sharply and far off
		°//ga-ba	a to step on something by mistake
	11.	//ha-ob	a the wind break of the fire place
		//hao-b	a the rising of a thunderstorm
	12.	!hari-	a to undo stitches
		!ha-ri	a to live in the neighborhood
	13.	/hxa-nob	a the short-step gait of a horse (the Boers' way of riding)
		/hXaro-b	a the calf of the oryx antelope (the accent on p. 275 misprinted)
	14.	/hXa-nun	a name of a kind of kaw (see p. 288)
		°/hXaru-i	a name of a kind of Euphorbia, E. cerviconnis Boiss (see Plate VI)
	15.	/hxa-ba	a to spit water out of one's mouth
		/hxaba-i	a sandal
	16.	//hxa-ob	a driving back
		//hxao-b	a sand of the river bed

[368] 17. //x!xara- ◦ to punish
//x!xa-ra ◦ to be big
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197 18. !k!a-oab (3, f.) ◦ name of a kind of hare (see p. 283)
!k!aaba- (s, m.) ◦ carrion
19. !k!a-ra ◦ to move
!k!aru- ◦ to shoot through
20. //k!aro-b (3, m.) ◦ the shovel for ashes
*//k!o-nab (1/2, f.) ◦ the honey sack made of iguana skin (see p. 304)
21. /k!aro-b ◦ acidity, acidity
/k!a-nab ◦ grass seed
22. *gk!aro-b ◦ the hot earth around the fire place
gk!a-nab ◦ vein
23. !na/ni- (3, m.) ◦ to carry a child on one's arm
!na-/ni (1/2, f.) ◦ the side; as a verb: to run pigeon-toed
24. ǂna/o-b (3, m.) ◦ honeycomb
*ǂna-/ob (1/2, f.) ◦ a road that is smooth or slightly hilly that runs along a mountain slope
25. !ao- ◦ to stand on tiptoe
!o-ro ◦ to bellow
26. saro- ◦ to catch a sheep or goat by the leg
sa-ra (3, f.) ◦ to pursue
27. s!o-ses ◦ the sun
sore-i ◦ the female sore partner (see p. 318/319)
28. tara-i ◦ the woman
*ti-tas (3, f.) ◦ the brother's duty (especially emphasized by the Hottentots) to love his sister and her children (see p. 303)
29. to-rob ◦ war
toro-b ◦ a fine-grained, red, hard, kind of soil

§ 3Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/3 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	• the annoyance
	/aa·b		• rib
	/a·ʔrab		• the crack
2.	//a·ɛ		• yesterday, tomorrow
[269]	//aʔri·		• to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: ǃoʔʔa)
3.	ǃa·ba		• to climb up
	ǃaa/ba·	(3, st.)	• to scratch
4.	χaa·		• to scrape
	χa·ʔa		• to write
5.	χaro·b		• powdered coals
	χaa/a·	(3, st.)	• to pull out
6.	χa·ba		• to pulverize tobacco
	χa/ba·	(3, st.)	• to drink from [sip]
7.	gaa·		• to be cool
	ga·/ra		• to have German measles
8.	ga/a·	(3, st.)	• bend, bow
	ga·ro		• to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		• to sprinkle
	/ga/bi·s	(3, st.)	• the cup
	(/gabi·		• to be high)
10.	//ga·/a		• to imitate
	//gaa·		• to chew
11.	//ga·mi		• water
	//ga/mi·	(3, st.)	• to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		• the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaʔna·s		• name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

[262 824]

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//ga·ʔna = to water the cattle singly or in herds

13. //gara·s = the Aloe dichotoma L. (see p. 112)

//ga/ra·s (3, st.) = shoulder blade

//ga·ra = to scratch lines

14. !ga·os = cutting

!ga/o·s (3, st.) = the tree trunk

15. !ga/ra·b = thinness

!ga·rab = the male genitals

16. !ga·ro = to be barren

*!ga/ro, = the hurrying of the thirsty cattle to water or of the mother animal to its young

17. /ga·mi = to have two wives (cf. p. 307)

[360] /gaʔmi· = to close one eye

18. /go·e = to curse

/go/e· = to splint a broken arm

19. /go/re·b = the request

/go·reb = a cut in the skin for bleeding

20. guʔnu = to make a place for oneself by shoving

gu/nu (3, st.) = to spoil, rot

21. /gu·i = one

/gu/i· (3, st.) = to become tired of somebody

22. //ga·ma (3, f.) = to fetch water

*//ga/ma· = to lie close to the fire

23. go/ra·b (3, st.) = name of a kind of crow, the Corvus scapulatus Daud.

*go·ra = to peel skins from field onions

24. !gu/i· (3, st.) = to creep around something

!gu·i = pulsating of a wound

25. !gu·ri = to rub someone with fat

!guʔri· = to be arrogant

26. !gu/bu· (3, st.) = to knock

!gu·bu = to be round

192 27. ǂgu·i = to be much

194 ǂgu/i·s (3, st.) = the nose

28. ha/ra· = to be far

ha ra = to swallow

29. /ha/mi· (3, st.) = to dress warmly

/ha·mi = to make oneself ready

30. //ha·ru = to weep from joyous emotion

//ha/ru· (3, st.) = to creep into

31. !ha·e = to be quick

!ha/e· = to hunt on horseback (see p. 290)

32. !ho·a = to tell a story

!ho/a· = to be crooked

33. !ho/ba·b = turning around

!ho·bab = intestinal worm

34. /hu/ru· (3, st.) = cooking thin meat until dry

/hu·ru = to play

35. !hu/i·b (3, st.) = the bustard (see p. 272)

!hu·ib = the fresh smell of the damp wood of the giraffe acacia

36. !hu·nu = to become wet

[361] !hu/nu· = to suck marrow out of bones (cf. p. 355, no. 28.)

37. ǂkχa·rab (3, f.) = the whale (see p. 37)

ǂkχa/ra·b = testicles

38. !kχo·ab = cartridge belt

!kχo/a·b = ice

39. ǂkχo·a = to soothe

ǂkχo/a·b = the elephant

40. ǂkχu·bi = to make noise

ǂkχu/bi· = to babble (of small children)

41. na·ǂmi = the tongue

naǂmi· = to flicker

na/mi· = to bend around a corner

na/mi·b = the surface, the Namib desert

42. na·ba = to flash [lightning]

na/ba· (3, st.) = to disappear behind something, to go down

192 43. /na‿e· = to put straight
194 /na·eb = the navel
44. //na·e = to indicate
//na‿e· = to sing
45. //nã‿i· (3, st.) = to girdle oneself with straps (Herero)
//nã·‿i = to be stiff
//nã· i = all right
46. !na‿e· = to trot
!naē· = to become warm
!na·ʔe = to be born
47. !na·rab = the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw. (see pp. 146, 197.)
*!na‿ra·b (3, st.) = designation of the Namib bushmen for "white man"
48. /no·ro = to tan a skin
/no‿ro· (3, st.) = to be pale
49. /o‿ro· = to be few
/o·ro = used up, to be old
50. //o·ʔa = not to be able to
//o‿a· (3, st.) = squishing of water in wet shoes
(//o·a = to kiss)
51. !o·a = to meet
!o‿a = to be sad
[362] 52. sa·mi (3, f.) = breasts, udder
saʔmi· = to use the whip
sa·‿mi = to get in the "wrong throat" when swallowing
53. sao· = to mark cattle
sa·o = to follow
54. so·as = barrel
so‿a·s = fissure, scratch
55. to·a = to cease
to‿a· (3, st.) = to tear apart
56. /u‿i·b = brother-in-law
/u·ib = stone
57. !uʔi· = to cut fat from meat

192 !u·i = to become evening

194 58. !u/bu·b = egg

*!u·bu (3, f.) = to turn someone away

59. !ũ·i = to guard

*!ũ/i· (3, st.) = to be seamless or jointless

60. tsa/o· (3, st.) = the raging pawing of the bull or the wildebeest

tsa·ob = ash

61. tsa/ma·b = the tsama gourd (see p. 200)

tsa·mab = the food supply of the ants, "ant food"

62. tso·as = looking for lice

tso/a·s (3, st.) = anus

)Difference in word-tone, accent, initial tone level and tone extension.

//ga·/ni (1/2, f.) = meat

//gani· (1/2, st.) = checked brown and white

194 f) Suspension of sound characteristics is to be observed at times, when the individual word becomes a part of a compound. However, I have not made any systematic notations in this direction, but only noted a few observations.

The accent in a compound is usually shifted from its original position in the individual word. The general designation for cat is /hõ/a·b. In the compounded designation for "field-cat," !ga·ro/hõ·/ab, the accent is clearly shifted to the penultimate syllable. The same is true for !ore b, the basin, and */nu·bi!o·reb, the winnowing basin (p. 201). [363] Usually a change in the word-tone (see the accent, p. 353) is combined with this.

Also the characteristic tone extension of the individual word can disappear in a compound: //hõ/s, the sack, /na·ma//hõ/s, the economy sack (p. 238). Noticeable in a compound is the appearance of a rising tone extension that is lacking in the individual words: /na/m, to love, but /na/m/na/m, to bring to love.

How much the sound characteristics of the individual word change under the musical influence of the sentence structure and under the influence of the emotions, I have not investigated. The initial tone level seems to be to be by far the stablest sound characteristic of a word.

3. Orthography

The spelling which I use for Nama words in this report is closely patterned after the general linguistic alphabet, which Steinthal (80) uses. I 104 194

> 80. H. Steinthal, Linguistik, in G. Neumayer's "Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen," 1891.

can therefore restrict myself here to a few remarks to orient the reader and as an explanation for several deviations from Kroenlein's method.

ā indicates the length of a vowel. If the long sign is missing, the vowel is short.

ã indicates nasalization. Individual tendency towards nasalization of vowels, which follow an m (toma, "not," go ma·b, "ox," ma, "to give," etc.) I have observed frequently but I have not considered this in the script.

(a) indicates that the vowel involved is spoken hastily, almost supressed.

y is pronounced as the "j" in the German word Jena.

a/o and analogously all vowels that are separated by a sound sign, are not to be spoken as a dipthong but separately.

aē, aī, and oē etc. are to be spoken with the vowels separated with the accent on the first if no accent sign is given.

ai is to be pronounced as in the German "Kaiser," "Eile," "einerlei," etc. The dipthong ei (as pronounced in the linguistic alphabet) does not exist in the Hottentot language. The linguistic method of writing should definitely be preferred. Where Kroenlein writes ai, in many cases this could be confused with aē.

au is to be pronounced as in the German "Auge," "Buch," etc. The linguistic dipthong ou does not exist in the Hottentot language [364] any more than it does in pure German. Where Kroenlein writes au, there is often a confusion with ao which is very close to it.

ao is to be pronounced with the emphasis on the first vowel and with such a quick transition to the second, that it sounds like a dipthong.

b at the beginning of a word is pronounced like our b, in the middle of a word usually softly like our w, and at the end of a word hard but not quite so hard as our p.

x is pronounced as in the German "lachen," "Bach" etc.

kx corresponds to Kroenlein's kh, that should be "somewhat harder,

but not much" than k. I have always heard this sound as k with a following χ and therefore write it that way.

r is rolled with the tongue, not made with the uvula.

s is pronounced weakly at the end of a word like the German sch in "Busch," "Bresche," but at the beginning of a word like the s in "salz," "Sonne," etc, often sharply as in the French "salon."

ts is pronounced as is German z in "Zahn," "Zunft" etc.

f and l are missing in the Nama language. When met with occasionally they occur in word stems borrowed from the Dutch: gurla·bigis, butterfly; f(a)la·migob, the flamingo, ff·lsib, the vullziekte of the Boers (lues).

[364]

B. Knowledge of Nature

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What we learned (from our consideration of the sustenance and medicine, handicrafts, animal husbandry and hunting as well as from the portrayal of the land and climate) about the Hottentot's specific knowledge of the three realms of nature was that it derived more or less directly from material exigencies and had always been connected with them. The question now poses itself whether this knowledge also exists independently of the cares of daily life, that is, to what extent it can be regarded as the free expression of intellectual stimuli. It will be shown that despite all the intellectual agility of the Hottentot his knowledge of nature at no time rises to an even rudimentary form of natural science. Only in two fields can we recognize at least the striving for a certain continuation beyond the rudiments or for an organization of the factual data: in the field of biology (which even today is closest to the hunter and cattle owner) and -- almost lost once again to oblivion -- in the field of division of time, whose seasonal changes and deep influence upon animated nature both give the herdsman cause to think.

1. Flora and Fauna

[365] The Hottentot's knowledge of animals and plants will not be discussed here. The zoological and botanical classification of the material I collected must be finished before we can attain a clear picture of the matter. We would gain nothing by simply listing the native names.

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Likewise, the good anatomical knowledge of the Hottentots can be better portrayed only after the biological basis has been worked out.

2. Astronomy

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823

From childhood on the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way on his own out on the range. As a child he orients himself by means of close, familiar things like groups of bushes, trees, and rock formations. Later, when he undertakes longer migrations with his family in search of pasturage, he is compelled by the lack of rain in the land to help himself along from one water hole to the next. His migrations thus are composed of treks, of which each one has as its daily goal a relatively nearby spot that is determined by local conditions. Therefore the herder does not need to seek for his journey any points of orientation in the sky except the sun.

a) The starry sky therefore is little known to the Hottentot. It is an open question whether it was always this way or whether also in this field traditions have paled with the general decline of folk character.

α) The sun, so·res, gives the Hottentot, too, his points of orientation for distinguishing the points of the compass: the east is called °soresta//hai·//kχāb, that is, "the side on which the sun rises." The west is °sorestaǂga·//kχāb, "the side on which the sun sets."

I learned a common designation for north and south: °soresχō·!nab; for if one looks in one of these directions, the sun shines upon (!na) one's cheek (χōb). I learned the words !kχa·bagab and /aba·s only as designations for the winds from the south and the north; in other parts (57) of

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

the country they may serve also for the designation of the abstract directions. But I consider this to be a later extension of the terms. Close contact with the Hottentots demonstrates how remote they are from all abstract concepts if the senses alone suffice. The sun itself, its rising and setting, the wind which blows from here or from there, the place to which they previously wandered--these are the elements of their geographical knowledge, and they suffice for mutual comprehension.

[366] The moon will be treated in connection with time calculation.

β) Among the stars, /ga'miroti, they are acquainted primarily with the two planets whose propinquity to the sun and regularly varying position in the morning and evening sky makes their observation quite obvious: Mercury and Venus.

The traveler in Namaland who spends the night under the open sky and to whose eyes Mercury is not dimmed by a long twilight as in our latitudes or from whom Mercury is not concealed by the morning fog -- this traveler knows the two precursors of the rising sun and their relation to each other. The following table, which Professor Otto Knopf in Jena kindly set up for me, may serve to orient people less familiar with local conditions. The most striking phenomena which have given rise to the native names for these planets, are indicated by an asterisk:

Venus, called //kʸa·nus, rises 1 1/2 to 3 hours before the sun; it moves (!gũng) ahead (aĩ) of the sun and is therefore also called *aĩ!gũns, the "precursor," the "voorlooper" of the Boers, our morning star. Another designation of Venus is *aogura//hã̃·b, that is, the star at whose rising the men (aogu) run off (//hã̃, -ra particle of progressive action), that is, seek out their own bed so that day will not surprise them in an improper bed of love. This is expressed even more clearly by the synonymous designation ǂhũ·'aogu/ga'mirob (ǂhũ' signifies extramarital intercourse).

Venus, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, is followed by Mercury; Mercury is closest to daybreak (//go·as) and is therefore called "daybreak star", //go·a/ga·'miros, the "dagbreker" of the Boers. Another name for Mercury is *//go·a//kʸãũ·ris; this indicates that this planet comes early in the morning when the udders of the cattle (which are milked in the morning and in the evening) are full again.

The Hottentot, who looks at the eastern sky late in the night so as to break camp before day, pays primary attention to Venus. It is easy for him to overlook little Mercury, which changes its position more frequently with respect to the sun and is therefore often not where expected. This is especially true when Mercury, contrary to the rule, rises before Venus. And he overlooks Mercury all the more carelessly the later Venus itself appears because then it becomes less necessary to wait for the straggler (since they still believe that Mercury follows Venus) and less possible to determine its appearance in the breaking dawn. One must take these conditions into consideration in order to excuse the natives in their contradictions which can be easily figured out by astronomy and the lack of clarity among the whites about these questions.

821 Number of Hours and Minutes which at 25° Southern Latitude

Mercury		Venus		
Rises Before the Sun	Sets After the Sun	Rises Before the Sun	Sets After the Sun	Date
—	0h 53m	—	0h 35m	1. I. 1903
—	—	—	0 56	1. II.
2h 3m	—	—	1 9	1. III.
0 51	—	—	1 29	1. IV.
—	0 57	—	1 6	1. V.
—	0 19	—	0 57	1. VI.
1 40	—	—	3 27	1. VII.
—	0 29	—	3 11	1. VIII.
—	1 56	—	1 44	1. IX.
—	0 21	1h 22m	—	1. X.
*0 34	—	*2 14	—	1. XI.
—	0 27	2 33	—	1. XII.
—	1 20	2 53	—	1. I. 1904
*1 44	—	*2 53	—	1. II.
*1 30	—	*2 28	—	1. III.
—	0 18	1 54	—	1. IV.
—	0 46	1 23	—	1. V.
1 43	—	0 47	—	1. VI.
0 43	—	0 7	—	1. VII.
—	1 37	—	0 30	1. VIII.
—	1 41	—	1 7	1. IX.
0 49	—	—	1 43	1. X.
—	0 3	—	2 21	1. XI.
—	1 20	—	2 46	1. XII.
0 4	—	—	2 42	1. I. 1905
1 45	—	—	2 23	1. II.
0 33	—	—	2 5	1. III.
—	0 49	—	1 22	1. IV.
0 54	—	0 28	—	1. V.
*1 45	—	*1 58	—	1. VI.
—	0 36	2 29	—	1. VII.
—	2 3	3 2	—	1. VIII.
*0 25	—	*2 12	—	1. IX.
*0 19	—	*1 33	—	1. X.
—	0 58	1 33	—	1. XI.
—	1 38	1 3	—	1. XII.

The Hottentots do not observe that Mercury also appears as an evening star since this planet is of significance to them only as a harbinger of day. 821

Venus, however, is not to be overlooked even in the evening (!u·ib); it is recognized by the Hottentots as being identical with the morning star. Because it never tarries long in the sky as the evening star but, as it were, hastens away (!kʗo·e), it has received the name °!u·i!kʗo·eb, that is, "the fleet one of the evening."

Jupiter is likewise known to the Hottentots. They occasionally identify it with Venus since they say that this star, in the course [368] of the weeks, wanders through the skies like the moon. But regardless of how the relations of the two planets to each other may be interpreted by the individual, in every case the Hottentot sees Jupiter, in contrast to Venus, "in the middle" (//a egub) of the sky and of the night as well as in the east and in the west. In accordance with this conception he calls Jupiter the "middle star," °//a egu/ga/mirob.

γ) Orion is the most striking constellation in the fixed star heavens of the Southern Hemisphere as well as the Northern. Of these stars the Hottentot, ignoring those of first magnitude, includes only the six which correspond to the belt and the sword according to our fantasy. He calls this group !go·regu, that is, the zebras: the stars δ, ε and ζ represent to his eyes three zebras in flight, at the middle one of which the hunter, ι, shoots his arrow, γβ and C.

I heard the Pleiades, because of their closely clustered stars, called °/hũ/seti (/hũ/ - "to assemble"). More widespread is another name which shows more than mere dialect difference from the first: /kʗhũ/seti. The Pleiades become visible in the middle of June for an observer at the 25th degree Southern Latitude, thus in the first half of the cold season. I heard a native of the upper Auob territory call the Pleiades °ǂao·/g/amiroti, that is, "frost stars," because at the time when they become visible the nights can already be so cold that there is frost early in the morning. For the Bushmen of the above-mentioned district the appearance of the Pleiades is supposed to be the sign for setting out into the tsam a fields.

The glitter of the Milky Way and the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentots of the weak glow of the ashes dying away in their hearth or campfires. Hence, they call the Milk Way °tsaob, that is, "the ash" (with a masculine ending corresponding to its long slender shape); the two luminous clouds on the other hand are called °tsaora (with a feminine ending in the dual corresponding to their lumpy form and small size). The Magellanic Clouds are also called "the two testicles of the lion," ʗamʗkʗ a/rakʗa.

821

Of the individual fixed stars I heard only Sirius mentioned by Hottentots: it was called ǃna·/m/ga/mirob, and sometimes also ǃna/mǃna/ms, that is, "side star." I could not determine the significance of this word with any certainty, and only a supposition can perhaps be justified: "The Hottentot, as we have seen earlier (p. 61), calls the east wind ai·ǂo·ab, because it comes from "in front." Hence, if the east, as the point where the sun rises, is the front of the world for him, then north and [369] south would be the sides. From this conception it would be comprehensible that Sirius, the brightest star of the Northern sky of the Southern Hemisphere, is regarded as the "side star." Its partner in the southern skies would be Canopus.

b) The time division of the Hottentots is based upon the change of the seasons, of the phases of the moon, and of the daily position of the sun. 805

α) They have, to be sure, the concept "year," guri·b, which refers to the period encompassing the seasonal changes, but they do not calculate according to years in our sense. I got the impression that they recall the age of their cattle according to calf and lamb periods. Their own age is of no interest to them, and if they perchance want to date something further back, then they use well-known local events (the outbreak of cattle plague, hostilities with neighboring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc.) as sufficiently general points of reference, from which they can then date a specific moment by figuring in the birth or size of the children in the family at that time.

β) The change of the seasons, ga·magu, determines the division of the whole year. They distinguish the following seasons:

1. An early spring. When with increasing warmth (ǃo·ba, vb.; also said of the early sun that warms the eastern sides of the rocks and bushes after a cold night) and independent of the rainfall the trees and bushes begin budding and, in good years, wintery early rains or early spring rains (cf. Climate, p. 154 ff.) revitalize the meadows, the blossoming time, ǃkχã///aẽb, or spring, ǃaba b, has come. It begins as early as August and ends in October.

2. The season that the Hottentot calls //kχũ·nab (in the Bergdamara dialect ǂoreb, that is, "the sun time") comprises the first half of a hot period, during which the so-called "little" rainy season occurs if the year is good. If these rains do not come or if they are sparse, as is usually the case, then the land remains extensively barren, without growth of grass and plants. This period of drouth, like the drouth itself, is called /kχuru·b. The //kχũ·nab of the Hottentots extends from October through

December and thus corresponds astronomically to the spring of the Southern Hemisphere. 805

3. The season upon whose abundance the welfare of the Hottentots primarily depends is called //ha‿o· b (3, st.); we can call it the grazing season (since the word is also used in the same concrete sense as tūb, "pasture"). It comprises the so-called "big" [370] rainy period of the year and the time immediately following, during which the fodder plants retain their greenness. It falls, generously estimating, between the months of January and April, hence into the southern summer and the beginning of fall.

4. The winter of the Hottentots, sao· b, comprises the cold season from May to August and therefore includes the last two-thirds of the fall and the first half of winter by astronomical calculation.

γ) A more detailed organization of the year is based upon the observation of the phases of the moon. When, after the new moon, the crescent again appears (≠kχ̣ani·, vb.) in the western sky, they consider the month //kχ̣ãb begun. For the Hottentot the phases of the moon are symbols of his own development and passing away (cf. Folk tale XXX): the crescent which is just appearing and still scarcely recognizable is called °≠kχ̣a‿m//kχ̣ãb, ≠kχ̣a‿m with the meaning "unripe." The word is also used to designate a fruit which is prematurely born. [821]

The narrow glittering crescent in which the moon, as it were, comes alive (that is the original meaning of !gã), is called °!gã· go//kχ̣ãb.

The first two quarters have two names that are common to both of them. The first is °gai· //kχ̣ãgai· ra//kχ̣ãb, "the moon that becomes big or old (gai)." The other name is °gã‿ai· ra//kχ̣ãb, "the moon that becomes clever (gã‿ai)."

Thus, they cause the moon to increase in age and wisdom until it ripens into the full moon, °gai//kχ̣ãb.

In the last quarters only the narrow crescent is characterized as °//ōra//kχ̣ãb, "the dying (//ō, -ra, participle of progressive action) moon."

Proportionately as our twelve months and the dates of the Christian festivals gain prominence, the Hottentots gradually forget the time reckoning of their ancestors. It is definitely established that they gave names to the individual lunations of the year in close connection to the change of the seasons. In Kroenlein's "Wortschatz" (57) Hottentot

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

designations can be found for nine of our months. I did not include the name for September because it is a word belonging to the Bergdamara dialect. Kroenlein's Hottentot February corresponds to the January of my calculations. Our calculations show considerable deviation only in the interpretation of the name for July, which I must requisition for October.

Of the four names of months that are new here, I have used the one listed under VII, because of its clear astronomical reference, as the reliable point of departure for a comparison of the Hottentot months with ours. [371] The Hottentot months, which were surely based upon naive observation of the moon phases and hence the time of a synodical month (29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes), can naturally be equated only approximately with the months of our calendar. The etymology of the names, which contain references to the meteorological character of the season, yields a valuable checking system as to whether or not the attempt to make such an equation is justified in the given case.

The placing of the months that have no such etymological reference to their position in the year was based solely upon native tradition: that is, in this case upon the information of an old woman whom I found to be reliable. After many unsuccessful attempts to cull any useful information from the unclear calendar conception of the natives of my acquaintance, I finally succeeded unexpectedly in finding the forgotten month names in the vivid memory of a 60 to 70 year old Hottentot woman. Without any hesitation or faltering she repeated twelve names to me in a constantly consistent sequence. When asked where she got this knowledge, she referred to her childhood. The possibility cannot be excluded that this duodecimal system of the months and their order had already been influenced by notions of the whites. Therefore, it has perhaps already become too late to penetrate here into the original ideas of the people. Then the following scheme may at least be preserved as the last attainable remnant of that which has been lost. -- The twelve months of the Hottentots and the parallel months of our calendar are thus the following:

I. ǂkχo-esao//kχãb (or ǂkχo-esaos): "the moon that follows the ǂkχo-e-bush." This important grazing bush, a variety of Salsola (see p. 80), is supposed to have its main blossoming in the spring. Therefore, the first month of the southern summer follows (sao) it . . . . . January

805 II. ᵓga/ma· /aēb . . . . . February

III. ᵓ!kχai tsã/b: "when it begins (tsã/ = tsoa/, intransitive vb.) to get cold (!kχai)." The name designates a lunation in the transitional period from summer to fall. According to the accepted order it would correspond to our . . . . . March

IV. ≠goro /nũ·ᵓ/seb: Older Hottentots, consistently and independently of one another, assured me that this referred to the [372] month of increasing cold when one sits so close to the fire that one's legs (/nũᵓ/-) get blisters (≠go·ro) . . . . . April

V. ≠nĩ·ᵓ/ //kχãsa, "the black month." In the southern winter, the drouth period, the black branches of the bushes that have shed their foliage give the landscape its characteristic aspect (57) . . May

57. Ibid.

VI. /hai· //kχãsa . . . . . June

VII. ᵓ/kχũ·ᵓ//kχãsa, that is, "the month of the Pleiades." For an observer at 25° Southern Latitude the Pleiades become visible in the second half of June. As it was mentioned earlier (see p. 368), the appearance of the Pleiades is of significance for the wanderings of the natives who are seeking tsam·a. Hence, it is understandable that they name the lunation from the month of June to July after this constellation . . . . July

VIII. hõa/ri·b . . . . . August

IX. !ho/a·≠ga·eb, the month "when the leaves (≠ga·e-) are crooked (crinkled by winter) (!ho/a·)." (57). . . . . September

57. Ibid.

X. gai kχa·ni . . . . . October

XI. ᵓ/gõ·a!kχa ni . . . . . November

XII. /hõ·/≠ga·eb. When the fresh, young verdure

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sprouts from the old withered grass roots after the first plentiful rain, then the grass meadow (≠ga·eb, "leaves") seems to be checked (/hõ/, with a black and white checked marking) (see p. 265) . . December

[177] δ) The Hottentot became familiar with the division of time into weeks only as a day laborer in the service of the whites: he had to get used to paydays and holidays. His calendar for this purpose is a thin piece of wood, about 10 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide, into which seven holes have been burned. A thong is attached to one end, and the loose end of the thong is inserted successively through one of the holes, each of which designates a certain day of the week. The women like to tie the calendar wood to their necklaces by means of the upper end of the thong; the men like to wear it on their hats along with a fluttering ostrich feather. The primitive calendar is called bē·kgye hais, the "week wood" (borrowed from Dutch week).

[373] ε) The smallest unit of time measurement of the Hottentots is the day, tsēs, and the night, tsũ·χub. They indicate the length of a journey by days and nights. //a·ri means both "tomorrow" and "yesterday."

The other distinctions they make do not refer to lengths of time but only to times of day. In this connection the many words for the time between day and night is striking, whereas in the day itself only noon, tsĕ!gã/b, is emphasized. This becomes understandable if one considers that the sun, with negligible exceptions, is visible all year long from early in the morning until evening. The Hottentot knows how to express specific hours as well as duration of time, with certainty and comprehensibly, by reference to the position of the sun.

Special designations are used only for the time at the beginning and at the end of the day.

1. °//go·a!a·roam is the dawn.

2. °!u·itsũ·χubab is the dusk.

3. The bright time of day shortly before sunrise is called °kχai·//go·agab since this period of daybreak (//go·ab) is usually the most bitingly cold (!kχai).

4. The period of brightness immediately following sunset is called °/a·ba/ho·bab, that is "the red twilight."

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5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," *ǂkχa·ǃm!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The */u·iab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with out forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight *tsũ·χub!gã·ǃb, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

53

We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organized in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

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Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 315) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kχãǃb, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

1: Schultze--174A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.

[p. 374]

and the lower end is propped against a skin-covered bowl that serves as a sounding board. It is held in place with the right foot which is inserted between the bow and the string. The player uses her right hand to strike the string with a wooden stick -- if the women sitting beside her do not do this -- and with her left hand she plucks like a violin player. They also use their chins in plucking, in that they rest their heads, halfway back, for a moment against the upper end of the string. Generally several of the women sitting around beat in time upon the string with wooden sticks. 533 534

I myself saw no other string instrument beside the bow among the Hottentots. I encountered the gora with the quill (66) only among the

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südatrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

Bechuans. To be sure, Hottentots spoke of a guitar-like instrument that they make in imitation of European models; they call it ramgyib or !gũ·ǂtsib (from !gũ = "to cover," and in this case: to span the sounding board with a skin. See also the footnote to Folk tale XLV.). [Plate XV. A Topnaar Hottentot.]

[375] The main characteristic of the action which is supposed to be depicted in the musical pantomime lies musically in the rhythm. In hunting scenes it expresses the various gaits of the horse and the wild animals: the tracking of the hartebeest, the first chase at a gallop, the flight of the shot animal and its defeat -- all of this is reproduced by the rhythm of the wooden sticks. The spurring of the hunting horse, the death blow and the death rattle of the dying animal is expressed with gestures and inarticulated sounds. The monotonous intervals that are plucked on the string are only accompaniment. 533 535

Similarly portrayed are the rolling of a wagon, the yoking of the oxen, the unhitching of a lame or feeble animal, the snapping of the whip, and so forth.

They are very fond of imitating the practices of wild animals. I saw a woman imitate a baboon with great animation and devotion to her rôle: how it picks up insects from the ground, how it bends over the waterhole to drink, jealously wards off the thirsty animals pressing after him, how it casually trots, how it becomes frightened upon scenting danger and flees when surprised.

[Between 374-375]

A Topnaar Hottentot.

1; Schultze--175A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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In all these entertainments the music remains in the background even though the strings and wooden sticks are constantly in action. 533 535

2. The Reed-dance Song

The tones become melodies only in the song of the reed dance. Here the ancient musical instruments of the Hottentots, the reed pipes, ǂā·ti, come into their own. [Fig. Reed Pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.] The pipes, as their name indicates, are generally cut from reeds; but in dry stretches where there is no reed growth they are made from the roots of Acacia horrida Willd. . The root segment that is cut in the shape of a rod is either debarked completely by tearing off the bark (a), or it is slit lengthwise and the bark is peeled from the wood. The root that has been slit lengthwise is then firmly wrapped with a piece of bark in a spiral as though with a band (c). The pipe produced in this way is closed at one end and filled up with milk so that it will not dry. The pipes are tuned by adjusting the firm grass plug which closes the pipe end. After use, the pipe is again filled with milk. 533 534

[376] A complete reed pipe orchestra comprises at least nine musicians, each one with his own specially tuned reed or reed passage. Just as we distinguish the first and the second violin, the Hottentot distinguishes the first through the ninth reed pipe; only he does not count them, but names them individually. He makes the following distinctions: [Figure -- Reed pipe scale.]

1. ǂkxa·riǂā·ti, that is "the little reeds," all tuned the same, with four to six placed side by side in each hand.

2. ǃnona·gu, the triplets, or collectively called ǃnona·b, the trey, tuned the same and held in one hand.

3. ǃnani·gu, the sextuplets, or called collectively ǃnani·b, the "sixer," held in one hand and tuned the same.

4. ǃ//hũ·ǀirob, or //hũ·ǀirokxa, accordingly as the blower holds only one or two in his hand.

5. ai·ās, "who (-s) cries (ā, here with the meaning: "to make a lamenting noise") in advance (ai)." Only one man in the whole orchestra has this pipe whereas with the further exception of number 6 all other reed voices can be filled doubly or triply. This reed gives the note by which all the other reeds are tuned. Among the others the first to tune in is

1: Schultze--176A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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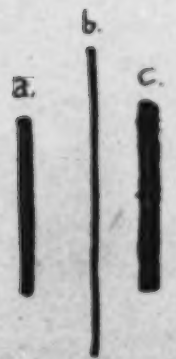

Reed pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.

[p. 375]

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Reed pipe scale.

[p. 376]

6. the reed pipe, which is called ǃã!gã́s, that is "who cries afterwards (ǃgã́s, 'back')." After this the other pipes tune up: 533 534

7. ǂgo/ma·s "the cow."

8. ǃa·rob, finally

9. ǂ//hũ/i·b, the reed with the lowest note.

The tuning rod, ǂ//kχa·ehaib, with which the grass or bast plug [377] inside the pipe is adjusted or "chased back" (//kχaē) as it were in order to adjust the pitch completes the instrumental equipment.

The reeds are held between the thumb and the other four extended fingers in such a way that the ends which are blown lie on a level with the upper horizontal edge of the index finger. A complete reed scale or phrase comprises about two octaves. Only in one case did I have the opportunity to check the pitch of the individual reeds in a complete scale that had just been tuned up. The results yielded the distribution of tones that are represented in the preceding figure.

The music of each reed piper consists of individually enunciated tones that harmonize with one or several rhythmically identical tones of the other pipers. These reed tones give the beat for the dancers and singers who carry the melody. Many reed songs have no text. (Whether they never had one or whether it has simply been forgotten cannot be determined.) In the simplest case the subject is indicated by gestures and the melody is sung with a very few sounds.

The dance steps of the men are a sort of low hopping executed simultaneously with both legs, the knees slightly bent and the feet placed one in front of the other. In this manner the dancer slowly and jerkily moves forward, bent over, the head bowed to his breast and his lips on the pipe. The women chassé forwards with small and often extremely delicate steps, with the rear slightly protruding, undulating their hips, gently clapping their hands together before their faces, and singing in a loud voice, sometimes with an expression of great excitement. The number of dancers is not fixed. 533 535

The Hottentots' pleasure in the dance is typified by a little story in which they make fun of themselves: at a watering place they had ambushed several Bergdamaras. When the Kaffirs saw that they were in a trap, they began to execute a dance. Dancing, they retreated farther and farther, and, when the watching Hottentots finally recalled their murder plans, had escaped.

Every reed-dance song has a special theme. Thus, for example, in the following example the arrival of the bull at the water hole is illustrated. As the malevolent ponderous animal slowly wanders to

the water hole, grazing alone in the pasture after the rutting time, muttering to himself, moving his head from side to side -- this is the way the Hottentot pictures him, accompanied by the reed tones (or by an accordion or a harmonica), he sings with a few simple sounds for the dance of the grazing bull: 533 535

[378] The Song of the Grazing Bull

[Translator's note: four musical bars omitted.]

The following reed dance song accompanies a lively pantomimic imitation of shoeing horses and is therefore called the song of horse shoeing, ǂnaũǂais.

The man who represents the horse has a thong in his mouth and by means of this he is held fast, as though on a rein, by a man standing before him. To another man, standing behind him, he extends a foot to be shoed. A fourth plays the part of the bellows: he lies flat on his stomach, extends his lower legs into the air and lets them be moved alternately backward and forward from the knee, in time with the music, by a fifth man who stands behind him. Before him stands the smith with a stone in his hand as a hammer and waits for the iron to get hot. All the others, including the reed blowers, dance around this group in a circle and sing a wordless but rhythmically, unmistakable imitation of the blows of the hammer: [Translator's note: six bars of music omitted.]

In other dance songs, in place of the pantomime, we find that the situation which is being sung about is indicated by a cue word. Thus, one Hottentot, who occasionally crept into the cattle kraal of a neighboring village at night in order to milk goat's milk into his mouth, expressed in a song his joy about the fact that he had never been caught. He sang its single words, B(e)ridaise, b(e)ridaise, "you goat milk, you goat milk" to a melody that was just as unpretentious but that his friends liked to request for the dance: [Translator's note: six bars of music have been omitted.]

[379] On the same low level there is a song for which the following event is the basis. The singer had beaten his oxen guard with a sjambok because the guard had let a valuable animal run away on the trip. The punishment was so severe that the mistreated man lodged a complaint against his master with Captain Paul Frederik in Bethanie. The latter sent one of his men on horse after the guilty man and had him seized. The only words, which recur like a refrain in the otherwise unarticulated song, refer to the color of the above-mentioned horse, which had a white stripe on its forehead and white feet and therefore had the Boer

name witvoet. The circle of friends knew, when they heard this word, 533
what the song was all about. The melody goes: 535

Song of The White-footed Horse

[Translator's note: eleven bars of music omitted.]

Whereas the previously-mentioned dance melodies lack a complete text, in the following song it is at least loosely attached as a point of reference. In the brothers' war for the rule over the Bethanie Hottentots, Paul Frederik had occupied the most important water spots of the territory and Cornelius, caught in a tight spot, finally had to ask his brother for water. The text* of the song that concerns this war between

* In all the following texts and their explanations, with few exceptions (for example where it is a question of newly mentioned words), I have neglected to add the signs for the musical modifications of the Nama sounds (see p. 342 ff.). In the detailed analysis of the subsequently following folk tale texts the purely phonetic consideration is dispensable for the comprehension of the plot and hence makes it possible to save much space in printing. A theoretical reason for a simplified orthography of the text has been mentioned above (p. 363).

brothers, a program for the music as it were, goes:

"Ti !gãtse, //nāti gõse !gaĩ ẽta //gami āre!"
!abuti ãtsa //gui ẽts //gami ā
"/guita tite."
"My brother, be good, be a friend and let me drink some water!"
"Put down your weapons and then drink water."
"I will not put them down."

[380] The relevant dance melody goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

In the Song of Kaukaussib text and melody are just as loosely connected as in this war song. Kaukaussib is a watering place in Namib, located on the southernmost of the three routes which can be taken by oxcart traffic between Angra Pequena and the hinterland. The road by way of Kaukaussib is the most difficult, and the carts often remain stuck in the sand for days. A Hottentot with the nickname ǂnau-bas (e)nǂnā-/b,

that is "he who plays for his own dance," selected as a text the simple 533
words: !Gaokχa·osetse, hã·ta ǂo·are "Kaukaussib, let me get out!" 535
The constantly repeated melody to this text goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

The text is more closely connected to the melody in the Hyena Song. This song portrays the hyena as it creeps around the cattle kraal at night and is discovered. The pantomimic presentation of this theme with its reed music, its song and dance, is very amusing: the men group themselves in a semi-circle, and opposite them the girls do likewise. The circle formed in this way with its two opposite openings (where the men's row meets the girls' row) represents a cattle kraal and the girls represent the cattle. To the accompaniment of the singing and the sounds of the reed music of all the people standing in the circle, one of the men steps out of the row and, with deeply bent knees, creeps into the kraal, moving past the row of girls with the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men step out of the row and pretend to ride up to the same opening of the kraal where the hyena had entered. With gestures and poses they tie up their horses, discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them until they suddenly notice the animal. Then they hurry back to the horses and take up pursuit. Meanwhile the hyena has left the kraal, but is caught outside it and killed. During this pantomime, to the rhythm [381] of the reed pipers, the following words are sung incessantly as a warning to the cattle-hungry predatory animal: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of Hottentot text omitted.]

"Hyena (the nickname will be discussed later), this (i.e., the cattle of this kraal) is man's property!"

3. Songs Without Dance and Pantomime

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At an early date I became acquainted with the Hottentot's pleasure in music by itself (dissociated from dance and pantomime). It was on the evening of a hard working day for our Hottentots; since early morning they had been dragging spars for the construction of sea signals to the top of the steep coastal cliffs, and now, long after the evening meal was past, they were still squatting around their fire. In the tents of the white men it had already become quiet and even the Cameroon sailors were asleep in their sailcloth berths. Then, from the miserable

brush stockade of the Hottentot camp into which the cold winter sky shines starry clear, there resounds pure and serious a many-voiced song. A young fellow is standing erect amidst the ragged sitting older figures and, unconcerned about the smoke of the flickering fire that irritates his eyes, leads the chorus with a loud voice. An older man repeated the text in a short rapid sentence to the singers; it was a Dutch chorale that had been translated by a missionary into their language. For a long time I listened to the song of the "degenerate mob" until they crept shivering under their covers, closely pressed together, their naked feet extended close to the glowing ashes.

In their own songs the text does not always have a set word sequence and in choral singing the singers often improvise their own motifs, which they repeat again and again, with slight variations and after variably long or short pauses, until the text has come to an end. In doing so, however, they know how to weave their motif into the voice texture of the others without dissonance.

Most songs (perhaps all of them) have a definite event at their basis. Thus, years ago, a white carrier [382] unyoked his team at the house of the brother of old /E·ris and went to bed. A group of Hottentots, as is common, appeared in order to beg and to trade. In doing so they stole some of the provisions of the sleeping trader. The Witbooi Hottentot, who intervened to protect the white man's property, was shot down by the white man in an outburst of rage under the mistaken assumption that he was the inciter of the theft. The fate of the slain man lives on in family tradition and the women sing: "!Uri lendetse, /hai daos ai go !gabi ǂoatse, gai χũẽ dĩtsĩ, /aoba dĩtsĩ! tariẽ kχa nĩ nẽ kχoĩ /aoba !eream?"

"You white cloth (probably a reference to the hat veil or the scarf of the traveler), you who have ridden out on a wicked (literally "pale-colored, worthless") path, you have done a misdeed (intransitive preterite participle, literally "you have done a great thing"), you have spilled blood! Alas, who shall avenge the blood of that man? (literally "answer for").

After a short prelude on the bow the voices begin with the following motif:

[Translator's note: eight bars of music omitted.]

A love song of the simplest conceivable sort goes: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of text omitted.]

The lamenting text says: "I will never get you!"

In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (χõse)," are straightforward. But not [383] χõs is intended, but χũs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment 535

Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ʔtsũ.χu tsa.ǂbe --- da.ǂba tsa.ǂbe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words tsũ.χa- and da.ǂba-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, tsaǂbe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin 538 825

Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

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to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening, and dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

*Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (Stictoenas phaeonotus Gray, ǂnabu·s), probably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: "/Hai kχoëtse·, /hai /huru·, !gaba //kχūb gom !kχaĩ χūba o!" "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, *!hurīẽ. b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a Calandrella cinerea (Gm.) or a Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.), has a zig-zagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zig-zag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words Om·dīre!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially [821] when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the !kχu·ririseb bird (which seems to belong to a species of Pycnonotus): "/Gu·rub ǂkχa·rib, /gu·ri //goë·, hũ·diros /gu·ri //goë·!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hudiros lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the Corvus capensis Licht., *//hõ·rab, which is derived from //hõ.ra, "to scratch around the ground

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "χu·rigye go /a·os gye, hõ.gye go ≠hã·eĩ gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (χuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hõ) a springbok (≠hãeĩ, neut. sing.)."

* The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home. [224]

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra·b (3, st.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hõ.rab, //hõ·rab, /kχĩ·ẽ·kχ(u)m χau·sa !kχã !ã·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," !kχã, and "separate, !ã.) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra·b, go/ra·b, kχi· ẽ·kχ(u)m !ha·nsa !kχã· !ã·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (≠na/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclurus namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words *: "!hau·s !ga·rrrase, !hau·s

*Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

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> Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

!ga·rrrase, !ōba /kχu·bi te, ĩ·ta tsaũ·ba !na·n !ā·, ta·naba ǂhũ.i si!" "You filthy beast (!garab is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (/kχubi) me (te) the ax (!ōba); let (ĩ) me (-ta) chop up (!nan!ã) the calf (tsaũba)." "I will split (ǂhũi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), tĩ·tĩ·ses, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nuru//kχum gaitse, nẽ gye tĩtĩses si χaiba ra ãba!" "You old Nurukum (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the *//kχaobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib //nao - se, ǂãb t(u)mi //goe re." "Hey, you, Hansib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.")

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A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - ba, //nao - ba o /aru ai ǂnũ - te." "Naobas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

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The children try to enchant the chameleon with the words: "!no·mtsi !no-meba, a·ma !nu·rubas õ·ab !" "Humpy old hunchback, child of grandmother (*amas) Nurubas!"

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The baboon is honored by an especially exhaustive address. In a deep wadi near the Orange River we heard the apes calling on the surrounding cliffs. To the first one that became visible one of my Hottentots called the following greeting which is widespread among the people*:

*Cf. Bleek's translations of animal songs from the manuscripts of the Grey Library in Capetown.

"herẽ·tse, hẽ·retse!
/hu·mi /ha·rutse,
//a·retse, //a·re /kχã·baĩtse,
!na·ohe gye //ga·ns //(e)ĩ /na·os(e)n !
≠nabu· !nani·b ai gye mã·tse
/nabu· a·maĩtse !
tsoa·ba gye ≠gaẽ·s !"

"For heaven's sake!* You are gleaming with fat!**

*Actually something like: "Good God!" from heere, the Dutch designation for "lord" with the Hottentot vocative ending of the masc. sing.

** The blades of the /hu·ʔmi/haru·s rush (see p. 229) glisten like fat; a hide that glitters like this is supposed to be the ornament of the young baboon. The opposite address which I also heard goes: "/no·ro /kχo·nibeise"; /kχo-nibeb is an edible underground bulb with a pale exterior.

"Old Lefty*! You are loaded down, you are loaded down with

*The use of the left hand is considered a sign of dexterity.

[826]

your own flesh*! Hey you, standing up there on the dove's cliff** 533 539x

*As a characteristic of the dragging, forward-jerking movement of the baboon.

**The steep declivity of the Table Mountains is a favorite resort of the wild doves (see p. 384).

"you dove-mouthed fellow!* You who drag your anus behind you!"

*In ridicule of the baboon's long snout which, in the eyes of the Hottentots, sticks out like a beak.

2. Folk Tales of the Hottentots

*Aibe-gam-//aë-!gã̀s-χũna. 538

Just as they call the horizon of the open sea the "back of the water," *//gami!gã̀b, likewise they call the remote past, which is as far away as that horizon, the "back of time," *//aë!gã̀s. In those days there were still no people, but sun and moon inhabited the earth, and fire was alive; all animals had manlike forms and felt and acted like people. Within the frame of this general conception the Hottentots' imagination reduces all his observations of the animal world and the experiences of his own life to folk tales, which have endured for generations without being written down. In the evening they squat in a circle around the fire of the hut or of the camp in the field, and each person gets a turn to tell his story. Probably it was from no feeling of superstition but simply from the very mood of those happy hours that the precept of allowing these legendary figures to come to life only around the evening fire developed. Anybody who talks about them in the day time might well conjure up the things (χũ·na) of the past (aibe-gam)*

*I was not able to determine the etymology of the word *gam. It is used before aibe and ǂgũro, "formerly," in the sense of a demon. particle.

and thereby bring about irremediable confusion. Only after sundown

does one hear the command !ho·are, "tell a story!"

Although the travelers of the eighteenth century already recognized the Hottentots' love of folk tales, until now only four stories were known in the language of the Hottentots themselves; they were published by Theophilus Hahn (78) according to notes made by

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

G. Kroenlein and the Bastard J. de Bries. The rest that has been published on this subject is made up of translations and plot synopses in European languages. George Grey, the governor of the Cape Colony, had the curator of his library, W. H. J. Bleek, send a circular to the missionaries of South Africa with the request to send him everything that might be considered the beginnings of a literature of the [388] natives. Bleek published the results--unfortunately only translations-- although among the 40 stories of his collection 24 had already been copied down in the original by Kroenlein (unfortunately never published). A direct comparison of Bleek's translations with Kroenlein's original text is possible only in the story of the moon myth by means of Th. Hahn's publication of the original. In place of the title, which literally should be "The Moon and the Louse and the Hare," Bleek puts "The Origin of Death," and he suppresses the indecent louse (which also defiles the following text) by speaking instead only of a "little animal." One would pass over such minor details if one prudery did not lead to another and, finally, if it did not produce a result which is absolutely incongruous with the Hottentot's manner of expressing himself. How must a censorship which is so touchy about minor things proceed when the people really reveals itself without a figleaf? Since I am not acquainted with Kroenlein's manuscript, I must keep simply to a comparison of the style and content of my texts with those of Bleek. The translator considered it necessary to make "omissions and changes without which the fables would have appeared too naked in European eyes in order to make these Hottentot fables accessible to a larger public," and he believes that he is not violating the spirit of the fables in doing so. The texts that are published here give the answer: their form of expression reveals the bluntness of a primitive people in which none of the senses is neglected; here, where everything has a sanctuary and no part of the body is objectionable. And specifically little psychological traits in which are to be found the

driving motives for the judgments and actions of the folk tale figures are often bound to the most vivid and forceful expressions. The crude figure of speech of the old female elephant (Folk tale LVIII) characterizes in a word the rough conception of family life that the young wife (in the figure of a fly) wants to escape. The lion's address to the animals (Folk tale LVII) and his unreasonable demands are a striking illustration of the absurdity of an undignified and only apparent authority.

In judging the intellectual level of the people the form of presentation seems to me to count just as much as the content, especially in the beginning stages of an unwritten literature. It will be seen that the Hottentot never anticipates and depicts a character or a situation in his story in advance with an abstract adjective that reveals everything. Never did one of the Hottentots who told me their stories speak [389] of "a simple old hyena," as Bleek does, and never does an animal act "out of malice," etc. Rather, the Hottentot develops a situation, lets us eavesdrop on the conversations of the animals and lets them act before our eyes so that they themselves may show what their feelings are.

It is not astonishing that animals play a main role in the stories of a pastoral and hunting people. But one may not speak of "fables" simply because of this fact. The moral teachings that people have sought and believed to find in the animal legends of the Hottentots by analogy with superficially related indigenous works of art is in the majority of cases nothing more than the expression of an non-contemplative emotion, and by no means a moralizing one: thus we find hatred toward the oppressor and not praise of brotherly love (Folk tale LIX); ridicule of the presumptuousness of a weakling and not praise of self-knowledge and modesty (Folk tale LVII); malicious joy in the bad luck of an old deceiver and not abhorrence at lies (Folk tale XLII). After all, in other connections stealth and deception celebrate triumphs! Wherever more tender emotions play a part, like sibling love (Folk tale LVIII), a mother's grief (LI), the loyalty of friends (Folk tale XXVI)--here the portrayal, in its naivété, stands far above any sermonizing ulterior motive and in erotic matters the imagination with its sometimes bizarre digressions (Folk tale XLIX) leaves absolutely no place for the moralist.

Therefore when Bleek says of the animal stories of the Hottentots: "Children as well as adults who have retained their simple nature and whose taste has not been ruined by the poison of overstimulating reading will always take pleasure in the nicely expressed moral precepts

that they get in any good fable; and the more profound literary connoisseur will likewise be delighted by these first innocent flights of the awakening human phantasy. To people such as these the Hottentot fables that are offered here will surely be welcome," etc., etc, I only see three possibilities of explanation. Either the translation is wrong; or the manuscripts contain only a selection of such tales which satisfy certain prerequisites of Christian moral teaching; or the Hottentot, cunning observer of human nature that he is, edited his stories in advance in usum Delphini, knowing well to whom he was telling them. However that may be, Bleek's reports about the stories do not show me the Hottentot as I have become acquainted with him; for this reason and because I had direct access to the source I took no further consideration of them in matters of detail. [390] On the other hand the translations of the missionary J. Olpp (88, reveal throughout

88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

an understanding and fidelity that can only be produced by intimate acquaintance with the people themselves.

Of the stories that are to be related here the autochthonous origin can surely be questioned in two cases: Folk tale XLVIII, in the course of its action, recalls a Wolof legend that Boilat published and Bleek translated. In this story the jackal of the Hottentots is represented by an elephant, the snake by a hyena, the porcupine by an ox, and the stone by a pit; but the rôles of each individual are, in meaning, the same in both cases. Furthermore, the story of the little traders (XII) corresponds in numerous details to a story of the Hereros that J. Rath copied down in the original language and Bleek again translated from the manuscript. I have no way of determining which people here had priority.

As for the others, I can only reproduce faithfully what I have heard from the mouths of the Hottentots and I must let others answer the question whether or not the folk tales printed here reveal any similarities to the folk tale cycles of other peoples and, if so, which ones. The exact proof of borrowings, if this should turn out to be the case, seems to me to be no less interesting as an insight into the dark pre-history of the Hottentot race than a confirmation of the originality of the stories would be.

Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, 538
in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a peo- 128
ple of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the [522]
stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is 538
possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are 128
mentioned here in advance once and for all: 193

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kʔa	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-r	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-e		-na

538 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles,
128 are:
193 i used very generally.
a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.
go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.
nĩ designates the future.
ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.
hã designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsĩ with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mĩ, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsĩ I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsĩ with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gĩrib tsĩ χami tsĩ ǂhĩras tsĩna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsĩs gye go ǂnã, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsĩ gye go ǂnãhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word χa. In this case one can regard χa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gõati χa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this χa can be

dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 539 128 193

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness 538

In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call ǂaitgã/mũ·ǂxab, because its eyes (mũ·ti) are not in its face but on the back (!gã/b) of its feet (ǂaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called ǂkxoe-oren (kxoeb "man," ǂo-re "to run up and devour the buried prey"). The man-eating female has in addition the special name /gaũ·/bes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears. The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-rikxoeseb,

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that "Unique Man," (66) who was the first of his kind to inhabit the earth.

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen. Ethnographie. (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867.)

Among the Hottentots I ran into another conception of the /gu·rikχoĕseb, that perhaps arose later: he was described to me as a hunter who lived alone in the wilderness with his wife and his dogs; in accordance with this one would simply call him a person who has settled off by himself and in short the "hermit." Accordingly the word /gu·rikχoĕseb would then be formed in analogy to the word /gu·riseb, a designation for the springbok ram that has been expelled from the herd and lives alone.

[394] [Text omitted]

Translation of I

The Girls Who Take a Walk to the Village of the Aigamucha Woman

531[x]

Girls (/g̃oasi "daughters) went walking (sari narr. pass.) to the (//ga) kraal of the Aigamucha woman; and when they got there (si, with the personal suff. of the subj.) one (/gui) of them ("a person," kχoi's, fem.) is pregnant (!gom); this one is addressed (mĩ "to say") like this by (χa) the Aigamucha woman: "Come (/kχĩ), let yourself (literally: "and ẽ [imperative], I -ta, manage you -si") be massaged!" (!guri, cf. Care of the Skin, pp. 207 and 215). And she is massaged. Then her (ã, root of the poss. pron., -sa personal suff. of the possessor) front apron (!gaẽb) was bound together (!gai "to bind," //ase "to unite") with (/kχa) the front apron of the former (//(e)ĩs, personal pron.), and the others (expressed here only by the personal suff.) went home (//aru, vb.).

The one (nau, literally: "other") girl, however, was held back (!kχõ "to catch," maĩ "to place") and told (gai) to lie down (//goẽ).

X539 and she lay down. Then [her] coccyx (/ama, "tip," ǂare- "of the buttocks") is cut off (!gao//nã) and the fat is roasted out (aira)."

"All of the following is expressed in the form of the narrative passive. One might consider it a use of the true passive if the forms ǂnã/he and bẽhe did not make it clear that the former is intended. In translation these clauses are reproduced in the active with a definite subject.

Then the woman put (ǂnũi) the little pieces of fat (gaub "fat," -ro, [395] dimin.) individually (/gui /guibe) into (!na) tortoise shells (/gabiti) and poured (ǂnã) the drippings (//nuina, neut. pl.) over them (ai) and put (maĩ) them, one after the other (saogu), on (am !na) the path (daob) that her sons (indicated by the suff. of the 3rd pers. pl., -gu) had to come (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) Then she danced (ǂnã) and [sang]: "Whoever (-ba, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc.) stays (hã) at home (!haĩs, "kraal," ai "in"), [makes] nevertheless (ᵡabe) a finding-of-food!" (ǂũba hõs). Thus (tumi) she danced away (bẽ). But when the woman had gone away, [the girl] takes (ũ) a stone (/uiba) and puts (//gui) it where (-ba) she had lain and runs away.

Then [the sons] came where the tortoise shells were standing (mã), emptied (abu) them and hastened (!kᵡoẽ) up. And the woman comes towards (ais ai) [them]. But the stone, so (ti) she thinks (ǂaĩ), is the girl, and when she saw (mũ) the sons* coming along

*Expressed by the suff. -gu. The personal suff. of the subj., -s, is attached to this personal suff. of the obj. Without this heaping up of suffices it would have to be expressed this way: !goaᵡas go kᵡoẽgu.

(!goaᵡa), she covers (!gũ !gã) [it even more]. And they came. Then she said to the one: "Take the ax (!õaa) and (ẽ, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. -ts) air (/hui) the covers (ǂnamte) there (//nã) and chop up (//hã) the thing (ᵡũẽ, neut. sing.) that is lying there (//nãba)! And he began chopping, but the blade (am !naba)

*539 "mouth part") of the ax broke ("kx̃õ/a). Then he said: "How (matisa) is this, mother?" (ais). And she replied: "That [is] no (toma "not," ĩ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) thing that is supposed (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to sound ("!naũ) like that (ti) [when it] talks" (mĩ). Then they uncovered it and saw that (!kxaiẽ) it was a stone. Then they killed (!gam) the woman (tarasa) immediately (/ãse) and ate (õ) her up.

[396] [Text omitted]

Translation of II

The Two Women Who Were Taken Along by Aigamuchab

And it happened this way (hĩhe "was done"): Two (/gam) women (kxoẽra) had gotten lost (!kxoẽ "to hurry," /ari "to lose"). And they came (/kxĩ) to (ai) the place (!kxaib) where Aigamuchab refused (//hã, ta = ra) cattle food (//ũna, neut. pl.).* Then they

[283 929]

"The smooth, shiny, yellowish, innermost layer of fibers of the bark of the thorn tree, which tastes sweet, is sucked and then twisted into twine.

[called]: "Man, [you] who (-ẽ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) are hammering (!gõ!gõ) there (nẽba), take (õ) us* to the (//ga) kraal! (//gaũs, p. 232).

"Literally: "one," kxoẽẽ = "person" in the neut. sing., corresponding to our impersonal "one." This indefinite manner of expression is preferred to the personal pron. of the 1st pers. if the request is made to a stranger. In this form I heard women ask strange Hottentots for tobacco.

A 539 Then Aigamuchab looked (gõ) up and says: "Let (ha) me (-ta) show (//gau) you (si) the kraal." And they went. But the fat (gausa) woman remains (hã) behind (kχaus ai); in this fashion (//na tumi) the two go away (bẽ), go [farther and farther], but the one (nau) woman turns around (oa).

Thus, the man [Aigamuchab] sees (mã), when (o-) he looks back, only a (/gui) single (/guisa) woman. Then he asks (tĩ), and the [397] woman [answers]: "I know not (ũta), she stayed behind." But he [cursed]: "Come on (hã ĩ), you (-sa) child (õas) of the great (gaib) dirt-scum-penis! (!garab, penis, cf. p. 320). A pack of twins (/gẽ/gõab "twin"; χũba, contemptuous for "thing") is supposed to go along with each other (sao "to follow"; -gu, reciprocal particle), isn't it (gom--o)?"

Then they came (sĩ) to the doba) kraal of the Aigamuchab.

> "Here the gen. particle di receives the fem. personal suff. because it follows the substantive which it governs.

And when (o) he got there, he said: "What? (tarẽ) the thing will never (huga "ever"; toma "not") taste good! (//kχoa). Cut [her] (!gao) throat (tomi) off! (-χa). Let (ẽ "and," imperative) us (-gye) [at least] lap up (!hum) the soup (surosa) [from it]." Thus he spoke.

Thereupon they (-gu) seized (!kχõ) her (si), cut off her throat. And when she befouls (χau) herself (s(e)n), they cry, "Grab (χaba) the fat from the anus!" (tsoa//nuiba}, euphemistic term for excrement) and they ate (õ) it up (toa, "to end").

But he looked for the tracks; (mã "stood," ai "on," ǂaib "her foot") and he comes along, finds the track (daoba), follows it (!kχõ) and catches up with the woman (sao "to follow," sĩ "to arrive," //are "to come together"). Then the woman produced a foul (nau "sofa") stench (/õ, vb.), [as though] she would spontaneously decompose ("nora) if (?) he caught her. But he says: "[You] stink sweetly, (ǂkχun) you (-s in /guis) will just fit (ǂgã) into (!na) my (ti) pot (sũs), that's (kχoma) the way it smells (tsã "to taste")!"

And he hastily (!kχoẽ, vb.) looks for (õa) the pot. Then the woman gets up (kχaĩ) and runs away" home (//aru "to return home").

> "The fut. ending nĩ in !kχoẽ-nĩ indicates that she expects to be pursued.

X 539 And while the woman was running away, he comes (/kχĩ) dragging (!kχara) the pot, comes up (hã), looks in disappointedly (//kχui "to miss") and called: "Sweet stinky, where (maba) did you go?" (ĩ). Thus (tumi) [it happened].

[398] Text omitted]

Translation of III

The Man-Eater Who Had a Daughter

The man-eating woman (kχoẽ-oresi)* had (expressed passively

> *The -i in oresi is a demon, root that is occasionally attached also to the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc., -b. This -i is frequently replaced in the story by the root χa.

and genetically: ũ "to take or to get," hã̃ "to remain," ĩ along with hã̃ expresses a condition in the past) a daughter [also had] cattle (/goan) and she herded (!ũĩ) the cattle. And men appear on the scene (/kχĩ) in order (nĩ expresses the intention and ga the possibility) to marry (!game) the daughter (the personal suff. of the obj. is followed by that of the subject, -gu). But she comes (hã), when (o) the men are sleeping (//om), and kills them (//hã!an, with the personal suff. of the obj.).

Then one day (/gui tsẽ) a man came along (!gũng, vb.) who (literally: "after he," -tsĩ particle of the definite past) had brought two female lions (χam-ǂrira) with him; also he took a stone (/uiba) and put(//gui) it on (ai) the place (!kχais) where he (//(e)ĩb) wanted to lie down himself. And while (hĩa) he was waiting, she came and slaughtered (ǂã̃) as a favor (-ba) to him (bi, suff.). Then they went to sleep. But at night (tsũ̃χuba) she comes with (literally: "having taken") the ax (!õba). But the lions ward (//kχai) her off. And as the lions chase her back thus (//nãti) the man awoke (ǂkχai), took

λ539 took the stone, put it in the spot where he himself had lain, and fled (bē).

[399] Now she came and began (//hã̄ "to come hither") to chop up the stone. Then she hurried (!kχoē) after (!gon) him and caught up with him (sao "to follow," //are "to come together"). But he climbed (!aba) up a tree (hais). Then she (//hã̄ nã̄) chopped the branches (//naũga) with (/kχa) the ax. But when (o) only a single (/gui/guib) branch was left (!gau), he signaled (≠gaí "to call") the two lions with the sweat brush (!nabes, see Care of the Skin, p. 212), and the lions came up and caught (°!kχõ) her.

Then the man escaped, and when he came (sĩ) to his kraal (//gaũs), he slaughtered three (!nona) cows (gomate). But when the lions began to eat (õ) of (doba) the third (!nona //(e)ĩs) cow, he struck them dead° (≠noa!an).

[825] °For he was afraid of the blood lust of the lions after they had tasted human flesh, namely that of the man-eater, who is conceived as being anthropromorphic.

[Text omitted]

Translation of IV

The Aigamucha People and the Hottentots

To (aĩ) Aigamuchaib's kraal (//gaũs) people (kχoĩn) had come (/kχĩ), and (tsĩ) an Aigamucha girl (-sa, personal suff. of the fem. sing.) was slaughtered (≠ãhe) in their honor (-ba, verbal particle, emphasizing in this case the connection with the ind. obj.). But when (o) the time (//aĉba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed to be called (≠gaihe) [to the meal], [400] they take (ũ) their own° (//(e)ĩ, root of the

°Because they do not trust the hospitality.

*539 personal pron.; -n, personal suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. neut.; di, gen. particle) meat (//gana) [that they had brought along themselves], and when they were called, they go (si) there with (/kχa) their own meat. When they (expressed by -ba, a verbal particle in the objective case) had been served (hora-he), they ate (≠ũ) also (tsĩ) their own meat and put (ũ) the meat of the Aigamucha girl into (!na) the covers (≠namti). Then they gave back (//kχai "to turn, return," //nã "to leave") the dishes (!oreti) and go home (//aru).

And when the next (nau = /nĩ) morning (//goas) came (//goa), a ram (baiba) is caught (*!kχõhe) [by Aigamuchab] and buried* (//kχõhe)

*As bait for the people that the man-eater wants to catch.

in a hole (ãb). After (tsĩ, verbal particle of the past participle) the sheep (gũba) was buried completely (toa "to cease"), a dog (ariba) is tied (double vb.: !gai "to tie" maĩ "to put"), and then they go away (!gũng with a pass. ending). But the others (the humans) dig (kχao) up (≠ui) the sheep. Then the dog breaks (double vb.: ≠gai "to pull"; !gao "to cut") the strap (!haũba) and runs away (!kχoë) and [howls]: "The one (-ba, full personal suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc.) with the bushy (/gom) back of the head (!noros) is being taken!" (u---he, sustained long in imitation of the howling of the dog). Then the Aigamucha men (-gu = ga, masc. pl.) came again (oa, vb.) with (/kχa) assagai's (gõagu). But the others seize the weapons (!abuti). Then the former were afraid (!ao) and go back (oa).

[401] [Text omitted]

Translation of V

The Woman for Whose Child a Dog is Substituted

A woman (kχoës) bore (ora, narr. pass.) a son (/gõaba), but the other women (tarate) did not (toma) grant (*≠aĩba) [him] to the woman and took (ũ) the son, went away (si) and laid (//gui) [him]

1539 on the shore (am !gã, "along"; //gaĩni, "the water"); but near the woman they laid down (-ba, an objectivizing verbal particle) a dog (ariba). Then an Aigamucha woman found (hõ) the [exposed boy] (bi "him") and took him and comes (sĩ) home (//aru, vb.) with* him

*The verbal relation of certain post-positive prepositions as well as preceding prepositions is seen clearly here where the word ũ is used as a preposition and needs only a copulative link in order to be a verb.

And during the time that (hĩ̃a) he stays (hã̃) with (/kχ̃a) her (//e(ĩ̃)s, personal pron.), he becomes big (gai).

Then, when (o) she had gone away (!gũ̃ng) [one day], he went to (//ga) a Boer place (//gaũs, "kraal") and seeks (õ̃a) advice* (/abe).

*How he could free himself from his foster mother.

Thereupon water and chena thorns* and a mountain stone (!humi) --

*The little prickly fruits of Tribulus terrester L. (Zygophyllaceae).

all these things (tsĩ̃ "and"; -na, personal suff. of the neut. pl.) -- were given to him by (χ̃a) the Boers as well as two(/gam) horses (hãĩkχ̃a, dual masc.). Then he rode (!gabi) away. And toward evening (!ui a) she comes (/kχ̃ĩ) and when, having arrived (hã̃ go, abbreviated participial construction), she calls (≠gai) him, it is (i gye a) quiet (!nõsa). Then she followed the trail (mã̃ "stood"; ai "on"; ≠ai "the foot"; that is to say, "of the fleeing one") and was about (sĩ̃ "to come") to catch (sao "to go along behind"; //are "to come together") him and called him, "Little Kaffir (kafferki, borrowed from Cape Dutch), [402] my (ti) child (õ̃a)!" Thereupon he answered (oõ̃): "Mama!" and let the water flow out (//nã̃ and χ̃ũ̃ "to abandon"). [--The water becomes a lake.--] Then she swam (tsã̃) and swam

*539 through (ǂoa "to go out") while (hĩ a) he (-b) ran away (bē), and again (//kχaba) she was about to catch him and called him: "Little Kaffir, my child!" and he answered: "Mama!" and let the stone (!huma) euphonious for -mi) fall. [--The stone becomes a mountain.--] And while she stands there (//nā) on (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) the mountain, he hastened away. Then she was again about to catch him while he (-b, in //gaũsab) approaches (/gũ, ta = ra) the kraal [of the humans]. And she called him: "Little Kaffir, my child!" and he answered: "Mama!" and dropped the chena thorns. And while she (-s, after //nāba there") stands there to pull out (!ora) the thorns from herself (-s(e)n, refl. particle), he hastened away and came to the kraal.

Then the men (expressed by the personal suff. masc. pl. -gu) immediately (ai "at the"; //aēb "time"; //nā "there") set out and come along (hā, vb.) to lie in wait (//goē am) for her (si, suff.) along the edge (am !na) of the path (daob). Then she came and they shot her (/noa!an) her dead.

[Text omitted]

Translation of VI

Aigamuchab and the Jackal

Aigamuchab and the jackal, the two of them (-kχa, suff.) were going (!gũng) to //ga) a strange (!hao) kraal (//gaũs) and along the way [403] (aigu) they slept (//om) and arrived (si) on the next(*nau) day (tsē).

Then a head of cattle (/goaē, neut. sing.) was slaughtered (doubly expressed: /ã "to sharpen"; -ra, participle of progressive action; mã "to give"; and ǂã "to slaughter," -ba, objectifying particle, he, pass. ending) for the two of them (-kχ ã, suff. of dat.-acc.) and it was poured out (hora) for them into (!na) a single (/gui) bowl (!ores). But the jackal cuts (!gao) fat (gauē, neut. sing.) off and puts (ǂnui, "to set") it back* upside down (!kχuni !na ai). But Aigamuchab

*With the meaty side up so that his companion will not recognize it as fat (which is always

X539

considered a tidbit) and will leave it for him.

slices off [a piece of this for himself]. Then the jackal looks (gõ) him in the (ai) face (ais), but (ǂabe) sees (mũ) no (toma "not") eye (mũẽ, neut. sing.). And again (//kǂaba) he cuts off [some fat] and puts it back upside down, but Aigamuchab slices off [some of this for himself]. Then the jackal looks into his face and still cannot see an eye.

Then when (o) the two of them had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff. of the subj.) eating (ǂũ), the jackal (suff. -b after haiẽ "wood," neut. sing.) looked for ("looked (gõ) that he might" nĩ, "take" ũ) a piece of wood on the floor (!hũb) for (ga "that") picking his teeth (ǂkǂora; approximately: "to grasp something unattainable with the hand," -n abbreviated from -s(e)n refl. particle, //gũn "teeth," neut. pl.). Then he saw the eyes and said: "Fill (hã, -ba objectifying particle) [a pipe] for me (te, suff.), you (-tse, suff.)!" And when the pipe had been filled for him, he tossed (tsoro) tobacco into the other's (ã, root of the poss. pron., -b, personal suff. of the possessor) eyes and ran away.

[Text omitted]

[404] Translation of VII

The Girl Who Marries into the Bush-Jumpers

A girl (/gõas "daughter") had married (!game, narr. pass.) into (!na) the people (!haos) of the bush (hai) jumpers* (uri, vb.) and

*A legendary people that do not walk between the bushes but leap over them effortlessly with high bounds.

moved away (//ã "the moving of a girl from her parents' house into the home of the husband); and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the

*539 3rd pers. dual masc. - fem.) came (sĩ) to the(ai) kraal (//gaũs) of the husband (kχoĩb).

And when (tsĩ in hãtsĩti, participial construction) she (-s in tsĩs) is (hã "to remain") [there] a few days (tsẽti), the bush jumper women (indicated by -ti in hãtsĩti) were fetching water (//gama, vb.) one day (/gui tsẽ). Then they jumped [over] the bushes and came to draw (χuri) [water]. Then, when (o) they had drawn (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) enough (toa "to stop") and turned back (oa), they again (//kχaba) start jumping (≠goaχa, vb.) and come (hã) humping up and say (mĩ, with objectifying particle -ba) to the husband: "For the sake of your (sa, stem of the personal pron. 2nd pers. used as poss. pron. when the di of the gen. particle is omitted) wife (taras) to whom you (sãtsa, full form of the [405] personal pron. 2nd pers. masc.) are married; because of (!ama) her (//(e)ĩs, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.) you will (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nĩ verbal particle of the fut.; the two words have been contracted to tsĩ) yet perish!" * (//õ). So they said.

"Because she cannot jump and he, since he
belongs with her, could easily be caught
in the event of pursuit.

Then he caught (!kχõ) her (si) and her (ã, the root of the poss. pron. becomes the full poss. pron. when the personal suff. of the possessor is added) two (-kχa, suff. of the masc. dual) bones of the lower leg (!hai "to hurry," ≠kχõb "bones") he cut (≠ã) out (≠ui), and he gave (mã) her two giraffe (!naĩb) hides (kχõra, fem. dual) and chena thorns (a collective form with the suff. of the masc. sing.)--all these things (tsĩ "and," -na suff. of the neut. pl.). Then her daughter carried (tani) the two hides and she carried the thorns. And they walked and walked until sunset (sore≠gã). Then they made a stop (sĩ "to arrive") and slept (//om). When morning (//goasa) breaks (//goa), they see a lion (χama) approaching (!goaχa). Then they let (//nã) one giraffe hide fall (χu "to let lie") and went. And when the lion had eaten (õ) it up, he again set out after (!gõa !gũng) [them]. And they saw him (-bi, suff.) coming and again dropped a giraffe hide and went on. Then they ran on, but when he had devoured it (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle), he came on. But they saw

x539 him coming again and dropped the chena thorns and walked on. And while (hĩ'a) he stands (mã) there (//nãba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) pulling (!ora, with the refl. particle s(e)n) the thorns from himself, they come to a cliff (/uib) and say: "You (-tse) stone (/ui-) of my (ti) ancestors (//naoǂan), a great (gai) mob (!gũs) is on the march (!goaǂa) behind me (!gã te); therefore (ǂuigye) open (!ã) your flanks (?) to me (te, -ba), won't you?" (re). Thereupon the cliff opened itself (//kǂoba ams(e)n) and they went (ĩ) [through]. Then the lion came along behind (kǂaos ai) and said: "You stone of my ancestors, a great mob is on the march behind me; therefore open your flanks for me won't you? Then the cliff opened only (/gui "single") a very little bit (≠kǂari "small," -ro, dimin. ending, -se, adverbial ending) and as soon as (*tumis ai) [the lion] just enters (literally: [406] nĩ "is on the point of," */gui ti gõ "to look like one thing," that is, in a line drawn with the cliff opening) with (/kǂa) his neck (!aos), it closes (≠gan ams(e)n). Then his (ãba) head (tanas) hopped (!ai) alone (/guri) and there it died.

And the woman came home (//aru, vb.). Then a calf (tsaũba) was slaughtered (≠ã) for her (expressed by the objectifying particle -ba) and [its] two lower leg bones were inserted (≠gã) [into her]. Then she [calmly] sat down (≠nũ), and when she was healed (≠uru) she was allowed (gai) to run (!kǂoẽ) to (//ga) the calves. But then one leg (/nũb) broke (*tson) down. Then they let her sit quietly again and she sat down. Thereafter she was allowed to run again. This time she did not break down and was healthy (≠gau).

[407] Text omitted]

Translation of VIII

The Girls Who Went Into the Gara Berries

Girls went (!gũng, narr. pass.) for (//ga) gara berries (neut. pl.), and they came (si) to the place and picked (hare). But all (hoate = -ti) the others (*nauti) picked sour (/kǂuru) berries (-ba, collective suff. of the masc. sing.) and only one (/gui) of the girls picked good (!gaĩ) berries. And when (o) it became (!ui) evening, they went home, and while (hĩ'a) the sun (sores) sets (≠gã, ta after s, is euphonious for ra)

×539 they say: "Let (hã) us (-se, suff. of the 1st pers. fem. pl. in the dat. acc. case) taste (tsã tsã) the berries, let's (o), and they tasted the berries. All their (di, gen. particle) berries are (a, present particle) sour. Then they say to the one (-sa, personal suff. in hãsa) who had (u "to take," hã, particle that expresses a condition) sweet (ǂkχon) berries there (//nã): "Your (sa, stem of the personal pron. of the 2nd pers. used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle di) berries are not good. So (χuigye) turn back (oa) and (ẽ, with the personal suff. of the subj.) go (sĩ) and pick where (-ba in hareba) we (sise, personal pron. of the 1st pers. fem. pl. exclusive) picked!"

Then she turned around and went picking. Excrement (χausa) had had been excreted* for (-ba, objectifying verbal particle) her, and

*In order to make it easier for her to find her way back.

when [408] she* came up (hã) where the others had stopped (ĩ "to

*Expressed by the fem. personal suff. -s in tsĩs and hãs. The -s in bas ("where") picks up the subject again in accordance with the repetition of the predicate in the protasis.

go," hã "to remain") she called (ǂgai). Then the excrement answered (oẽ): "Here!" ("he, general answer of anyone who is called to); thus (tumi) it answers, but despite this (χabe) she sees (mũ) no one (kχoẽẽ "person," neut. sing.; toma "not") and goes past (!gũng ĩ). Then she came to the place where (literally: "while" hĩa) the hare (!õas) was sitting (*ǂnõa) in order to draw (χuri) water, and she said: "Draw (!kχã) for me." (te, intensified by the objectifying -ba). Whereupon the hare: "[this] tortoise shell cup (/gabi) "the back shell of the tortoise") [is] my (ti) grandfather's (//naob) and my own (tita, personal pron. meaning "I." The genitive relation is expressed here simply by adding the thing possessed to the possessor.) Solely (/gui, with the suff. of the 1st pers. masc. - fem. dual -m) for the two of us (tsĩ "and," with the above-mentioned suff.)." Thus he spoke. Then she seized (ũ "to take," /hana "to rob") the cup from him (-si, fem. suff. referring to õas) and drank (ã).

X539 But the hare hastened (!kχoe) to the lion * and said: "My

*"Big Back," gai !gãb; see folk tale names of the animals.

grandfather, if (o) I (-ta, suff.) tell (mĩ ba) you (-tsi, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. in the dat. - acc.) what (χũe) I (tita, personal pron.) have seen, I wager (ga, concessive particle) you will (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.; nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.; both contracted to tsĩ) make (guru, with the objectifying particle -ba) me (-te, suff.) a front apron (//gam !gaeb) and a back apron (//gan !gus), both." Thereupon the former said: "I will make [them] for you." Whereupon [the hare]: "While I am saying that the tortoise shell cup is that of my grandfather and my own and belongs to us two alone, the cup was seized [from me]." Then [the lion] hurried off and caught up (hã "to come," sao "to go along behind," //are "to come together") with the girl (expressed by the personal suff. -si). And they chased each other in a circle (!kχoe and //hame) around a tree (haisa). Then the lion fell (//nã) and she threw herself (literally: "seated herself" ǂnũ) on (ai) him (-bi, suff.). But he cried: "Get off (kχaĩ) me, please." (-re). And she got off him and again they chased each other in a circle. Then the girl (kχoesa "person" fem.) fell and he threw himself upon her. But she cried: "Get off me, please." But he said: "Today (//goas "the morning") is no day for getting up as a reciprocal (-gu, reciprocal particle, -be, adverbial particle) favor [409] and killed her. Then he pulled off (//hau //na) her skin (kχõba), crawled (ǂgã "to go into") into (!na) the skin and ate (o) the girl and finished eating (toa "to cease") and went.

And he came to the kraal (//gaũs) of the girl; at the time when (hĩa) the cows (gomati) were being (pass. ending he with the personal suff. of the subj.) milked (/ao) he came there. And he drank up (!kχabe) all the milk (daiẽ, neut. sing.) that was set before him (maĩ). Then the people say: "My! (kχa) the girl never (huga "ever," toma "not") drinks like that (ti) after all (gomo)!" Then the sleeping (//om) time (//aẽba, not //aiba as on p. 407) came. And when (o)

*539 he (-b after //goē "to lie down") lay down, the younger little sister (literally: "the young" ǂkχam, "little daughter" /gõaros) lay down there (//nãba) near (/gũse, adv.) to (doba) him (//(e)ĩb, personal pronoun). Then he feels about (tsã) for the navel (sunisa) of the little girl [in order to insert his claws here and kill her], but the little girl shoves (ǂhã) his (ã, root of the poss. pron., -ba, personal suff. of the possessor) arm (//õab) away (bē), and afterwards (ēga) she gets up (kχaĩ mã) and asks (tẽ) her mother (//gũs): "Why (tarel !ama) in the world (gum---o) isn't this my sister?" (*ausi, personal suff. attached to the negative particle; for more information see p. 301). Thus she asked. Whereupon the mother: "Tomorrow (//ari) I will see about it, but (*hũ gye) lie down here (nēba) [with me]."

And the sun rose (//hai "to go up") high (/gabi), but then (//goasi) he was still lying asleep (expressed passively). Then the people uncovered (/hui "to uncover," /kχãb "body") [him], and when (o with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they looked (gõ), it is a lion. Then they heaped (//gabo) firewood (/aēna, neut. pl.; not /aina) on (*!gã) him and set [it] on fire (!kχã and ǂhubi). And the heart (ǂgaosa) of the [slain] girl leaped (uri) high out of it (ǂoa). Then they took it and put (ǂgã) it in a gourd (abas). Then they poured (//ai) the milk of a young mother cow* into it. Then it became again that (//nã, demon. pron.)

* //kχaob "lamb," not a calf or a kid; but with a following attributive (cow or goat) it is used to designate any mother cattle as long as its young still has no horns.

girl; it came to life (ũitsaba).

[410] Text omitted]

Translation of IX

The Girl Who Was Always Caught By the Brothers With the Noose

The sister (!gãsasa) was always being caught (ǂhao, the

[539] particles gye and re indicate a frequent practice and at the same time the past) by (ǂa) the boys (aǂagu) with /kǂa) thongs (!haũgu) by the leg. Then she ran away (double vb.: !gũng and bē) and she went (≠gã) into (!na) a Buiver tree (//garas, Aloe dichotoma L.; see p. 112) and made (dĩ) the rock-rabbit (!aũsa) her maid servant (!gã) and every (hoa) day (tsēti) the boys [come] there (//nã) under (ᵑ!gao) the quiver tree; yes, there (//nãba) they come (hã) to drive up (double vb.: ≠nau "to hit," maĩ "to place") [the cattle], and yet (ǂabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) they do not (/ũ) know that (!kǂaiẽ) someone (kǂoẽ̃ĩ "person," neut. sing.) is hidden (≠gana, vb.) inside.

Then one (/gui) of the boys was watching (!ũĩ) [the cattle] with the son (õab) of the mountain Kaffir woman (damas) of his mother (//gũs, di gen. particle). And the two of them (-kǂa, personal suff. masc. dual) went under the quiver tree to lie down (//goẽ). And
[233] when (o) the cattle (/goan, neut. pl.) ran away (!gũng; during the hot noon hours the cattle are driven together into the shadow of a tree), he sent ("allowed" gai, "to go") the little mountain Kaffir (damaroba) out to chase [them] back (//kǂai). And he went to turn them back, and while (hĩ̃a) he [411] comes back (oa "to turn around," /goaǂa "to arrive"), fire (/aẽs) smoke (/ana) becomes [visible], and while he comes he says: "Master (*/hon-kǂoẽtse, vocative), [don't] you (-tsa, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) see (mũ) smoke (neut. sing. in the sense of some undetermined sort) rising (≠oa) from (ǂu) this (nẽ) quiver tree?" Then he looked there (gõ, vb.) and said: "You are lying!" (≠numi). But the little Kaffir said: "The smoke is rising into the air." Whereupon the former: "You are lying; in just a minute (/ãse) I will hit (≠nau) you (tsi, personal suff.)."

And on the next (nau) morning (//goaga, "early at sunrise," in contrast to //goab "early before sunrise") the two of them come /kǂĩ) again (//kǂaba). Then they both saw the smoke, come up, and [the boy] said: "In just a minute I'll chop down (double vb.: //hã "to chop," !gao "to cut") the tree (hais) for us; open!" (//kǂoba am). Then they opened [for them] and the two went in. And the one (the young Hottentot in contrast to the Kaffir) married (!game) the girl.

Then they went away. And when (o) they came to (doba) a mountain (!homi), they said to (//ga) the rock-rabbit [in order to

x539 get rid of him]: "Come, let (ẽ, imperative) me (ta) lift you (si) up" (double vb.: ũ "to seize," !aba "to climb up"). Then they put him on (ai) a ledge (/uib) and deserted him ("to go and leave"). Ever since that day (tsẽs) rock-rabbits live (literally: "is a remaining": hã, vb. substantivized by the personal suff. -sa) on ledges.

[Text omitted]

[412] Translation of X

The Giraffe Tree That Killed People

A giraffe tree (//ganas, with the old demon. particle -i) had [already] killed (!gam, narr. pass.) [many] people (kχoĩna, neut. pl.). Then two men (-kχa, personal suff. masc. dual) rode (!gabi) there and unsaddled (sĩ "came," *ore !gã "to saddle") there (//naba). And the one (/gui) man slept (//om), but the other (/gui, with personal suff.) stayed (hã) awake (≠kχai gari, "to be about to do something"), and lying (//goẽ, with the ending of the pret. participle) on (≠ama) his back (!gãs) he watched (gõ) [the branches]. Then the giraffe tree stirred (gon). And the man (expressed by the personal suff. -b) took (ũ) a thorn (//kχũba) and stabbed (!kχã) it. Then the tree quivered (≠gõ "to turn aside). But the man had hung his cartridge belt (!kχoasa) on (ai "at") the giraffe tree. • Now he takes down

• ≠gã "to insert," maĩ "to place." hã expresses the completed condition; in German, if the subject is to be retained, the sentence can be expressed only by the past perfect.

(ũ //na) the belt, but the tree seizes (*!kχõ) him (bi, personal suff.) by the cartridge belt and grasps the belt.

Then the two saddled up (*gai !gã) and rode off. But although (χabe) they hastened away (bẽ, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the giraffe tree stayed close by (/gũse) and while (hĩa) it becomes

x539 this (//nāti, with the personal suff. of the subj.; the narrator raises his arm as high as he can) big (gai) it comes (hã) over their (ã, root of the poss. pron. with the personal suff. of the possessor) heads (≠am!nab, masc. sing.) and hurls itself (//goẽ) upon them. And the tree killed the one that had watched it (mũ, go, particle of the pret. with the personal suff. of the subj.) there (//nã), along with (/kχa) his horse, but the other one got away (!kχoẽ "to hurry," dã "to overtake someone," or generally: to be faster; si is the obj. of the double vb., and a personal suff. referring to //ganas). Then the tree went back (oa, vb.).

Then again (//kχaba) two carts (gunira, dual fem.) came /kχĩ), and the men (-gu, personal suff.) unhitched (//hũ !ao) there. [413] Now as soon as (/gui, literally "one with") one [of the wagons] had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff.) unhitching (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after hĩ, "to do"), the men shared (//hã) meat (//ganẽ, neut. sing.) under the giraffe tree. Then they saw blood (/aoba) and left the meat behind (//nãχu) and cried: "Come, drive the oxen (gomaga) up (ũ "to take") and (ẽ, imperative) let us (-gye) hitch up." (≠gaẽ /ao). Then they hitched up and drove away (!nari). But the giraffe tree grew big, and when it was exactly (*/gui ti gõ, "to look like one thing") over their heads, it fell (//nã) upon them. And it killed carts and oxen and men, completely (toa "to finish").

[Text omitted]

Translation of XI

The Two Brothers Who Found a Piece of Coal

Two brothers (kχoẽb "person," !gãb "brother," -gu here is probably a reciprocal particle, -kχa, suff. of the masc. dual) had gone out (!gũng, narr. pass.). Then they found (hõ) a piece of coal (≠nomsa "charcoal") and the older (gaiba "big") shattered (≠nau "to hit," !ã "to spread") the coal with (/kχa) his sjambok[4] (!nabab). Then the two went on.

[4] [Dutch for "driving quirt." - Analyst]

X539 But when (o) the sun (sores) set (ǂgã), the coal (expressed by the fem. suff. -s in os) started burning (kχau) and rose (!aba) high [414] (/gabise), and when it was close (/gũ, vb.) to the two (kχã, suff. in the dat.-acc. with the suff. of the subj.), it called: "I (tita), fiery one (/aẽs, "fire," !na "in," -ta suff. of the 1st pers. sing.), fireborn (õas "child," /aẽ !nas designates the mother), make a double catch (*/gama ǂharu "to kill two beasts with one shot), the two children of one (/gui) man!" (aoba). Then the younger (ǂkχama "young") reached (ũ) for his knife (gõaba) and stood up (mã̃), and the charcoal came (/kχĩ) and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) fought (!kχam). But when he was defeated (dã̃ "to step"), he jumped (sĩ "went," ǂgã̃ "to go under") into the water (//gami), and they kept on fighting. But when the morning (//goas) came (//goa), the coal went out (/ari).

Now when it was extinguished that one came to (doba) his brother (here in short: "person"), who (hĩ̃a "while") was lying there (//goẽ, with the personal suff.) full of fear (!ao, vb.) and asked him: "Why (tareĩ !ama = tareẽ !aroma, with the suff. of the addressed and pers. sing. masc.) do you not (toma) help (hui) me (te, suff.)?" But he answered (kχum "to speak") nothing ("not something"). Then they went home (//aru, vb.) and got there.

But when they had come home, the fire flared up at night (tsũ̃χuba) and set the kraal (//gaũsa) on fire (ǂhubi, vb.).

[Text omitted]

[415] Translation of XII

The Two Brothers Who Chase the Calves into the Field

Two (/gam) boy brothers (aχa-!gã̃gukχa) chase (!kχaĩ̃) calves into the field. There they find (hõ) the goas plant, and while they are (hã̃ "to remain," and an auxiliary vb. expressing condition) there (//nã̃) with (/kχa) the goas plant, they met (hõ) a woman (tarasa). And the woman gave (mã̃) them (kχã̃, dat.-acc. of the 3rd pers. masc. dual) an awl (ǂorosa, old-fashioned designation for ǂum//naos, "sewing point") and takes (ũ) the goas plant. Then the two went on.

x 539

And they come (ǂî) to (doba) a man (aob) -- the man who is pulling (!um) a thorn out of himself (-s(e)n, refl. verbal particle) with his member (/aob, actually: "what one conceals," /oa, that is "penis"). Then the two say: (expressed here only by the auxiliary vb. gye) "We (sikx(u)m, exclusive form of the 1st pers. dual masc.) have here (double vb.: u "to take," hã̄ "to remain") an awl, whereas father* pulls a thorn out of himself with his member." And they

*Formed from the Dutch oud "old" and the Hottentot dadab "father."

gave the man the awl, and the man gave them a walking stick (//kxaibas(e)n, haib old-fashioned pronunciation; now usually //gaĩbas(e)n haib).

Then the two of them came to boys who were beating (//hum) honey (danisa) [from a tree stump] with a stone. And the boys asked (ǂgan) the two for the stick. And they gave the stick and received (mã̄ "to give," he, pass. ending) honey. Then they went on.

Then they came to guinea hens (/kxĩnati) that were eating (ǂî) field onions (!hana) there ("ba, demon. particle of place) and said: [416] "We have honey while you (-so, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. fem.) are eating field onions." Thereupon the former reply: "Now give us (-se, dat. -acc. of the 1st pers. fem. pl.) [some] then (//nai), won't you?" (-re). Then the two of them gave to them (ti) and went on. But the guinea hens had given them feathers (!amga).

Then the two came to boys who were feathering (//guiri) arrows with sheep (gĩ) hair (/ũb) and [said]: "We have feathers, and yet (ǂabe) you (-go) are feathering the arrows with sheep hair?" Thereupon they say: "Well then, give us (gye, suff. of the 1st pers. pl. masc.) [some]." Then the two went on, but the boys had given them milk (daisa, neut. pl.).

Then they came to a mother dog (//oti "to bear," aris "bitch") -- to one who was eating excrement (ǂaub) and they said: "We have milk whereas you are eating excrement." Whereupon the bitch: "Then give me (-te) some!" Then the two gave to her (ti). But when (e in ekxa) the time (//aĩba) had come (/oa, "was full") when they had to (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) go away, then

[539] they think (ǂnĭ): what (ǂgŭĕ) will be given the two [of us]? and [say]: "We had gotten milk from (ǂa) the boys [and have given it to you; now] kindly (re) give us [something in return]."

"Here the story ends. It is regarded as obvious that the boys come out empty-handed.

[Text omitted]

[417] Translation of XIII

The Man Who Is Killed by Lightning

A man (kxoēb) went hunting (!au, narr. pass.) after (tsĭ, particle of the pret. participle after ŭ "to take," narr. pass.) he had taken his bow (kxăsa); and while he was in the (!na, with the personal suff. of the subj.) field (!garob), a storm (/namuba) rose (//hao) and it rained. Then he situated himself (sĭ "to go," mā "to stand") under ("!gao) a giraffe tree (//ganas), and the storm killed (ǂnau, narr. pass. [him].

Then on the next ("nau) day (tsē) the jackal came (/kxĭ, narr. pass.) and said: "I will drive ("ǂna/m, "to go to turn") the giraffes (!naĭte, fem. pl.) there (//nā) [to you]" and hastened (!kxoē) away and turned [the giraffes] and arrives with (ŭ) [them] and [calls]: "[Shoot] the one in front! (o, interjection; ei! hereupon the jackal points at the one running in front, gau "giraffe" with the personal suff.); the one running behind (nao, vb.) [shoot!] the one following then! the one following this (//(e)ĭa, personal pron. of the 2nd pers.) same one " (//kxăsa)! the one following behind this one itself (ǂĕu,

"The jackal cannot count. His hasty and clumsy way of expression is intentional comedy.

with personal suff.)!" Meanwhile (hĭa, with the personal suff. of the subj.) the giraffes all (toa "to end") ran past (ĭ, vb.).

539 "As truly (ao = "because," introducing the oath, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) as our (sakx'(u)m, personal pron. of the 1st pers. masc. dual inclusive form, used in the sense of the poss. pron. when the gen. particle is omitted) two (-ra, suff. of the dual fem.) sisters (!gā-) [live], I will go (tī) and chase back (//kx'ai) [the giraffes] just this (nē) one time (nās)!" Thus he said and hurried away and turned the giraffes, and when he came up with them he said: "Shoot the one running in front! The one running behind! Shoot the one following! The one following that one! [418] Shoot the one that now follows this one itself!" Meanwhile the giraffes all ran past.

Then the jackal cut (!gao, narr. pass.) a long (ga'xu) rod (indicated only by the suff. -ba) from the au bush (Grewia flava D.C.) and said: "Why ("taē, abbreviated from taregē "what") do you (-ti) not (toma) want (ǂgao) to shoot (//kx'aū, -ba, objectifying verbal particle) the giraffes?" and struck (ǂnau, narr. pass.) him. But the rod (baiba) slipped (ī, "to go past") behind (!gābe) the man and along (ū) the giraffe tree and struck him in (ai) the groin (ǂoab). * "My (ti) little brother (!gāb; -ro dimin.; -tse suff. of

* The jackal believes that he is being struck by the very man whom he wished to punish; he quickly pretends to be sorry and shys: (see above).

the 3rd pers. sing. masc. vocative), I will not (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative) do (dī) it again (//kx'abe)." Thus he said and ran away ("!kxoē-nī, narr. pass.). And when (o) he had climbed down (//gōe, narr. pass.) behind a mountain precipice ("!gōab), he sat down (ǂnū) and looked at (gō, narr. pass.) the weals made by the rod (literally: daoba "the way that the rod had laid" //goē) and said: "You dirt-scum (!haī'b) genital (ǂnūis "vulva") child (ōaba), you have indeed (ga) struck me (te, personal suff. with the personal suff. of the subj.) painfully (tsū tsū, vb.)." Then he passed the man from behind (literally: "at his" ābe, "back" !gāb) and lay down and watched [him].

But when that one did not move (gon), he saw (mū, narr. pass.) that (!kxoāē) he was dead (//ō, vb. with the personal suff. of the

539 subj.). Now he came (/kχ͡ǂī, narr. pass.) up and seized (ǂ!kχ͡ǂō) the bow (with the personal suff. of the subj.), cut (!kχ͡ǂai and !gao) the joints (where the stockings, -- ǂuni break off --, of the bones come together, //aē) of the hand (!omi) and took (ũ, narr. pass.) the bow and went (!gũng, narr. pass.).

[Text omitted]

[419] Translation of XIV

The Hermit and the Lion

The hermit said to (//ga) his wife (taras), while (hī̃a) they were playing (//am) the hole game (//hũsa, see p. 314) with each other (-gu, reciprocal form): "If (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -s, 2nd pers. fem. sing.) the baboon should (ga, potential particle) come (/kχ͡ǂī), then you must (nī̃, fut. particle) pretend to be asleep" (ǂ//om//oms(e)n).

And when (o) the baboon came, she pretended to be asleep; but the man (aoba) took (ũ, pret. participle) the male (acre) dogs and went (!gũng). Then the baboon (expressed by the suff. -b) was bitten (nã̃) by (χ͡ǂa) the female (tarereti) dogs, and [only] when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) he became faint (ǂkχ͡ǂabu, vb.) did the woman get up (kχ͡aī̃, vb.) and ward off the dogs (literally: "forbid" !kχ͡aī̃, "for" -ba "him" bi). Then when he had received (pret. participle) milk (daiē), he went over (li) where the men were playing the hole game.

Then [the lion said]: "What has happened (dī) to you (tsi)?" and he answered: "The bitches bit me (te, suff.)." Whereupon the lion: "Tomorrow (//ari, with the suff. of the dual masc.) the two of us will (nī̃, fut.) take a nice little walk * to the Vlei (!kχ͡ubis)."

* ǂũ-!kχ͡oē, literally: "to run to pasture."
I also heard this same designation when childres

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ran off to play and tumble about. In these extremely harmless words the lion clothes his intention of revenge.

And when it was still dark (!kχaē) over (aí) the land (!hûb), the lion went away; and while he climbed (!aba, hã̄ "to come to") up a tree (hais) that stood (mã̄) in(!na) the water (//gams), [420] the hermit came. But the dogs, when they went to drink (ã̄), saw (mũ̄) the shadow (somsa) in the water, and each (hoaba) dog that comes down (//gõaχa) growls (literally: "becomes angry," //aíχa) and stands.

But he (//(e)ĩb), the hermit, drank. Then [the lion] leaped (urí) down (//gõnaχa, down), but he jumped out of the way (ǂgõ), and the dogs bit [the lion] to death (nã̄!an).

b) The Bergdamara or the Mountain Kaffirs

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The Hottentot, as we saw earlier (p. 323), has no high opinion of the Bergdamara. This is also expressed in the short folk tale in which he makes fun of the baboon-like appearance of his black servants (Folk tale XV).

There is only one characteristic that he ascribes to them without reservation: the precocious independence and fearlessness of the Bergdamara child that is celebrated in the war story in Folk tale XVI and in the lion encounters of Folk tales XVII and XVIII.

On the other hand, the Hottentot, with his strong sense of family discipline, is struck by the lack of parental authority and filial respect among the Bergdamara. Anyone who hears stories XIX and XX from the mouth of a Hottentot sees clearly that here only a satire on the degenerated family relationships is intended. Likewise the dirty joke in XXII has the same intention.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XV

X539 The Mountain Kaffir Who Imitates (//gai) the Barking of the Baboons

When (hĩa) the baboons (/nẽragu) were eating (ǂũ) rushes (ǂũna, neut. pl.), a shit-Kaffir (Bergdamara, p. 323) and a (/gui) man (kxoĩb "person," masc.) came (kxĩ, narr. pass.) along, the two of them (tsĩkxa), and the baboons fled (ǃkxoe-nĩ). Then the man said [to the mountain Kaffir]: "Try (tsã) once, won't you (re, optative particle), [Plate XVI. Bergdamara.] [421] to bark (ǃhao) like (kxtumi) the baboons there (//nã)." And he barked. Then the mountain Kaffirs (expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. -n after tsĩ) became (gai) baboons.

[Text and six lines of music omitted]

[422] [Translation of XVI]

The Mountain Kaffirs and the Hottentots

The mountain Kaffirs (-n, euphonious -na, personal suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. neut., including here men, women, and children) live (//an with the pass. ending) lonely (/guri). Then (o with the personal suff. of the pl. masc., gu = ga, since it is only a question of fighting men) the Hottentots (namaga) went (/gũng) to (//ga) the Kaffir kraal (//gaũ) to kill (ǃgam) the Kaffirs. And on (ai) the day (tsẽs) [on which] they (//(e)ĩgu) intend (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to arrive (ti), the Kaffirs leave a little Kaffir behind (ǃgoro) [as a guard] and (tsĩ) look for field onions (ǃhani, "field onions," -re gives the word a verbal character). And while (hĩa) the little Kaffir stays (hã) there alone (ǃguib), the Hottentots (expressed by the -gu in tsĩgu) come (/kxĩ).

Then some (/nĩga) say: "Let (hã) us (-gye) kill the Kaffir." So they say. Thereupon the others (/nĩga): "Oh (ao), what (tareb) will (uĩ) such a (-s, personal suff. of the neut. sing. in the sense

[539] of an undetermined sort) Kaffir do (!oa) with his anus in the onion skins?" • Whereupon the others: "Let us -- [for] the Kaffir will

> "Serob "skin," -ǂa, adj. ending, tsoab "anus," he, pass. ending. The little fellow is sitting at the hearth fire and picking leftover scraps from the garbage.

blab (!hoa) -- Kill the Kaffir!" Thereupon the first ones say: "The little Kaffir [is] young (ǂkxam); [he] will tell nothing (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative)." Then they ceased (/ũ, go verbal particle of the pret.) and got busy making (dĩ) an enclosure (//kxuib, "an ambush hut for wild animals," //goẽ "to lie") and lay down.

But while they are lying down, the Kaffirs came, came while they are lying asleep (//ǂm). And the little Kaffir continues (ra, verbal suffix of progressive action) to pick up (nabo) onions and [sings]:

> "Let's kill him," so said some.
> "What will he do, he with his anus in the onion skins?" So said the others.
> "The Kaffir will blab." So said some.
> "We'll just look at the Kaffir!" So said the others.
> "The Kaffir is big." So said some.
> "The Kaffir is dumb." So said the others.

Then the mother (//gũsa) [asks]: "What (taẽ, abbreviation of tareẽ) is the little fellow (daoroba in Kaffir dialect instead of damaroba) saying there like that (ti)?" But he keeps on picking up [onions]. Then his mother tossed (/ai, -ba stresses the relation to the obj.) onions to him (bĩ); now he told, and the mother told it to the other (ǂnau) Kaffirs. And some (women, children, old folks: -n, neut.) immediately ("at the time then") went away (bẽ), while the other (/nĩ) men (ǂaoregu "young men," in contrast to aogu) stay (hã̃) there. But (//nãgu) the latter go [then to the enclosure] and start a fire (double vb.: /kxã and ǂnubi). And they set fire to all (hã̃, see footnote on p. 424) rifles (from !aba, "to pop") and to

[539] all the cartridges (from //hã, "to stuff"), and they shot off (!hui). Then all the Hottentots died (///õ "to pass away," toa, "to come to an end").

[Text omitted]

[424] Translation of XVII

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Climbs up to the Game Hoard of the Lion

The little Kaffir was looking for firewood (/aēb. The suff. -re takes the place of the gender ending and gives the word a verbal character) with !kxa) his mother (//gũs), and the two of them (-ra, dual masc.-fem.) came (hõ) upon the game hoard* of the lion

[224] [251]

*) !naosa, from !nao "to load." In order to protect the slain game from hyenas and jackals, the hunter sometimes hangs it on a tree, as the lion has done in this case.

(gai!gãb, ("Big Back," folk tale name of the lion.) Then the little Kaffir climbed* up (ai) the tree (hais) and threw (ao) [some of the

*) ≠oa. The verbal particle *!gã indicates a special goal of the action, as for example !aba!gã "to climb up" (on a wagon in order to bring down a recalcitrant person) in contrast to !aba "to climb up," when the wagon is ready to drive off.

booty] down (//na) to his mother; he threw down little (-ro, dimin. particle) pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -na, ending of the neut. pl.).

But when the time (//aēba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (nĩ verbal particle of the fut.) to go (!gũng), she told (gai)

[539] him (bi) to climb down (//gõaχa, the older form is //gonaχa, p. 420 above). But he does not (toma) want (≠gao) to climb down. Then she says: "The lion is coming (/kχī) right away*, climb down!"

*) //gā "almost" "immediately"; for example, ≠nauhe //gāts go: "you were almost hit."

But the little Kaffir does not want to climb down. Then [she entices him like this]: "Come along (/kχī), come (hã) and steal (!nari) something nice* for your father (saob)." But he refused (≠kχa).

*) *χuiχa is obviously the old form for the present-day χũχa "rich." Compare tsui//goab and tsũ//goab. Here, too, the Hottentot is making fun of the degenerated morals of the Bergdamara.

Then she went.

Now while the little Kaffir stays there (hã), the lion comes and says: "Is that (ẽ, interrogative particle) a hunting booty for children (/gõa-)?" and calls (≠gai) all the hyenas (≠hĩra), all the jackals /gĩri-), all the silver jackals (!kχama-), all the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar.) (//ã-) together* (hao) and chases them up the tree (gai

*) hã-, a particle expressing the fact that many things belong together; for instance, Naochomab (David Christian) and his people: ≠naoχoma hãgu.

"to order;" !aba "to climb up"). But they cannot (//oa) climb up.

Then, when (o) the hyena climbed up, the jackal lit (kχau) a fire (/aĕsa).* And the hyena got up (sĩ, with the personal suff.) [425]

*So that it could not come back, but had to climb up.

X539 to the little Kaffir [and] got (hõ) [him] and said: "Why, he is beginning (tsoa tsoa, gum "why"), [to get nice and fat!"] Then the little Kaffir bit (nã) it (si), and it fell (//nã) down (//gonaχa) into (!na) the fire. Then they ran away (kχoẽ "to go," nĩ fut. particle, expressing the anticipation of pursuit).

[Text omitted]

Translation of XVIII

The Lion (χami) and the Little Shit (χau-) Kaffir

When (o) the people (kχoĩn) were going (doẽ) on their wanderings, the little Kaffir refused (ǂkχã, narr. pass.) to go along although (χabe) his mother (//gũsa) seized (ũ, ta after the s is euphonious for ra) him (bi). Then (o with the personal suff. of the subj.) they left him there (literally: "he was let off," χuhe "to drag").

And when the sun (sores) had set (ǂgã), he assembles (sã) old (/oro) hides (lχõna, neut. pl.) and piles them up (double vb.: !nao "to pack," maĩ "to place") and lights (!kχã) a fire (/aẽsa). And while (hĩa with personal suff.) he roasts (am; ta = ra) the hides, the lion (gai!gãba) comes (/kχĩ) and bares his teeth (*//gã) at him (bi). Then the little Kaffir* [said]: "No, no! (hm'm, [426] pro-

*Who in his fearless naivete thinks that the
fang baring of the lion is a flattering grin.

nounced without articulation, an interjection of refusal), so (ti) you think you are going (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to get a taste (tsã)?" (ǂaĩhe, "is thought"), and again (//kχaba) threw (ao) a piece of hide (-ro dimin., ẽ = ĩ personal suff. of the neut. sing.) into (ǂgã) [the fire]. And when the lion bared his teeth again (expressed adjectivally), he said: "You (-ts, masc.) will not (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative) get a taste! Whoever (tariẽ) you (expressed here by the 2nd pers. pl. -go, with the dimin. -ro; the Hottentot would say tariẽtsa etc.) are, who (replaced by the conjunction o) are laughing (aĩ "to laugh"; -ba stresses the

X539 connection with the obj.) at me, I (-ta) will not laugh."

Then the lion scratched (χora) him, and blood (/aob) came out (ǂbaχa), and he licked (tsā) the blood there (//nā). Then the little Kaffir grabbed (ū) a glowing stick (literally: "fire mouth," a piece of wood that is glowing at one end) and set fire (ǂhubi) to the lion. And it died (//ō) in the fire. Then the little Kaffir ate (ō) it (//(e)ī ba) up. And while he eats it, he grows (//kχara). Then his (ã, root of the poss. pron. with the personal suff. of the possessor -ba, masc. sing.) people came (/kχī) along and he goes to (doba) his mother.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XIX

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Goes Out With His Father

The little Kaffir went (!gũng, narr. pass.) out with his father (//gũb), and the two of them found (hō) an eland (!kχansa, ♀): Then the father cleans (!anu !anu) [the place of manure in order to [427] cut up the animal], and as (o) he cleans (ta = ra), then the eland says: "Fff---t."* But the father cleaned (ū "to take") out (ǂui) the

*The narrator is imitating here the hissing snorting of the animal. The old man pays no attention to the snorting of the animal and thinks that it is dead. The little boy recognizes the danger, but keeps quiet in order to play a trick on his father.

excrement (χauna, neut. pl.) in (!na) the anus (tsoas); then the thing (χũisa) leaped (uri and kχaĩ) into the air and hurled itself (actually "sat down" ǂnũ) upon (ai) him (bi).

Then the little Kaffir hurried (!kχoẽ) home (//aru "to go home") and came to the kraal (//gaũs) and said to his mother: "*Sugasũbis (a vulgar term for the eland in imitation of the animal's snorting) and father (*abob, old-fashioned expression for the now customary dãdab),

X539 the two of them have fought (≠gaĩ) with each other (-gu reciprocal) and father was beaten (dã) in the fight," so he spoke to his mother. But the mother does not (toma) understand (//naũ !ã). Then the little Kaffir became angry (//aixa) and [says]: "You,* mother

*Given here in the impolite form with the demon. pron. nẽ and the fem. vocative suff. in order to express thereby the despised slaves' lack of respect toward their parents (which is supposed to be stigmatized in this story).

(? ai- without a suff.), father will not (tite, fut. negative) come (hã) to sleep with you!" (xaẽ, vulgar expression).

[Text omitted]

[428] Translation of XX

The Little Mountain Kaffir and His Mother

(//õa "to bear," gu verbal reciprocal particle ra dual masc.-fem.)

The little Kaffir had gone (!gũng, narr. pass.) with (/kxa) his mother (//gũs) to dig (kxao) [field onions]. Then they met (hõ) a hyena (≠hĩrasa) and the woman (tarasa) stuck the hyena, which lay (//goẽ) sleeping (//om), firmly into (//kxam) (!na) the net (/ũib, see the description on p. 243; the click is misprinted there); and carried (tani) [it] away.

While they were walking (!gũngra go) the little Kaffir [asked]: "Mother! (aise) may (ga, verbal particle of the potential) the anus*

*tsoasa: the anus and the end of the rectum of a freshly killed animal is turned inside out and roasted in the coals.

be mine (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.)" "[That] is [not

X539 for children, but] for (di, gen. particle) fathers,"* [the mother

*) saob "father." The suffix χan does not express, like the plural endings, a number of similar things, but the similarity of several things: saoχan refers to all who have the position of a father; //naoχan to all ancestors, etc.

answers]. Whereupon he (-b): "Then may the feet (!ũtĩ) [of the hyena] be mine (tite - titi)?" And she answered: "[They] are for fathers." Whereupon he: "In just a moment (/ǂse) I (-ta) will (nĩ) cut off (!gao) this (hẽ) stick (haiba) here and clean out [the hyena's] anus!"* And continued: "Mother, may the liver (aĩsa) be mine?"

*) /nuru. The boy knows that the hyena is not dead, as his mother mistakenly believes, and he now seeks to obtain something by threats. The words hĩ, χũ, and χũis -- the latter two corresponding to our "thing umbob" -- are put into the Kaffir's mouth to show his clumsiness in expression. A Hottentot would never speak that way.

But she replied: "It is for fathers."

Then the little Kaffir cut off a stick and cleaned out [the hyena's] thing, its anus. Then it woke up (ǂkχai) and bit (nã) the Kaffir woman (damasa) between the shoulders (ai "in," //hu "hole, depression," //ai "to come together": the depression where the shoulders meet). And the Kaffir woman [called to the hyena in her fear]: "You there (hẽ, here intentionally garbled from nẽ, demon. pron.; ẽ suffix of the neut. sing. 3rd pers.), just (re) wait (//nam) until I (-ta) get you (si) loose (ǂhĩ)!"

[429] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXI

The Mountain Kaffirs Who Turn into Crows

539 The Kaffirs had become (gai, pass.) crows, and after (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle, after //gã "to tie around") they had put on white (!uri) cloths (!kχaiga) (corresponding to the white neck marking of the bird), they arrived (/kχĩ, narr. pass.) with (/kχa) bows (kχãti) and everything (-n, personal suff. neut. pl.).

Then the little Hottentot girl (/gõas "child," -ro dimin.) says: "Oh (ao), what sort of (ǂtarebe) crows are those that are not at all (toma with the suff. of the subj., neut. pl.) like (kχoma "like," ĩ "to seem") the crows of our (sĩda, pron. of the 1st pers. neut. pl. exclusive, used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) country (!hũb)?" But the mother (//gũsa) says: "But (χabe) crows come here (nẽ, demon. root) every (hoa) day (tsẽte), after all (gum . . . o)."

And while (hĩa) the Kaffirs (expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. masc. -gu) were sitting there) (ǂnũ), the sun (soresa) went down (ǂgã, vb.), and the people (kχoẽna, neut. pl.; the Hottentots are intended) slept (//om). But the Kaffirs came and killed (!gam) them.

[Text omitted]

[430] Translation of XXII

The Man Who Went for a Walk (sari) to the Kaffir Kraal

A man came (/kχĩ, narr. pass.) into (ai) the kraal (//gaũs) of the shit Kaffirs (χau- daman, neut. pl.), and he got (ǂau "to present," pass.) a dish of mice (duruna, neut.; favorite dish of the Bergdamara) and got hani-onions; thus he was treated (was done to him, hĩhe). But although (χabe) the people were ready for sleep (//om toa), he nevertheless remained seated (ǂnõa).

X539 Then the Kaffir woman (expressed by the suff. -s) asked: "Hey, you (nẽ, demon., -tse, special form of the suff. for the 2nd pers. masc. sing.), why (tarẽẽ, with the suff. of the pers. addressed) are you still sitting after (tsĩ, ending of the pret. participle) I (tita) have given you field onions, after all (o), and mice (neut. sing.), and have treated you so well?" And he answered: "Well (gum . . . o), I have desires (literally: "I am on the lookout" /gona, -si adj. ending) for (_a, with the personal suff. of the subj.) that which becomes flat (/hãhe, pass., -i suff. of the neut. sing.) when one sits (/nũsi, adj.)."

Then she called (/gai) her daughter and said: "Take (ũ) this man (aoba); and (ẽ) you (-ts, addressed to the man), don't (tã) stick (/gã and ũ) the whole (*horaga = hoaraga) thing (_ũẽ, neut. sing.) in; she is a young (/k am) little (-ro, dimin.) Kaffir girl." But he stuck the whole thing in. Then the girl cried (ã) and the old (gai "big," with the suff. of the relative substantive because it is placed after the noun) Kaffir woman said: "I (-ta) told you (sãtsa), didn't I (gum . . . o): young is the Kaffir girl, don't go in (ao "to throw") with the whole thing!" Thus she spoke (pret. participle) and took the girl.

[431] c) From Family Life and Pastoral Life

538 X539 Folk tale XXIII is in praise of married love. Folk tale XXIV, exceptional in its strictly moralizing form, gives us a view of the duties of the children in the house. Folk tale XXV is perhaps only a fragment.

The legend of the rejected boy whom in the one case (Folk tale XXVI) the bull assists and in the other case (Folk tale XXVII) the cow, and the two folk tales about the stupid fellow (XXVIII and XXIX) are taken from pastoral life.

[432] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXIII

X539 The People Who Go in Search of Rushes

A man (kχoẽb) had taken (!game, narr. pass.) a wife. And the man along with his brother (kχoẽ !gãgukχa) and the wife, the three

X539 of them (tsĩ "and," with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) looked for (õa narr. pass.) rushes (/haruna), so that (ga) the couple (kχoẽra, "people," dual masc.-fem.) might (nĩ) sew (ǂom) [house mats] for themselves (-ba, objectifying particle), [and they went out] with (/kχa) two (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) pack oxen (/garu). And near (doba) the water (//gams) they unsaddled (ǂore "to loosen," !gãb "the back"). Then the two men went (/gũng) along to cut (!gao) rushes, but the woman went to the water to wash (//ã) herself (sen, refl. particle). And when she was busy (sĩ) washing herself, a frog woman (//gũtse-gũbeǂa) came out (!goaχa, vb.) and put on (ana, vb.) the clothes (sarana, neut. pl.) of the (di, gen. particle) woman. Then she said: "Frog, put down (ǂnũi, vb.) the clothes." But the frog said: "No (hm'm), sister (ǂausis, cf. "The Family," p. 301, I (ta suffix) am (hĩ) only (/guisa) trying [them] on." (ana "to put on," tsã "to taste"). And when (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after toa "to cease") the woman had finished washing, she said: "Give (mã) me (te, suff.) the clothes, frog." But it ran away (!kχoẽ- nĩ) and goes there (sĩ) where (-ba) the men unsaddled. But the woman was ashamed (tao) and went (ǂgã) into (!na) the bushes (hais). And the man (expressed by the suff. -b) took the frog woman as his wife in the belief (ǂaĩ, "to think," in the pret. participle form) that it was his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc., di, gen. particle) wife (tarasa).

But when (o) the people (expressed by -n, the suff. of the neut. pl.) went (ta, euphonic for ra) for the rushes, the former (-s in tsĩs, that is, his real wife) comes (/kχĩ) and cleans (!anu !anu) the hut (omsa), washes the dishes (χabana, neut. pl.) and pulverizes (χon) buchu (sãẽ, neut. sing.) and makes butter (//nubu, vb.) [in the] calabash (abasa) and pours out (ǂnã, -ba objectifying particle) some milk (daiẽ, neut. sing.) for the [old] woman (the mother of her husband, who is pictured as blind) and goes. Then one (/gui) day (tsẽ) the old woman said to her big (gaib) son (/gõab): "Hide yourself (go into) in this (nẽ) [433] rush mat (/harub) and (ẽ, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) lie (//goẽ) in it (ǂgana) and watch (ǂan "to know") what person (kχoeẽ) is going about (hã "to be, to remain") here (nẽba). And while (hĩa is used to introduce, like the conjunction o, the protasis as well as the apodosis and has here the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) he was lying there she came. And she

*539 got busy (hã) sitting down (ǂnũ) and takes the calabash, and while she churns (ta - ra), he spit (ǂara) on (ai) her (si, suff. [to make himself noticed]. Then she ran away (//hai- nĩ) and he caught (!kχõ) her, but she said: "Go to the frog woman, you who (sats, masc. personal pron.) have married (in the pret. participle) the frog woman and left me in the lurch." (//nã χu). But he caught her and wants (sĩ, begins to) to take her to the hut and wants to embrace her.

Meanwhile the frog woman [and the man's brother] came up, the two of them. Then the frog woman said: "Help me down."*

*She is sitting on the riding ox and demands
the courtesy of being assisted in getting down.

(ũ //na). But nobody speaks (!hoa) to (ũ) her. Then he took the hippopotamus whip (!nababa) and came forth (ǂoaχa, vb.) and struck (ǂnau) her. Then she leaped (uri) down (//gona) from (χu) the riding ox and [cried]: "I (-ta) am a frog. I paddle (*ǂnãtsabu) in the water." Thus she cried and jumped down (//gõa, vb.) to the water. But when the man had found (hõ) his (ã, root of the poss. pron.; -ba, personal suff. of the possessor) wife, he married his wife [again].

[Text omitted]

[434] Translation of XXIV

The Girl Who Curses the Kaffir

A girl (/gõas, with the old demon. suff. -i) said to a mountain Kaffir (damab), when (o) he came (hã) to sit down (ǂnũ) before (ai) the door (ams) of the hut (oms, fem.): "Like (kχoma) the calf (tsaũb), that stands (mã) in front of (ais, "face") the hut (omi, masc.) of my mother (ais), so disproportionately long (*ǂnama) is your penis." (χãba) (*ũ, vituperative particle). And takes (ũ) ashes (tsaoba) from (ǂui) [the hearth] bestrews (tsoro, narr. pass.) him with (/kχa) ashes.

539 Then the older (gai, "big," adj. with the personal suff. because it follows the substantive) girls say: "Consider (≠an "to know," nĩ, fut. particle) that he is an adult." (kχoēē "big person," neut. sing. with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed, -s fem.). But he replied: "Never mind (//nãχu, [435] "to desist"), she speaks this way out of (!ama) foolishness (gãb = gãsesib), so (χuigye) [let her go]."

And early (//goaga) the next (ǂnau) morning the girls (expressed by -ti, the suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. fem.) went (!gũng) swimming (tsã). But when they had undressed (≠gaĩ ǂχui) themselves (sen, refl. particle) and had gone down (//gõa) into (!na) the water (//gams), the Kaffir (expressed by the personal suff. -b in ob at the beginning of the sentence) took (ũ) their (ã, root of the poss. pron. with the personal suff. of the possessors -ti) clothes (sarana) away. And only (/gui, with the personal suff. of the obj.) when they came out (≠oaχa), did they see (mũ) the Kaffir. Then they came (hã) up and said: "My grandfather (ti //naob, respectful form of address), give (nã) me (te, suff.) my hemmed* (//gam, an attribute of the back apron which

* The back apron is occasionally decorated with chains of beads.

is decorated with chains of beads; cf. p. 408) back apron (!gũs) and my front apron (!gaēb), all of that." And he gave it to them (ti, suff.), but to the one (-sa, personal suff.) who had cursed (/goē, with the personal suff. of the subj.) him (//(e)ĩba, pron.), he said: "First (aibe) run and (ẽ, with the personal suff.) pick (sĩ "go," !ora "to pick," with the objectifying particle -ba) me some thorns (//kχũga) near the giraffe tree (//ganab) that stands (mã) over there (//nã)!" Then she ran and picked and came (/kχĩ) back with them (ũ). But the Kaffir grabbed (!kχõ) her (si, suff.) and stuck (≠kχom) [her limbs so firmly together that she could not move] with the thorns. Then he lifted (ao "to throw," ǃaba "to climb up") her up into the giraffe tree and went away.

Then her people (ãsa kχoĩn) came (doē) past (ĩ), and first the two grandparents (//naosa = nao-, ro personal suff.) come by. Then the girl called: "My grandparents there (ǂnau, demon. root, -ro suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc.-fem.), look (gum - - - - o, interjection), the root (ǂnomab) of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened,"*

* maĩ "to place," ǂtan-tan-tan- "to hold

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someone fast against his will." I heard this strange word also in the following connection: a messenger who kept someone waiting a long time was received with the words: "tareē tan-tan-tan maĩ tsi hã̄ i?" The same expression was used to a pair of dogs that was inextricably entangled in copulation.

But the grandparents answered: "I had told you (sa, suff.), girl: please (re, optative particle) pour (ǂuri, with the objectifying particle -ba) out some water (neut. sing.) for me, [and you did not listen.]" Thus they said and went away.

[436] Then the two servants (!gã̄ra) of her di gen. particle) mother (//gũ̄s) come by, and the girl called: "You servants of my mother who are coming along (garu) there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." But they answered: "Didn't I tell you, girl: milk the after-milk (/gubi, vb. with objectifying particle) for me, let (ẽ "and," imperative) me (-ta, suff.) pour water in (ǂnã̄; see p. 258), [and you did not do it?]" They said it (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) and went.

Then the parents (//gũ̄ra) came along, and the girl called: "Venerable parents (aboǂaro, dual masc.-fem.) who are coming along there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." But they answered: "Didn't I tell you, girl: straighten up (*!haibe, vb.) the hut for me, [and you did not obey]?" They said it and went away.

Then the sisters came by, and the girl called: "You (-so, suff. of of the 2nd pers. pl. fem.) children of my father (dãdab) who are coming along there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." But they answered: "We (seg(o)m = sig(o)m, pron. of the 1st pers. fem. pl. in the exclusive form) told you, girl: know that he is an adult." They said it and went.

Then her two (-kǂa, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc.) brothers came, and she called: "My brothers (-kǂo, suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc., !gã̄- = !gãsa-) who are coming along there, look, the root of the giraffe tree holds me firmly fastened." Then they hurried (!kǂoẽ) up and came there and lifted her (//(e)ĩs, pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem., di, gen. particle) calf* (tsãũba) up, and the calf

*The brothers, out of a feeling of shame,

*539

do not help their sister themselves because she is naked. Hence also the assistance of the bitch.

(expressed by the personal suff. -b in tsĩb) brought the girl down (ũ //nã, vb.). But the brothers sat down (pret. participle) behind (ai "in," !gãb "the back") the tree (hais), and a bitch (arisa) pulled the thorns out (!ora) of her. And when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -n, neut. pl.) the thorns had been pulled out of her completely (tao "to cease," in the pass., referring to the girl, as the suffix -s indicates), they went away.

[437] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXV

The Woman Who Kills Her Two Brothers

The fire (/aẽs) had gye gye, verbal particle of the pret.) married (!game, pass.) the lion (χama = χami, ♂) and had moved (//ã, vb.: the moving of a young wife from her parental home to the husband's house; again passive in force) to his kraal with him. Then (o with the personal suff. of the subject in the dual masc. -kχa) the two brothers (gãsakχa) [of the fire] went (!gũng) to (//ga) her (//(e)ĩs) and came there (sĩ). Then she (-s personal suff. of the fem. sing., added to o, points to the subj. of the sentence, which in Hottentot is fem.) let (gai) the two of them (-kχã, acc.) lie (//goẽ) behind (ai "to, after," !gãb "back") the hut (oms). And while (hĩa) they lie there (//nãba), the lion came (/kχĩ) and kills (!gam) them. Then the guinea hen (/kχinasa) wept (a): " //gananab //gãb //gãb (imitation of the cry), the fiery (/aẽbe) cloud daughter* is killing her (//(e)ĩs, personal pron.

* Literally: /nanusa "cloudable," //nuris "niece" (see p. 302). This is an intimation of lightning--one of the rare cases of pathos in Hottentot.

of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.; here used in the sense of the poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle di) brothers."

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[Text omitted]

[438] Translation of XXVI

The Boy Who Lives With His Sister

A boy (ǂǁab) lived (hã́ "to remain," narr. pass.) with (/kǁa) his sister (!gãsasa). And when (o) they (-ra, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc.-fem., attached to the obj.) milk (ao) the cows (gomate), she (-s, personal suff. after tsĩ at the beginning of the sentence) hits (ǂnau) him (bi, personal suff.) there (//nã) with the stick (hais) with (ũ) which she chases away (ǂnau !oa) the calves (tsaũna) [from the cows]. And when she gives (mã, ta = ra) him milk (daiẽ), he (-b in tsĩb) only gets a little (ǂkǁari) sip of milk (-ro, dimin.) poured out (ǂnã, -ba objectifying particle), and water (//gama) is used to fill up the rest (/oa), and he lies (//goẽ) outside (!auga) on (ai) the ashes (tsaos).

[439] Then one (/gui) day (tsẽ) the bull (//gõba) said: "to (doba, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) me (tita, pron.) you must (nĩ, fut. particle) come (/kǁĩ) when you are watching (!ũi, ga particle of the potential) the calves; let (ẽ "and," imperative) me (expressed emphatically by the suff. and the pron.) give you (tsi, suff.) nourishment (ǂũ)." And the boy, when he was watching the calves, went (sĩ) to the bull. And the bull told (gai) him to go (ǂgã) into (!na) one of his feet (!ũa, sing.). He went in there and found (ũ "to take") nourishment (ǂũna, neut. pl.) and a pot (sũis), all of that (tsĩ and -na, suff. of the neut. pl.). Then he came out (ǂoraǁa, not ǂoaǁa) to cook (saĩ); and when he had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff.) cooking, he cleaned (!anu !anu) the pot and went with it [into the foot of the bull] and came out (ǂoaǁa, vb.) and went home (//aru, vb.) after (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after ũ) he had assembled (literally: "taken") the calves.

But one day the sister said to her daughter (ǂ/gõasisa = /gõas): "You (-s, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. fem. after !gũng "to go") must go along once with this (nẽ) boy, then (ẽ, with the personal suff.) watch (gõ) what (tarets, with the personal suff. of the subj.) he eats." (ǂũ, ta = ra, !kǁaiẽ, particle of indirect question). And the two

x539 went and got there just when (hĩ'a) the bull was standing in the shade (!haũ, "the shade-seeking of cattle during the hot hours of the day." mã "to stand") under (ǃgao) a giraffe tree (//ganas). Then the boy lit (kχ'au) a fire (/aẽsa) and went [into the bull's foot] and got nourishment and came out to cook; and when he had finished cooking, he cleaned the pot and went in with it and came back out again. Then the two went home. And when the daughter got there, she told (mĩ'ba) her mother (//gũsa): "He goes into the bull and he brings out (ǂũi) a pot and nourishment -- all of that (hã, copulative vb. in enumerations; see the footnote on p. 424), and when he has cooked (participial construction) he eats."

Then when the cattle (gomana, neut. pl.) had come [from the fields], the bull stood behind (kχ'ao ǃgã̃) the hut. Then the sister said, while the bull was listening (//nau, with the personal suff.): "You (-ta, suff. of the addressed pers. in the 2nd pers. masc.) kill (ǂnoa ǃan) this bull." Thus she said to (//ga) her (ã̃, root of the poss. pronoun, -a personal suff. of the possessor) husband (aob). Then the bull said to the boy: "Your (sa, stem of the 2nd pers. of the personal pron., [440] used in the sense of the poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) sister said: "I am supposed (hã̃ "to let") to be shot," he told (ǃhoa) the boy; "Therefore, (hũgye) we (-kχ'um, suff. of the 1st pers. masc. dual) shall (nĩ', fut.) to flee (bẽ) this evening (nẽ ǃoẽ)." And in the night (tsũ'χuba) the two of them (-kχ'a, suff. of the dual masc.) fled.

But the bull goes (ǃkχ'ã̃) bulls to death. And then the boy takes the oxtails (/hã̃'te, fem.) there (//nã̃), and with the oxtails he bought (//ama) a wagon (gunisa), bought oxen, thus he did (hĩ'). Then he sold (//amaχ'u) the bull, and with the profit (literally: "With the things, wares," χ'ãna "of the" di "bull") he obtained (ũ) wares for selling. Then the bull came back (//kχ'abe) to him (//(e)ĩ'b, pron.), and they went away and sold to the people.

Then the sister also came (hã̃) in order to buy. But he demanded (ǂgan) a very (-gai "large," -se adverbial ending) high (/gabise) [price]. Thereupon she asked: "Why (tarets ǃama) do you demand, when I buy, at (gõee) such a (//nĩ'ti) height?" But he answered: "What (χ'ũna) you (sas, pron.) had done (dĩ') to me, I have not (toena) forgotten (/uru) indeed (gum - - - o)." Then she knew (ǂan) that (ǃkχ'aiĩ') it was (literally: "is," a) the brother.

[Text omitted]

[441] Translation of XXVII

X539

The Boy Who is Left With Strangers

A woman (taras), when (o) she moved away (doē, narr. pam.), left her boy (axaba) behind (!goro, narr. pam.) with [strange] people (hxoña, neut. pl.) and left (//nāxu, narr. pass.) a cow (gomaas) so that (ga) it might (mī, fut. particle) suckle (ā "to drink," dai "to suck"; -si gives the double vb. a causative sense) the boy with milk.

But the people buried (//han, "to put leather in damp soil in order to soften it." !gā "on, i.e. to throw dirt on [him]") the boy in (!na) a hole (āb), and when (o) they slaughter (ǂā) cattle (/goana, with the personal suff. of the subj. -n, neut. pl.), they throw (taoro "to pour") the manure from the guts (/haraba) upon (ai) his (āb) head (tamab). Then the cow roars (ā): "My Hoab (!hōab, name of the child, -se, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. corresponding to a vocative ending), I am after all (gumo) the cow of your mother (saos) with the small (ǂkxari) breast (sami). My Hoab, your mother tells (mī) me, [I am supposed to suckle you]." Thus she roars.

Then the people went away and left (xu) him there after (-tsī, particle of the pret. participle after ū "to take") they had taken away the cow. But the cow hurried (!kxoē) back (oa "to turn around") and came up (hā, vb.), dug (xoro) him out (ǂui), and they went away.

And the two brothers (!gākxa, dual) of the (di, gen. particle) boy just happened (hā, with the personal suff. of the subj.) to be guarding (!ūi) the cattle (/goana), and the younger one had gone to drive back (//kxaē) [the goats]. Then he saw (mī) the boy (hi, personal suff. "him"), and when he came back he told (mī "to say," -ba objectifying particle) his brother: "I met (hā "to find") a ghost (//gaūba)." [442] Then the other said: "Come (/kxī), let (o) us (-kxaim, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. dual) go then (//nai); let me see (gō) the ghost there (//nā)."

And the two went and got there. Then the cow sang (//nai): "My Hoab, behold, I am the cow of your mother with the small breast. My Hoab, your mother tells me that I am supposed to suckle you." Now they knew (ǂhan) what was what and recognized (mū "to see,"

X539 ǂâ "to explain clearly") the cow and took the boy and gave him milk (daiß, neut. sing.) and set (ǂnūi) him on a billy goat (b(i)rib) and went home (//aru, vb.) with (ū) him.

[Text omitted]

[443] Translation of XXVIII

The Two Brothers

Two brothers (kxoēb "human being," ǃgāb "brother," -gu reciprocal particle expressing their relationship, -kxa dual masc.) were watching over (ǃūi, narr. pass.) the cattle (/goana, neut. pl.) once upon a time (gyere). Then the elder (gaiba, "the big one"), while (hĩa) the cattle stayed (hã) with (/kya) the younger one (/kyami, "the young one"), [went] to look for (ũa) food (ũina, neut. pl.). And while he was (ǃgoakxa) on the way with the bowl (ǃoes) full (/oa) of food, he saw (mu) his (ã, root of the poss. pron., -ha personal suff. of the possessor) shadow (aoms) and said: "What (tas, abbreviated from taras) are you (-tas, suff.) looking for" and gave (mã) [the shadow] a (/gui) piece of meat (//gans, neut. sing.) and went (ǃgũng).

And once again (//kxaba) he turned around ("he moved himself" gun, "backwards" kxaoǃgã). Then he saw [his shadow] again and said: "Hey you, (nã, demon. particle, -tas suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. vocative), that is not (toms) my (ti) food." He spoke,

"That is: "Therefore I cannot actually give you any of it."

gave it again a piece of meat and went.

And once again he turned around and called: "For the sake of (ǂnã) food which is not mine you are persistently running after (sao "to follow," mã "to stand") me (te, suff.). Take (ū) the bowl and everything [444] (hoas "completely") and go away (oa)!" So he said, gave it (hi, suff.) the bowl and went.

*539 Then he came (ǂĕ) back and [the brother] said: "Where (maba) is the food?" And he answered: "To this person here (literally: "who is sitting there," ǂnõa) I (-ta suff.) have given everything (toa "to end")." Then the other said: "You (ta...taa, pron.) idiot (gare, adj.), why (gum...o), it is your (sa) shadow, that is all (ǂabe)." He spoke and went.

And while he was gone (/kǂai), the other cut (!gao) open (-ǂa) the throats (domi) of all the cattle. Then the other came (/kai) back and asked (tẽ): "Why (tarei "!gao) did you cut the throats of the cattle?" But he answered: "Since (0, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they did not want (ǂgao) to stand still (literally: "to sit"), I cut their throats; oh (o), I was tired (taau) [and did not want to run any farther]!" Whereupon the other: "That is a fine thing you have done (literally: "you are doing a great thing there"). Therefore ("huigye) get up (kxaĩ) and (ẽ, imperative) let us both (-kǂaum) run away (!kǂoẽ and bẽ, verbs)."

So they went and came to the kraal (//gaũs) of the Boers. There he saw fat (//mĩẽ, neut. sing.) standing in (!na) a container (ǂabas) and put (ǂgẽ) his hand (!oma, euphonious masc. ending) in; but the container did not want to let it happen (ĩ) that it could come out again (ǂoaǂa). Then he broke (ǂnau) it (ti, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.) in two, (!ã vb.) on (ai) a stone (/uis). Then the two of them went.

And they came to a tree (haisa, literally: "a tree was seized"), to a broad one (ǂhabãsa). Then they saw men coming (!goaǂa) [the kind] who kill (!gam) people and take people's money (marĩa, neut. pl.). Then they climbed (!aba) up the tree. But the others came up, came into the shadow (here masc.) of the (di, gen. particle) tree, deathly (//õ, vb.) thirsty ("//gã, vb., -ti, adj. ending), and lay down ("came up" hã, "to lie down" //goẽ).

Then the young one (indicated by the suff. -b) urinated (/kǂam) on them; but they said: "The Lord" (!kũib) has given us (gye, suff.

* That is, God. The narrator has come into contact with Christianity. Here he is clearly making fun of the conception that all happenings, even the revolting, are the ordinance of a benevolent god. Also, the technique of putting pious words into

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the thieves' mouths as well as their foolish
fear under the mask of piety is biting satire.

of the 1st pers. pl. masc.) water (//gamē, neut. sing.)," and drank (ā). Then [445] in turn he defecated (ǂxau); but they said: "The Lord has given us food," and ate (ǂū).

Thereupon they take out (ǂui) their money, pour (ǂnūi "to set") it on hides (ǂgoati) and count (!gōa) it. Then the young one threw (ao) down (//nā, "to fall") a stick (!naosa); but they cried: "The Lord is falling (!kǂom) upon us," left their money behind (ǂu, vb.) and ran away (!kǂoē-uī). Now the two of them climbed down (//gōaǂa, vb.), took the money and went.

Now the older one was told (gai, "to command") by (ǂa) a Boer to go and carry away a calabash (ababa). "Three (!noma) pieces of money (fem. pl.) I (-ta) will give you (tsi)," was said to him, and he went off with it (ū).

And as he was going, he said [to himself]: "If (o) I ever (ga, with potential force) get (hō) sons (/gōab, -ro dimin.) I intend to name (mmi "thus") one (/guiba) the "firstborn" (ǂgūro, "the first") and to give him a piece of money, and to give the second one (gam //(e)ība) the second piece of money, and to give the third one the third piece; and if a fourth one (haga //(e)ib) should come, then like this -- the narrator makes a violent motion of repulsion -- I will chase (ǂnoa "to throw away," ǂgō "to shoo off") him to the Devil with this calabash." Thus [he spoke].

Then the calabash shattered (!kǂōa), but he was captured (!kǂō) by the Boers.

[Text omitted]

[446] Translation of XXIX

The Two Brothers Who Were Tending the Cattle

Two brothers were tending (!ūi, narr. pass.) the cattle (/goana) of white men (/hūn, neut. pl.). And one day (/gui tsē) when (o) the goats (biriti, fem.) groaned (/gaē), the older one (gaiba, "big")

537 said (in the pret. participle): "They are predicting death (ǂ/goǂa, vb.) for me (tita)," and cut (!gaoǂa) their throats (domi). But the younger one (ǂkxama) said: "Oh (ǀ), they (-ti, personal suff.) have eaten (!ũ "to graze") themselves full (//ã); for that reason indeed (gum---o) the goats talk that way!" But while (hĩa) he spoke thus, (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the other had already (toa, narr. pass.) with the throat-cutting. Then they took (ũ) the meat (//gama) and went away (!gũng).

And they came (ti) to (doba) Boers. But these poured (taoro) out (ǂu) rice and ordered (gai) the two of them (-kxã, suff. in the dat.-acc.) to pick it up (aĩ kxaĩ). But while (hĩa has the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they were picking it up, white (!uri) crows (gorate) came (/kxã) and helped (hui) them pick it up, and the sack (//hõas) became full (toa "to become finished"). - - - - - - - -

Here the narrator stopped and, without any evident connection with the preceding, continued:

Then the father (ĩba) of the girl (kxoǂ'a) whom the snake (/aoh) had taken as a wife (!game) said: "Run and (ẽ, with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) go to the kraal (//gaũs) of the snake in order to fetch (ũba) me (te, suff.) my (ti) child (õasa)."

And he got there at the time when the snake was gone (/kxai) and questioned (tẽ) [the girl]. She said: "He [that is, the snake] will (nĩ) come right away (/ãe)." Then he asked her: "Where (maba, with the personal suff.) does his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron., di gen. particle) strength (/gaisa) sit (ǂũĩ)?" "In (ai) the forehead (!ũs) sits (ǂũõa) his (ĩ, originally a vb.: "to belong"; now a poss. ending) strength," answered the girl.

[447] And when the snake came (hã, with the personal suff.) he transformed himself (gai, vb.) into an ant (ǂgoberu-b) and climbed (doẽ, "to wander," !aba "to climb up") upon his forehead and sucked (/gom) out (ǂui) his (ã, root of the poss. pron., -he personal suff. of the possessor) strength, took (pret. participle) the girl and went home (//aru).

d) Haintsibeb Myths

538 Hai-tsiai-bens is the Hottentot name for the group of folk tales
TNC about a hero of former times, to whom, just a few decades

538 ago (66), they still erected grave mounds in remote districts (cf.
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66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

"burial customs," p. 317) in the form of stone heaps upon which a passerby placed a stone or twig in the hope that he might be rewarded by finding a good path and water.

If the hypothesis should be confirmed that the Hottentots at a later date transplanted Haitsiaibeb to the sky as the moon (78), then the

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

moon myth (Folk tale XXX) would also have to be included in this group. The text that I heard narrated deviates from the one published by Th. Hahn in that the louse that is caught by the hare in his story is missing in mine.

Attempts have been made to interpret a legendary figure that the Hottentot calls tsũ//goab as an expression of an idea of God; Kroenlein (57) translates this supposed Hottentot god-concept as "the

57. J. G. Kroenlein. Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

one who is difficult (tsũ-/) to entreat (//goa)." According to my conviction such a derivation is linguistically inadmissible. For the first word stem, as I have convinced myself again and again, is not tsũ-/, but rather tsũ-ʔ, as it occurs in tsuʔi-"to wound." Older authors have indeed heard and written down not tsũ//goab, but tsuiʔgoab. Since in the formation of compound words the accent that was characteristic of the single word is frequently lost in favor of the new word accent (see p. 362), it cannot be determined whether the second root of our word is //goa-"to entreat" or //go-as "knee." But according to all that is known about the meaning of tsũ-ʔ, the latter interpretation is by far the most probable. I believe that in this point the missionary Kroenlein was a bad influence on the linguist Kroenlein, and on the basis of my

538
776 own text I concur with Th. Hahn's derivation, according to which ǂgoab signifies something like "wounded knee": the designation for a hero who is wounded in the knee in battle. It is quite another question whether this hero, as is suspected, is identical with the above-mentioned Haitsiaibeb.

In view of the great veneration that is paid to ancestors, it is understandable that the Hottentot swears by the name of "Wounded Knee": "tsũ-ʔ//goa-ao !" [448] I have also often heard the exclamation of astonishment corresponding to our "my God!": "tsũ-ʔ//goatse !"

In Folk tale XXXI there figures as an enemy of mankind a being that the Hottentots designated to me as "ǂgã-ʔǂgori-b because he is supposed at one time to have hurled (ǂgori-) people head over heels abruptly ("ǂgãʔ, vb.) down into a pit, until the jackal stopped his actions. The monster then arises from death and boasts of his immortality. But I suspect that the text published by Bleek (in which Haitsiaibeb figures as the savior and the immortal) is the older one and I therefore heard only vague memories of the now almost forgotten group of tales about Haitsiaibeb.

In tales I heard the "Hurler" himself called only "!U-ǂriseb's father." I ran into his proper name, however, once in a figure of speech by which a Hottentot was protesting about a hard jostling: "ǂgãʔǂgoribits ga goma a ǂhaǂmrihe !" "May you be knocked down by the Hurler!" (the final i in ǂgoribits is equivalent to ǁa "by, "-ts "you," ga is a potential particle, goma makes the curse a sort of commission to the monster, a is a present particle, "ǂhaǂm "to knock down," -ri means as much as "against" in "to bump against," he pass. particle).

[Text omitted]

X539

Translation of XXX

The Moon and the Hare

The moon (//kx̃ãb) sent (ĩ, probably in the narr. pass. see p. 392; ǁa demon. particle, i auxiliary vb.; verbal particle of the

[539] pret.) the hare (!õasa fem.) away: "Announce (mĩ "to speak," -ba stresses a relation to the obj.: "to report") to mankind (kxoʃna, neut. pl) that they should do (ẽ "and," imperative, with the personal suff. of the subj. -n, neut. pl.) just as (kxomi) I (ĩta) do (hĩ, -ra verbal particle of progressive action), pass away (//õ) [and] reappear (!gã)." Thus (tumi) the hare was commissioned (sĩhe, here probably a true pass.).

And (0, with the fem. personal suff.) the hare [said]: "As my (ti) grandfather (//naob, respectful term for the moon) does (ta euphonious for ra), so [you, too] pass away and reappear (imperative). That is my commission (goma, interjection). When (0) he, however (tsĩ with personal suff.) spoke (mĩ) thus, then the boys [cried]: "What (tarẽ) are you (-s in tis) saying (ta euphonious for ra) there (ti "so, thus")?" Then said the hare (indicated by the s in os): "Just as I do--thus goes my commission--so [you, too] shall die goggle-eyed."

"The hare, therefore, intimidated by the boys who interrupt him, proclaims just the opposite of what the moon had ordered him: As the moon sets, so people were to die.

Then he goes home (//aru, vb.) and comes (sĩ) [to the moon]. And the moon questioned (tẽ) him (si, personal suff.); he, however, remained silent ("speaks" kxom "not" toma), well knowing (ǂan, tsĩ verbal particle of the pret. participle) that (!kxaiẽ) he had (go, verbal particle of the pret.) lied (ǂhumi, with the personal suff. of the subj.). Then the moon shattered (ǂnau "to beat," ǂari "to burst") his mouth (ams)."

[525]

"Ever since hares have had a "harelip" on their upper lip.

[Text omitted]

[450] Translation of XXXI

Uriseb's Father

Uriseb's father (ĩb) digs (kxao, narr. pass.) a pit (ãba) and has

x539 (gai, narr. pass.) the people (kǂoēna) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aēba) and throws (ao) them down (//nā) into (!na) the pit and sets (!kǂā) them on fire (ǂhubi "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (0) a person comes (/kǂī), he chases (!kǂoē) after (ū) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -ī) round about (//namibe, vb.) the pit and shoves (ǂhā) him down into (ǂgā "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gui tsē) the jackal came, after (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (ǂkǂau) himself (-sen, refl. particle) with fat (//nuiba) and had made himself wet (/ã /ã); and the two of them (-kǂa, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (ǂkǂanu) and fell (//nā) down (//gona) [himself] and burned up (kǂau). Then the jackal went home (//aru, vb.).

But the other dies (//ō) and comes to life again (!gã) and eats (ǂũ) from the Nais bush and [sings]: "Bury (//kǂō) me (te, suff.), won't you (re), me, Uriseb's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gai, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nais bushes." "I (-ta, suff.), Uriseb's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

e) Animal Tales

538 825 776 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gaũa·b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being steps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hastens with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gaũa·b can also assume animal form. [451] Such a klipspringer, jackal or

538 whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The
825 being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he
776 would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

538 The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not
825 lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the transferral of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of stupidity; with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases when it is linked with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII), in these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as in the adventure of the jackal with the Boers (XXXIX), the sly fox is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment. When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI), the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft. But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impertinently and conceitedly (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too domineering with the flamingo family (Folk tale XLII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

538 one (the lion) [452] (Folk tales XLIV and XLV); and even more so
825 in cases when he is taking vengeance for injustices that he has suffered personally (XLVI); and most of all in cases when he breaks the tyranny of the strong simultaneously as an avenger and benefactor of all weak people (XLVII).

The jackal's slyness is regarded from the humorous side when, as both referee and liberator, he teaches the serpent and the porcupine a lesson (XLVIII).

The jackal appears as a Don Juan with varying luck: successfully in the salacious Folk tale XLIX and as the cheated lover in Folk tale L, where he falls in love with the sun.

Next to the jackal the lion is most sharply characterized and humanized in the tales. Everywhere hate or ridicule are showered upon him. He is hated because of his brutality, which makes him the murderer of his own children from the marriage with the ostrich (LI) and because of his violence, which makes it unpleasant even for the peaceful baboon to be his neighbor (LII). In consequence, his punishment overtakes him all the more easily, the more he considers himself superior to the others: even the little aro-lizard leads him around by the nose (LIII). And at the same time he is so lecherous that he does not hesitate to feign illness in order to rape his masseuse (LIV).

He is ridiculously conceited about his power and considers himself invincible. He has to be taught better by the ostrich (LV) and even by the little steinbok (LVI). The silver jackal pays him back so well for his arrogance that his sham authority finally loses all its glory (LVII).

The theme of the triumph of guile and skill of the weak over the crude superior strength of the stronger is constantly repeated in Hottentot tales in ever-new variations and animal portraits. One of the best tales, one that gives us deep insight into the emotional life of the Hottentots in its most varied aspects is LVIII, which deals with the fly and the elephant. Furthermore, the story telling how the "dwarf" frees himself from the tyranny of the elephant is, despite all anthropomorphization of conditions, still kept close to the animal's manner of living (LIX).

As in the preceding stories the fly and the "dwarf" in the two following tales, a bird about the size of a black-bird, called

538 gã·/tsi/ha·mabes, plays the part of the weaker party. However, it
825 is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX); in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.; Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

136 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this op-
538 portunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, ǂkxaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lesson), the giraffe, !naǂb.
(3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), the rock-rabbit, !aũb.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), the eland, !kxans.
(5.) Antodorcas euchore Zimmerm., the springbok, //gũb.
Folk tale name, ǂhãeb.
6. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thumberg), the steinbok, !aris.
(7.) Ovis aries L. platyura, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gomab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, !goreb.
(10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, hãb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gai!gãba, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, /garub.

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13. Canus mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal, /gīrib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti !gã /haisetse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ũsgyeb.

[454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, ǂhĩras (specifically *ǂnũbe ǂhĩras), also called "my sister Pointed Run," ti !gã ǂgõbese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.

15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, !kχamab, hunters' name: *ǂgaihetoma·b (see p. 283); puzzling folk tale name: *hoagye-!gã·hãkχoĩ sõab, that is "the son (õab) of the sister (!gãs, kχois, "woman") of all (hoa) [mankind] (gye and hã, verbal particle)."

16. Felis caffra Desm., the wildcat, /hõab.

17. Mellivora ratel (Sparrm), the honey badger, /harebab.

18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), [Mierkatze], the "dwarf" /ẽb (specifically: *!uri/ẽb).

(19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.

20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, !noab.

21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 285), !õas.

22. Papio porcarius (Boddaert), the baboon, /nẽrab.

23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: hubais and hĩngatu·bus. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: batsibab.

24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, *gãtsin/hamabes.

(25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kχinas.

26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala-migob (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).

27. Gallus domesticus Boiss, domestic chicken, hũnors (borrowed).

28. Corvus scapulatus Daud., white crow, gorab or !uri gorab.

29. Python sebae, python, *gai/aob. The rudiments of the rear [825] extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also *go/ma-ǂkχa·raseb, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python *!ga·/nigyen!gũ/b because the animal squeezes its prey to death (!ga/ni) and because his "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (!gũ/b).

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30. Psammophis notostictus, sand snake, sanugyeõ aseb.

31. Varanus spec.[1], iguana, !no/na b, *//nareb in the Bergdamara dialect.

[455] 32. Agama spec. (A. atra Daud. or A. planiceps Peters). Aro lizard, !aro b.

33. A Lacertidae, related to a Scapteira, /gabestau b.

34. Pelomedusa glaeata (Schoepff), a tortoise that lives in slimy water and therefore smells bad. The general term for tortoise is //kχuri· b.

35. Batrachia anura of various species, insofar as they can be included within the general term "frog," //gũ·/tsi//gũ·/bes. [Fig. --Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gĩ·rib.]

36. Muscidae of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "fly," /gĩna·s.

37. Orthoptera of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "grasshopper," *≠nã≠!au/s; because of their hopping movements the grasshoppers are compared to a girl who dances (≠nã≠) and rages (*!au/).

[456] 38. Orthoptera from the families of the Hetrodidae and Stenopelmatidae; to the latter belongs the type of Maxentius called /kχu·nitsi//kχu·meb, that is "glutton belly."

39. Coprophage Lamellicornier from the group Scarabaeinae, types of "dorbeetles." The dorbeetle is called χau·tsi//ga·≠mabeb because of its burrowing movements in dung: he nestles up to the dung (χaub) exactly as one lies down at night (*//ga≠ma·) close to the fire. The buzzing sound of his wings is compared in the tales to the bass of the reed pipes. In folk tales the dung beetle appears under the name ≠anagye≠gaieb.

(40.) Formicidae, ants, ≠goberu·gu.

[1] [German "der Lequan", In English more commonly called Monitor. —Analyst]

1: Schultze--248A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX16 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gī·rib.

[p. 459]

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[Text omitted]

[457] Translation of XXXII

The Jackal and the Hyena Who Take Away the Ants' Two Cows

The hyena and the jackal were tending (!ũí, narr. pass.) the cattle (/goana, neut. pl.). And they came (sī) to (doba) thorn trees (//kχũti) and looked for haira resin for themselves (hare). Then the hyena said: "Brother Pale, look (gō) after the cattle, won't you (re)." Then the jackal looks and says: "They are lying (//goë) together in the shade" (!haũ, vb.: the assembling of the cattle seeking shade in the hot hours of the day). Thus he said, although (χabe) the cattle had run away (bẽ, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) and continued*: "Sister Pointed Run, did you (-s fem. personal suff., after

*This dialogue (cf. Folk tale XXXV), in which two scoundrels, each with the same mischief in mind, cautiously sound each other out without, however, admitting their designs openly at first, is characteristic of the crafty character of the Hottentot.

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≠aĩ "to think") have in mind what I had in mind?" And the hyena answered: "I had it in mind." Whereupon the jackal: "Let (hã) us (-m, derived from im, the suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.-fem.) then seek (õa) the cattle and (ẽ) go away to slaughter (≠ã) * together (-gu)."

*) ≠agu also has the meaning "to slaughter a roast for a wedding." The word is to be understood in this sense here also; the hyena's subsequent request for copulation is linked to it. In the legends the jackal always appears as a man and the hyena, with few exceptions (for instance in XXXIV where it figures as a stupid bridegroom) as a woman.

539 Then the two of them went and found a white (!uri) and a black (ǂnũ) cow. Then the jackal said: "The white one is mine" (ti, stem of the 1st pers. of the personal pron., -sa adj. ending), and the hyena said: "The black one is mine"; then they slaughtered. Now the jackal put (ǂnũi, narr. pass.) the hyena under (!gũ, "to cover") the damp (/ã̃) hides (kχõ̃ra, fem. dual), cooked (saĩ̃ narr. pass.)

*After he had persuaded her that she was sick and must therefore subject herself to the customary wrapping in hides (see the chapter on "Medicine," p. 223).

[the meat out] and poured (tsoro, narr. pass.), after (tsĩ̃, verbal particle of the pret. participle after χorohe) he had dug (χoro, narr. pass.) a hole (ãb), the pieces of fat (gauga, masc. pl.) into (!na) the [458] hole [in order to conceal them]. Then he gives (mã̃, narr. pass.) the hyena two little lean (/hai "pale, juiceless") pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -ro dimin., -ra dual fem.) and urine (/ũb). Then she said: "My Brother Pale, of (χa "from, of") what (*taĕĩ = tareĕ) does the fat (//nũiĕ, neut. sing.) taste (tsã̃) this way?" (//nãti). Whereupon the jackal: "Oh (kχa) my sister, I (-ta) do not (toma) understand (//naũ̃ "to hear," !ã "to explain clearly") what is wrong with the fat."

Now the jackal saw the ants (ǂgoberugu) coming up* and slipped

*In connection with the jackal and the hyena's cattle theft the Hottentots have introduced the figure of an Orthoptera that they call: /kχu·nitsi//kχu·meb; when the ants noticed the theft, they assembled all able-bodied men for the pursuit. But the grasshopper [Fig. -- Maxcentius Stal spec., aff. pinguis Wlk. ♀ (Stenopelmetidae). 9/10ths natural size.] replied: "nẽta ra hã̃ tsĩ̃ /gõ̃an doba //hao dain χa ra ã̃!" "I will stay here and drink with my children the milk of the flower-time." (The time of the best

1; Schultze--250A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Maxentius Stal spec., aff. pinguis Wlk. ♀

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grazing). In the punishment for this she grew so tremendously fat that, as "glutton belly" (*/kǂuni "to drink immoderately," //kǂums "belly"), right to the present day she can only crawl laboriously in the sand (see illustration) or climb up the thorn tree.

(sĩ "to go," ≠gã "to go into") in the hole. Then they came and saw the hides of the two cows and beat (≠nau) the hyena (si, suff.) with (/kǂa) sticks (haiti). Then she cried: "Brother Pale, To beat my body (/kǂã) does me (te, suff.) no good (!gaĩ, [459] vb.), but you can (ga, particle of the potential, -ts masc. suff.) fertilize (ǂaẽ, carry out copulation) my body, indeed (o, interjection) I like that." Then she bit (nã) a hole (//hũsa) through (//hũ "to make a hole through") [the hides] and saw now that (!kǂaiẽ) it was (literally: "are" a) the ants and ran away (//hai-nĩ).

But the jackal scratched himself (!hari "to undo something," -sen refl. particle) on the rasenki bush (*≠aros), and when (o) the hyena hurried by (ĩ, vb. with personal suff.), he called (≠gai) her and she came. Whereupon the jackal: "Yes (gum - - - o), I (tita, pron.) too (tsĩ "and," with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) have been beaten." So he said after (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after mũ "eyes") he had rubbed (≠ǂoro) his eyes with saliva (≠ãba).*

*In order to simulate tears.

Then the two of them (//(e)ĩra, pron. of the 3rd pers. dual masc.-fem.) went and ran (hõ) across horses (hãna, neut. pl.). And the jackal tied up (*≠nũi !ao, "to set the neck") the young (≠kǂam) horse with a thong (!haũb) while it lay there (//goẽ) and slept (//om, with the rare suff. of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. -mi) and packed (!gaĩ "to tie," ≠nũi "to set") the hyena on it. But he himself (//(e)ĩba, personal pron.) caught (!kǂõ) the big (gai) horse and said to the hyena: "You (sasa, pron.) ride (!gabi) to a place (ũ "along") where no people (kǂoĩn, neut. pl.) are (in Hottentot the relative sentence is expressed substantively by /kǂaĩa "nothing," with the attached suff. of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. -ba). Let (ẽ) (-ta, suff. and tita pron.)

[539] ride where people are." (Likewise substantively expressed by attaching the personal suff. to the vb. hã̄ "to be"). Thus he spoke and ran away. But the hyena was deposited (literally: "came" sī̄, "with" ū̄, "jumped" uri, "has been" -he, pass.) by (ǂa) the young horse in the horse kraal (!harab). Then she was caught and beaten and chased away ("told" gaihe, "to go").

[Text omitted]

[460] Translation of XXXIII

The Hyena and the Jackal Jump after the Clouds

Once (hī̄a) when the hyena and the jackal, the two of them (tsī̄ra), were in (!na) the field (!aub), clouds (/namiga) appeared (//hao). Then the jackal said: "Sister Pointed Run (see page 454), there (//nā̄, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the masc. pl.) some balls of fat (gauga, masc. pl.) have appeared (/kǂō̄), so (ʰnū̄gye, with the personal suff. -m, 1st pers. dual masc.-fem) let us jump (uri) after them (!gā̄) !" So he said and continued: "I (tita, pron.) will (nī̄) jump first (aibe), and (ē̄, with the personal suff. of the addressed pers.) you catch (ʰhē) me (te, suff.) nicely (ē̄ǂase, adv.), for (ǂū̄igye) then I will catch you nicely."

Then he jumped and she caught him well. Then the hyena jumped. But when (//goasi) she came down (hā̄) the jackal cried: "Alas, (/ī̄, interjection) wait! (//nam) a thorn (//kǂū̄ī, neut. sing.) has stabbed (!kǂā̄) me, therefore [wait]." Then the hyena fell (//nā̄) to the ground and sprained (!oē) her hip joint (/gobus).

Since that day (tsē̄s) the hyena has been lame* (/garusa,

[825] "If one follows the tracks of a fleeing hyena, one occasionally sees that the animal has scarcely touched the ground with its left hind foot. Instead of a track only a light scratch is to be seen in the sand. The folk tale proceeds from this observation.

adjective, /nū̄sa "leg").

[Text omitted]

[461] Translation of XXXIV

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When the Hyena Got Married

The hyena had wooed (ǂgan, in the narr. past, like the following pred.) a girl (/gõasa), and when (o) he had completed (toa) the wooing successfully, he sought (õa) cows (gomate) in order to (nĩ, fut. particle with the personal suff. of the obj.) slaughter them for the wedding (literally: "cows that he, for the wedding slaughtering, ǃgũna, would take" ũ). And while (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis -kxa, dual masc.) he came along with (/kxa) the cows, he met the jackal (literally: "the two met together" /hao). "Where (ma/ĩ, with the personal suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. masc.) are you (-ti) wandering (garu) with (ũ) the cattle?" (neut. pl.) [asked the jackal]. "For ("ǃgao, with the personal suff. of the subj. -ta, "I") my (ã, root of the poss. pron., -ta personal suff. of the possessor, -b personal suff. of possession) wedding (ǃgameb) [to fix up everything], indeed (gumo), for that reason I am wandering with the cows," he replied. Then the jackal asked (tẽ) thus (tumi): "And will they all (hoa) six (ǃnani, with the personal suff.) be slaughtered?" and he answered (ǃeream): "Yes." (a). Whereupon the jackal: "I will go (ǃgũng) [along] and eat some of (ǂa) the wedding-slaughter cattle." ("to come" si, "to eat" õ). Then the two of them went.

And near (/gũne) the kraal (//gãũs) they went to sleep (//om), and when morning (//goas) came (//goa), the jackal stuck (mai) a [little peg of] wood (haisa) between (//aĕgu) his [462] toenails"

"In order to pretend that he had stepped on a thorn and was now lame.

(//goro, the suff. is missing) and said: "Well (gum - - - o), now ("nĕairisa) I cannot (//oa, vb.) walk," and continued: "The living (ũitsaba) shall (nĩ) carry pickaback (aba) that which (-ĕ, personal suff. neut. sing.) is (hã) dead (//õ) !" Then the hyena said: "Come (hã), hop on." "

"The jackal has the hyena carry him pickaback.

x531 Whereupon the jackal: "Oh (ǒ), if only (kxa) I could (re, optative particle) make (di) [myself] some stirrups ("dā "to step," ǂnui "to set," connected to the substantive by the personal suff., here the neut. pl. -n, ǂa, demon. particle with the personal suff. of the subj.)." And the other replied: "Well, then make yourself some." (//nai). And [after a while] the jackal said: "Oh, if only I could make myself some reins (!haũn)." -- "Well, then make yourself some," the other replied. And the jackal asked further: "Oh, if only I could make myself a whip (!nabaf, neut. sing.)." --"Then make yourself one," the other replied. Then the two of them went.

And they arrived. But when (ǒ) they arrived, the jackal beat (/ham), the hyena (expressed by the personal suff. -bi) on both sides (/kxãikxa, dual). Then he [the hyena] fled (!kxoē bē), and while he hastened away, the jackal leaped (ui) off and said [to the hyena's bride]: "Did you (-s, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing.) see (mũ) that you (saa, pron.) were just about (ra, particle of progressive action) to marry my father's (dãbab, di gen. particle) horse (hãi), which (expressed temporally by hĩa) had run away in (!na) the pasture (//hoab)?"

And the jackal married the girl.

[Text omitted]

[463] Translation of XXXV

The Jackal and the Hyena That Killed Their Mothers

The jackal and the hyena both (ra, personal suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) lived (hã, narr. past.) with (/kxa) their mothers (//gũna, dual fem.). And the mothers stole (!nari) two cows (gomara). When (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -ra) they then slaughtered (gĕ) together (indicated by -n, personal suff. of the neut. pl.), [the children] thought (gai, ti "thus") they would get (hã) only a little (ǂkxari, -n adverbial ending, -ra dual), and when the mothers went away (expressed by the ti ra go hĩ o that that follows; that is, "when they had done thus") -- the hyena ("naun "the other one") to seek (/aire) firewood and the jackal to fetch (//gama) water -- they made a plan (/abe, vb.): "Sister

*531

Pointed Run, did you (-s, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. fem. in ǂaĩs) by any chance (ga) have in mind what (-ǂ, neut. sing.) I (tita) had in mind?" Thus the jackal asked, and the hyena replied: "I had it in mind, Brother Pale." Whereupon the jackal: "Go (!gũng) you (sasa, fem.) with your mother (saos) and (ẽ, with the pers. suff. of the addressed 2nd pers.) kill (!gam) her (si, pers. suff.), and (with the suff. of the pers. speaking) I will go with my mother (ais) and kill her, and (with the suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.-fem.) we will eat (ũ) the meat (//gana) alone (/gui)." Then they went off with (ũ) their mothers.

And the hyena went and killed her mother, but the jackal went and brought his mother to safety (saũ, vb.), and each time when (gõee) he fetched (ta euphonious for ra) water, he came (hã) and brought (mã) her fat (gauga, masc. pl.). But one day (/gui tẽ) the hyena fetched water, and the mother jackal came because (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) she thought it was her (///(e)ĩs, pers. pron. used as a poss. by adding the gen. particle) child (oab), hastily (!kxoe, vb.) forth (ǂoaǂa, vb.). Then the hyena killed the mother jackal and went home (//aru, vb.).

[484] And while ǂĩa, with the pers. suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) the hyena was coming, the jackal appeared (/kxũ) and likewise (//kxaba "again") went to the water and came to (ai) the place (!kxaãb) where she lay (//goẽ) dead (//õ, with pers. suff.). And he cried (ǂgai) "Mother!" and because (ǂnaio) the hyena had been there he said (pret. participle) to himself: "The hyena [did this]!" left (ǂu) the dishes (ǂabaga) there and hastened up and away (ǂora) toward home.

And he cried (ã) secretly (/ã, "to steal"). But the hyena said: "Brother Pale, why (tarets "what," -ba "for") are you crying?" (-tsa, masc. suff.) and laughed (aĩ). Then he took (ũ, pret. participle) a stone (/uiba), went (ĩ) behind ("!gãb ai) the hut (oms) and hurled ("ǂgaba) the stone at her head" ("!kxoe-nĩ).

"Ever since the hyena has had a broad flat forehead.

x539

[Text omitted]

Translation of XXXVI

The Jackal Who Lies Down Beside the Wagon Road

The hyena and the jackal, the two of them (tsĩ "and," -ra pers. suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) live (//an, narr. pass.) alone (/guri). And when (o) [465] two (/gam) wagons (gunira, dual fem.) came along (hã), the jackal hurried (!kx'oẽ, narr. pass.) ahead (ais ai) and goes (ĩ) to lie down (//goẽ, narr. pass.) beside (from ǂõb "cheek") the wagon road (doob). Then the two wagons came (/kx'ũ); and the wagon that was in front went by (gũng ĩ), but the wagon that was in back (/kxaos ai) saw (mũ) [him]. Then [the wagon owner] cried: "Give (mã) me (te, suff.) the gun (!abusa)! The whip (samiba) give me! The hammer (borrowed from Cape Dutch) give me!" Thus he yelled and picked (ũ) [the jackal] up (kxaĩ) and loaded (!nao) him on. The latter, however, shoved (shuttling with his rear leg, ǂnã //na) the fat (//nuib) barrel (swasa, a garbled form borrowed from Cape Dutch) out and the sugar (suiker, from Cape Dutch) sack (//hõs) both of them, and went back (oa).

Then he took little (ǂkxari) scraps (ǂũb "thing," -ro dimin.) in (!na) his hand (!omi) and went to give them to the hyena. Then the latter said: "My (ti) brother (!gãb) Pale (haiseb "the pale one"), where (maba) did you (-ts, suff.) find (hõ) the stuff (ǂũẽ, neut. sing.)?" Whereupon the former: "There (//nã) where the wagons go (garu)--run there quickly (!kx'oẽ "to hasten," !gũng "to go") and (ẽ, with the pers. suff. of the subj.) go ahead (ai !ã) along the road! And even if (ga, particle of the potential) the hammer is asked for (ǂgan), lie [still] nevertheless (ǂabe)! Even if the whip is asked for, lie still! Even if the gun is asked for, lie still! And when (o) you are loaded on, shove the sugar sack out, just as (kxomi) I (tita, pron.) did (hĩ)." Then the hyena hurried away and went to lie down. Then the men (kxoẽga, "people" in the masc. pl.) cried: "Give me the whip, the hammer, the gun!" Then she ran away (!kx'oẽ-nĩ) and comes [back]. Whereupon the jackal: "Did you shove [the sack] out?" Thus (tumi) he asked (tẽ), but the latter said: "When the gun was asked for, I ran (//hai. The nĩ expresses, here just as above, an expectation, namely that of pursuit) away." Whereupon the other: "You (-ao, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. fem) will die (//ĩ) of stupidity (gã), truly (gomo)!"

X 539

[Text omitted]

[466] Translation of XXXVII

The Jackal Who Taught the Leopard's Children

The jackal was teaching (//kx̃a̋ //kx̃a̋, narr. pass. If one wishes to assume that this is a case of the true passive, then ǂa must be interpreted as a post positive "by.") the leopard's children (ǂoana, neut. pl.). But when (o) they (-n in ǂhen) had been brought (hã̋ "to come," ǂhe "to be taken") [to him], he cut the throat of one (/gui-) of the little children (ro dimin., -s pers. suff. in the neut. sing.). (The following forms have merged to a verb with the ending of the narr. pass.: !gao "to cut," ǂa "through," ǂomi "throat")

Then the leopard came (/kx̃ã̋) and asked (tsĩ̋): "How (xaiti) are you (-isa, suff.) teaching the children (/gǂoana)?" Thus (tumi) he asked. But the jackal said: "No, uncle," the children are learning

"The form Ohn is borrowed from Cape Dutch. The jackal regards the leopard's question as a sign of distrust and counters it.

("to teach," with the refl. particle -sen) very (gaise) well (!gaĩ̋se)." Then [the leopard] went [467] home (//aru, vb.), and when he had gone home, the jackal once again (//kx̃aha) cut one of their throats.

And the leopard came again and said: "I have come to see the children." So he said. But the jackal replied: "No (hm'm), now (ǂnõ̋ xirias) they will not (tire, verbal particle of the fut. negative) come out (ǂnax̃a)!" Then the leopard asked: "Why (taref !ama) shouldn't they come out?" But he [answers]: "The children are learning very well, don't (tĩ̋ • toma) disturb (ǂhani) [them]."

Then he believed (ǂgom) [it] and went home. Then when he came back again, in the meantime (hĩ̋a) all (hoa, -ro dimin., -s pers. suff. of the neut. pl.) of the children had been eaten up; only a single child (/guiro? /guiǂ) was left (hã̋). And [again] the leopard said: "I [want] to see (gõ̋) the children!" Then the jackal showed (//gau, narr. pass.) the single one; but the other thinks (ǂaĩ̋, ti "so") [that it is] all of them and went home. And when he had gone home, the jackal ate up the single one that was left (!gau hã̋).

[53] And the leopard came once again but when [the jackal] saw him coming (!goaxa), he said to his mate]: "When (o, with the pers. suff. of the subj., -s, in the apodosis) the leopard indeed (ga, verbal particle of the potential) comes, you must (nī) pinch (//kxā) a child." Then let me ("let" ī, "so that I" -ta) ask: 'For what (taeē = taree "what?" -ha objectifying verbal particle) is the child yelling (ā)?' And (ē, with suff.) then you say: 'It is yelling for leopard meat' (//gaaē, neut. sing.)." And the leopard came, and when she pinched the child, the child yelled. Then the jackal asked: "What is the child yelling for?" And she answered: "It is yelling for leopard meat."

Then the leopard ran away (//hai-nī) and went (aī) to urge (//kxau) the baboon (/nīraba) [to go with him], and the two of them (-kxa, suff. of the dual masc.) arrived. But the morning sun casts dark shadows (literally: "the early shadow" //gaa somi, "makes" dī, "shadows"). "Don't you (-kxo, suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc.) see (mī) the six (!naani) leopard skins (kxôgu) lying there (//nā)?" [the jackal said]. Then the leopard fled, ran away (hī), while the baboon cries (nī, ti "thus," with the pers. suff. of the subj.): "Wait! Wait!" (//aam).

[Text omitted]

[468] Translation of XXXVIII

The Jackal and the Baboon

The jackal and the baboon were debtor and creditor. ("ux(u)tegu, narr. pass., "stand in a relation of debt to each other." The context reveals how this is to be interpreted in detail.) But when (o) the baboon came (/kxī) to seek out (ōa) the debtor (ux(u)teba), the jackal (expressed by the -b after o at the beginning of the sentence) sat down (ām, narr. pass.) in front of (ams aī) the hut (oms) and made a big (gai) knife (gōaba) sharp ("/ōxisama vb., narr. pass., /ī "to be sharp," -xi adjective-forming ending, am "mouth, blade of an ax, knife, etc."). Meanwhile the baboon appeared and came (hī) up to dam (/kxai) the debtor. Then the jackal said: "We (-kxam, suff. of the 1st pers. masc. dual) don't know each other." (/ī "not to know," -ku refl. particle)

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Then the baboon (I heard the term /nēraba only from old people; the younger ones all say /nēraba) was afraid (!ao) and went (!gūng) away and came (nī) to (doba) the wildcat (/hōab) and said: "The jackal there (nē, demon, root) whets a knife when (o) I ask about the debt." [449] Whereupon the cat: "He is only pretending (ǂhumi "to lie") that (//au). The High Supreme Dung Chief! (literally: "the unique turd," ǂgum /guisa). That is just like him! (ī "to be like," -b pers. suff.). So (ǂūigye) come on, let (ē) us go." So she said, and the two of them went and got there. But again (//kxaba) the baboon was not prepared for the sight ("had not" toma "provided" mū "himself" -sen, refl. particle, "for this," with the objectifying particle -ba) and ran away (//hai-nī).

Then the cat called (ǂgai) to him again: "The jackal is lying; he will do (dī) nothing (ǂnē "something," tite particle of the fut. negative) to you (tsi, suff.); so come, let's tie our tails (ǂarekxa, dual masc.) together." (//are "to unite," !gai "to bind"). So she said and they came there. But the jackal leaped (ǂham) at both of them (kxā, suff., in the dat. acc. case) with the knife.

Then the baboon fled while (hīa) the cat cried (mī, ta ǂra, ti "thus," with the pers. suff. of the subj.) "wait!" (//nam). And when (o) she wanted to hold onto ("!kxōbasen) herself to (ai) the bushes (haiti), he pulled (!hum) her out (ǂui) along with the bushes. Then finally the baboon stopped (/ū, vb.) running, and the cat said: "Come, let's go back (oa), the jackal is pretending, believe (ǂgum) me, won't you!" (e, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) But the baboon refused (ǂkxā) and did not go back."

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"Here, too, the Hottentot sets up a causal relationship between the tale and the animal--one which is so well known to the natives that the narrator no longer stresses it: when the two animals unknotted their tails again after their wild flight, it turned out that the baboon's tail was bent. As punishment for his cowardice it has remained that way ever since; see the illustration on p. 288.

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[Text omitted]

[470] Translation of XXXIX

The Jackal Who Sells a Horse to the Boers

The jackal sold (//amaχ̣u, narr. pass.) to (doba) the Boers (bũrgu) a horse (hãiba) and first (aibe) stuck (ǂgã) money (marina, neut. pl.) into (!na) the anus (tsoas) of the (di, gen. particle) horse and brought (ĩ "to come," ã "to take," narr. pass.) it and said (mĩ, narr. pass.): "Now ("nẽ sirisa) will (nĩ) I (-ta, suff.) get (hẽ) money there (//nẽ) from (χ̣u) the horse." And when (o) the horse excreted (as), he held his hand underneath (χ̣aba, narr. pass.), and the horse excreted money.

But when (o) the two (-kχ̣a, suff. of the masc. dual) Boers spoke (!hoa) about the price (/gausa) of the horse, the jackal said: "I will not (toma) set (ǂnĩ) a price because (ao) I am not selling the horse. [471] But any (hoa, with the suff. of the neut. sing.) man (aoĩ, neut. sing.) who wanted (ga, verbal particle of the potential) to buy (//ama) [it], would give (mẽ) me (ta, suff.) a wagon (gunisa) with (/kχ̣a) the oxen (gunisagu) that go with it (//(o)ĩs, pers. pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem., used in the sense of the possesive pron. with the gen. particle omitted)."

Then the Boer gave him (hi, suff.) a wagon with oxen. And the jackal hitched up ("ǂgaẽ !ao) and said: "Boer! The horse waits (hã) three (!nani) days (tsĩ!), then it excretes [money]." Thus the jackal said and drove (!nari) off.

But the two Boers waited (!aũ), when (di) the three days had passed (ĩ), until (//gu) the fourth (haga //(o)ĩ) day, but the horse excreted no money and excreted only (/gui with suff.) grass (/gãĩ). Then the two of them saddled ("!gaĩ!gã) up and chased (!kχ̣aẽ) after (!gum) [the jackal]. And they came (ĩ) to a kraal (//gaũ), to one that lay ("ǂnãa, with pers. suff.) on (am !na) the way (daob), and asked (tã): "Where (mabe, with the pers. suff. of the subj.) is the wagon that came by here (nẽbe)?" "Day before yesterday (ai tẽ) it went by," so it was said (mĩ "to say").

Then they rode (!gaĩ) along and came again to a kraal and asked: "Where is the wagon that came past here?" To this the people (-n pers. suff. of the 3rd pers. pl. neut.) said: "Yesterday (//aĩ) it came

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by." Then they rode along and came along to a kraal and asked: "Where is the wagon that came past here?" To this the people replied: "Today ("this" nē, "day" tsēb) it came past."

Then they rode along; and when (hĭa) the jackal had been [home for a long time], they came and cried: "Uncle Fox (borrowed from Cape Dutch), I will shoot (ǂnoa) your (-tsi, suff.) head (!ūs) in!"

To which the other: "For (ai) what sort of a (mã) crime (/habiŧ, neut. sing.) are you (-tsa, suff.) going to shoot my head in?" So he asked.

Whereupon the Boer: "You (sats, personal pron. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) told me, didn't you (gum--o), that the horse, that excreted no money, would excrete money!"

But the jackal said: "No (hm'm), once and for all (!hoa horaē) do not (tĭ ǂ toma) talk this way (//nāti) with (ū) me! My (ti) older (gaib "big") brother (!gāb) does business (//ama "to buy," -gu reciprocal particle) with both of you." (sago, pron. of the 2nd pers. pl. masc.)

[472] Then the Boers (literally: "the two others" ǂnaukŧa asked: "Where is he?" And the jackal said: "He lives (//an) [farther] down (//goma) there (nāba)." Then the two of them rode off and went to shoot (ǂnoa !an) the jackal who was not guilty.

[Translator's note: In the Hottentot text of Legend XL the following remarks are inserted in German by the author:]

This questioning of the jackal is now repeated two or three times by the narrator in order to make it impressive. Then there follows:

Question and answer as before. Then he demands the same thing of the jackal. Thereupon:

Question, answer and demand as before. Then:

Urgent repetition of the questioning. Then again:

Translation of XL

The Jackal Who Licks Out the People's Pot

The jackal (/gĭrib) came (/kxĭ) from (ǂu) his (//(e)ĭ b, personal pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc., used as a poss. pron. before the following substantive) kraal (//gaũs) to (!na) the hut (oms) of men (ǂnoũ) and [473] (tsĭ) came (hã) in (ǂgã, vb.) and licked out (tom)

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the fat-pot (//gubusa) of the people. But the people came back while (hĩa) the jackal was still (hã̄ "to remain") at (doba) the hut. Then the man (aoba) of the hut asked (tẽ): "Of which (mã̄) district (!ãb) are you the jackal?" (-tsa personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nominative)* Then the

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*The word ǂumi "so," which is frequently attached to direct discourse, has merely the function of summing up, in contrast to the conjunction goma, which has an imperative sense. "Mã̄ !ab gǂritsa goma" would mean: "Where do you come from? Answer! That's my command."

jackal answered (!eream): "I (-ta) [am] the jackal from the arobush district. [The fruit] of the aro tree (-na, ending of the neut. pl.) I eat (ǂũa). from the hari bush I eat, from the au bush I eat, yes indeed (gumo)!"*

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*The ǂa·ros bush is Zizyphus mucronatus Willd. (Rhamnaceae). ǂhari·s is Royena pallens Thbg. (Ebenaceae). ǂaũ/s is Grewia flava D.C. (Tiliaceae). The jackal lives indeed from the berrylike fruit of these bushes, among other things.

Repteition. Then:

Thereupon the man said (mĩ): "let (ẽ, imperative particle) me (-ta) see (gõ) you (-tsi) excrete (ǂau)." Thus (ti) he says. Then the jackal excreted aroberries. And the man asked again:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted hari berries. Then the man asked:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted au berries and [again] the man asked: "Of what place are you the jackal?" And the jackal answered: "I am the jackal of the aro district. I eat aro berries, I eat hari berries, I eat au berries, yes indeed!"

Repetition. Then:

And the man said: "Let me see you excrete." Then the jackal excretes fat, and the man caught (!kõ) him (bi). But the jackal cried: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob), hold me differently." (!kõ "to seize," umu "to turn around," !gã̄ "backwards"). And the man seized him differently. Then

the jackal got away (ũi) and says: "Yes (mo = gumu), that's the kind of guy I am." (Literally: "such" //nã, "a child" /gõa- "I resemble" ĩ).

[474] [Text omitted]

[475] Translation of LI

The Jackal and the Porcupine Who Both Dig Water for the Teacher (Missionary)

The jackal and the porcupine (!noab), the two of them (tsĩ "and," ǂkya personal suff. of the dual masc.) were digging (ǂora, narr. pass.) water (//gamsa), and when the time (//aẽb) came (/oa) when they were supposed (nĩ) to go home (//aru), the jackal got himself (-sen, refl. particle) all wet (/hari) in the (!na) mud (ǂgoab) and told (gai, narr. pass.) the porcupine to wash (//ã). Then when (o) the two of them arrive (sĩ), a small(ǂkxari) dish (!ores, -ro dimin.) is poured out (hora "to take cooked food out of the cooking pot") for the porcupine and the jackal's portion is put into a wash basin.*

*Because the jackal, who has traces of work on his body, is considered to be the diligent worker, and the porcupine the lazy one.

But one (/gui) day (tsẽ), when (o) the two of them had gone (!gũng) to work (sĩsen), the teacher (//kxã//kxã "to teach," aob "man," the missionary") went [after them] without (toma "not," "hãse, adv. formed from hã "to be, to remain") their seeing (mũ) it. And they got there. Then the porcupine climbed (//gõa) down [into the water hole], but the jackal lay (//goẽ) down and slept (//om). And when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) it was time to go home, the porcupine came out (ǂoaya, vb.) and woke (ǂkxãi-ǂkxãi) the jackal. But all (hoana, neut. pl.) this the teacher observed (ǂnõa "to sit," mũ "to see") there (//nã). Then [the jackal] told the porcupine to wash, but he himself (//(e)ĩba, personal pron.) got all wet in the mud. And the two of them got there. [This time] the porcupine was served in the big (gai) bowl, and the jackal got his in the porcupine's little dish. Then [the jackal] said: "You (-ts, suff.) have misunderstood (//naũ "to hear," sã "to do something

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incorrectly"): you were told to give (mã) me (tita, personal pron. [the big bowl]." The [476] porcupine, however, replied: "The teacher"

"This is probably one of the few cases in which the old form of the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. -bi has been preserved. The i has been lost and, otherwise, in the Nama language, is retained only in the masculine nouns in which there is an m in place of the b: //gami ǂami, etc. (cf. Th. Hahn (78), p. 62). Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig 1870.

gave me the bowl."

Then the two of them went to work, and whey they came to the (doba) water the jackal said: "Hey there! (ŧsĩ "and," -go suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. masc.; ŧsĩgo is a careless form of address much like nētse), let (hã) us (-kx̃um, suff. of the 1st pers. pl. masc.) bathe (//ãsen)! Let (ẽ) us put on (!gai) white (!uri) cloths (!kx̃aikx̃a, dual masc.) in front (ai) and jump (uri) into this (nẽ) water." Then first (ai "to be first") he tied [the cloth on] the porcupine, and when (ŧsĩ, particle of the pret. participle after toa "to cease") he had finished tying it, he took (ũ) a stone (/uiba) and [said]: "Porcupine, I jumped so (ǂũgye) jump!" So he said and threw (ao) the stone down (//nã "to fall," in the narr. pass.). -- The porcupine jumps in, assuming that the jackal had jumped ahead of him, and drowns. --

Then the jackal [rejoices]: "The porcupine has drowned (ǂ//gam //õ)!

"The following is to be interpreted as high-spirited nonsense.

The calves (ŧsãĩn) have sucked (dai) milk. The wagons (ǂuniti) have driven (!nari) by themselves (sen, refl. particle). The huts (omgu) are set (ǂnubi) on fire." So he cried and fled (!kx̃oẽ "to hasten," hẽ "to go away," in the narr. pass.).

But the lion (ǂama, euphonious for -mi) was lying in wait (ǂ//goẽ ami) for him. Then [the jackal] came (/kx̃i, narr. pass.) [to his hut] and cried"

"The jackal suspects that the lion is lying in wait for him. He speculates on the lion's

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simplemindedness by calling loudly and then, in a feigned monologue, makes his approach contingent upon an answer, by which the lion then indeed betrays himself.

"My house!" (Borrowed from Cape Dutch). But it is (i, gye, a) quiet (!nõsa). Then he said: "I (-ta, suff.) will keep quiet (!hoa "to speak," tite "particle of the fut. negative); that (nēē, demon. pron. in the neut. sing.) is something (ǂũĩ "thing," neut. sing.), that my (ti) hut (oms) does not answer (oē). I will just call (ǂgai) this one (/guisa) [more] time (!nãs)." So said and called again. Then the lion cried: "Yes (hē)!" [Whereupon the jackal:] "Have you ever heard or seen (literally: "Do you hear" //naũ "and see, since" o "you were born" !naē), that (!kxtaiē) a hut answers?" So he said and ran away (//hai-nĩ).

[477] But the teacher was putting up (maĩ, narr. pass.) lime twigs (ǂnēba "lime") in his garden (!hanab), and the jackal came in, and while he is coming in (ǂgã garu), he caught himself (!kxõbosen) in the bird lime and is held by (ǂa) the bird lime.* Then the jackal said: "What (taeē • tareē)

"In the dark the jackal believes that he is being held by a person, and he tries to outwit this person by exchanging rôles: he pretends to be the one who is doing the holding and questioning.

are you (-tsa, suff.) doing (dĩ) in the garden? Let me (te, suff.) loose (//nã "to let," ǂu "to desist"), you (-tse, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., vocative), let me (-ta) go (!gũng)!" So he said, but was not freed nevertheless (ǂabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.). Then he continued: "Just wait (//nam), comrade (aob is the familiar form of address of two coevals who have grown up together; see page 315), let me go (ǂxra) to [illegible] (ǂgai), I will come right back (/ase), so [let me go]!" But he was not released; meanwhile (hĩa, with personal suff.) the morning (//goasa) came (//goa). Then the teacher came and steps up (ha) to take him out (ũ //nã) [of the lime twigs], and takes (goes to take) him to the kraal and asked (tẽ) him how (mati) he should (nĩ, !kxtaiē particle of indirect discourse) kill (!gam) him. But he said: "Slaughter (ãĩ) a fat (gauna) wether (gũba) and (ẽ, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) give me the fat drippings (//nati-ba) to drink (ã "to drink"; si gives the vb. a causative force: "to give to drink") and pack (!gaĩ) the fat (gauna) on me and rub

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(/ã /ã "to make wet") my tail (≠areba) with fat (≠hoau) and seek (õa) here (nẽba, with suff.) a man (kxoẽba) out (≠ui), of whom you know (≠an, tumi "so") that he is (the fut. particle ni here corresponds to our "in all probability") strong (/gaisa), and let him (-b in ẽb) wrap (tami) [my] tail in [his] hand (!umi) and hurl (≠ẽ "to throw down"; ≠an "to beat") me on (ai) the rock basin (!haos, see p. 162) that is lying (≠hõa) there (//nã)." So he said.

And the teacher, just as (kxumi) the jackal had said, sought out a strong man and ordered him to hurl [the jackal] to the ground. And he hurled. ---The greased tail slips from his hands. --Then the jackal stood (mã) on (≠ama) both (-ra, suff. of the dual fem.) feet (≠aira) and said: "Here the boy is (/gõab, [478] "son"), yes indeed!" and ran away. But the men saddled ("!gaẽ "to pack on," !gãb "back") horses (hãga, masc. pl.) and chased after [him]. But the jackal went down (//goa, narr. pass. and pret. participle) into a wadi (!ãb) and picked (ũ, in the same construction as //gõa) flowers (blomga, masc. plural, borrowed from Cape Dutch) and went toward (!oa; narr. pass.) the men. Then the men cried: "That's the jackal!" But he said: "Which (mã) jackal? Don't you (-go, suff.) see that (!kxaiẽ) I come from (ǂû) the flower land (!hub)?" Then they believed (≠gom) [it] and sought [farther] and found no one ("not").

But he came [home and lived on (hã "to remain") just as he had lived formerly (hũga).

[Text omitted]

[479] Translation of XLI

The "Dwarf" [Cynictis penicillata (G.Cuv.)] and the Jackal

With the jackal and the dwarf it happened (dĩhe "was made") like this: When (o. The o at the beginning of the sentence is a copulative verb.) the jackal (-i, an old and rarely used demon. suff.) had found (hõ, narr. pass.) a snake (/aob), he went to the dwarf and said: "Dwarf, reveal (mĩ "to say," -ha objectifying verbal particle) to me (te, suff.), won't you (go), in (ũ "with") what way (gaus) you (sama, pron., strengthened by the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. -si = se) kill (!gam) snakes (neut. pl.)."

[480] Then the dwarf went (!gung) with him (bi, suff.) and showed ("went" ĩ, "to show" //gau) him the neck vertebra." And when (hĩa)

"According to legend the dwarf sticks his head through the atlas, //goresa, of an ox or a horse,

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> attacks the snake and, at the moment when it strikes, twists it head in such a way that the snake bites the bone. When it has lost its poison in this way, it is bitten to death by the dwarf.

the vertebra (expressed by the personal suff. –s after ǂkoχã, "to refuse." Ta euphonious for ra.) did not want [to let itself be put on], he pressed (//gaĩ) [it] in (ǂgã "to stick in") and killed the snake. And when (o) he had finished (toa "to cease," with personal suff.) killing the snake, [he tried] to slip off (ǂui "out," ũ "to take") the joint, but (χabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) it did not (toma) come loose (ǂoaχa "to come out").

Then the jackal said: "Comrade (aob, see p. 315), roast (am) you (–tse, suff.) the snake there (nẽba), for (χuigye) I (ta, suff.) am going (ĩ) [off for a minute]".* And while (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the

> *The jackal is ashamed of the constricting position that he has gotten into through his own meddling; he tries secretly to remove the vertebra and to deceive the dwarf, who catches him in his desperate exertions.

subj.) he stands there (mã, preterite participle) with his head bent forward (ᵐǂubi, a vb. that designates this position) and beats (ᵐǂnoa !gã) [against the joint with his fists], the dwarf unexpectedly (/kxĩ "to appear," hã "to come") leaps up behind (ᵐ!gãba ũ) him and gives him a shove (tsa /kxa). Then he leaped (uri) up (kxaĩ "to get up," narr. pass.) startled (!huri, ᵐhãse, adverb expressing a condition) and said: "Well (ᵐaẽ, interjection), you (–ts) have (ũ "to take"), I suppose (ga, verbal particle of the potential), still (ᵐnoǂoba, perhaps borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated) childish pranks (//ore "to make fun of," ǂũna with the personal suff. of the addressed pers. or things, di gen. particle, ǂkxamsis "youth") in your head."

But the dwarf replied: "You are dying (//õ), so (hũgye) I would like (re, optative particle) to help (hui) you (tsi, suff.)."

Whereupon the jackal: "You (sa---go) idiots (gãre, adj.) think (ǂai) so! (ti, with the personal suff. of the one pers. addressed). If (o) I only wanted to (ǂgao), then I could (nĩ, future) indeed (gam---o) remove this vertebra thing (neut. sing.) after all (χabe)." So he said and continued: "Go and (ẽ) see (sĩ "go," gõ "to see") whether (!kxaiẽ) the snake isn't done (//an, vb. ĵ)."

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[481] And when the dwarf had gone, he jumped into (!na) the water (//gams) and tried (tsã, narr. pass.) to remove (≠gai) [the vertebra]. But when it did not come loose (≠oaxa, see above. i "to go"), he ran away.

And he came to (ai) the kraal (//gaũs) of the hyena and said: "See (gum---o, "yes"), the dwarf told (gai, "to cause") me to put my head (tanas) into the vertebra (expressed just the other way around in Hottentot), and now the vertebra won't come loose." But while he talked this way, the dwarf came and said: "Jackal, do not (tĩ = toma) lie (≠humi) that way (//nãĩ)." Then he got up and went away.

And he came to (doba) the kraal of the silver jackal and said: "Uncle, please remove (//nã, vb. with the objectifying particle -ba) from me (te, suff., with the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -ẽ = ĩ in //goreĩ, which as it were substantivizes the construction) this (nẽ) vertebra thing with (ũ) which the dwarf has deceived (gã) me!" But while he spoke thus, the dwarf came and said: "Jackal, don't lie like that." But he replied*:

> "In order to cut off any further explanation
> that might make him look rediculous.

"Oh my (o and kxa, interjections), our (ã, root of the poss. pron., with the personal suff. of the possessors, here in the dual masc.) affairs (xũna) there ("nauba = //nãba, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) are in a mess (/garu "to be out of joint." -sa adj. ending, -se adverbial ending), so look after the affairs, won't you?"

So he said and went to (//ga) the kraal of the porcupine and said: "Uncle Ijzervark (Cape Dutch name for the !naob), please remove this vertebra from me, with which (expressed adjectivally by the ending -sa after the pred.) the dwarf (-i, old demon. suffix) duped me." Then the porcupine broke (!xõa) the vertebre with (/kxa) his vise (//kxamtas).

Thereupon the jackal said [to himself]: "Hey, that dirt-scum penis guy!" (!haĩ "the sour scum of a dirty milk calabash." !garab "the penis").

> "The dwarf is mean, who proved him a liar
> everywhere. In revenge he lures him into a
> trap and incites the snake against him.

What do you suppose I could do to him?" (ga "for/that" /abeã "plan" neut. sing., "could I" ga, "for" -ba, "him" bi, "find" hõ). And the two of

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them went along and came to a thick (/gom) thorn tree (//kx̃ũs-) bush. Then the jackal said: "Climb (!aba) [482] after (!g̃a) the guinea hen (/kx̃inasa) that is sitting there (//nã)." And the dwarf climbed up. But when it had climbed up, the jackal said to the snake: "Climb up behind the dwarf who is sitting there, grandfather (//naob, respectful form of address)." Then the snake climbed up, but the dwarf jumped down.

Then the jackal said: "Hey (//nai), look at (literally: "hear" !g̃a) this son of a dirt-scum vagina!"* And the snake climbed down (//g̃oax̃a)

*The jackal curses the snake, who had let the dwarf slip away, half audibly but still loud enough so that it can hear. /nũis "the vagina." ũaba "child."

and called: "Jackal!" And the jackal answered: "My grandfather!" But the snake said: "Have you ever heard and seen (mũ, in the present tense in Hottentot) that (!kx̃aiẽ) such a child (/g̃oaĩ, neut. sing.) as this (nẽ) curses (/goẽ) old age (aoẽ, "a man." The snake is masc. here.)?" So he said and hit (/nau) him. [Fig. -- Bitis cornuta L.]

Then he ran away (!kx̃oẽ-nĩ). But the dwarf caught (*!kx̃õ) him, and the snake came and struck him. And he ran away [again] and came to the lion and said: "Grandfather, don't let the snake who is coming (!goax̃a) strike me!" He said it and ran away.

And when he had just lain (//goẽ) down to sleep (//om), the snake came [after him] following (/kx̃a "with") his (ãb) tracks and woke (/kx̃ai /kx̃ai "went to wake") him and asked: "Where (maba x̃u) do you come from?"

But he replied: "I am seeking (ũa) the cattle (gomana, neut. pl.) that ran away yesterday evening (//an !oẽ)." Thereupon the serpent: "Don't lie!" And the jackal said: "I am not lying, grandfather."

Then the snake said: "Uncover (/hui) your belly (//kx̃um), let (ẽ) me see." And he uncovered his belly. Then the snake saw [483] the weals of the hippopotamus whip (!nabaga, masc. pl.) with which he himself had beaten him, and beat him again (//kx̃aba) and chased him away ("told him to go away").

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIII

The Jackal Who Cheats the Flamingo and the Hen

The jackal came (/kx̃ĩ, narr. pass.) to (doba) a hen (hũncrs borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated) who laid (ũa "to bear") eggs in (ai) a tree

1: Schultze--269A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.482]

Fig. -- Bitis cornuta L.

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[484] (hais), and was sitting (ǂnõas) on the eggs (!ubugu, masc.). Then he said, "Hen, my (ti) sister (!gā, without suff.), please (re, optative particle) throw (ao) one (/gui) of those little things (ǂũba, masc. sing., -ro dimin.) down (//nā, with the objectifying particle -ba) to me (te, suff.), won't you (ǂabe)?" But she replied: "I (-ta, suff.) won't (tite, particle of the fut. negative) do (hĩ) it." Then he said: "If (o) I (tita, pron.) wanted to (ǂgao, ga, particle of the potential), I could (nĩ, fut. particle) climb (ǂoa) up the tree." And he continued: "I will climb up the tree immediately (/ãse)! So (ǂũigye) throw one down!" Then she threw down an egg, and he said: "If you had not (toma, with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed) thrown it down, I would have climbed up." He said it (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) and went away (!gũng).

Then on the next (ǂnau) day (tsē) he came along just when (hĩa) the hen was on the ground (!hũũb) and caught (ǂ!kxõ) her (si, suff.). Then she said: "Wait (//nam), first (aibe) let (ē) me (-ta, suff.) pray" (ǂ/gore)."

[727] "Baptized Hottentots occasionally allowed the white men whom they captured in war time to pray before they shot them.

But when he let (//nãũ) her (the suff. of the subj. -b, is attached to the suff. of the 3rd pers. fem. sing.) loose, she flew (fĩĩ, borrowed from Cape Dutch) up (!aba, "to climb up"). Then he said: "This (nē) day you may (ga) mark (ǂan "to know")!" And went away.

And he came where (-ba, demon. particle of place) the flamingo (borrowed from Cape Dutch) was catching fish (//aũna, neut. pl.), and asked: "When the North Wind (/abas) blows (!gom, ta ǂ re), how (mati) do you seat (ǂnũ) yourselves?" (-go, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. pl.). And the other replied: "I sit like this (nēti)." -- The narrator turns to the South. -- Whereupon the jackal: "When the Southeast Wind (ǂaore ǂoab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this." -- The narrator turns to the Northwest. -- Whereupon the jackal: "When the sea wind (huriǂoab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this." -- The narrator turns to the Northeast. -- Whereupon the jackal: "And when the South wind (!kõãbagab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this!"" Then there was a thud (ǂ//ae, onomatopoetic

"The narrator puts his head under his arm, just as the flamingo puts its head under its wing.

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for the sound [485] that the ax makes when the jackal chops off the flamingo's head).

Then the jackal went away with (ũ) the head (indicated by bi), and when he came to the hen he said: "Have you (-s, personal suffix after mũ "to see") seen that !kxaiẽ) I have killed (!gam) your (sa) husband (aoba)? Throw down the eggs!" But she said: "I won't do it!" Whereupon he: "In just a moment I will fly into the tree! Don't you see that I flew after (!gon, adv.) your husband and killed him?" Then she threw down three (!nona) eggs. But he gobbled (habu) up the eggs and said: "Throw down some more (noxoba, probably borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated)!" But she said: "I won't do it." Whereupon the jackal: "In just a moment I am going to climb up to (!gã) you." But she replied: "Go ahead (o, interjection) and try (tsã) it (ti "so"), let (ẽ) me see." Now he tried to climb up, but he did not get up.

Then she [cursed] him: "Never (/nĩ "another of the same sort," tsẽ "day," tite particle of the fut. negative) shall you (-ts) find (hõ) your fortune (!gaĩ !gãẽ, neut. sing.) on the earth! And may you (-tsi, rare form of the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) eat (≠ũ) the vermin (≠unina, neut. pl.) that men (kxoi'n, neut. pl.) squash (dã, tsautsau "to make soft") with their feet; we (-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl., and sida, pron. of the 1st pers. neut. pl. exclusive) will remain (hã) with men and eat food (≠una, neut. pl.)!" -- In this way the chickens became domestic animals and the jackal became omnivorous. --

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIV

[488]

The Lion Couple That Pretend to Be Dead to the Jackal

A lion couple (xãmra, dual masc. -fem.) comes (!goexa) along foot weary (≠ai //o) and saw (mũ, narr. pass.) a jackal coming along (hĩa "while," used here in the sense of the present participle). Then they pretended to be dead (//õ//oen, narr. pass.), and he came (hã) up. And he [gently] touched (!kxã) the anus (tsoas) of one (literally: "an anus"), and the anus contracted.* Then he knew (≠an) that (!kxaiẽ) the two of them were [only]

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* go'm is the reflex blinking of the eyes as well as the reflex contraction of the sphincter ani.

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pretending to be dead and said*: "God, I thank (!kx̃ũ̃se, dainki, borrowed

*In order to make the lions believe that their stratagem had succeeded and that the jackal now wanted to roast them.

from Cape Dutch) you (tsi), that (!kxtaisa) you (-ta, suff.) have given (mã̃) me (te, suff.) this (nẽ) food (ǂũũ̃, neut. sing.)." Then he struck (ǂnan) his fire making equipment (dorosa) and set a little (-ro, dimin.) grass (/gã̃na, neut. pl.) on fire (ǂhubi, vb.) and said: "First (aibe) I'll look for fire wood (/aãre, vb.)." And went (!gũ̃ng) for (//ga) wood. And while he was breaking ("kx̃ũ̃a, ta euphonious for ra) wood there (//nãti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), he went away (bẽ) and climbed (ti "goes," ǂoa "to climb") up (ai) a mountain (!homs) and called: "Well (!gaĩ̃se, adv.) did I touch your (ro, suff. of the 2nd pers. dual masc. fem.) anus! You offspring of the great dirt-scum penis (see above) had (ga, subjunctive particle) almost ("//gã̃, with the personal suff. of the subj.) killed (!gam) me!" So he called. But the two of them had been footsore for a long time (hũ̃ga), and so ("for the sake of" !ama, "the thing" !kx̃'ais) they did not (toma) run [after him].

And he went and lay down ("went to lie down" //goẽ) under ("!gao) a projecting ledge (//hoab), and while he lay sleeping (//om), [487] the leopard (/garuba) came (kxĩ) and caught ("!kx̃ũ) him (hĩ). [But he cried:] "My grandfather (ti //naob, respectful form of greeting), wait a minute (//nam)! The ledge (/uib) is falling (//nã) on (ai) us (-kx̃um, suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.), so ("hũ̃gye) push [so that both of us will not be killed] (ǂhẽ)!" Then both of them pushed, and the jackal said: "Let me ("allow" hã̃, "that I" -ta, suf., and tita, personal prdn.) seek (ũe) wood to prop (ǂkx̃ã̃) underneath (!na)." And he looked and hurried away. But the leopard stood there (mã) [and] pushed there (//nã) [against] the ledge (with the personal suff. of the subj.) until he died (//ẽ, literally: "while he etc. --, he died").]The jackal], however, remains away several days (nẽ̃ĩ) long (gaxu); then he comes to investigate (gẽ). There the other one is dead, and the jackal cries: "You (go, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. masc.) will die of stupidity! (gãs ~ gãse, adv., "dumb"). If (o) it were (ga, subjunctive particle) I, then (the same o) you (-ta in ota) would probably be strong (/gaĩ) with (ti) the ledge!" May it [always] happen (ĩ

*That is: "You would probably be able to handle me instead of the ledge; but you threw away that chance."

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"to happen," -ba objectifying particle) to you exactly (/gui "single") the same way (//nâti)."

[Text omitted]

Translation of LXV

The Jackal Who Slaughters the Cow and is Ambushed by the Leopard

The jackal (/gîrib) had slaughtered (#khe)* the cow (gumaxa) of the

*The ǂa after /gîrib can be omitted and the predicate still remains pass. From this it is apparent that we are dealing here, in #khe, with the narr. pass. and that the ǂa here is not the postpositive prep., but a demon.

people (krôfi). But the leopard (/garube) [488] lay in wait* for him (bi).

*am is the postpositive "for," an interesting old form for ā (see Hahn (78), p. 81). //gaē "to lie." "To lie for something" = to lie in wait for or to ambush.

And while (hĩa) he is being ambushed (true pass.), he comes (/axi) with (/kha) a stringed instrument (rangyibi)*, and while he is coming (!gaēka,

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*Although this musical instrument, according to the information I received from one Hottentot, is plucked with the finger, in the following passage the word #kau "to strike" is used. That is an indication that the instrument was adopted only after the old term for the striking of the musical bow had already acquired the general meaning "to make stringed music" (cf. "Music Pantomimes," p. 374). Quite analogous is the use of the word dara (see "Fire Making Equipment").

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he plays ("strikes") and asked (tā): "Who (tarib) is near (dobe) the water? (//gamas)" The water always (haga, "over") answers (oā, -ba objectifying

"Here he uses the same stratagem that he used with the lion in XLI (see the bottom of p. 476.)

verbal particle) me (te) indeed (gum---g), after all (xaba)! I will ask [just] this (tai) one (//guina) time (!nāē)." And again (//khaba) he asked: "Who is at the water?" Then the leopard cried: "It is I!" But the [jackal] says: "Have you (-ta) [ever] heard (//nāū) or (tai "and") seen (mī) that (!kkaib) the water answers?" He said it and ran away.

[Text omitted]

[489] Translation of XLVI

The Lion and the Jackal

The lion and the jackal, the two of them, had gone (!ao, masc. pass.) hunting, and the jackal shot with his bow (//hxāō, vb.) fat (gaus) giraffes (!nafte). But the lion shot a skinny (ǂgabeas) giraffe; and the giraffes and the giraffes that the jackal had shot he took (ŋ), and he gave (mā) the jackal the skinny giraffe that he (//(e)ī) himself had killed. Then he gave him (ti, suff.) fat (gaoga, masc. pl.) and told (gai) him to call (ǂgai) the lioness (taraxa "wife").

But when (ŋ) the jackal came there (ai), he gave the fat to his (//(e)ī, pron. of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. used as a pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) children (oaxa, neut. pl.) and gave the lion children the lungs (ǂhe) and said to the lioness: "Your husband (aoǂ) wants [me] to say (gama, an adverb that indicates that that which he says is a commission) to you: "Stay (hā) at home with (/hgu) the children (/gaes)." Then he took his (the root ā is supplemented to become a pron. pron. by attaching the personal suff. of the possessor) wife and his children, all of them, and went (!gūng) and came [to the lion]. Then the lion said: "Whose (maka, with the personal suff. of the subj.) is the mistress (//naoxa, literally: "grandmother," a term of respect)?" And he answered: "Sir, my (ti) mistress does not wish (tire, fut. negative) to go (with personal suff.), so (tsoxū)

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the refused (/hoǂ) and remained." Then the lion went [himself]

But the jackal dragged (ǂâa "to climb up," ǂ "to take") all (hoa) the meat (//goa) up into (a) the giraffe tree and left (//nâǂa) the skinny giraffe behind. Then he roasted (aiza) out the fat and roasted a round quartz stone (//gurusa) into (!ua) the grease (//nuib). Now the lion came (/hoǂ) and cried, and the jackal answered (oē). [Then the lion cried:] "Pull me (te, suff.) up (!aba "to climb up," ǂ, see above)!" Then a thong [496] (!haoba) was let down (ǂ//naǂ) to him (-ba, in the predicate, objectifying particle), and he was drawn up ("/aoua); but just when (hîa) he arrived (ǂî, ta + ra) [above], the thong was cut (!kaai and !gao) and he plunged down." Then the jackal

> "ǂî signifies: a) the pressing of nursing cattle against the udder; b) to drop, with the refl. ending -sen: to plunge down.

said [to his mate]: "Give me a newly (/kas) prepared thong, -- [and whispered]: "give me an old thong!"

But when the lion could not manage (//ua "to be unable," ǂoaxa "to come forth"), the jackal said: "Sir, open (kaiba) your jaws (an !naaǂ and ǂî, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) catch ("hâi) this (ni) piece of fat (aeus, sing.) neatly (ǂaxa)! And be sure that it does not (nâ + toma) fall (ǂoa "to set," ǂ "to happen") on the ground (!hîb), for (ǂnigye) if (o, ga particle of the preterital) it falls, it will go to pieces (/aa)!" Then the [lion] opened his jaws, and the fat [with the red hot quartz stone in it] fell right down (ǂî, vb.) into his mouth.

Then the jackal cried: "Sir, [run] to (//ge) the water! (//gaua) To the water!" But he did not get there (doba) to the water, but died (//ô). (Literally: "while he did not get there, he died.") -- The stone plunged through his intestines and tore open his anus. For that reason -- this is what the Hottentot told me whom I asked for further details--every lion, when it has killed an animal, first gulps down a piece of hide in order to close up the hole that the glowing stone made.

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[Text omitted]

[491] Translation of XLVII

The Lion, the Husband of the White Crow

The lion had married the white crow; she had made (guru, with an indication of the ind. obj. by means of -ba) wings (//gaboga) for him (bi, personal suff.) and he flies (borrowed). Then when (o) he flies (ta euphonic for ra), she hangs up (!gaß "to bind," mai "to put") the bones (ǂkoboe, fem.) [of the slain prey]. But he cannot endure (/gara) that people (kxoßna, neut. pl.) walk about (!gũng), kills (!gam) everyone (koaß, neut. sing.) that he sees (mũ, with the personal suff. of the subject; ta : ra, with the personal suff. of the obj.). That is the way (ti) he does (hĩ) it.

Then one (/gui) day (tse) the jackal came (/kxi) and said [to the crow]: "Give ("au "to present") me (te, personal suff.) water (//gami)!" But she replied: "I (-ta, personal suff.) cannot (//oa, vb.) go away (bẽ) from (ǂu) the hut (omas), indeed (gum---o)." Whereupon the jackal: "I (tita) sit

"Because she has to keep a check on the bones that
are hung up! For if the bones fall to the ground,
then the lion also plunges to the earth.

(ǂnõa) here (nõba), and no dog (arib, neut. sing.) shall (tite, particle of the fut. negative) approach; so ("nũgye) go (ũ) and draw (ǂgurĩ) [water]." Then she went.

But the jackal took (ũ) the bones down (//nà, vb., in the pret. participle) and beat them to pieces (ǂnoa "to throw," /am /am, "to shatter"). Then the crow (expressed by the personal suff. -s in tsĩs) came and asked: "Who (tarib) has done (di) such a thing (/gaub)?" But the other answered: "When the other answered: "When (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -n neut. pl.) I slept (//om) here (nẽba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) a bit (-so, dimin.), dogs came in (ǂgã, vb.)."

Then when the sun (sores) went down, the two of them (-ra, personal suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) lay down to sleep. But the jackal took [491] (ũ, narr. pass.) the cover (ǂnamsa) of the di, gen. particle) white crow and gave (mĩ) the white crow his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron.) cover.

And the lion, while (hĩa) he approached (!goexa) from afar (!nũse, adv. with the personal suff. of the subj.), cried: "Mother (aise)! Lift (tsi)

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me up, won't you (re)!" " Then he came up and saw a strange (/hxaxs)

"The narrator bellows the word ton in a deep extended bass, imitating a distant lion's roar.

blanket. Then he stabbed (!kxū) the white crow dead (!an). But the jackal sprang (uri) forth (ǂara) and cried: "May (re, optative particle) we (-gye) poor (/gū) people [now be able to] walk peacefully (//gue "to lie") about (ai) the earth (!hūb)!"

[Text omitted]

[493] Translation of XLVIII

The Snake That a Stone Rolled Over While It Was Sunning Itself

A snake that was rolled over (ǂnū "to sit," ai "on") by a stone (/uiri - /ui ga) while (hī) it lay there (//gue) sunning itself (literally: "attaching" ǂnaobe "itself" -sen, "to the sun" sawe; -ī is an adjective forming particle), calls to all (haan) people (kxoēn, neut. pl.) who pass by (ǂ: "Help (ǂ "to take") me (te, personal suff.) get up (kxaī ai), won't you (probably borrowed; re optative particle)?"

Then one day the porcupine came (/hxī), and the snake cried: "Please help me to get up." Then the porcupine helped it up and went (!gūng) with (ǂ) it (hi, suff.) to (//ga) the water (//gams). But when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis, -hi) the two of them had come (ǂ) to (doba) the water, the snake coiled (tami) around the porcupine (expressed by the suff. hi), and when its head (tanas) comes to (!na) his throat (damī), she said: "I'll eat (ǂ) you (hi, personal suff.)!" Then the porcupine said: "Hey (kka) we (-kxam, suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.) are on our way (gare, vb.), after all (gum---o), to a big (gai) kraal (//gaūb)!""

"Supply: "Let us settle our matter there."

And the two of them came to the kraal of the ani lizard. But it said": "The men (aogu) have already (tun "to be through") hurried away

"The following answers are supposed to typify cowardly refusal to play the part of a judge.

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(!gūng and !hie) and have deserted (ǂan) me! [I must quickly follow them!]" It spoke and went away.

Then they came to the kraal of the gabemaub lizard. But it tied (!gaā "to bind," !hyāb "body") its blanket (ǂhamma) up and ran away.

Then they came to the kraal of the jackal. But he tied up his blanket and said: "What (tarē, with the suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. dual masc.) are you seeking (oā) here (gua'a "to arrive")? I am just (ra, progressive action) leaving, I am just leaving! Come quickly and (ē, with imperative force) let me (-ra) hear (//naī)." Then the two of them came, and the porcupine said: "Oh (ō at the end of the sentence), this one (nē) here (kx'aēb, "man"), from whom after all (gum---o) [494] I rolled off the mane, wants to eat me." Whereupon the jackal: "Come! Run! Let me see (gō)!"

Then they got there and the jackal said: "Lie down (ǂhūī "to sit down"), let me see!" Then the snake lay down in (ai) two (/gam) coils (!hamra, dual fem., formed from !ham "to return"). Then the jackal asked (ta): "Was she lying (ǂhūe) like that (nēti)?" And the porcupine said: "No!" Then she lay down the right way (ǂxāse).

But the jackal put (ǂhūī) the snake on her and said: "Even (ǂaise) always (gom) when we(-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl.) go past here (ta), the snake may continue to say: 'Please help me up, [We will leave it lying there!]" And he said further: "If (o) something (ǂūī) bad (tsūbe, "wrong") happens to you (gare), only (/gui) then do you think of me (tita)!" (Literally: "is there a thinking-of-me," ǂhna fem.). He said and whipped (ǂhaī) the porcupine.

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIX

The Jackal and the Two Girls

And (o) it happened this way (literally: "was done" hāhe): The jackal, to be sure (gye, verbal particle of the present; hā, verbal particle [495] expressing a condition; ǁ "to take"), has two (/gam) girls (kxūbba, dual fem.) but only (/gui) with (/xūa) one (/guib) girl does he sleep (//nun, again pass.). And (tsī) since (o) he [can] not (tama) enjoy (tsī "to tame," pass.) the other (tara) girl, he made (ūī, pass.) a plan (/khoē, neut. sing.).

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He went hunting (!au), and shortly before (//gē) he went (!gūing, pass.), [he said]: "If (o, "if . . . then") a springbok (//gūbe) comes by (double vb.: hā "to come hither," ǂī "to go," ga verbal particle of the subjunctive) here (nūba, with the personal suff. of the subj.), then the two of you (-ro personal suff. of the 2nd pers. dual fem.) are to (nī) speak (nūī) thus (ti): May (ga) this (nē) springbok collapse ("xgūse) in (!na) the base of his upper thigh (literally: "big" gai, "bone" ǂkx'ūb)!" (gauna gives these words the character of a commission.) And the two of them said: "Yes (ē)!" To (//gē) the other girl, however, he said: "You (sao) will take (ū) the genitals"

> /oa aib are the male genitals along with everything connected with them: ai "upon." Similar slaughtering terms are, !nā aib "the belly region"; saru aib "the skin and fat in the cutting area of the fat-tail that is opened along the central center line."

if the springbok collapses."

--The lascivious jackal goes off, transforms himself into a springbok and lasteem past the girls. --

And when the springbok came by, then the two of them [cried]: "May the springbok that is running (gare) there ("are : //nūbe) collapse in the base of the upper thigh!" Then the springbok collapsed and they slaughtered (gē) it. But the one girl, whom [the jackal] had not enjoyed, took the genitals and roasted (ao) them and took them out (ǂū) [of the fire] and ate (ū) first (aibe) the fat (gauna) and ate up all the fat completely (tsa "to cease"). Then she placed (//gū) [the penis of the springbok] on (ai) a broad (ǂkaiba) stone (/oin) and pounded ("khoe) it soft. But then [the penis] jumped into (!na) her (//(o)ūb (ǂgū "to go in"); and she pulled (ǂgai) it out and pounded it again (//xūkhā); and then it jumped back into her. But the jackal cries: "She who (se) has never (hoge "ever," tama "not") been

> "When the jackal has satisfied his lust, he removes his old shape, dances around the girl and says: (see above).

enjoyed (nūba)--[I have] enjoyed her (ū)!"

[496] [Text omitted]

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Translation of 1.

The Jackal Who Carried the Sun Pickaback

And it happened like this (hîhe "was done"): they went wandering (ǂoē), and with (/hǂa) the jackal the people went [497] (hǂoǂo, neut. pl.) away (hē, vb.); however (ǂâse), he remained (hã, narr. pass.) behind (hǂâse ai) and came (hã) where (-ha) the sun* (sore) was sitting (ǂhãe).

*Conceived in the shape of a beautiful girl.

and said: "Come, let (ã, with imperative force) me (-xa) carry you (ǂî, fem.) on my back." (ǂîa "to carry a child in a skin on one's back.") But she refused (ǂhǂî). Nevertheless (ǂâse) he said: "Come let me carry you on my back." Then he picked her up, and the two of them (-re, dual masc.-fem.) went (!gãe).

And while (hîã, with the personal suff. of the subj.) they are going (gare), he was no longer able to bear the load" (hay "to bring," //oa "not to

"He now tries, with all sorts of stratagems, to free himself from the load of the sun, but is continually rejected with ironic words.

be able"). Then he said: "Climb off; let me shoot (ǂhae) three (tã) giraffes (!oaǂe + ǂî, fem. pl.)." But she said: "Always (hoge), even when (hîa "while") I (-xa) was being carried pickaback, people have shot giraffes with me (ǂî "to take," he pass. ending)." And the two of them went. Then he said: "Climb down, there (sâe, demons. pass., neut. pl.) stand (mã) some springbok (//gãna, neut. pl.)." But she said: "Always, even when I was being carried pickaback, people have seen (mã) springbok with me." And the two of them went on (//hǂaîa). And when the man (nuhe, the jackal in human form) could no longer stand it, he said: "There stand some oxen (!goreo + -ti), so (ǂaigye), climb down, let me shoot." But she [replied]: "Always, even when I was being carried pickaback, people have, after all (goreo), shot oxen with me." Whereupon the man: "In just a moment (/îse) I will (tã) rape (ǂ.ai "to complete copulation") you with the

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penis (ǂkâi) that is located on (/kxâb "body," ai "at") my back (!gâb)." But she said: "I have always been used to copulating with a penis which is situated on the back."

Then he hurried (!kxŏe) with (ǂî "to take," used here as a prep.) her (ni) and went (hî) into (!na) the water (//gamu). "Splash" ("//ubu) said [the water], but he was not (tsama) helped (hâi). Then he came up (ǂoa, vb.) out of (ǂî) the water and dug (ǂoro) a root ("!numaha "a root stock that runs horizontally") and slipped (//haru) there (//nî) under the root, and [498] while the sun got stuck ("ǂhoa) by her skin (kxŏb), he crept through (!kxŏaru, vb.) on the other ("nau) side (/kxâib) and goes home (//aru).

Then he met (gî "to come," hŏ "to get") the two (-ra, dual fem.) sun sheep and slaughtered (ǂî) one and took the fat (gauna) and went and came [home]. Then the children (/goâna, neut. pl.) [cried]: "Father (ǂâb, abbreviated from ǂîǂab) is carrying (tani) meat" (//gana)!" Thus (tsami)

> "The children thought that the hideless back of the old jackal, which had been scraped bloody, was prey that he carried on his back.

they hurried toward (!oa, vb.) [him]. Then the man became angry (//aiǂa) and comes (/xǂî), while he is expiring (//ô, ta euphonious for ra) of thirst ("//gâi "thirsty"), and demands (ǂgan) water. Then his wife (tarasa) gave (tsî) [some water] to him, and while he takes [it] (double vb.: !kxô "to take," !oa "to meet," ta : ra.), [the water] dries (ǂnâ) up." Then the

> "According to legend, the sun lets two sheep that are untouchable grass on the earth. Whoever commits the sin of touching them dies of thirst because all water dries up before his very lips.

wife knew (ǂhoa) that (!kxaib) he had slaughtered a sun sheep and said: "We have (-nî, demon. pron., da-nî; ǂîǂab let pers. pl. neut.) go past the two sun sheep that you slaughtered there every (hoa) day (tsâte ? ti)." (Double vb.: !gung and ["to go," /kxâb "side"). So she said and asked (hî) whether (!kxaib) he had taken the fat. And he said: "I have!" Whereupon she: "Go, put (ǂnî) it away." Then he went to put it away, but he keeps a small (ǂkxari) piece of fat (-ro, dimin.) and comes. Then

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the wife poured out (ǂnã, ba, objectifying particle) [some water] for him, and again (//xgaba) the water dried up. Then she said: "Go, put it all (boragase) away." Whereupon he: "I am keeping a little bit (ǂǁãb "thing," ro, dimin., i, suff. of the neut. sing.) in order (ga) to anoint (sobo, ni verbal particle of the fut.) my eyes (mũte + ti)." But the wife said: "As long as (gõse) you (-ta, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) keep the fat (ãuna, neut. pl.) there (//nã), you will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) drink (ǂ) water and (uĩ, with the rarely used full form of the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.: ti) die of thirst." Then he went to put all of it away and came and drank water.

[499] [Text omitted]
[Fig.--Felis leo L. ♂]

[500] Translation of LI

The Ostrich Hen Who Marries the Lion

An ostrich hen (/amisa) had married (!game, narr. pass.) a lion and bore (ũa). But when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) she drove (!xgaĩ, "to drive the cattle to the fields after milking") the cows (gomase) into the fields after milking, the lion ate up the baby (/gũaũ, neut. sing., -ro dimin.), and when (hĩa) the baby was already devoured (haba), she came along. Then she bore again (//xǂaba), but once again the lion ate the child (expressed by the demon. root //ui with the personal suff. of the neut. sing. -ũ).

But she bore the third, (!gama //(o)ĩ, with personal suff.) after (-tsĩ, particle of the past. participle after ǂoro "to dig") she had dug a hole ("khe). In (!na) the den without his (-b after /ĥ "not to know") knowing it. And when (o) she had finished (tsa "to cease") milking (/ao) and drives (ta + ra) the cows into the fields, she comes (ũ) to call (ǂgai) the child (hi, personal suff. of the masc.) for nursing (dai "to suck," -si gives the vb. a causative force) and [sings] like this (tsani): "Catch (ra) him (hi), the one with the skinny !gaes) rear" [501] (ǂǂaoba)! my Bastkeb! Catch

"The mother teases the child about his skinniness and frightens him. Bastkeb is the proper name of the young ostrich; I ran across this word only one other time.

1: Schultze--282A N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Epson

Felis leo ♂

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with a feminine ending, as the name of a girl from the Bethanie Hottentots. Hubeis is the proper name of the ostrich hen.

him, the son (ǂaǂa) of Hubeis!" Then it comes out (ǂoaǁa, vb.) and when it has finished nursing, she goes [off]. Then she leaves the cows standing (//nâkʼu "to leave") [in the fields], and when she comes back she cries: "Catch him, the one with the skinny rear! Bastibeis! Catch him, the son of Hubeis!" Then it comes out and nurses.

But one (/gui) day (tsî), when she was driving the cows (with the personal suff. of the subj.) into the fields, the lion followed (uxo) her (di, suff.), without her seeing (mî, hâ auxiliary vb. with adj. ending) it, and saw where (mains, interrogative, with personal suff.; through the conjunction !kʼaiǂ it gets the force of an indirect question which is expressed in German by a relative clause) she had home, and he heard (//nâ) how (mati) she called. And when she had finished suckling the child and had gone away, he comes to the place and sings": "Catch him, the one with

"The narrator growls the words of enticement in a deep bass.

the skinny rear!" etc. But the child did not come out. Then he called again": "Catch him!" etc. Now it came out and he caught (ǁ kʼoâ) and

"The narrator now sings the words in a high voice.

swallowed it.

[Fig. --Struthio australis 1.]

But the ostrich hen left the cows in the fields, and when she came back, she called: "(The call of enticement followed). But it was still (!nâ). And once again she sang (!oâ) and stepped (hâ) up to (-xa ai) the den (ǂa : âi). Then she saw the tracks (ǂnaga, masc. pl.) of the (di, gen. particle) lion. When she came back (ti), she sang: "Oh Hingxaibus,"

"Puzzling folk-tale name for the ostrich.

whom (a) I (tita) bear a son (expressed here by the suff. -hâ), then he (ǂaǂa "son") whom I bear is (hâ) always only (/guib "single") an unfortunate one!" (/um. The -hi is an old demon. of the masc. sing.) But

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[1901]

Struthio camelus L. ♀

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the two of them (-ra, personal suff. of the dual masc.-fem.) dissolved their marriage (!gûs, vb.) and the ostrich hen went back home (//aru, vb.).

[Text omitted]

[Translator's note: The single German phrase in the text (at the top of page 503) means: "Final song with low accompaniment."]

[503] Translation of III

The Baboon and the Lion

The baboon and the lion, the two of them, live (//as) together (//aesha "united"). And (ǂî) when (o, after !gûng) the baboon takes (ũ) the musical bow (kxâbe, see page 376) and goes (!gûng, verbal particle of the present), the lion creeps (/kxûri, expressed passively) behind the baboon. But he sees (mîn) that (!kxâsi) he is being followed (ta euphonious for ra) and [sings]: "I see (mîn, -se verbal particle) the one (-ha) who follows (//haba) me (-ra), a person (kxûĕ-). I (tita) [see the] creeper. [I] with eyes everywhere (taoba "to look around distrustfully," -ǂa a particle denoting a high degree, mîb "eye," -sa adj. ending) [see] the creeper!" In this way (tsamî) he plays on the bow (!gaba "to strike").

But the lion (indicated by the suff. -b in ob) believes (ǂaî, ti "so"), when (ǂî) he is being (sa : ra) looked at (ǂîbe, with suff.), [that he sees the baboon's] back-of-the-head (!aoxa) and creeps on, although he is seen. But when the baboon looks away (!aru/Tû), the other ducks down (//gaĕ "to lie down"), and when he is seen, he creeps on. And he came all the way up (doubles vb.: hâ "to come," toa "to cease") and jumped (ǂhaxa). Then the baboon quickly (!aubase) slipped away (ǂgû) toward the overhanging cliff ("corner") and the lion fell (//nâ) down (//gama) from (ǂâ) the cliff (here with a full masc. ending) and perished (//ûi).

Then the baboon, after (taî, verbal particle of the pret. participle) he had climbed down (//gîna), cut (ǂû) out (ǂhâ) the liver (a!ûsa) and roasted (axa) it and went (di) to (ni) the kraal (//gama) with (/kxâ) the liver and gave (mâ) the [family] mother (//gusa) the lion (ǂkami) liver.

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Then she asked (tẽ): "Why (tarexa) does the liver stuff (-ẽ, neut. sing., with a contemptuous connotation) taste (//kxoa) like that (hĩ)?" Thereupon [504] the baboon told (gai) his (ã, root of the poss. pron. connected with the personal suff., -b, of the possessor) children (/gõan) and his wife (taras) to climb (ǂoa) up (//ga) the cliff. And they climbed up. Then, when (o) they had climbed up, he answered (!eream) the lioness while (o, "when") he meanwhile (hĩa) remained (!gau) alone (/guri) at (doba) the hut (oms): "Over there" (//nã, with the personal suff. of the

"As he speaks the baboon points sarcastically toward the lion's hut.

subject) the liver acquires (hã) such a taste (kxoma "so," nã "to taste")." Thus he answered her (ti).

[Fig. --Papio porcarius (Boddaert.) an old male.]

Then she came out (ǂoexa), but he runs away (!kxoẽ, ni, verbal particle of the fut. expresses anticipation of being chased) and climbs up (double vb.: ti and ǂoa). And (o) she comes (ti) there and sees that (!kxaiti) her (ã) son (/goaib) is dead (//ẽ). Then she became afraid (!ao) and she cries: "You (ti) stay (hã) forever (!ari "completely") on (ai) the mountains (!hungu)!" [Ever since] this (ne) day (tsĩs) the baboon remains (hã with an adjectival genuitive ending -ti) on the mountains.

[The baboons now live in peace and sing:]

"When (o in the last measure, with the suff. -kye: "we") we pick up (naha) tree resin ("/nuruna, favorite food of the baboon) and are sitting (ǂoe) [comfortably], then kindly leave us in peace!" (Literally: "Then may we sit, please," -re).

[506] . [Text omitted]

Translation of LIII

The Aro Lizard and the Lion

The aro lizard lives as a neighbor (!hari, nasr. pass.), to (/xũs) the lion. And the lion goes hunting (!au, [506] vb.); then the lizard sings

1: Schultze--285A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[1504]

Papio procarius (Boddaert.) an old male.

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bones (//xx‡gu) on a cord" (ŋ̃ŋ̃ana, vb. in the narr. pass.) and lies down

"The lizard is making itself a rattle to
frighten the lion.

(tí "goes," //gaē "to lie down") beside (!na "on, next to") the path (daob), and when (o) the lion comes (kx'i) with the personal suff., ta : ra) he [the lizard] slips (ǂgã, narr. pass.) between (!na "in") [the lion's] legs (/nũgu). Then he [the lion] throws (ao) the meat (//ganga, masc. pl.) away (‡u "to abandon") and flees (!kxoē-ni).

But the lizard takes (ŋ) the meat, and when (o) he comes (tí, ta : ra) [home], he says (mí, with the objectifying particle -ha) to his wife (tarasa): "Order (ē) the children (/gõan, neut. pl.) not (tã : toma) to play (/hurus) with (//are "to come together") the lion children." So he says.

But one (/gui) day (tē) when the lion had gone away (!gũng), the children ran away and played together. Then they got into a quarrel (!kxam, vb.) and the lizard children cried: "Hey, how nicely (!gãise) our father (ǂkhi) frightens (!aoi ao) your father (taoha) with the bones and takes (ŋ) the meat away (/hana "to rob," narr. pass., with personal suff.) [from him]."

But the lion, frightened (-tí, verbal particle of the pret.) [by the old ape lizard], again (//kxaba) came (/kx'i) without (õe) meat. Then the children said: "Uncle Trust God (Cape Dutch name for the !arob-lizard), indeed (gum---o), does (‡aba) frighten father and takes the meat away (‡u) from father."

Then the lion went to the (//ge) kraal (//gõas) of the lizard and got there and asked (ũ) like this (tama): "Are you (sasa, pron. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) making (di) me (tita, pron. with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing. : -ti) your village idiot?" (//are "to make a fool of," kxoē "person," neut. sing.).

But the lizard said: "Why (tare) !ama) does Uncle ask such things?" (/gaē, "way," neut. sing.).

Whereupon the lion: "Why, your (se) children said that you frighten me and take the meat away; that is what (ti) your children said."

But the lizard said: "Since (o) I (demon. root ni with the personal suff. of the 1st pers. sing.) lie down hungry (!ãi) when the sun (aoxa) sets (ǂgã)--how in the world (literally: "ai ai, "which" mã, "time" //aēb) do I know (ǂhi) about something like that?" (‡ãsa "things," neut. pl.).

[307] Then the lion went. But the lizard said to the lizard wife: "Didn't I tell you (sase, pron. of the 2nd pers. fem. sing.), the children

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[should] not (tā) play together?" and put (ǂgā) the children in the rogue's sack." Then he went to the lion's kraal, got there and said to the lion:

[WS] ' /hõa gaos, a little sack made of leather in which small stolen items are concealed (cf. page 235).

"Because (xūi ao) the misbehavior of this pack of children (literally: "the manner that resembles I this child thing,") now (ui sirisa) is bringing strife between us (literally: "drags" ǂgaē, "the two of us" sakxum, "together" //are, vb.), look (gum---o "yes"), for that reason I have (the pret. is expressed here by toa "to be finished") killed (ǂnãa !ao) my (ti, stem of the poss. of the 1st pers. sing., used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) children." So he said.

Then the lion killed (!gam) his (ē, root of the poss. pron.; with the personal suff. of the possessor it forms the full poss. pron.) children so that not (tamaae, adv.) even (tī, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl. referring to /gaos) a single (/gui) little one (-ro dimin.) was left (!gae).

[Fig. --A member of the Lacertidae that is called /gabemaa-b (S. a.) and is related to the Scapteira. 1/6 natural size.]

But the aro lizard went home (//are, vb.) and when he climbed up (ai) a mountain ridge (!naũi) and saw (mĩ) a gabemaab lizard," he dumped

"This variety is reputed to be a favorite food of the aro lizard.

(taare) the children out (ǂui). When a noise (ǂkurukis) arose (ǂãi "to sit, to take place") there, the lion cried: "Give (ao) me some of (ǂa) the thing, won't you (re), with (ti) which you (-re, suff.) have made (ǂgaoǂgaa) your children come to life." But he did not see the aro lizard again.

[508] [Text continued]

Translation of LIV

The Lion Who Calls the Women So That He Can Be Managed

The lion pretends to be deathly ill (//ũ//hare, caus. pass.) and calls (ǂgui, caus. pass.) the women (ǂkhaoba + khoiti, "people," fem.) so that

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A member of the division Lacertilia that is called ⅓ and is released to the group Isopleura. 1 8/10 natural size. (This size seems improbable; it might be a misprint for "1/8 natural size!" -- Translator's note.)

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(ga) he may be massaged (!gurî)." And they came (/kxî). But the ostrich

[75?] "Massage is one of the favorite household remedies of the Hottentots.

(/amisa) is milking (/ao) the cows (gomats - -ti) and sings (//nai): "[You look] alive (ũitsaba) in the (!na) eye (mi). I (tita, pron.) think (gai)."

"The ostrich sees through the lion's deception.

Thus (tumi) sang the ostrich; whereupon [the lion]: "Little ostrich (-se, dimin.), what (tas, abbreviated from tarte) are you saying (mĩ, ta after the t, the personal suff. of the subj., is euphonious for ra) there (ti)?" Whereupon the other: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob, term of respect) is most (gai "big" -se adverbial ending) deathly sick, I think, deathly sick is he." So said the ostrich. And the women (expressed only by the personal suff. of the fem. pl.) finished (toa "to cease") massaging him and went home (//aru, vb.). But one (/guisa) he caught (!kxõ) and had intercourse with her. (!xas, "to complete coitus").

[Text omitted.]

[50?] Translation of LV

The Lion and the Ostrich

The lion and the ostrich, the two of them, met (hao, narr. past.) in (!na) the fields (!gamis) when (hĩa) the lion had just killed (!gam) a springbok (//gubu). Then the ostrich lit (kxaa) a fire (/aba). But the lion ate (ĩ) [the meat] raw (orase, adv.), and the ostrich roasted (am) it, and when (a) he had finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff. of the subj.) eating, he again (//kxaba) went (ĩ) to cut off (!gao) [some more for himself].

Then the lion said: "Say (gum---a), it was I (tita, pron.), after all (!kabe), who killed a springbok (dhaa?, narr. sing.)!" and got angry (//aixa).

Then the ostrich said: "You (ta---ta) child of a raw-eater! ("child" ũa, "of a mother who eats raw meat"; the mother is only hinted at contemptuously by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.: -i,) you (-ta, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) raw-eater!"

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And the lion replied: "You child of a pebble-swallower!" (//gurus

"It is well known that the ostrich has a considerable number of pebbles in its gizzard for grinding its food.

"quartz," hara "to swallow") You pebble-swallower! Let (hã) us (-khom, [810] suff.) fight with our teeth (//gē) -- What about it (ge)?" (Literally: "let us stand with our teeth mutually in front," aibegu).

But the ostrich replied: "My mother (mamas, with the old demon. particle -i) did not (tsama) bear (//ore, negr. pass.) me (ta, suff.) for (-he) anything (khīr) like a fight with teeth."

Then the lion said: "Then let us fight with our hands (!um)." But the ostrich replied: "My mother did not bear me for anything like a hand fight."

[Fig. --Struthio australis L. dj

And the lion said: "Then (//nai) let us fight with our heads (tsaxa)." But the ostrich replied: "My mother did not bear me for anything like a head fight."

Then the lion said: "Then let us fight with our feet (#hi)." But the ostrich said: "My mother did not bear me for anything like a foot fight."

Now the lion said: "Then let us fight with our claws." Then the ostrich said: "Yes, for that (literally: "for the" //nãsa, "place" !kXais) she (//(e)ĩsa, personal pron.) did indeed bear me."

And the two of them kicked (#hũ) each other (-ge, reciprocal particle). The lion kicked, but he did not accomplish anything (ũ "to do"). Then the ostrich kicked and slit (//nuũ) the lion open."

"The kick of an ostrich in heat has caused much damage on the breeding farms of the Cape Colony.

[811] [Text omitted]

Translation of LVI

The Steinbok and the Lion

The steinbok and the lion, the two of them, were out hunting (!au, vb. in the caus. pass.) and met (/hao) in (!oa) the field (gaxub). Then

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Struthio camelus L. ♂

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the lion said: "What (xanū) kind of little things" (x̄ǂoma) are set (mai) on you

"The sharp pointed horns of the male are meant,

(indicated by the objective particle -ba) there (nā, demon. root with the personal suff. of the subj.)!"

Whereupon the other said: "Oh (kxa), when (a) you (uga, pron. of the 2nd pers. masc. pl.) see (mū) a person (!xKoēē, neut. sing., -a dimin.) alone (/gui) and would (ga, verbal particle of the precative, ga personal suff. of subj.) do some harm (//ae) [to him just as you would to me (te, suff.), then I will (nā) defend myself (//xKaobaese) with (ā) the little things that I have on my head, yes indeed (gomā)."

Then the lion said: "Run (!xKoē) and (ē, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) butt (ē "go," !xKā "to shove, to butt"), won't you (//nā), into the termite hill (literally: "ani" !hīh, "navel" ubun) that stands (ǂkuia "to sit") there (//nā)."

Whereupon the ostrich said: "You (saisa, pron.) kindly (se) butt first (xiba)."

[512] Then the lion hurried [over] and butted. But although (x̄aiba) he butted, nothing (tama "not," x̄ōē "a thing," neut. sing.) happened (ǂ). Then the ostrich hurried [over] and butted, and the little pieces (!ārun, neut. pl.) of the (ā, poss. pron.) termite mound only (/guisa, referring to ubun) jumped (!oē) [around].

[Fig. --Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg). Swinhoe♀.]

The lion was not prepared (mū "to me," -ba objectifying particle, -sen suff. particle) for this, and he ran away (!xKoē-oē). But the ostrich chased behind (!gum) and (the personal suff. -b after !xKoēb gives the vb. a substantive and, hence, subjective character) butted (//gaī) him (bi, suff.) in the anus (tsas, suff. is missing).

[513] [Text omitted]

Translation of LVII

The Lion and the Silver Jackal

The lion assembled (/gui, masc. pers.) the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar) (//ka, neut. pl.), the jackals (/gōtu), the silver jackals (!kxamas, cf.

1: Schultze--2564 N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Nama

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[611]

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg). Steenbok ♀

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page 454), the "dwarfs" (/ēn), the wolves (/gîs), the cats (/hõan)-- all of them -- and said": "Which rogue (literally: "which" tsi, "child of a

"To be understood as a provocation to be allowed to commit a murder without punishment.

genital" tsoas õa, "genital" tsoab = penis) will (nĩ, fut.) stab (!kock) me (tita, pron.) in the anus (tsoaba) with (/kxĩ) a hot (/gamas) iron (/uris)?"

And when (o) they (-gu, suff.) had recovered from their fear ("ceased" toa, "to be afraid" !ao), the jackal said: "I (ta, suff.) first (aibe) want to go (ĩ) to call the child of the sister (!gã, without a suff., kxoĩs "human being," fem.) of all (hoa) [men]." He spoke and stuck ("went" !gũng, "to

"This refers to the silver jackal, who best repeesents his species.

stick" ǂgĩ) the iron into (!na) the fire (/aĩs) of (di, postpositive gen. particle with the personal suff. of the governing substantive) the bellows (soasoab) and set out on his way. And when he came to call him, the other said: "Why (taeõ = taroõ) are you calling me?" He spoke (mĩ, pret. participle) and went

Then they arrived, and the lion said: "What rascal will burn (dao) my anus for me (tita, suff.), also a rascal?" However (ǁabe, with suff.) the silver jackal kept quiet (kxom, "spoke," toma "not"), took (ũ) out (ǂui, pret. participle) his little bone pipe (!hafb, -ro dimin.), struck fire (ǂnan, vb.) on the tinderbox (dorosa) and smoked (ǂgaõ) and said: "Whether I do it or not (literally: "I will do" dĩ, "it in vain" //ause), I (nẽ, demon. root [514] with the personal suff.) will be caught (!kxõ) nevertheless. After all (gum---o), there is only a single (/gui /guis) day of death." Then he put out (/ari, narr.

"That is: "After all, I cannot be tormented to death for a long time." Or: "After all, I have got to die sometime." tsĩs "day," //õ "to die," substantivized by the personal suffix of the neuter singular.

pass.) his bone pipe and put it away (ǂgã, narr. pass.).

Now when the lion was lying (//goõ) there like that (//nãti), the silver jackal (-i, old demon. suff.) asked: "Isn't the iron warm?" And the jackal

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answered: "It has become warm (the suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. is attached to the particle of the pret., go), you child of my good [female] comrade (ǂaa, "coeval"; cf. page 318)." And it was hot, and it looks (i. vb.) like (kxoma) blood (/aob). Then the lion asked again: "What rogue wants to burn my anus?" But the silver jackal answered: "This (ti---ta) "I" rogue will burn your anus." He said it and burned his anus.

Then they chased (saru) each other (-ga, reciprocal particle). Then the lion comes (hã) up, but the jackal dodges (ǂgõ) and brushes (/hore) him in the eyes (mĩ, the suff. is omitted before the postposition) [with his bushy tail]. But while the two are carrying on like this (hĩ), the lion became limp (saas). Then the silver jackal leaped (uri) with (ĩ, the verbal origin of the postposition is expressed in the attached ending of the narr. pers.) him over a young (ǂkxam) hakjes thorn (!noõba), but the lion jumped too, and they kept on chasing. Then the silver jackal leaped with him over a large (gai) hakjes thorn but there (//nãba) the lion got stuck (hã !ari, "to remain behind alone") and the silver jackal came home (//aru, vb.) alone (!guri).

[515] [Text omitted]

[516] Translation of LVIII

The Fly That Marries the Elephant

The fly (/gĩnas) had been married (!gamaiba) to the elephant (ǂkxoaiba) and had moved (//ã) to (//ga) the elephant kraal (//gaũ), and there (//nãba, with the full and rarely used suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.) she bore (hõ) a daughter (/gõasa). Then (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. -kxa, dual masc.) her two brothers (!gãmakxa) asked (sẽ) of (doba) their mother (//gĩsa): "Were we (sikxama, personal pron. of the first pers. dual masc. exclusive) then (ga) not (toma, with the personal suff. of the subj.) born (//axa) along with (/kxa) a sister (!gãsa,tarere fem.)?" So they ask. Whereupon (o) the mother: "You (kxo, dual masc.) possess (double vb.: ã "to take," hã "to remain") a sister" says the mother, "but (gabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) she is not here (nẽba); she has married into (!ns) a bad (//aixa) tribe (!haos)," she says. Thereupon the two of them

reply: "We will (ǂnĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) go (ǃgõũ) to (//ge) the bad people there (//nâ)." "But you will be killed (ǃgamhe)," says the [mother]. But they both went.

And toward evening (ǃui "to become evening," vb.; a verbal particle expressing a condition; here both are connected to form an adv.) they got (ũ) there just when (ǂâ) the little elephant children (-se, dimin. particle) and the daughter of their (ã poss. root with the personal suff. of the possessor, -kʻĕa) sister are throwing (ǂnaxa "to strike"; see "Children's Games," page 313) the ana sticks (//xraga). And while they are throwing the sticks, the two of them (o, with personal suff., introducing the apodosis) went (hã) into (ǂgã, vb.) the bushes. Now [the children] throw--then (o with the masc. personal suff. of the subj.) the stick of the daughter (di, [517] gen. particle) of their sister, who (-s in ǂnaxas) had thrown, came (ũ) to rest (//gũ) [where] the two (//(e)ĩkxa, personal pron., 3rd pers. dual masc.) were sitting (ǂnãĩa, ha indicates the relation to an obj.--here the fly's child). And when she came to take (ũ) the stick, she is called (ǂgaihe) [by them] and cuddled (xnahe; actually: "made faithful by the smell," //xnah, like a puppy, see page 260). And when she had picked up (double vb.: ũ "to take" and tsa "to cease") the stick, she goes [to the elephant children] and says: "You (nadu, 2nd pers. neut. pl.) who eat (ǂã) mud" (ǂgoah), go to (//ge) the mud! Let (ũ, "and," with imperative

> "The belief, widespread among the Hottentots that the elephant feeds upon mud can probably be traced to the fact that these animal rooted up the bed of the Vlei completely whenever they came down to the water in herds, as they used to do. Then they not only drank muddy water, but they carried away so much mud on their feet that in the course of time the water hold became deeper and deeper, as though it had been progressively eaten up.

force) me (-ta), who (tita) drinks (a) milk (daiß, neut. sing.), go to the milk." Then the little elephants hurried (ǃkxoã) to the mud, and the little fly hurried to the milk. And when (o) she got there, she says: "Mother (aise), get up (kxaĩ) and (ũ) come (ǂĩ) give (mã) me (te) milk!" So she says. (The woman is not sitting in her own hut, but in a neighboring one.) But the mother does not get up, and the [little one] weeps: (ã). Then the mother gets up and goes there and goes to pour (ǂnã, -ha a verbal particle emphasizing the obj.) milk

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for her (ti). Whereupon [the little one]: "Mother, I have seen something (xûi): go there, won't you (-re), and see." So she says.

Then she took a thong (!hauba) and went and saw (actually: "came to see") the two of them (-kxâ, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc. in the dat.-acc.). Then she plucked (taurg) grass (/gûba) and wrapped (//guiam) the two of them, their two dogs (aribka), everything (hm) together (/xâa) in the grass. Then she brought (double vb.: ê "to go," ĝ "to take") the two of them to the hut (omi), and in the hut she built (om) a separate hut (/gui "alone," hã "to remain") and said (gai) the two of them to lie down. Then they lay down and warmed the dogs (mî "to say," -ba emphasizes the relation to the obj.): "You should (ni) not (ti) drink (ĝ) like that" (tumi)." So

> "Here the narrator imitates the lapping noise of drinking dogs.

they said. But the [other] asked the old elephant mother: "When (ni) I [518] once upon a time (!kare) married here (ubba), was a hare (!gara) kneed (//gaaa adj., here used substantivally //gaaa(-b)) wether (gûb) slaughtered (ubba) for me" (ta, -ba see above)?" Whereupon [the old woman] said: "You

[535 576]

> "It is a Hottentot custom for the mother-in-law to slaughter a head of cattle when she receives the young wife who moves into her husband's kraal. The daughter-in-law then does the same. If this festive slaughter is omitted by well-situated families, then that is a breach of good form, an unfriendly gesture toward the young wife.

wife (tzaaa) of my (ti) son," why (tarra, with the personal suff. of the subj.)

> "The crude conception of the family life which causes the young wife so much suffering is characterized by the words of the old elephant; she does not speak of her son as the man whom she bore (ãaib) but whom she conceived in copulation (aã "to complete coitus").

do you suddenly (tsûã, "one day") speak of things (xûna) that you (-s in hugas) never (huga, "ever," toma "not") mention?" But the other replied: "I (-ta)

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simply am asking (ka). " Then [the old woman] said: "Nothing was slaughtered for [you]," and slaughtered her (ni) a wether. Then [the young wife] combed (mi) it, and when it is done (//ka), she ladles it (ki) out (ghi) into (!ae) the wooden dish (!ai) [ready] for the two waiting (//gai "to lie," -!a objectifying particle) men and places (mai) it before the waiting men.

And the time (//aiha) when the elephant is accustomed to arrive (/hi), literally: "the coming time of the elephant," di gen. particle) is at hand (/ae). Then [the fly] wants the two men: "When he, having arrived (hi "to come," mi verbal particle of the pret. participle), beholds (!gai, literally: "comes to behold"), then hold your nostrils (ngui) shut." (Double vb.: "!khi, "to grasp, ngua "to cover") so she says. Then she grinds up (!kui) bucho powder" (hai, neut. sing.). Then [the old woman] says: "What (tsoe) sort

> "The fragrant powder is supposed to conceal the smell of the heathen which the old elephant mother (who is conceived as being blind) could scent. The fact that the old elephant was not acquainted with the scent of bucho, the national perfume of the Hottentots, is a further illustration of how alien the young wife (here seen as a fly) has remained in the elephant's family.

of smells (//amaxa, neut. pl.) that I have never sniffed (!kxaihe) am I getting (hâ) to sniff today (ni "on this," mâi "day," neut. sing.)?" (ti, interrogative particle). But [the fly] replied: "Do you (mâi, 2nd pers. neut. pl.) think (ghi, ti "so"), because I married [into your tribe], I should not (tite, verbal particle of the fut. negative) make (di) bucho powder for myself (-ma, refl. ending)?" And then it got dark (!kxai).

Then the [elephant] came, and while (hîa) he came (!gaexa, with the masc. personal suff. -hi) he talked (kXoro) [in order to make himself noticed] [§18] Then [the fly] said [to the child]: "Go out (ghe) and (ki) report to your

> "The loving peter familias leads in the fields all day long and comes to the hut only in the evening; however, he does not go in, but only has the child report that everything is in order: "We are doing nothing!" That is: "Nothing has happened."

father (nuuba)." So she said. Then the little fly went out and reported: "We (-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl.) are doing nothing (ǂxûî "something," tama "not")." So she said. Then he comes up and comes to lie down beside (ǂâb "cheek," ri "at") the hut. Then he belched, then he got up (ǂxaĩ). Then he went off.

But then (ai "at," //hêba "the time," //nâ "then") they (-n, suff. of 3rd pers. neut. pl.) tore (//xxoabe) down the hut and packed it on a draught ox (!garoǂ) and tied up (!gai maĩ) an old (gaixa) sheep (gîsi) and a blind (ǂî) goat (hôsi) and a blind cow (gomaĩ)* and went on their way (hê, vb.).

"All the rest of the cattle they drive along
as they go.

But the elephant pursued (!gaũ !gon) them. But they had told (gai) the daughter to sit (ǂnâ) backwards (ǂxaoe, "in back," /ǂxâb "body," !oa "in that direction") on the draught ox: she [sees him] and cries: "Yes (gumi), he is coming! (!gaũǂa, expressed passively) [broad as] a wide-branched (//nuuǂaĩ) giraffe tree (//gaoaĩ, neut. sing.), [heavy as] someone who can (-ǂa, adj. ending) trample shut (tsom) a well (tsaub). He is coming, truly!" she cries. And now they heaved (double vb.: *//gau "to make a kraal out of branches," ǂgau "to cover") the way (daoba) and lay in wait (*//gaũ, an) for him (hî).

But at the time when he was going away, [the old mother elephant] said: "My son (ǂaise, vocative masc.), in case (o and gu) you (sîn, masc.) are killed, [as a sign of your death] my rear end (ǂxaeo aiba) will tremble (gum)!" So she says. And while he is being ambushed, he comes and cries: "I will jump (/gau) [over that], I will jump over it." (i, auxiliary vb.). Then they threw (//haĩ, expressed passively) the two assagais (gũoakǂa) and the two dogs bite (tsî) him to death (!aa, in the sense of "killed," in contrast to //û "died"). And the tiger said: "If you kill the child-maker (//ora "to procreate," aub "man"), then cut (!gao) off (*ǂxaĩ, "to cut something open on the surface, as up") his genitals (/oa aiba)." And when the two of them [538] had killed him, they cut off [the genitals] and journeyed (doĩ) home (//aru, "to go home").

[559]

[Text omitted]

Translation of LIX

The Elephant Who Made Servants Of All Sorts Of Beings

The elephant had made servants of four-legged (haga /nūhē) beasts of prey (‖/gurusa, neut. pl., collective term for all sorts of vicious animals), and every morning (literally: "on which?" mā, -- "on every" haasa, "morning" ‖/goeb) they (-a in tāa, suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl.) are urinated on" (/kXam, ai "on").

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"So that they may make a good catch--
a curious superstition.

But the white (!ui with euphonious n) "dwarf" (/Ei), who (-ba, suff. in somatba) does not (tama) dig (kXao) a knapsack (//hēba) full (/oa) [of field onions], is drenched over and ove. again (ǂūnga) with urine (/ūba); the others (ǂnuna, neut. pl.) are only (/gui [821] "single") urinated on a little bit (/kXai "little," -ro dimin. particle, -se adverbial ending); then they go (!gung) digging. And the others dig their knapsacks full, but the white dwarf comes (/kXi) with (/kXa) refuse (gǂa "thing," -ro dimin. particle & personal suff. of the neut. sing.) which sits (ǂnūa) there (//nā) in the back (kXaos ai) [of the almost empty sack]. Then they come (hā) along to hand over (mā) [the field onions], and when (-tā, pret. participle) they have finished (tna "to cease") handing over they go. Then when (g) dawn breaks (//gna), they come and take (k) the knapsacks and go after (o at the end of the sentence) they (-a in toahen) are through being urinated on (ta after a is euphonious for ra, verbal particle of progressive action).

Then one (/gui) day (tā) the white dwarf found (hā) a way out (/abas): he dug (kXoro) holes (ǂga, masc. pl.) and comes back with very (gai "big," -se adverbial ending) little onions. But when he had finished digging the holes and the time (//aēba, the next morning is meant) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (ni, verbal particle of the fut.) to go, he goes (ui) to sit down (ǂnū) on (ai) a hill (!homi "mountain," -ro dimin.), after (tā, particle of the pret. participle) he had taken an amagai (gōaba), and cried (ǂgai): "You (-ta, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) urinate on me (-ta, suff.) today (nā/tā)!" So he cried.

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Then [the elephant] started (/nuhe) after (//ga "toward") the dwarf, but the dwarf escaped (//hai, ai̯ particle of the fut., uniting with the vb. to form one concept, expresses here the anticipation of pursuit). Then he set out after (!kxoe "to run," !gun "behind") him (-hi suff.), but [the dwarf] went (ǂgū vb.) into (!na) a hole. Then the elephant went there and peered (ǂai) into the hole, and after (ui̯, particle of the pret. participle) he had peered in, he trampled (ǂā) so that (ga) a cave-in (!kxoesi) might take place--from above (ǂam) he trampled into the hole. But the dwarf leaped (ui) out (ǂara) and slipped ("went to go into") into another (/xgara) hole. Then the other again (//xgaba) came there (//nāba) and he was stabbed (!kxā) in the heart (ǂgaoe) by (ga) the dwarf. ---Ever since the dwarfs have lived unharmed in holes in the ground. But their sides have remained whitish-yellow from the daily morning ablution. ---

822] [Text omitted]

823] Translation of LX

The Girls Who Visit the Kraal of the Python

The girls (/gūsetî) went for a visit (sari, narr. pass.) and Gaoninghamabes (see the bottom of page 452 and page 454, number 24) ran after (tao, vb.) her (a) sister (!gāsa), but the girls (expressed by the personal suff. ti) chase her (ti, suff.) back (!hai daba). Then she sat down (ǂāū), and when (o) the others go on (hē) she hastens (!kxoē) after them (!goe) and catches up with them ("comes there"), but they chase her back again (//kxaba). And while (hĭ̄a, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) she is carrying on (hĭ̄) like this (//ui̯ demon., ti "so," -s personal suff. of the subj. in the protasis), they wandered away (hē) from (ǂa) the kraal (//gāsa). Then they relented (/ū) and the little one comes along.

Then they come [to the kraal of the snake] and milked (/ao, narr. pass.) milk (daisa, neut. pl.) for themselves (-ba, objectifying verbal particle). But Gaoninghamabes' cow (gomasa) was tied (!hau̯, "the rear legs are tied together with a thong") for her (-ba, see above) in front of (arra ai) the hole ("ǂāb) [in which] the python (gai "big") snake (/aob) sat (ǂnāe), and the hole was covered (ǂnūi "to set," ai "on") with (/kxa) cow manure (/horoe). Then she was told (gai) to milk (daru) the milk into her mouth, and she grasped (*!kxō) the udder (sama) of the cow (di, gen. particle)--then the cow manure moved (gan). Then

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the squeezed (//hgā) the udder of the cow and the cow made a leap (ui, vi.). Then she says: "Grandmother" (ti //nau), the cow is not used to me (ti

"The respectful form of address for the wife and accomplice of the python; the snake is thought of as a male being.

"not to know") and went to the hut. Then fat (//nuiti) was given (mā) to them, and they rubbed themselves (ui-hoxa). But Gaminghamabes [534]

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"The Hottentots, when they wish to sleep especially well, rub themselves with grease in the evening. The massage accompanying this has indeed a soporific effect. The little girl wishes to remain awake and therefore refuses the service.

does not (tama) want (ǂgao. hā expresses here the persistence of the little girl) to rub herself. Then it got dark (!kxĀā, vb.). Now she took out (ā ǂhi) a little (-ro, dimin.) cutting iron (ǂnamib, "a sharpened piece of tin") and sharpened (nau /am) pieces of wood (haiǃa euphonious for -ti). Then the woman asked (ne): "Why (taeē abbreviated from tare) are you (-a) sharpening pieces of wood?" But the girl says: "Tomorrow (//ari) I (-ta, suff.) want (uī) to break off (nu) gums onions" (ǂgūnuna, neuter

"An edible species of Babiana (Iridaceae).

plural) with (ā) hard (garo) stalks (haiti)."

And when they slept (//om), she went to the hut of the grasshopper (ǂnāǃaus) and asked at (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) what (mā) time (//aēiǃ the [python] would come out (!kxaiē, particle of indirect discourse). Then the grasshopper said: "At midnight [Fig. --Idothoea sudereuni Stal. ♀ (Oedipodide) from Kubub. Natural size.] (nuǃūrī gaiǃ) probably (ge, potential), if (o) a cool (gara) breeze (ǂnab "wind," -ro dimin.) is blowing (!goni), he comes." Thereupon Gaminghamabes went to lie down, lit (kxau) a fire (/aēas) in order to heat up (//kxūa//kxūa) the earth all around, and a broom (//kxoros) and the pieces of wood and a hard (garoxa) bodkin (ǂgoas) -- all of this (uī "and," -se neut. pl.)

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Acrotone aiderensi Stal. (Oedipodide) by Kolsch.
Natural size.

she makes ready (ǂ "to take") and lies down [just inside] the entrance (ǃnaa "mouth") to the hut.

And the cool breeze was blowing, and she got up (ŋa-ǂaĩ and mã) and sat down (ǂam). Then the snake (expressed by the personal suff. -b, acc. bi, which is attached to ǂaĩ just as succinctly as the girl, as the subj. or, respectively, obj. is designated by the following -s and si) came, and Gaunǂhamabes stabbed (ǃkũi) it and the snake struck at Gaunǂhamabes, but she warded (//kxae) him off with the knifebedikin and stabbed him and covered (ǂaeb) him with hot earth (ǂhgaurib) and killed (ǃgaes) him. Then she laid the animal (bi, see above) [539] on the place (ǃkxaib) where (the entire relative sentence here, just as usual, precedes the related substantive without a relative pronoun) it sits down after (si, particle of the past participle after tsa "to cease") it has finished killing people. Then the wife (//gâi "to awaken," doubled: "to wail") the girls (kxoêtn "people," fem. pl.), and they went away, and while (hã, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the epodosis) they were going away the morning (//gaeas) came. (//gos).

But the others (the people in the kraal of the snake, expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. -se) were milking the cows and the sun (tsaeas) went up high (double vb.: //hai and /gâi). Then [the wife of the slain snake] said to the mad snake (mangyoneeb, see page 454, number 30): "Go wake up your (sa, stem of the personal pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. fem., used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle di) grandfather (//naeib). The girl who has eyes everywhere (literally: "turns" doba "and looks" gâi) was there, and for that reason (tsuigye) [I am worried]," she said. Then the other one went to wake and said": "My grandfather

> "The snake called mangyoneeb is portrayed as a comical figure: its stupidity is revealed by the fact that it regards the distorted eyes of the slain python as an expression of bad humor. In her the Hottentot also ridicules the inferior grief of a parasite who mourns for his benefactor only because his own good times are now at an end.

looks (//ui) at me (te) askance!" Then the wife herself (aitsoma) came up and saw that the snake [lay] dead (//ã) and said: "Your grandfather has

been killed by (ǂa) the girls who slept here (nâhe) yesterday evening (//an !oē)." Whereupon the sand snake: "My grandfather, who always gives me (indicated by the objectifying particle -ba, which here is extended into a bowl) only (/guise "single," referring to ǂhoaǂe "beans") beans with much fat (gaub "fat," -ǁa, expressing the quantity, /hoaǂb "body")!" So it howled (ǂ).

But when the [grasshopper] heard (//nâũ, with the personal suff. of the subj.) that, [it said]: "If it were only true (ama), that he lies on the ground! (Literally: "that her back" !gõb, "is deep" !gaǃna). If it were only true, that he is lying on the ground!" Thus she speaks in rhythm, just as the butter calabash rolls (literally: "thus she churns," //nuise). Then the snake's wife asked (ti): "Grasshopper, what (ǃnâti : tarets) are you saying there?" (ti, with the personal suff. of the addressed 2nd pers. fem.). But she [answered]: "For a worthy (/gari) man standing there (mã) alone (/guise, adv.) [606] a head of cattle (literally: "a thing," masc.) is indeed (gum---a) slaughtered (ǂâi/hoaǂ) as a death sacrifice, I said."

"The ambiguity of these words -- grief for the deceased or joyful anticipation of the funeral feast -- is an intentional insult.

But when the girls got home (//aru, vb.), and at the same time the reed dance (ǂâi) was being blown (ǂaã), they hung (ǂgã and maĩ "to set") up the buchu sacks (ǃgaute, fem. pl., see the bottom of page 340) and went (ǃgũng) to the reed dance. Then the wife of the snake comes and slips (hã "to come along," ǂgã "to go into") into Gatzinghamabes' buchu sack. Then Gatzinghamabes looked for (õa) the buchu sack and saw and said: "My (ti) buchu sack is not so (ti) full (/oa)!" and takes a stick and

"That is: "My buchu sack was not so full when I left it here. Something isn't quite right."

fetches it down (ǂhoaxa, //nã), and she sticks the buchu sack into the fire. Then the snake's wife died.

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[Text omitted]

Translation of LXI

The Girls Who Went to the Honey-Eater, to the Dwarf and to the Anagyregaieb Beetle to Dance the Reed Dance with Them

The girls (/gūsi), when (ǂē) the men (kxuǂgu "people," masc. pl.) took (ǂē) the reed pipes (ǂēse, fem. pl.) and [807] went away (!gūng, ŋ is a particle of the present tense here), had gone also in order (nī, fut. particle, ge, potential particle) to play with them (ǂa-ns, nasr. pass.). Then the others blew (ǂxai) [on the reeds]. But the dung beetle blew: "Today (nī nī) they will spatter themselves (-sen, refl. particle) with their blood (/au)."

> ' sani, verb, means: a) the rapid headshaking of cattle and horses; b) the similar movement of the hand when one is sprinkling water. Hence: "to spatter."

But Gaxinghamabes understood it well (//nau "to hear," !ā "to spread, to explain") and took the [other] girls [with her] and hurried away (hē, vb.). Then they went (ǂē) into (!na) an aardvark (/kxuhe) cave (ǂhi), they went in (ǂgē, verb) and closed (ǂgao "to cover," an "mouth") the opening with (/haxa) a spider web (/nūi !kxami). But when the honey-eater looks [in] (gē, ta euphonious for ra), they open (//kxaba an). Then the honey-eater cries: "There (//nā) they sit (ǂnā). There they sit, the children (ǂasi) of the great (gai, with the suff. of the relative substantive because it follows the noun) dirt-scum crust (!haiba) genitals (!garagu)."

[Fig.--An ǂanagyregaieb beetle (see page 456, number 39).

Then the others ("nanga) look in, but the girls close [the cave again immediately] with the spider web. Then the others cry: "Oh (kxa), you (sasa) are lying (ǂhumi) indeed (gum---o)." -- "By God! ("for the sake of" ao, "my" ti, "lord" !kxūb) the girls are sitting there," the honey-eater answers. But the others said: "You stay (hā) here, and (ē, with the personal suff. of the subj.) we (tigye, pron. of the 1st pers. masc. pl. in the exclusive form) will go!" (With imperative force). And they went [to the water].

1: Schulze--SCEA N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hanneman FX13
Diana

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[illegible]

A Anagyrodgnich beetle.
(See page 456, number 10.)

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But the girls came out (/kuiya, vb.) when only (/gu‖i) the honey-eater had remained behind (!gau) and [paused]: "You will die of thirst (//gē, "to be thirsty," -si gives the vb. a causative force, sā "you acc." //ā "to die"). So (xâ!gu) run and (with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed) go drink (ā) water (//gausā, masc. sing.)!" Then he went and the girls hurried away.

[Text omitted]

[108] Translation of LXII

The Ostrich and the Tortoise

With the ostrich and the tortoise it happened like this (literally: --, "the two of them were made" kâbe). The ostrich said: "Of (xa) the two of us (sakkam, pron. of the 1st pers. masc. dual in the inclusive form) I (ta, suff., and tita, pronoun) will (tā) run (!kxaā) the fastest (!gaxise, adv.)."

Then the tortoise called (/gaā) [all] tortoises together (/hao "to assemble") and told (gā) them to line up (tsā) one behind the other (sangu). Then the two of them joined and hurried off together (//are, vb.).

But as soon as (ǂtsami ai) they were just beginning (tsoense, nā fut. particle), the tortoise (-b, personal suff. after tā) let the ostrich (hā, suff., "him") run alone (//nā "to let, "xa "to leave"). Then the ostrich called: "Tortoise!" And the one [standing nearest to him] answered: "Here!" (hā, a general careless cry of answer). Then the ostrich thought (sha, with the particle of the pret. participle tā, ū "so") that it was already (ǂnuǂaba) nearby (/gâse) and hurried on. And when (u) he was exhausted ("came to the point" ai, "that he was finished" tsa, vb.) again (//kxǂaba), he called: "Tortoise!" And the one [standing nearest to him] answered: "Here!"

Then he stopped (/ū, pret. participle) and came (/kxā) to (doba) the tortoise [that stood closest to him]. And the two of them went home (//aru, vb.). But (ǂâbe, with the personal suff. of the subject) he thought that it was truly (/guib, "single") the other (ǂnau) tortoise.

[XIII] [Text omitted]

3.539 Translation of LXIII

The Tortoise and the Eland Antelopes

And it happened (ŋ̀ŋ̀ne, "was made") [like this]: The tortoise (masc.) had gone (//gxoma, masc. pass.) to the water and while (ŋ̀ŋ̀e) he sits there (ŋ̀ŋ̀ne) and weeps, (ǂxaŋ̀) eland antelopes (fem.) come (/hŋ̀, masc. pass.) and say: "Tortoise, pour (!kXaka, vb.) some for me (te, suff.)." Nowever (ǂaka, with personal suff.) he kept quiet (!hae "to speak," tama "not," hã expresses duration).

Then they said: "In just a moment (/hae) I (te, suff.) will (ŋ̀ã swallow you (te, suff.)."

But she replied: "Just (ŋ̀) try (tsã) to do (dã) it, let (ã, "and," with imperative force) me see (tsã)."

Then they said: "You (ge, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. pl.) look (!) like (khama) little things (-ne, dimin.) that ought (ŋ̀ã, fut.) to be swallowed (-he, pass. ending), and yet you are defiant (//ã)?"

[XIII] Whereupon the tortoise: "Who (tsĩ) is mopping (ǂxa) you (se, suff. of the 2nd pers. pl. fem.) then (kXa)? Whoever wants (ǂgae) to try (ge, verbal particle of the potential, with the personal suff. of the fem. sing.) to swallow [me], can swallow any time (hoan), after all (ŋ̀)." Thus the tortoise spoke.

Then one (/gxãe) [of the elands] swallowed him (hi, masc. suff.) down. But the [tortoise] spread his legs (ŋ̀ã//kXaa) and: "Grr -- handy legs! (//gxãe, neut. sing.) -- choked!" -- Tortoise! -- choked!" the

> ʔ!k aã, imitating the choked condition of animal suffocating from the tortoise, the narrator intentionally falsely pronounces: //k aã.

eland said and died (//ã). Then the tortoise cut (ŋ̀ã) out (ŋ̀ã) the stomach fat (/hoaha) and hung it up (xaa, vb.) and went home (//aru, vb.). But the sisters (!gãaxo - -ti) avoid (!aaa, "to be clean." The objectifying particle -ha gives it the force: "to be clean with regard to someone," that is "to avoid someone who is unclean") him because of (ǂa) his (ãb) armpit

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sweat (/hoaib). Then he came (di) to the kraal (//gãũ) and they saw that (!kxaiß) he had (ǂ "to take, "ha "to remain") stomach fat and they said: "Today (ui tai) we (se, suff. of the 1st pers. pl. fem.) will fix up (di) your (ti, masc. suff.) armpits (gam, collective sing.) [with buchu powder] ."

"The sisters, up until now, have neglected their brother, the tortoise; they have neglected to prepare powder for him (woman's work) and now, at the sight of the rich booty, they try to endear themselves.

But he said: "It has been a long time (huga, adv.) since you (se, suff. of the 2nd pers. fem. pl.) have fixed up my armpits."

And they replied: "Today we will powder your armpits." Then he gave (mĩ) them fat (gauna, neut. pl.) and they went (!gũũ) off together (expressed by the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl.) to cut up the eland.

[Text omitted]

[531] Translation of LXIV

The Giraffe Who Marries a Fly

A giraffe (!naiǂa) married (!gaume, narr. pass.) a male fly (/gĩnaiba). and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the dual fem.) moved (doß) to (//ga) the kraal (//gaũ) of the man (kxoëb) and came (di) there. And when (a) she longed (//kxaore) for her (a, stem of the poss. pron., -sa personal suff. of the possessor, -s personal suff. of the subj.) relatives (kxoǂa "people," neut. pl.), she told (mĩ, with objectifying particle ba) her husband and went (!gũũ) to visit them with (/kxa) her child (/gõas "daughter"). And the two of them set out on their way and came to (doba) the kraal of the jackal (/gĩriß). And she gave (mĩ) the child some fat (gauna) from (xu) her caul"

"This self-sacrificing motherly love of the giraffe reminds one of the classical legend of the pelican that nursed its young with its own blood.

(/haub is the very fatty omentum majus). Then the jackal saw (mĩ) [how fat she was], and when the giraffe went out (ǂae, with personal suff.) he stuck (maĩ) thorns (//kʼĩ̃ga) into (!na) the bed (kʼĩ̃anib). Then she came in (ǂgĩ̃ʼĩ̃a) and lay down (ǂaĩ̃). Then the thorns stuck (!kʼĩ̃i) her (ĩ, suff.) and she said: "The thorns that stuck me, the child of man (kʼĩ̃ab, with the suff. of the 1st pers. sing.), do not (!nona) taste (tsĩ̃) like (kʼĩ̃oma) the thorns (neut. pl.) of my fathers (ǂhaib, -ǂxa See page 428, footnote)." So she said and died.

Then the jackal (expressed by the suff. -ĩ̃) cut (ǂã) her up. But the little (-ro dimin.) fly flew (ǂĩ, borrowed from Cape Dutch) and seated herself on a giraffe tree (//gaxa). And the other, after (tsĩ̃, particle of the pret. participle, after tsa "to cease") he had finished slaughtering, [532] laid (//gui) the pieces of meat (//ganga, masc. pl., euphonious form) on the giraffe tree (a customary way of protecting meat from scavengers, see page 424). Then the little fly took (ũ, pret. participle) the smallest rib (ǂ gaoi gao/xraxa) and flew and came with it (ũ) to the father (//gũĩ). But he put (ǂgĩ̃) the rib in a calabash (ǂhas) [with milk] and [the little girl] told (!hoe, with objectifying verbal particle) him (hĩ, suff.). Then he was afraid (!aq) of the jackal and did not go there. But the giraffe became alive (ũirasha) again (//kʼĩ̃aba)."

"The miraculous power of reviviscence of milk also brings about a happy end in Folk-tale VIII, page 409.

[Text omitted]

Translation of LXV

The Jackal Who Roasts the Iguana

The jackal (/gĩrib) had hunted (!auhe, narr. pass.) [and] caught (hõ, again pass.) the iguana (!nonaba) and (tsĩ̃) came (/kxʼĩ̃, pass.) home (//aru "to come home") at the time when (hĩ̃a) the people (kxoʼĩ̃n) were blowing (ǂaĩ̃, -ta = ra, altered euphonically after the n of the preceding word) the reed dance (ǂhaa). And he put (//gui, narr. pass.) [it] in (!na)

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the fire (/aēs) under the ashes ("ga'n "to cover with ashes") and went (!gũng, narr. pass.) over (//ga) to the reed dance.

But just as (hîa) he comes ("to come" sĩ, "to stand" mã) [and] blows, the iguana (!gon) who (-ba after go, particle of the pret.) had been put under the ashes came after him and said: "Yes (gumo), [533] because (ao) the other one (/nĩ, the jackal is meant) has left* his treasure, then (-tsĩ,

? !gũng "to go," ǂnũi "to put down," to put down and go = to leave, also to put away. I have not been able to find out the meaning of ǂgũsa; nor can I vouch for the correctness of the clicking sound since I neglected to check it. /gũsa !gũng ǂnũi seems to be a set idiom with the meaning: to leave behind something valuable that one is unwilling to give someone else. Thus the jackal left his roast, the iguana, in the ashes. In the same sense a newly-wed guide who was in a hurry to get home said to me: " ǂgũsa !gũng ǂnũi tsĩta go !gũng ǁui aota gye !haise ra oa ǂgao." That is: "Because (ǁuf) I (-ta) went (!gũng go, particle of the pret.), having (tsĩ, pret. participle) left something valuable behind, so (ao) I wish (ǂgao) to turn back (oa) rapidly (!haise)."

pret. participle) he (//(e)ĩ, the leguan himself is meant) takes (hora, "to take the cooked food out of the pot or the fire") himself (-sen, refl. ending of the vb.) out of the fire."

And the jackal heard (//naũ) it and comes up (hã), seizes (!kǂõ) him (bi) and takes him along (double vb.: "to go -- to seize," !gung-ũ) and places him again (//kǂaba) in the fire under the ashes. Then he runs again to the reed dance and goes again to blow the reeds.

Then the iguana comes again and says: "Yes, because the other one has put away his treasure secretly, it takes itself out of the fire."

--The legend is an attempt to illustrate the tenacity of the iguana to give an explanation for its crustlike skin (which looks as though it were baked on). --

*[i.e., the lizard - Analyst]

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[Text omitted]

[534] Translation of LXVI

The Baboon and the Honey Badger

The baboon (-i, see page 476, footnote; χa see footnote page 487) once had taken out (sam, narr. pass.) honey (danisa), and the honey badger had collected (ũ "to take") haira resin (neut. pl.), and the two of them met (!oa, -gu reciprocal particle). Then the baboon said: "You (-tse) let (ha) me (-ta) have a taste (tsãtsã)," and the honey badger said: "First (aibe) let me taste yours."* Then the baboon gave (mã) him (bi, suff.)

* ʔ sa, root of the personal pron. of the 2nd pers., used in a poss. sense by supplying a gen. particle and substantivized by attaching the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. Grammatically complete, but not existing in practice, the concept "yours" would be: sa di χũũ

a very (ǂkχarí) little (-ro, dimin.) honey, and he took a taste. Then the baboon said: "I would like (-re, optative particle) to taste yours," and the honey badger gave him some. Then they hit (ǂnau) each other with (/kχa) the sacks (//hõti) until (tumi, "so") they spit* (/kχũi; !nãã "to be

*Because that which they had just tasted seemed so good to them that they no longer wanted to keep their old food.

bright, to lie open"). And the baboon spit out (ǂui) the honey and the honey badger the haira resin, and the baboon took the haira sack and the honey badger the honey sack, and then the two of them went.

Since then (tsĕs "by day") the honey badger eats (ǂũ, substantivized by the fem. personal suff. -sa, but felt nevertheless still to be a pred., as the verbal particles ra and, euphonically, ba show) honey and the baboon haira resin.

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[Text omitted]

[535] Translation of LXVII

The Two Zebra Mares and the Baboon

With the zebra mares (-ra, personal suff. of the fem. dual) and the baboon it happened (hĩhe, "was made") like this: The zebra mares come to the water (//gama, verb. narr. pass.). But the baboon makes iron (//urite, fem. pl. = -ti) hot (/gam/gam, verb. narr. pass.) and comes forth (/kχĩ, narr. pass.) when (o) he sees (mũ) the zebras approaching (!goaχa, narr. pass.) and cries: "After all (χabe) the water expanse with the grassy edge (/gariχa "rich in plants," amî "mouth, opening") is mine (ti) indeed (gum---o)." Then the two of them turn back (oa) and come [again] on the next (ǂnau) day (tsẽ). But the baboon comes (sĩ) along with (/kχa) the irons when he sees them approaching (two personal suffixes are attached to the vb.: -ra shows, so to speak, the subj. of the vb. and -b the subj. of the sentence) and cries: "Hey, the expanse of water with the grassy edge belongs to me." Then the two of them turned back.

And the young (ǂkχamsa) [zebra] foaled (õa "to bear") a colt (masc.), and they all (expressed by the suff. of the neut. pl. -n) came again (//kχaba) early (//goaga) the next morning. But the other cried: "Hey, the expanse of water with the grassy edge belongs to me." Then they went back. And they waited (hã̃) until (gôse) the colt should become (nĩ, fut. particle) big (gais, the s is probably an abbreviated form of the adj. ending sa), and when (o, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis [on) the colt had become big they went to the water. Then the baboon came down (//gõaχa) with the iron, and when they appeared he cried: "Hey, the expanse of water with the grassy edge belongs to me."

[536] But they remained standing (mã̃) and the little (-ro, dimin.) zebra stallion (-ba, masc.) trotted (!naẽ) down (*//gonaχa is probably the older form of //gõaχa, with transformation of the n into a nasal sound), and the two mares followed (tao) the little stallion: he came (ǂã̃) up and drank (ã̃). Then the baboon burned (dao) him (bi, suff.) here (nẽba).*

*The narrator points to the processus ulnaris humeri of his arm.

But he seized (ǃkx̣õ) the baboon and placed (ǂnũi) him firmly (//gaĩ "to press") on (ai) the irons. Since that day the rear end (kx̣aoais) of the baboon is roasted (//an "to be done," -sa adj. ending, -sa fem. personal suff. substantivizing the word; cf. page 539) and (tsĩ has here in the genitive case the suff. of the substantive governed by the subj., not the personal suff. of the subj.) the elbows (ǃumiti) of the zebra are scorched (daũ "to burn").

[Papio porcarius (Boddaert) from the rear, demonstrating the posterior welts.]

---In this way the Hottentots' phantasy explains the origin of the posterior welts (see the illustration) and of the so-called "chestnuts," those bare callosities to be found on the inner surface of the carpus of the zebra.--

[Text omitted]

[537] Translation of LXVIII

The Jackal Who Keeps Leopards and Lions as Cattle

The jackal had made (dĩ, narr. pass.) cattle (/goa, without suff.) of the leopards and lions, all of them (tsĩ "and," -na personal suff. of the neut. pl.), and his (ã, stem of the poss. pron., -ba personal suff. of the poss.) child ("/gõaseb = /gõab) guards (ǃũi) the cattle (neut. pl.). Then, when (c) it was milking (daru, with personal suff., ta euphonious for ra) [milk from one of the animals] into its mouth, it was clawed (ǂkora) half dead (gã "to be lost," the reduplication gives the vb. causative force) by (/kx̣a) its claws (//gorogu), and when it came (/kx̣ĩ, with personal suff., ta = ra) [home] the jackal asks (tẽ):* "What (taref) have you gotten (ǂgã) into (ǃna,

*Although he knows well that he is guilty. He himself is very careful not to come into contact with his dangerous cattle.

with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. -ts "you")?" [538] So (tsami) he asks, and the child answers: "The goats (birigu) have scratched me (ts, suff.)." But only (/guiba) the child continues (ra) to milk (/ao) the goats (fem. pl.).

1: Schultze--310A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[536]

Papio procarius (Boddaert) from the rear, demonstrating the posterior welts.

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But one (/gui) day (tsĕ), when it (-b in /aob) had gone (!gũng) to milk, it was seized (ǃkxõ) by (ǂa) the lion. Then the father (//guba) called (ǂgai) it, and it answered (oĕ): "Father" (dada). But the wife (tarasa) [of the jackal] was worried (ǃhuma !na) and said: "Usgyeb's (folk tale name of the jackal child) father (ĩb) should (nĩ) kindly (go) see (gõ) about Usgyeb." Then the jackal went (ǂoaxa) out (ǂu) of the hut (omsa), but he went along (i, "to go past") behind (!gãba) the kraal (!haras) and called [for the child only]. And this (nĕ) time (!nãsa) the child answered only very weakly (ǂkxari, "small," -ro dim. -se adv. ending). Then the wife went out and called the husband (aoba) while (hĩa) he is standing (mã) behind (ai "in" !gãb "back") the kraal. And he came (/kxĩ) and the two of them (-ra, suff. of the masc.-fem. dual) went in. Then the lion leaps (ǂham) at them (-ra), but the two of them leaped (uri) on (ai) the wall of the kraal, and the child slipped out of the kraal in back (!noros "the back of the head").

Meanwhile (hĩa, with the personal suff. of the subj.) Hottentots (naman) came and asked (ǂgan) for food (ǂuĕ, neut. sing.). Then the jackal said: "Usgyeb, come out and (ĕ, with imperative force and with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) show (//gau) this man a wether (gũĕ, neut. sing.) and may he (-b) take (ũ) [it]." And the child told him (bi, suff.) [where to look]; then it became quiet" (!nõ). And again (//kxaba) two (/gam) men

"The man is ripped to pieces by the wild animals
in the kraal.

(kxoĕkxa, "people," masc. dual) came and asked: "Where (maba, with the personal suff. of the subj.) is (hã) the man whom we sent (sĩ) here (nĕba)?" So they asked, but the jackal said: "Some time ago (/nai), indeed (gum---o), I told (gai) the man there (//nãba) to catch a wether." Then the two went into the kraal.

But the jackal went out [of the hut] and stood (sĩ "went," mã "to stand") in the dark (!kxaĕb). And when the two men had gone in, the lions and leopards, all of them, sprang out on all sides (/kxãgu, ĩ "to be like," kxumi "so"). [539] Then the jackal said: "Far across (ǂgoro am) the lands (!hũgu)!" And they hastened (!kxoĕ) away (bĕ, vb.).

Then the jackal opened (//kxoba am) the kraal in order (ga) to slaughter (ǂã) the little (-ro dimin.) lions and the little leopards, all of them (nĩ with the personal suff. of the obj., 3rd pers. neut. pl. -na, and with the personal suff.

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of the subj. -b) completely (toa "to end"), and he caught a little one. But they scratched (/kχau) his body (/kχãb). Then he stopped (/ũ) and fled (!kχoẽ-nĩ) to (ai, postpositive, !aba "to climb up") a mountain (!homs). And all (hã, see footnote, page 424) the leopards and all the lions came to look for (oã) their young, and each one (literally: "which?" mã: "all" hoaẽ, neuter singular) took (ũ) his (//(e)ĩr) child (õa) and went.

So they did (hĩ). Since that day the leopard and the lion are at home (hãsa, substantivized hã "to remain") in every land.

3) Riddles, /urogu

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Along with folk tales riddles form a good part of the evening entertainment of the Hottentots; they are posed by the old and young of both sexes.

The simplest riddles refer to the immediate surroundings of the audience (I-V): any object that is visible to all -- an article of clothing, a tree, a rock, an implement, etc. -- is defined according to shape or color or according to its relation to man and given as a riddle. (VI-XIII)

Other riddles have as their object not immediate sensory impressions but sense recollections, and hence they make more demands on the imagination than the above-mentioned ones.

Riddles like those given in Numbers XIV-XXV appeal to the capacity of combining more or less abstract concepts.

From a linguistic point of view the personal suffices are noteworthy: by means of these the entire interrogative sentence of the riddle is substantivized. Generally the suffixes of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. (-ẽ or -ĩ) or pl. (-na or -n) are used for this purpose. They are added to one or more words which, as a result of their meaning or their position in the sentence, [540] are stressed in some way. This characteristic might be correctly but clumsily expressed in translation by introducing every question with the words: "What is it that . . . etc.?"

In other cases the interrogative sentence of the riddle receives the personal suffix that, in gender and number, fits the substantive expected in the answer.

If the answer is expressed by a verb, then it is substantivized by means of the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. fem. (-s or -sa).

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I have heard the Hottentots pose the following riddles:

[Translator's note: In the case of each riddle the Hottentot text will be tacitly omitted without indication.]

I

What (tarεε), so it is said (goma), is this: On the edge (am !gã) of a red (/aba) valley furrow (!garib is the slope of the dry wadi bottom toward the trench in which the water runs) stand (mã) white (!uri) things? (-na, personal suff. of the neut. pl.). -- The teeth.

II

On (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj) a black (≠nũ) mountain (!homs) stand (mã) black sheep (gũte = gũti, fem. pl.)? -- Head lice.

III

On (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) something round (!gubu) stands (mã) grass (/gãna, neut. pl.), and people (kχoεna) pick (tsuru) the grass? -- The head [that is being clipped].

IV

What is (-he, pass. ending) counted (!gõa) and not (toma) counted to a finish (toa "to finish")? -- Grains of sand (!hũb, "soil").

[541]

V

What do you see (mũ), although (χabe) it may (ga, potential) be dark (!kχaε), it may be far (!nũ) and it may be near (/gũ). (tsĩna, neut. pl. summarizing all the cases once again). -- Fire.

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VI

What is black (ǂnũ) checked (/hõ)? -- The zebra (_goreb) and the porcupine (!noab), one (/guib) of (di) the two (tsĩkχa).

VII

What is marked (//gani) yellow (!huni) brown? -- The kudu.

VIII

What is a little (-ro, dimin.) pale (/hai), and when (o) you (-ts, suff.) see (mũ, ga particle of the potential) it from (χu) afar (!nũse, adv., -ba, demon. particle of place) red? (/aba) -- The gemsbok.

IX

What is spotted?-- the skunk.

X

What is red (/aba) with a white (!uri) belly? (!nãba, °-ĩ adj. ending) -- The steinbok.

XI

[822] What is blue (ǂhoa) with a crooked (!hoa) belly? (!nãba, °-ĩ adj. ending) -- The coffee bean. [Older Hottentots have still not adopted the 'f', sound but the younger ones quite generally say koffi. The color designation is peculiar.]

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XII

What has (ũ "to take," hã̃ "to remain") a big (gaí) light (!nãba)? -- The mirror, because it is blinding if one plays with it in the sun. Mirror = the thing (χũs, fem.) in which one (-n, personal suff. of the neut. pl.) views (gõ) one's face.

XIII

What is this: a round (!gubu) thing (χũ̃ũ̃, neut. sing.), and next to it (//nãba) sits (ǂnõa) a round thing, and in (!na) the thing there (//nã) sits a box (dorosa). Then again (//kχaba) comes something black (ǂnũ), then comes something that looks (ĩ) like (kχoma) grass (/gãĩ, neut. sing.), then comes a round thing, and when (o) the thing falls (//nãĩ, ga, particle of the potential) on (aí) a person (kχoẽĩ), this person will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) become alive (ǂgau) again? -- The bullet (/urib is metal in general) [in the cartridge].

The parts enumerated in the question are, in the same sequence as above, and with the customary designation in parentheses, the following: a) the metal back surface of the cartridge (kχaoaib "the seat"), mentioned twice in order to complicate the solution; b) the priming (ǂais "metal bead"); c) the powder (χurub "coal"); d) the wad (!abis is the nest of a species of Aegithalus, built of a fleecy plant substance); e) the bullet.

[543] XIV

What do you (-ts, suffix) make full (//ã//ã, vb.) and then let (gaí) go hungry (!ã̃) again (//kχaba)? -- The gun (!abu "to pop, to puff"), [which is loaded and then, after the shot, put aside empty.]

XV

What is this: when (o) you (-ts, suff.) see (mũ̃, ga particle of the potential) it, it seems (ĩ, vb., kχoma "like") to be very (tsĩ̃) easy (//ause "for nothing," that is "without effort") to catch (!kχõ), and yet (χabe) you will never (tite, particle of the fut. negative, tã̃ = toma "not," tsĩ̃ "day") catch it? -- The shadow.

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XVI

Who does not (toma) help (kχam) him who (-ba, personal suff.) walks along (garu) without her (/guri "alone")? -- The sun: [it points out snakes and poisonous creatures on the traveler's way, but at night he must rely upon himself.

XVII

What is this: when (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle with the personal suff. -ts "you," masc.) you have gone away (!gũng) without (ose, adv.) it (//(e)ĩr), your way is not (toma) pleasant (!gaĩse)? -- Fire [making equipment] [the tinder box].

XVIII

What is made (dĩ, pass.) by (χa) man (kχoĕr, neut. sing.) although (χabe) it also (//kχadi) comes (/kχĩ) by itself (aitsoma)? [544] -- Water. [Digging wells almost always is called "making water" even by the whites in South Africa. That which "comes by itself," is rain.]

XIX

What (tareĕ) makes a long (!nũ "far") way (daoba) short? (/gũ "to be close"; doubled: "to make near") -- the horse, [because it is fast].

XX

What makes a short way long? The trek oxen, the riding oxen, [because they are slow].

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XXI

What does not (toma, with personal suff.) catch up (sao "to follow," //are "to come together") with itself (-gu) although (χabe) one hastens along (!kχoē) behind (!gon) the other (-gu, reciprocal particle, with the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. -n in !gongun)? -- Wagon wheels (/nūb, masc.: "leg," -s, fem.: "wheel").

XXII

What is very small (ǂkχari, -ro dimin.) and yet (°!anaga) brings (hō "to come," ū "with") only (/gui "single," neut. pl.) things (χūn) that are bigger (!nā "to tower over, to excel")? -- Money.

XXIII

What is troublesome (tsū) to (-sa, gerundive ending) do (dī), but (°!anaga) pleasant (!gaī) to sit (ǂnū) in front of (°!ã, postpositive)? -- Work (sīsen, vb.) and its pay (marīē "money," hō "to receive").

[Plate XVII -- An old Bondelzwart Hottentot man; an old Topnaar Hottentot woman.]

[545] XXIV

What is this: When (o, with the personal suffix of the subj. in the apodosis, -tsa "you") it has gone (bē) away, you have heart pangs (tsū, vb., ǂgaoba "heart"); then you forget (/uru) it, but (χabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) when you think of it (ǂnī), you get heart pangs? -- A deceased person (//ō "to die," χu "to leave," he pass. ending, -s the personal suff. which substantivizes the infinitive).

1: Schultze--3174 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

An old Bondelzwart Hottentot man;

an old Topnaar Hottentot woman [544a]

1: Schultze--318 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

XXV

What is this: when (o) you (-tsa, personal suff.) see (mũ) it from (ǂu) afar (ǃnũ, -se adverbial ending, -bē demon. particle); it is blue (ǂhoa), and white (ǃuri) things (ǂũn, neut. pl.) are (hã̄) on it (ai, with pass. ending and personal suff.), but when you (-ts) have come (hã̄) up close (/gũ), it is transparent (ǃanu "clean, clear")? -- The sea.

E) Concluding Remarks

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The Hottentots' Relation to Invading Culture

How does it happen that a people like the Hottentots, which has given clear evidence of an intelligence that has long been recognized and that is outstanding among the aborigines of South Africa, melts away like wax on a hot plate before the invasion of culture? The process of this dissolution up to the present date has been recorded in descriptions of peace and war (75, 73, 82)*. Here we are interested solely in the principle of the matter.

*75. C.V. François, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi. Berlin, 1899.

73. H.V. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

82. K. Schwabe, Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Berlin, 1899.

The first contact of a Hottentot tribe with culture took place in a generally friendly manner; all travelers of the past praise the hospitality of the people and the protection which the chieftains gave them against the attacks of individuals. The Hottentot expected and, at first, also found his advantage: the trader brought him clothes and blankets, so that he himself now no longer needed to tan them laboriously from hides and to sew them with sinew thread; the trader brought him household implements which spared him the necessity of making pottery [546] and carving wood. In

addition there were luxuries: in part ones that had been highly valued for years, like alcohol, now in a new concentrated form; and in part new ones such as tobacco and coffee, which became so popular that they now can scarcely be dispensed with. But the factor that above all others caused the Hottentot to react peacefully to invading culture was the realization that with its help he could multiply his own power in a hitherto unknown fashion: exchanging the bow for the rifle suddenly made him master of all living things and equal in battle to his enemies.

The mission, which sold weapons on a large scale, as well as the German government, which permitted traders to deal in weapons after the protectorate in the north had been seized, gave the Hottentots still further guarantees which likewise brought him willingly closer to culture: the Hottentot soon realized that in the missionary he had a friend upon whom he could depend absolutely in all cases. The government, for its part, made treaties of protection with the chieftains, who were all the more agreeable to these since they did not curtail their own power, at least temporarily.

The Hottentot also expected advantages from the white settler--from the land sales and from the taxes that he levied upon the settler and from the annexations he occasionally undertook of land which the white man had brought under cultivation by hard toil.

In Great Namaland certain regions still lay fallow in which the white man, without taking anything from the native, could settle; but in the course of time it inevitably reached a point when the Hottentot saw himself being hemmed in, whereas formerly he had had at his disposal meadow and water in proportion to his power. Through his chieftains he would probably have had the power to definite advantageously his own spheres of interest and those of the alien race, but he did not have the ability even before he began to feel himself being hemmed in.

The chieftains looked out only for their own interests and they proved themselves very clearly to be what they are: selfish tyrants, not representatives of tribal interests--unless the interests of the tribe coincided with their own. So it was not possible for the white government, which in the meantime had established itself and which was filled with the genuine desire to give everyone his just due, to do anything but limit the autocracy of the chieftains. That has been the main cause of all our Hottentot wars. Temporarily [547] the tyrannical desires of the apparently tame rulers, who decked themselves out with the names of the apostles, prophets and patriarchs, could be appeased with money and liberally dispensed alcohol

licenses; but those who were preferred in this way, despite all tokens of esteem that were occasionally rendered to them, felt themselves oppressed by the white men, yet at the same time they saw--and this was the ominous factor--that their power over their own people was not broken. That kept their ambition alive and nourished their longing for the full freedom they had enjoyed before. We can be indulgent in our judgment of the fact that this urge finally outweighed any consideration that we might be superior to them in battle--especially since our own predictions in this point were very shortsighted.

We must search elsewhere for the reasons why the mass of the people were ruined by culture rather than were won over to it. In this connection it is necessary to start with the basic revolution in living conditions that was connected, as far as the Hottentots were concerned, with the invasion of culture in South Africa. Let us disregard for the moment cattle breeding and consider the hunting grounds of the Hottentot homeland within their wide former boundaries: around the middle of the seventeenth century, and even only a hundred years ago in many cases, Western South Africa was one of the richest game lands of the earth. Today, south of the Orange River, no Hottentot can make a living any longer by hunting. When it occurred to the Cape Government to protect game, it was far too late to take into consideration the question of the welfare of the natives. The sportsman's concern that he would soon not be able to fish--the half economic and half Lucullian consideration that wild game is, after all, the best part of the South African fare--finally, the consciousness that it is a cultural people's duty to preserve for posterity certain animals such as, among the big game of South Africa, the elephant, the rhinoceros and the giraffe represent: these were the reasons for the measures protecting at least the remainder of the wild game.

One of the most fruitful hunting methods of the Hottentot was ambushing at the water hole. It is quite clear that this place was devaluated as far as hunting was concerned by the Boer who settled here, or the cattle herder who watered his white master's cattle here, or the waggoner who unyoked here. Where this is repeated in progressively more and more places it becomes just as apparent to the native as the increasing disappearance of game along the railroad lines and in the vicinity of the stations. One should at least be conscious of the fact that, for almost every step of progress (gratifying to us) in the colonization of the land, the native [548] is correspondingly harmed as far as his old way of life is concerned.

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More ominous than the captains' ruining of the hunting grounds was the unsystematic auctioning of pasture lands to farm-land speculators, who would stoop to anything. The Hottentot even gave up his cattle in the most frivolous fashion for guns, alcohol, tobacco and other articles to which he had become accustomed.

Often with the laudable intention of preparing him for culture the Hottentot was instilled with certain needs in clothing and ways of living without seeing to it that he satisfies these needs in a way that does not ruin him economically. For the Hottentot by himself does not see--or if he sees it does not want to accept the rational conclusion--that there remain for him only two ways of living under white domination. Either: to keep up with the new competition in the exploitation of the natural resources of the land, that is to learn to manage rationally according to European concepts in order to keep himself economically independent. Or: to bow before the competition and to earn his bread in the service of the white man.

Only a small number of the Hottentots have taken the first way, and only a few of them have managed prosperously. A second part have taken the latter way and have hired themselves out as cattlekeepers, wagon drivers, servant boys or servant girls in the white houses and farms. Here at least he has no worries about food and, in general--even if his master occasionally treats him harshly--feels content when he finds a form of justice that does not degrade him because of the superiority of his master. In this point the Hottentot, despite his superficially often unlimited devotion, is painfully sensitive.

The girls and young women also enter into a relation of dependence to the white men at their own expense. The young Hottentot woman finds a carefree life in intimate intercourse with the white man. Her vanity is generally satisfied in every respect, her sensuality is an important factor, and she is often quite proud of bearing a white child.

For the average Hottentot, whose joys and worries change from day to day, who does not think about providing either for his children after his death or for his own old age, bondage in the service of the white man would be the easiest way of getting through life if, on the one hand, the results of sexual degeneration did not drag him down, [549] and if, on the other hand, he could be trained permanently to regular work; but up until now the latter has never been systematically undertaken either by clerical or mundane forces.

Thus a large number of the Hottentots, as in past centuries, even today feel far better when, in the hard battle for existence, they must win their livelihood from frugal nature, and is hindered in their movement by no limits other than those of nature herself--in this situation they feel much better than at the trough of the white man. A settled way of life does not appeal to them, whose nomadic impulses could probably be broken only by education over a period of generations. They do not wish, as is demanded in the service of the white man, to be bound to the day and the hour; they would preferably undergo the hardships of wanderings and sacrifices of months spent in the wilderness, than allow themselves to be yoked to regular work. The most willing followers of the discontented chieftains are made up of such people.

When then, at any occasion, the signal for a revolt is given, there awakens among hundreds of others the old desire for adventure, the hope for rich booty and victory celebrations, such as live in the memories of all from the endless battles of past decades. Then, too, a way is opened for each individual to take personal revenge for injuries suffered years ago; at times like this, finally, drowning out all detailed questions of right or wrong in present or past, there sounds the cry which I have heard so often and always with the same naivété and logical irrefutability: "The land was ours; we wish to be the masters in it again!" It is the old refrain, and the end of it in this case, too, is simply that one more human race disappears from the face of the earth.

[For folklore texts, see category 116, pp. 186-187, 194-243, and 249-312 of the translation. In some instances where lengthy native texts occur they have not been reproduced in the translation. In these cases, consult the indicated pages of the foreign text, category 116 for the original native texts. --Analyst]

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AUS NAMALAND UND KALAHARI

BERICHT AN DIE KGL. PREUSS. AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN ZU BERLIN ÜBER EINE FORSCHUNGSREISE IM WESTLICHEN UND ZENTRALEN SÜDAFRIKA, AUSGEFÜHRT IN DEN JAHREN 1903–1905

VON

DR. LEONHARD SCHULTZE
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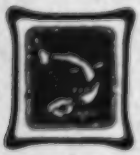
MIT 25 TAFELN IN HELIOGRAVÜRE UND LICHTDRUCK,
1 KARTE UND 286 ABBILDUNGEN IM TEXT.



VERLAG VON GUSTAV FISCHER IN JENA.
1907.

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Meinem teueren Vater

Bernhard Sigmund Schultze

dankbar gewidmet

Vorwort.

Als ich zu Anfang des Jahres 1903 von der Kolonialabteilung des Auswärtigen Amts den Auftrag erhielt, die wissenschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Fischerei an der Westküste Südafrika's zu untersuchen, wandte ich mich an die Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin mit der Bitte, für eine Ausdehnung meiner Studien auf das Innere des Kontinents mir die Mittel zu gewähren. DEM KURATORIUM DER HUMBOLDT-STIFTUNG FÜR NATURFORSCHUNG UND REISEN, das diese Mittel bewilligte, übergebe ich heute mit ehrerbietigem Dank für das rückhaltlos mir erwiesene Vertrauen einen Bericht über die ersten Ergebnisse meiner Forschungen.

Der Gesichtspunkt, der mich auf meinen Wanderungen leitete, war, in der südlichsten Provinz des äthiopischen Faunengebiets der Erde die Verteilung der Tierwelt, innerhalb ihrer Grenzen und verglichen mit Nachbarfaunen, einem kausalen Verständnis näher zu bringen: sie zurückzuführen soweit als möglich auf die Wirkungen der Klimate und des Untergrundes nach Bodenart und Reliefbildung der Landschaft, sie zu begreifen im Zwang des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses der einzelnen Glieder wie sie heute nebeneinander leben, endlich sie abzuleiten aus der Vorgeschichte, deren Daseinsbedingungen und -Kämpfe in ihren Wirkungen auf die Verteilung der überlebenden Arten versteckt, aber erschließbar bis in die Gegenwart reichen.

Die Aufgabe, die aus dieser Stellung des Ziels erwuchs, forderte zunächst, aus den weniger bekannten oder den undurchforschten Gebieten das nötige Tatsachenmaterial in systematischen Sammlungen und Beobachtungsreihen beizubringen. Die regenarmen Landschaften des westlichen und zentralen Südafrika wurden so mein Forschungsgebiet (siehe die Karte am Schluß). Je verwickelter sich hier im Laufe der Untersuchungen die Aufgabe erwies, die Daseinsbedingungen der Tier- und Pflanzenwelt in

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ihren bestimmenden Kräften und Wechselwirkungen zu ergründen, desto lohnender erschien gleichzeitig ihre Lösung. Denn immer deutlicher trat hervor, wie die spezielle Fragestellung, wenn gründlich gefaßt, auf dem direkten Wege zum Verständnis der Gesamtnatur des Landes liegt; wie weiter dieselben Faktoren, die den Tierfamilien Verbreitungsgrenzen ziehen und Florenreiche abteilen, auch den Menschenrassen ihrer Gebiete wirtschaftlich und politisch den Stempel aufdrücken, die Individuen körperlich charakteristisch ausgestalten helfen und ihrer geistigen Entwickelung eine Richtung geben, die unmittelbar von den Vorgängen in der umgebenden Natur, als der vornehmsten Schule ihres Verstandes und der frischesten Quelle ihrer Phantasie, noch heute täglich von neuem bestimmt wird. In diesem Zusammenhange war ich bestrebt, die Lebensbedingungen und die Lebensart der aussterbenden Ureinwohner meines Hauptarbeitsgebiets, der Hottentotten, als einen integrierenden Bestandteil der Naturgeschichte des Landes kennen zu lernen; deshalb blieb ich in der Wahl meiner Begleiter auch außerhalb des Groß-Namalandes in ständiger Fühlung mit dem Volk.

Die praktische Durchführung der wissenschaftlichen und der eingangs genannten wirtschaftlichen Pläne ging im ersten Jahre, 1903, glatt von statten. Das ist in erster Linie dem unbegrenzten Entgegenkommen der Kolonialabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes zu verdanken, die mich mit weitgehenden Empfehlungen an alle Behörden des Schutzgebiets entließ; der Gouverneur, damals Herr Oberst Leutwein, und sein Stellvertreter, Herr Regierungsrat Tecklenburg, förderten ihrerseits mein Unternehmen nach Kräften. Den Behörden im Mutterland und in der Kolonie spreche ich hier noch einmal meinen wärmsten Dank aus! Angra Pequena, die Lüderitzbucht, wurde Anfang April mein erstes Standquartier. Von hier aus beteiligte ich mich an den Küsten-Rekognoszierungsfahrten S.M.S. „Wolf", an Bord dessen ich die beste Kameradschaft fand, und wandte mich dann den Inseln und der Küste südlich und nördlich der Swakopmündung zu. Anfang September verließ ich Swakopmund zu einer zweimonatlichen Reise durch das südliche Hererogebiet über das Komashochland nach Windhuk, zu dem doppelten Zweck, einerseits über die Durchführbarkeit eines Fischhandels-Projekts an erster Stelle mich zu informieren, andererseits die Vorarbeiten für eine längere Expedition weiter ins Innere zu beenden. Der Rest des ersten Jahres war dem Abschluß der Küstenstudien, der Januar und Februar 1904 einem vergleichenden Studium der englischen Fischerei am Kap der guten Hoffnung gewidmet, durch das deutsche Generalkonsulat in Kapstadt, damals

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mit Herrn von Lindequist, später mit Herrn von Jacobs an der Spitze, in dankenswertester Weise gefördert; über die Ergebnisse habe ich an anderer Stelle Bericht erstattet[15]).

Inzwischen hatten die Unruhen im Bondelzwartlande, die auch in Angra Pequena zur Erklärung des Kriegszustandes geführt und uns wenige Weiße zur Verteidigung organisiert hatten, das Signal zum Aufstand der Herero gegeben. Der nun folgende Krieg vereitelte hart die bis in alle Einzelheiten vorbereitete Expedition durch das Hereroland und die mittlere Kalahari zum Ngamisee; die Etappenstationen, die ich im Hinblick auf diese und andere Marschpläne im Lande angelegt hatte, wurden verlorene Posten. Ich hoffte, wenigstens im südlichen Namalande meine Arbeiten fortsetzen zu können, kehrte im März 1904 nach Lüderitzbucht zurück und wandte mich nach Kubub, meinem zweiten Standquartier. Die Wahl bewährte sich; aber im Mai sah ich mich auch hier jeder Bewegungsfähigkeit beraubt: Von einem großen Teil meines Gepäcks abgeschnitten und der Hilfe des Gouvernements, die jetzt drängenderen Aufgaben sich zuwandte, notwendigerweise entblößt, mußte ich mir — wollte ich nicht viertelverrichteter Sache nach Europa zurückkehren — in der Richtung des vorgesetzten Ziels ein neues Arbeitsfeld suchen. Ich fand es jenseits des Oranje im Klein-Namalande und bearbeitete es bis Ende August des zweiten Reisejahres. Dann kehrte ich, die im Hererolande zurückgelassene Ausrüstung endgültig verloren gebend, nach Kapstadt zurück, um von dort, neu ausgerüstet und von Herrn F. Hirschhorn in Kimberley in liberalster Weise unterstützt, über Mafeking in die zentrale Kalahari, zu der mir der Weg von Westen verlegt war, von Osten her vorzugehen. Von Mitte Oktober bis Anfang Februar, also in der kleinen Regenzeit, durchwanderte ich in den Richtungen, die die Karte zeigt, die Kalahari, westwärts bis Lehututu vordringend.

Hatte ich auf diesen und den vorher genannten Wegen die westliche Randzone und die östliche Hälfte des zentralen Hochplateaus mit dem großen Sandfeld im Innern an charakteristischen Punkten kennen gelernt, so fehlte doch noch eine Verknüpfung der Beobachtungen vom Westen und Osten. Ich bewerkstelligte sie, nach abermaligem Aufenthalt an der Südwest-Küste (speziell im Umkreis der Walfischbai) mit einigen Schwierigkeiten im dritten Reisejahr, 1905. Daß ich überhaupt im aufrührerischen Groß-Namalande mich bewegen konnte, verdanke ich zunächst dem Etappenkommando in Lüderitzbucht, das mich kriegsmäßig bewaffnete, verproviantierte und vorzüglich beritten der Truppe mich anschließen ließ. In Keetmanshoop fand

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ich in Sr. Exzellenz Herrn Generalleutnant von Trotha einen starken Helfer, der, selbst Naturforscher, mit der Angliederung des friedlicheren Fachgenossen als Kriegsberichterstatter an das Hauptquartier meine Studien ausgiebig förderte. Nach Abschluß der letzten größeren Umgehungsbewegung gegen Hendrik Witbooi, an der ich auf diese Weise teilnehmen durfte, ebnete mir der Anschluß an eine kleine nach dem Osten abgehende Truppenabteilung unter Herrn Major von Estorff den Weg nach Rietfontein (September-Oktober 1905) und setzte mich so in den Stand, die Kalahari doch noch von Westen her, wenn auch vier Breitengrade südlicher und anderthalb Jahre später als ursprünglich geplant war, zu erreichen. Von einer Schilderung persönlicher Erlebnisse sehe ich ab.

Die Resultate nur, die sich trotz aller Wechselfälle und zum kleinen Teil auch aus ihnen selbst gewinnen ließen, sind hier am Platz. Sie folgen in diesem Band mit Ausnahme derer, die auf speziell zoologischem Gebiete liegen. Den Fachgenossen, besonders denen am Kgl. zoologischen Museum in Berlin, bin ich für die Bestimmung vieler der Tiere, die in diesem Bericht genannt sind, Herrn Prof. Dr. G. Volkens in Berlin für die unermüdliche Hilfe, den mitgebrachten Pflanzen zu den besten Bearbeitern zu verhelfen, zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Die Resultate der detaillierten Sammlungsbearbeitung, in die sich ebenfalls zahlreiche Fachgenossen mit mir teilen, hat die Medizinisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft zu Jena beschlossen, in ihren Denkschriften zu veröffentlichen. Die Mitarbeiterschaft ist geregelt, die Bearbeitung im Gang.

L. S. Schultze.

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XII. Kapitel.

Die Hottentotten.

Die Holländer des 17. Jahrhunderts gaben den Ureinwohnern, die sie am Kap der guten Hoffnung vorfanden, ihrer merkwürdig glucksenden Sprache wegen den Namen „Hottentots". Wie Autoren der damaligen Zeit berichten, war das in Holland ein Schimpfwort für Stotterer, und dieser Spottname ist dem Volke geblieben.

Soweit die Geschichte zurückreicht, haben sich die Hottentotten nie zu einer Nation geeint, schon die ältesten holländischen Ansiedler am Kap

berichten von Kämpfen der Stämme untereinander. Dazu kam, mit dem 17. Jahrhundert beginnend, die Einengung der Hottentottenstämme durch die weiße Rasse von Süden her und im 19. Jahrhundert die Invasionen der Banturassen von Norden. In dem Maße, als die Hottentotten somit auf immer engeres Gebiet gedrängt und damit die Kämpfe um Weidegründe und Wasserstellen immer erbitterter geführt wurden, beschleunigten sich die Prozesse, die seit alters die gelbhäutigen Nomadenstämme Südafrikas durcheinander gewürfelt haben: Aus- und Einwanderungen über weite Gebiete hinweg, Zersprengtwerden verwandter und Vereinigungen verschiedenartiger Elemente unter neuem Führer zu neuer Stammesgemeinschaft. Die Stämme, die während dieser Kämpfe untergingen, wollen wir hier nicht aufzählen; die Quellen ihrer ältesten Geschichte fließen trübe. Die besten Urkunden aus dem letztvergangenen Jahrhundert sind die Berichte ihrer Missionare[43]).

Was sich im Gebiet der heutigen Kapkolonie von der alten Hottentottenbevölkerung erhalten hat, können wir übergehen; es sind verschwindende Reste, körperlich verbastardet, geistig ihrem Volkstum in Sitte und Sprache entfremdet: die Korana und Griqua und einzeln über die Farmen der Buren zerstreute Tagelöhnerfamilien. Nur nördlich des Oranjeflusses hat sich bis heute eine Anzahl Hottentottenstämme stark und verhältnismäßig rein erhalten, verbrüdert mit den Stämmen oder Horden, die vor der nachdrängenden Kultur über den Großfluß geflüchtet waren. Beide, Ureinwohner und Flüchtlinge, waren bis zum Anfang der 80er Jahre die unbestrittenen Herren des Groß-Namalandes. Jetzt hat auch sie ihr Schicksal erreicht. Die Stämme, die vor dem letzten Auflehnungsversuch noch beachtenswerte politische Faktoren waren, werden jetzt nur noch dem Namen nach eine Zeitlang unterschieden werden. Denn mit den Kapitänschaften (der stärksten und hoffentlich nun endgültig beseitigten Friedensgefahr) fällt, wie die Geschichte gelehrt hat, auch die Stammesunterscheidung. Von den Hottentottenstämmen nördlich des Oranje, mit denen wir um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zuerst näher bekannt wurden, sind fünf schon vor unserem bewaffneten Eingreifen in die Wirren des Namalandes im Kriege der Eingeborenen untereinander aufgerieben worden. Ihr ehemaliges Verbreitungsgebiet (im Jahre 1852) ist auf der Karte punktiert angegeben, für die Grenzen der übrigen Stämme (mit geschlossenen Linien eingetragen) ist das Jahr 1890 zugrunde gelegt (siehe Karten-Erklärung). Wie es mit ihrer Kopfzahl, ihren Kapitänen und Wohnsitzen stehen wird, wenn das Land wieder zur Ruhe gekommen ist, läßt sich zurzeit noch nicht übersehen. Hier mögen wenigstens die Namen der Stämme folgen:

a) *Naṁa-n* nennt der Hottentott diejenigen Stämme, die seit alters her im heutigen Groß-Namalande ansässig sind. Das sind

1. Die *ǂAo-ǂnin* oder *ǀGo-ǂmen*, zuweilen auch ihrer Naragründe wegen von den Nachbarn *°ǀNa-ranin* genannt, die Topnaars der Buren.

2. Die *ǀKχa-ragai-kχoĩn*, abgekürzt *ǀKχa-r(a)kχoĩn*, die Franamanschen Hottentotten oder nach ihrem Kapitän auch Simon Kopper-Leute genannt.

3. Die *ǂHa-bobe-n* oder Velschoendragers.

4. Die *ǀGa-miṅũ-ǂn* oder Bondelzwarts.

5. Die *ǂKχau-igõa-n* oder Zwartbooïs, jetzt, mit Ausnahme Versprengter, außerhalb des Namalandes, im nördlichen Kaokoveld angesiedelt.

Dazu kommen, heute versprengt, aber in der Erinnerung der Eingeborenen noch immer als alte Stammesgemeinschaften lebendig:

6. Die *ǂKχau-ben* oder die Rooi Natie.

7. Die *ǀKχa-roǀõ-an* oder die Tsaibochen Hottentotten von Keetmanshoop.

8. Die *ǂOgain* oder Grootdooden.

b) *°Gũiṅũn* ist eine Bezeichnung für diejenigen Hottentottenstämme, die von der Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts ab aus dem Gebiet der heutigen Kapkolonie nach Groß-Namaland einwanderten. Hierher gehören, gewöhnlich Orlam genannt.

9. Die *ǀA-main* oder Bethanier-Hottentotten.

10. Die *ǀHai-ǁkχau-an* oder Bersaba-Hottentotten.

11. Die *ǁKχo-besin* oder Witbooïs.

12. Die *Gai-ǁkχau-an* oder Amraal-Hottentotten von Gobabis.

Dazu kommt, seit 1889 aufgerieben, einst aber unter Jonkers und Jan Afrikaners Führung der gefürchtetste aller Orlamstämme, der Stamm der

13. *ǂAi-χaũa-en* oder der Afrikaaner.

Diese 13 Namen werden bald die einzigen Überbleibsel der alten Stammesgliederung der Hottentotten sein. Ehe der politischen Vernichtung ebenso unaufhaltsam die Vernichtung des Volkstums in Sprache, Vorstellungen und Sitten folgt, sollte alles in Sicherheit gebracht werden, was wenigstens für den Ethnologen zu retten ist. Bei meinem Bestreben, dieser Pflicht eines jeden wissenschaftlichen Reisenden, so gut als es die Hauptaufgabe im speziellen Arbeitsgebiet zuließ, nach Kräften nachzukommen, machte ich es mir zur Regel, nur das aufzuzeichnen, was ich in direktem persönlichen Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen sah und ermittelte. Nur im Kapitel „Geburtshilfe" war ich genötigt, auf die Erfahrungen einer landesansässigen weißen Frau zurückzugreifen. Klar darüber, daß die Erfahrungen eines ein-

seinen nur lückenhaft sein können, ziehe ich es doch vor, das Bild vom Hottentotten nur wie es mir selbst sich bot zu geben und nicht, auch wo die Lücken empfindlich sind, mit fremdem Stift weiter auszuführen, weil ich mir auf diesem Gebiete mit seinem weiten Spielraum für individuelle Auffassungen eine Kritik nur zutraue, wo ich selbst an Ort und Stelle meine Aufmerksamkeit hinwenden konnte.

Eine Zusammenstellung des ethnologisch Wissenswertesten über die Hottentotten, soweit es in der Literatur bis 1872 enthalten war, hat G. Fritsch[84]) gegeben. Seit den vorausgehenden Arbeiten Theophilus Hahns[85]) sind aber keine zusammenhängenden originalen Untersuchungen über das Volksleben der Hottentotten im Namaland angestellt worden. Auf die Darstellung Ratzels[86]) sei hier nur hingewiesen. Es kann hier nicht meine Aufgabe sein, Probleme der vergleichenden Ethnologie der südafrikanischen Völker im Anschluß an die Fachliteratur zu behandeln. Ich habe hier nur über meine eigenen Beobachtungen zu berichten, allein in sich verarbeitet, vielfach auch nur als Tatbestand mitgeteilt, Berufeneren zu weiterer Verwertung.

Über die hottentottischen Bezeichnungen, die in den Text eingeschaltet sind, siehe das über die Sprache in Çapitulum V, A Gesagte.

Zu immer weiteren Fortschritten ermutigte es mich, zu sehen, wie oft gerade da, wo man es auf Grund älterer Berichte am wenigsten erwartete, trotz allen Kultureinflusses die alte Eigenart des Volkes, soweit es das Individuum und die Familie betrifft, sich oft noch überraschend rein erhalten hat. Auf sozialem und politischem Gebiete dagegen ist dem Ethnologen wohl das meiste schon unwiederbringlich verloren gegangen.

Capitulum I.

Der Körper und seine Pflege.

A. Die äußere Erscheinung

eines Hottentotten hat wenig Anziehendes.

Die Haltung des Körpers läßt niemals, weder im männlichen noch im weiblichen Geschlecht und in keinem Alterstadium, jene Würde erkennen, die beim Herero im Jugend- und jungen Mannesalter die Regel ist. Der hohen schlanken Gestalt des Herero gibt im männlichen Geschlecht eine gut entwickelte Muskulatur, im weiblichen Geschlecht ein mäßig entwickelter Panniculus schöne Formen und Ebenmaß. Das erhöht naturgemäß, wo es sich um jugendliche Körper handelt, die Anmut aller Bewegungen. Nur

ein Riemen gürtet die Lenden des Herero im Jünglingsalter, ein knielanger Fellschurz deckt Blöße und Gesäß, gibt aber seitlich mit jedem Schritt die ganze Linie des Oberschenkels frei, seinen schlanken Hüftansatz und den Übergang in die Weichen. Der Körper der Hottentotten ist trotz guter Proportionen und trotz normaler Entwicklung der Muskulatur zu klein und meist durch europäische Kleiderlumpen derart verunstaltet, daß der Anblick seiner Bewegung keinen Reiz hat. Die Bewegungen der Frauenleiber haben infolge der Überfülle des Gesäßes etwas Unbeholfenes, und junge Mädchen ohne diese Zier sind leicht fahrig in den Bewegungen ihrer Gliedmaßen.

Junges Hereroweib (vgl. die Figur einer älteren Herero-Frau auf S. 180).

Die Gliedmaßen selbst sind um so zierlicher gebaut, die Füße und Hände so klein und schlank, wie sie bei Erwachsenen unserer Rasse selten zu finden sind und in Südafrika nur von den Miniaturgliedern der Buschmännerin übertroffen werden.

Als der Teil des Körpers, den wir an uns selbst und an anderen am besten kennen, an dem wir in erster Linie bewußt oder unbewußt unser erstes Urteil über einen Menschen bilden, fesselt die Physiognomie des Hottentotten trotz ihrer Häßlichkeit nach zweifacher Richtung: Es reizt an sich schon, die Regungen des Seelenlebens in diesem fremdartigen Spiegel zu beobachten, um so mehr, je näher wir es im Laufe der Jahre verstehen lernen. Und dann ist es ein seltsames Gefühl, den Begriff der tierischen Spezies auf unser eigenes Geschlecht anzuwenden, wie es der erste Anblick des Kontrastes unserer und jener Züge unabweislich aufdrängt. Ein näherer Vergleich*), der Übereinstimmendes und Abweichendes in gleicher Weise berücksichtigt, ergibt dann folgendes:

Das Schädeldach zeigt keinerlei auffallende Merkmale. Das Vorderhaupt ist mäßig gewölbt. Der Scheitel, nach den Seiten mäßig steil abge-

*) Zahlenmäßige Angaben werden an anderem Orte veröffentlicht werden. Die folgenden Angaben beziehen sich auf den lebendigen Körper. Zur Illustration dienen auch die Tafeln X—XIII, XV und XVII. (Seitenzahlen s. vorn in der Übersicht.)

dacht, liegt meist in der Mitte, ist selten nach vorn, noch seltener nach hinten verschoben und die Scheitelbeinhöcker treten nicht hervor. Das Hinterhaupt ist niemals platt, springt immer, bald mäßig, bald beträchtlich vor. Von oben betrachtet hat das Schädeldach ausgeprägt ovoide Gestalt, den spitzen Pol nach vorn gekehrt.

Das Charakteristische dieser Scheitelansicht ist in der Schmalheit der Stirn begründet, im übrigen zeigt der Hirnteil der Stirn nichts Bemerkenswertes. Er ist bei mittlerer Höhe und Steilheit mäßig gewölbt, ohne daß Stirnhöcker ausgeprägt wären, aber das Vortreten der Augenbrauenbogen (vorwiegend in den lateralen Partien, ein Glabellarwulst fehlt meist) gibt der Stirn etwas uns Fremdartiges.

Die Jochbeine laden meist so weit seitlich aus, daß die Backenpartien unterhalb der Augen wie zwei starke Wülste vortreten.

Das Kinn ist flach gewölbt, läuft spitz zu und tritt zurück. So zieht sich das Gesicht, wenn alle Eigentümlichkeiten der genannten Teile ausgeprägt sind, im ganzen von vorn betrachtet, sowohl nach oben über den Augenbrauenbogen zur Haargrenze, als nach unten von den Backenknochen zum Kinn, spitz aus.

Die Nase des Hottentotten ist für unser Auge von ausgesuchter Häßlichkeit. Die Nasenbeine liegen so tief, daß der Ansatz der Nasenwurzel an der Stirn in vielen Fällen äußerlich überhaupt nicht markiert ist. Der Nasenrücken ist so breit und erhebt sich mit so flachem Sattel aus dem Gesicht, daß er fast verschwindet. Um so stärker macht sich der untere Teil der Nase geltend: der im Profil bald gradlinig, bald konvex, bald konkav verlaufende Nasenrücken geht da, wo unsere Nasenspitze liegt, in einen platten Wulst über. In der Mittellinie setzt sich der Wulst in eine kurze, nach oben gerichtete Nasenbasis fort, seitlich in enorm breite, aufgeblähte Nasenflügel, deren Unterrand reichlich genug ausgebogen ist, um einen Blick in die großen, quer gestellten Nasenlöcher wie in zwei Kamine frei zu geben.

Die Prognathie der Kiefer wird physiognomisch vielfach durch ein rüsselartiges Vorspringen der Lippen verstärkt. Die Oberlippe mit seichter Mittelfurche erscheint im Vergleich zur Unterlippe lang. Der braune, dicke, vorgewulstete, rissige Lippensaum umgibt eine meist horizontal gestellte, mittelgroße Mundspalte. Das Zurücktreten des Kinnes und die eingesunkene knöcherne Nasenpartie lassen die Kieferregion noch schnauzenartiger vorspringen (s. Abb. S. 176). Die Zähne zeigen meist ungestörte Reihenanordnung und die gleiche, auch für unser Gebiß typische, nach der Kiefermitte hin gerichtete Größenzunahme

der oberen Schneidezähne sowohl als der Prämolaren und Molaren beider Kiefer und eine gleich gerichtete Größenabnahme der unteren Schneidezähne.

Die Augen sehen mit dunkelbrauner Iris aus mittellang geschlitzten, wenig geöffneten Lidspalten. Die Verbindungslinie des äußeren Augenwinkels mit der Mitte des Tränenknöchens, der Caruncula, läßt vielfach eine schwache Schrägstellung der Lidspalte (nach außen aufwärts) erkennen, meist ohne daß diese Schrägstellung beim unbefangenen Anblick des Gesichts irgendwie sich aufdrängte oder von entsprechenden Befunden an unserer eigenen Rasse abwiche. Der Augenabstand ist groß.

Hottentotten vom Stamm der Tropassa, ca. 20 Jahre alt.

Auch ohne daß Altersfalten im Bereich der Lidspalte vorhanden wären, ist die Deckfalte des oberen Lids meist so stark entwickelt, daß das obere Lid in der Mitte und seitlich unter ihr verschwindet. Bald in die mediale Partie der Deckfalte ununterbrochen übergehend, bald durch einige Millimeter ungefalteter Haut von ihr getrennt, läuft in zahlreichen Fällen eine feine Hautfalte als scharfer Saum um den äußeren Augenwinkel herum, rein anatomisch einem Epicanthus tarsalis entsprechend, von der typischen Mongolenfalte dadurch unterschieden, daß sie die Caruncula frei läßt. Die gut entwickelte, mit Nickhaut versehene Caruncula ist in den seltenen Fällen, in denen sie nicht frei liegt, unter den Lidtarsen versteckt. Der Teil der Bindehaut, der bei gewöhnlicher Augenöffnung von den Lidern geschützt wird, ist glatt und von bläulich-weißer Farbe. Der frei liegende Teil dagegen, der unter Staub und Rauch viel zu leiden hat, ist gelblich

gefärbt und hat unebene Oberfläche. Nie sah ich den oberen Tarsus scharfrandig heruntersteigen. Die schwarzen Wimperhaare sind kurz, dicht gestellt. Die Augenbrauen sind meist kurz und schmal, dazu dünn behaart, medial verhältnismäßig am dichtesten; das einzelne Haar ist gewellt. Bald laufen die Brauen geradlinig, bald gebogen; sie sind niedrig und horizontal (zuweilen nach außen aufwärts) gelegen und treffen nicht auf der Stirn zusammen.

Zu erstem orientierenden Vergleich der Physiognomien sei hier (Seite 178 und 179) das Porträt eines Herero beigefügt. (Vgl. im übrigen die später folgenden Porträts von Bergdamara, Betschuanen und Buschmann).

Das Ohr liegt meist an. Vollständig oder halb angewachsene Ohrläppchen sind die Regel; eine Darwinsche Spitze sah ich nur in den seltensten Fällen und da meist am hinten umgebogenen Helixrand nur angedeutet.

Hottentott vom Stamme der Topnaars, ca. 20 Jahre alt (dieselbe Person, die auf S. 176 abgebildet ist).

Inmitten der schwarzbraunen bis schwarzen Menschenrassen ihrer Nachbarschaft stehen die Hottentotten und die dunkleren Buschmänner mit dem hellen Braun bis Fahlgelb ihrer Haut allein da. Ein mattes fahles Braungelb ist die Grundfarbe des Körpers der Hottentotten. Im Gesicht verdunkelt sie sich häufig zu braun, auf der Fußsohle hellt sie sich zur schwach gebräunten Hautfarbe unserer Rasse auf, noch mehr im Nagelbett der Füße und der Finger, hier bald mehr ins Gelbliche, bald mehr ins Rosa spielend. Unser frisches Lippenrot fehlt. Die Schleimhaut des Mundes (einschließlich der Lippenteile, die bei geschlossenem

Mund unsichtbar sind) und des Rachens ist ein trübes, violett angehauchtes Rot; von der Vulva gilt dasselbe. Die glans penis dagegen ist hellrosa gefärbt. Beschneidung sah ich in keinem einzigen Fall.

Weder die Muskeln der Schädelhaut noch die des Ohres, nur das Platysma konnten die Hottentotten, die ich daraufhin prüfte, willkürlich bewegen.

Herero, ca. 20 Jahre alt.

Die Behaarung des Körpers ist äußerst spärlich. Dies und die starke Spiralkrümmung jedes einzelnen feinen Haares bedingt es, daß sich (mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Wimpern und Augenbrauen, des Schnurr- und Kinnbartes) die Haare überall, wo sie in Feldern beisammen stehen, gruppenweise zu einzelnen kleinen isolierten Knäueln verfilzen, zwischen denen die Haut hell durchschimmert. Aber diese sichtbaren Hautpartien sind nicht kahl: die Einpflanzung der Haare in der Haut ist gleichmäßig, läßt jedenfalls keine Gruppenanordnung erkennen, die jenen Filzknäueln entspräche. Das gilt für die Behaarung des Schädels wie für die der Schamteile und Achselhöhlen. Je stärker die Spiralkrümmung des einzelnen Haares und je spärlicher gleichzeitig die Gesamtbehaarung ist, desto fester und kleiner sind die Knäuel. Übergänge aller Stadien führen von diesen kompakten Bildungen von nur wenigen Millimetern Durchmesser zu zentimetergroßen aufgelockerten Haarbäuschchen. Nur in seltenen Ausnahmefällen ist das Kopfhaar so kräftig entwickelt, daß es sich in dicht gedrängte, aber einzeln zu unterscheidende fingerlange Fransen dreht, die dann wirr in die Höhe stehen oder phantastisch um den Schädel baumeln (vgl. Taf. V). Der Hottentott selbst

bezeichnet die schwarzen runden Haarknäuel seines Kopfes mit demselben Wort, das Ziegenmist bedeutet (*/noiru-s*). Der Bur vergleicht die Haarknäuel mit Pfefferkörnern und nennt den Hottentotten „Pepperkopp". Unter mehreren Hundert Hottentotten begegnete mir nur ein einziger Kahlkopf.

Vom Bart, dessen Einzelhaare stark sind, besitzt der Hottentott nur die Teile, die bei unserer Rasse am stärksten entwickelt sind, einen schwachen Schnurrbart (besonders seitlich entwickelt) und einen Kinnbart. Ein Backenbart und die ihn vervollständigende Behaarung des Mundbodens und des Halses fehlt. Sie ist nur hier und da durch einzelstehende Haare angedeutet.

Herero, ca. 30 Jahre alt
(dieselbe Person wie die auf S. 178 abgebildete).

Die Physiognomie des Hottentotten erhält frühzeitig durch Falten erhöhten Ausdruck. Die Nasen-Mundwinkelfalte und eine feine Fältelung der Haut unterhalb des Auges tritt sehr frühzeitig auf, ebenso Stirnfalten. Im Alter vermehren und erhöhen sich die Falten oft derart zu Runzeln, daß sie dem Gesicht jede Ausdrucksfähigkeit wieder nehmen und über Hals und Brust in langen parallelen Streifen ziehen (s. Tafel XVII). Die Haut junger und gesunder Individuen beiderlei Geschlechts spannt sich straff und frisch über die Weichteile (s. Tafel XII und XIII).

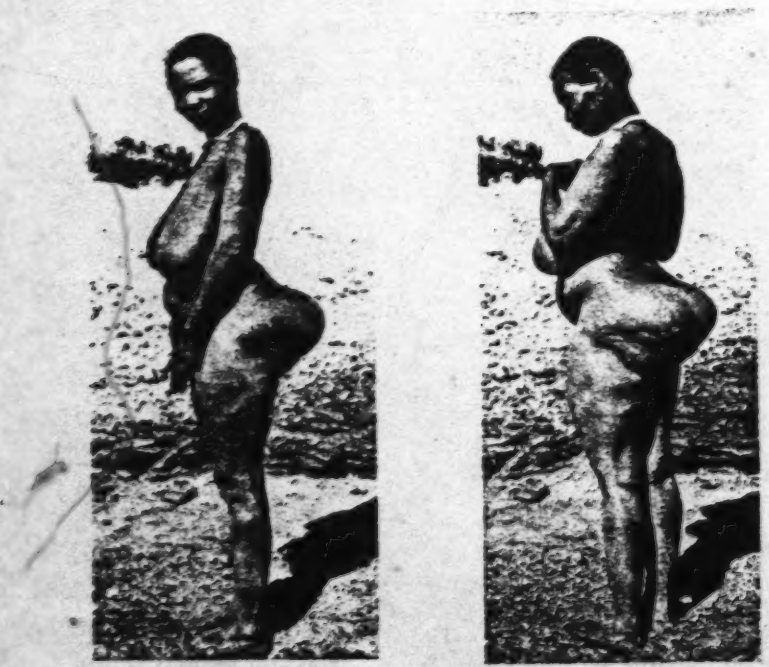
Fettpolsterung des weiblichen Körpers gilt allgemein als Zierde. Die Brüste sind voll entwickelt. Die Ansammlungen großer Fettmassen über den Glutäen und an der Außenseite der Oberschenkel (Steatopygie), die den Leibern der Matronen oft unförmige Gestalt gibt, ist in dieser starken Entwicklung und scharfen Lokalisierung Rasseneigentümlichkeit. Desgleichen

die Vergrößerung der kleinen Schamlippen zur Schürze, über die an anderem Ort zu handeln ist.

So verwahrlost die äußere Erscheinung des Hottentotten auf den ersten Augenblick ist, so sind mir doch hier und da gewisse Anstandsregeln begegnet, betreffend

B. die Haltung des ruhenden Körpers.

Verpönt ist das Erheben der Knie über das Niveau des Kopfes, wie es beim Liegen auf dem Rücken und gleichzeitiger aufrechter Kniebeugestellung der Beine der Fall ist. Die Bezeichnung für eine solche Lage ist *ǂhõingoa**).



Hottentottin von Berzaba, 1,48 m groß, ca. 40 Jahre alt, mit gut entwickeltem Fettsteiß.

*) Das Wort **ǂhõi* finde ich nirgends verzeichnet; es ist ebenso scharf unterschieden von *ǂhĕi* = gebückt sein, wie von *ǂhŏi* = spotten. Soweit ich seine Bedeutung aus dem Sprachgebrauch der Eingeborenen ermitteln konnte, hat es den Sinn von „ungeschlacht". So sagte ein Mann zu einem anderen mit auffallen

Ein Hottentott, der einen meiner Leute in der genannten Stellung fand, schlug ihn auf die Knie mit den Worten: *„nē ǃhŏĭ ŋgoabats gye nī ĭū“*, d. h. „du sollst aufhören, so mit ungeschlachten Knien zu liegen“, weil es Mißgeschick bringe, wie auf eine Frage meinerseits geantwortet wurde.

Eine hohe Stellung der Knie, wie sie bei langbeinigen Personen in hockender Haltung unvermeidlich ist, wird bespöttelt. So wurde ein schlankes großes Hererомädchen mit den Worten geneckt: *„ĭūitsibeb kχoma gai ŋgoaga (e)ĭs“*, d. h. „du mit den großen (hoch aufragenden) Knieen wie eine Mücke“. (Die Mücke selbst heißt ihrer langen Beine wegen, die eben beim hockenden langbeinigen Menschen die Kniee so ungeschlacht erscheinen lassen,: *ǃhŏŋŋoab*).

Die Haltung einer Frau in halb ruhender Stellung auf ebener Erde scheint auf den ersten Blick ein Kauern zu sein: Die Oberschenkel ragen steil auf, die Kniee stehen entsprechend hoch und sind stark gebeugt. (Trägt die Frau noch ihre Volkstracht, so zieht sie beim Niedersetzen den Vorschurz zwischen die Beine hindurch unter das Gesäß.) Aber der Körper hängt nicht wie beim Kauern in den Kniegelenken, sondern sitzt mit den starken Fettpolstern des Gesäßes auf. Männer oder magere Personen können diese Ruhestellung ohne Rücklehne nur einnehmen, wenn sie relativ lange Oberschenkel haben: sonst ruhen sie auf einem fußhohen, zusammenklappbaren Schemel *(ǂnūais)*, dessen Sitzfläche mit Riemen überspannt ist. Will eine Frau, die auf ihrem Fettsteiß sitzt, eine Handarbeit vornehmen, so spreizt sie die Oberschenkel schwach und gibt damit den Armen genügend freien Spielraum.

Wenn die Frau ein Kind säugt, setzt sie sich ähnlich wie eine Orientalin hin, legt die gespreizten Oberschenkel flach nieder, schlägt die gebeugten Unterschenkel übereinander und zieht sie so an, daß der Schenkel der einen Seite auf dem Fuß der anderen Seite ruht. In der Mulde, die so die Beine der Frau bilden, liegt der Säugling so sicher, daß die Frau beide Arme zur Arbeit frei hat.

In der Stellung stillender Frauen fand ich häufig auch ältere Männer am Boden sitzen.

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starken Gebiß: *„sa arīl kχoma ǃhŏĭ ŋgūga (e)ĭs“* d. h. „Deine Zähne sind ungeschlacht, wie die eines Hundes.“ Die übermäßig großen Hörner eines Ochsen wurden *ǃhŏĭ mūgu* genannt. Ein Fluch, der oft zu hören ist, lautet: *„ǃhŏĭ ǂkχoaga ĭb“* d. h. „Du mit dem großen Hoden“. (Hier wie in anderen Fällen zusammenhängender Wortfolgen habe ich die Höhenverhältnisse der Vokale nur da bezeichnet, wo es auf eine spezielle Unterscheidung ankam.)

Die jüngeren Männer setzen sich meist so nieder, daß sie ohne Rücklehne auf ebener Erde mit dem hintersten Teil des Gesäßes aufruhen, die Schenkel schwach gebeugt und halb gespreizt vor sich wegsetzend. Der Oberkörper ist schwach vornüber gebeugt, der Rücken krumm, die gestreckten Arme ruhen mit den Ellenbogengelenken auf den Knien oder sind unterhalb der Kniee übereinander geschlagen. So sehe ich sie noch heute wie ehedem so oft um das Abendfeuer sitzen, die Hände wie segnend über die wärmenden Scheite gebreitet, den Kopf zurückgelehnt, um den Qualm vorbeistreichen zu lassen. Die Wintermorgen sind empfindlich kalt. Sie wenden sich dann der Frühsonne in merkwürdiger Sitzstellung zu: spreizen die Beine so weit sie können, daß auch die Sitzflächen der Schenkel voll beschienen werden und kein Glied das andere beschattet.

Sind sie in guter Stimmung, so preisen sie die Wohltat der aufgehenden Sonne in der ihnen eigenen Bildersprache. Halb singend, halb deklamierend hörte ich sie in vielfacher Wiederholung sagen: *„gabu aib gye ǂgîrib ōaba sores gye ti ōasa“*, d. h. „der Wolkenschatten ist des Schakals Sohn (verächtlich), die Sonne ist meine Tochter“.

C. Ausdruck der Empfindungen.

Der männliche Hottentott legt sich aus Klugheit oder Rücksicht manche Reserve auf. Im weiblichen Geschlecht, wo diese Hemmungen meist fort fallen, zeigt ein Vergleich mit dem Hereroweib große Unterschiede. Der Gesichtsausdruck einer Hererofrau ist an sich schon maskiert durch ein braune erdige Fettsalbe, mit der das Gesicht wie der übrige Körper, die Lederkleidung und die dreizipfelige Haube eingerieben ist. Eine solche Frau erscheint, wenn sie dem Gespräch der Umsitzenden zuhörend regungslos an ihrer Lehmhütte lehnt, wie aus gleichartigem dunklen Ton geformt, der sich plötzlich belebt, wenn bei einem Worte, das ihr gilt, das Weiß der Augen und Zähne aufleuchtet.

Eine Hottentottin hat nie diese Ruhe; bezieht sich vollends die Unterhaltung auf Gegenstände, die ihre Aufmerksamkeit mehr als gewöhnlich in Anspruch nehmen, so gestikuliert sie lebhaft. Ist vollends Leidenschaft im Spiel (wenn auch nur in der Erinnerung lebendig), dann ist kaum ein Körperteil in Ruhe: der Oberkörper wird bald nach vorn, bald zur Seite gebeugt, die Arme fuchteln vor dem Gesicht des Zuhörers hin und her, bald wird mit lächerlicher Anschaulichkeit gegen die nahe Wand der Hütte nach dem fernen Ort der Erzählung gewiesen, bald mit dem Zeigefinger der

rechten Hand in der hohlen linken der Punkt präzisiert, um den sich die Auseinandersetzung dreht.

Im einzelnen muß bedacht werden, daß der Hottentott aus dem Gebärdenspiel der fremden Rassen seiner heutigen Gemeinschaft manches entlehnt haben wird. Seine Empfänglichkeit für Fremdes ist groß. Bei dieser Erwägung schrumpft die Zahl der Beobachtungen, die auf ursprüngliche, weil ihnen vorwiegend oder allein zukommende Gebärden schließen lassen, sehr zusammen. Als Gebärde der Bejahung ist ein leichtes Zurückwerfen des Kopfes unter gleichzeitigem Schließen der Augen häufig, besonders bei Frauen, zu beobachten.

Die Verneinung wird in nachlässiger Form bei geschlossenem Mund durch einen unartikulierten Laut ausgedrückt, der einem kurzen leichten Räuspern gleicht, nur daß etwas Stimme gegeben wird, in markiert ansteigendem und flüchtig auslautend-absteigendem Tonfall.

Eine ausdrucksvolle Gebärde des Erstaunens nennen sie selbst *ǂna-mana-m* (von **ǂaim* = verheimlichend zudecken und *ams* = Mund). Sie bedecken bei dieser Gebärde den Mund und die ganze untere Hälfte des Gesichts mit der flachen Hand und wenden den Kopf unter gleichzeitigem Heben der Oberlider zur Seite. Das Heben der oberen Lider (ohne Heben der Augenbrauen), das ich oft während eines Gesprächs beobachtete, bei plötzlich aufdämmernder Erkenntnis oder erwachendem Interesse, sei hier nur als Wiederkehr einer allgemein menschlichen Ausdrucksform genannt.

Scham gibt sich bei der fahlen Beschaffenheit der Haut in Erröten nicht zu erkennen. Seitliches Vorbeugen des Kopfes und Bedecken des Gesichts mit dem Ellenbogen ist eine häufige Ausdrucksform für Schamgefühl.

Eine Gebärde des Widerwillens oder starker Abneigung fand ich wieder bei Frauen stark ausgeprägt: das Gesicht wird von der Person, der die Gebärde gilt, seitwärts und schwach hinten überlehnend abgewandt. Die Augenlider hängen schlaff herunter, der Mund wird zu einer Schnute verzogen, wobei sich die Oberlippe stark den Nasenlöchern nähert, wie um sie zu schließen. Mit derselben Gebärde, *ǂonam* genannt, wendet sich ein Übersättigter ab, wenn ihm Speise gereicht wird.

Ob das Umarmen und Küssen auf die Wangen als zärtliche Begrüßung eine ursprüngliche oder eine übernommene Gebärde der Hottentotten ist, wird nicht mehr zu entscheiden sein. Eine alte Frau umarmte und küßte in freudiger Rührung einen meiner jungen Begleiter, der nach

Jahren der Trennung zu ihrem Wohnsitz kam. Sie rief andere Frauen herzu und konnte sich in ihrer Freude nicht genug tun. Die Augen waren zu tief in Runzeln versteckt, als daß ich hätte sehen können, ob sie weinte. Weinen als Ausdruck freudiger Rührung darf man wohl als einen auch den Hottentotten zukommenden Gemütsausdruck betrachten, da sie dafür eine eigene Bezeichnung haben: *//ha-ru.*

Am entgegengesetzten Ende der Skala ihrer Gemütsbewegungen waren zwei Frauen angelangt, von denen die eine mich aufsuchte, um sich verbinden zu lassen. Ihre Widersacherin hatte ihr beim Streit quer über die Nase, in den Nacken und in den Daumen blutige Wunden gebissen.

D. Nahrung.

Wenden wir uns jetzt vom Hottentottenkörper selbst ab und sehen wir zu, welche Pflege ihm in gesunden und kranken Tagen zu teil wird. Ein Volk, das sich darauf beschränkt, die zum Dasein notwendige Pflanzennahrung, wie die Natur sie wild bietet, einzusammeln, ohne daß die Dürftigkeit dieser Versorgung zum Versuch einer Bodenbearbeitung geführt hat, steht sicherlich auf einer tiefen Kulturstufe. Auch wo in Rivierbetten Wasser dicht unter der Oberfläche zu graben ist und fruchtbarer Anschwemmungsboden, getrockneter Schlamm des abgekommenen Flusses, eine Gartenwirtschaft ermöglicht, unter der Hand des Weißen auch fruchtbringend ins Leben gerufen wird, hat sich der Hottentott nicht zu geregelter Arbeit aufschwingen können. Wohl kraalen sie hier und da ein Stückchen Land mit Buschwerk ein, nennen es *!hana-b* und pflanzen in diesen „Garten" den Kalahaßkürbis, *aba-s,* den sie zu einem Butterfaß aushöhlen, oder pflanzen als Speisefrucht eine kindskopfgroße, grüne, weißgetüpfelte Kürbisfrucht, *b(e)ritsaimab,* aber bald sind sie solcher Tätigkeit überdrüssig. Es ist jedenfalls nur dem unausgesetzten Einfluß der Missionare zu danken, wo der Hottentott beim Gartenbau aushält.

Von Haus aus kennt er nur dreierlei Tätigkeit im Dienst seiner Ernährung: das Sammeln, das Jagen und die Viehwirtschaft. Wir werden später sehen, wie er diese beiden letzteren Beschäftigungen zu einer gewissen Vollendung gebracht hat. Hier soll uns nur beschäftigen, wie er die Rohprodukte, die als gegeben angenommen seien, zu Speisen verarbeitet.

1. Animalische Nahrung

liefert den Küstenhottentotten das Meer. Das Fleisch der Robben (s. S. 41 ff.)

gibt, besonders wenn es Hautgoût hat, einen gesuchten Braten. Das Fett wird weniger geschätzt, aber doch gegessen. Zur Zeit des Robbenschlages scheuen die Küstenbewohner keine Wanderung, um sich die Abfälle zu sichern. Sie gehen auch auf eigene Faust auf den Robbenschlag, aber das nur da, wo sie das Festland nicht zu verlassen brauchen, wo also gelegentlich einzelne Tiere an den Hauptstrand gehen.

Wohl stellen sie auch hie und da einem Pinguin nach, nehmen die Eier aus den Nestern, erschlagen unerfahrene junge Kormorane mit dem Kirri oder werfen eine Angel aus, die sie von Weißen gekauft haben. Im allgemeinen aber haben sich die Hottentotten, die heute die Küste bewohnen, im Dienste der Weißen so vollkommen an europäische Kost gewöhnt, daß sie den Nahrungserwerb, wie ihn noch ihre Großväter eifrig betrieben, nicht mehr kennen. Vor 80 Jahren[6]) noch fischten sie in der Walfischbai mit $4\frac{1}{2}$ m langen hölzernen Speeren, die aus schwerem hartem Holz geschnitten wurden, warfen mit ihnen 7—10 Pfund schwere Fische auf eine Entfernung von 25 m und pökelten sie auf Vorrat mit Salz, das sie aus salzigen Quellen in der Nähe der Bai gewannen.

Mit Pfeil und Bogen erlegten sie besonders während der Brutzeit Mengen von Seevögeln, gruben sie, um ihnen den fischigen Geschmack zu nehmen, in den Sand, bis sie grün wurden, weideten sie dann erst aus, häuteten sie und ließen sie zweimal 24 Stunden in der Sonne liegen; das so präparierte mürbe Fleisch soll sich viele Monate lang gehalten haben.

Eine Liebhaberei der Hottentotten, mit denen Morrell in Berührung kam, war, die Eingeweide des Schlachtviehs roh und noch tierwarm zu essen.

Auch Delphine, die in der Walfischbai in nächste Nähe des Strandes kommen, mögen damals noch erbeutet worden sein. Die Gebräuche, die ehedem beim Zubereiten der Delphine beobachtet wurden, haben sich bis heute in guter Erinnerung gehalten: sie entledigten sich aller Kleider und zerlegten den Delphin nackt. Jede Berührung des Tieres mit dem Körper, den Mund ausgenommen, galt als schädlich. Sie vermieden, während der Arbeit mit der Hand sich zu berühren, zum Kratzen bedienten sie sich eines Hölzchens. Das Fleisch des Tieres wurde in Seewasser gekocht, in kaltem Seewasser abgespült und ausgerungen. Ehe sie ihre Kleider wieder anzogen, wurde der Körper von allen etwa anhaftenden Teilchen des Tieres gereinigt.

Von niederen Seetieren bilden gewisse Muscheln und Schnecken seit alters her eine Hauptnahrung der Küstenbewohner vom Kap der guten

Hoffnung hinauf bis zum Kap Cross. Große Abfallhaufen von Patellenschalen, mit Tonscherben und den Resten von Straußeneierschalen vermischt, liegen halb vergraben in den Dünen bei Port Nolloth. Über die Weichtierarten, die als Nahrung in Betracht kommen, siehe S. 31.

Die große Languste, *Jasus lalandii Lmk.*, offenbar nach dem Vorbilde der Weißen mit einem flachen, in einen runden Rahmen gespannten, mit Schneckenfleisch geköderten Netz gefangen, wird ebenfalls gegessen.

Reichhaltigere und schmackhaftere Nahrung liefert die Tierwelt des Binnenlandes. Die verschiedenen Antilopen und das Schlachtvieh liefern die Hauptnahrung. Es gibt kaum einen Körperteil, der nicht genossen würde. Das allein bringt Abwechslung in die Fleischspeise, denn die Zubereitung ist einförmig: Kochen in Wasser, Rösten im Feuer, Backen in der heißen Asche (den Kopf in toto) und Trocknen an der Luft sind die einzigen Rezepte. Das letztere gilt besonders für das Fleisch, das nicht gleich aufgegessen oder bei reicher Jagdbeute nicht mit vollem Gewicht nach Hause gebracht werden kann. Es wird dann in große dünne Fladen zerschnitten, gesalzen und an der Luft getrocknet *(ǂhār,* verb.*)*.

Um auch das Fell schmackhaft zu machen, rösten sie es zunächst im Feuer an, daß die Haare verbrennen, schneiden es dann in Streifen, schlagen es mit Steinen weich und kochen es in Wasser oder noch lieber in Milch.

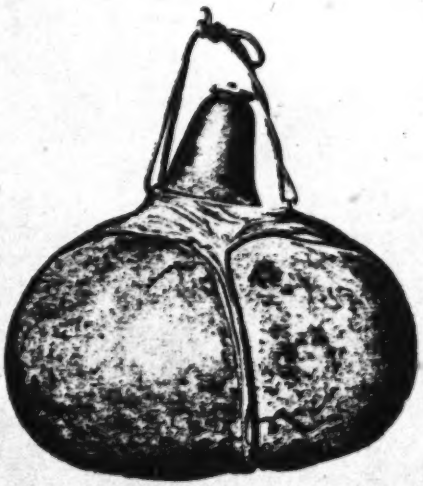
Die Fleischbrühe, *suro-b,* wird nicht hoch eingeschätzt; das Fett dagegen, roh oder als Schmalz, ist das Leckerste, was es für einen Hottentottengaumen gibt. Es wird zuweilen becherweise heiß getrunken. Was sie davon nicht in einer Sitzung bewältigen können, wird bis auf den kleinsten Rest aufbewahrt: ein Stück frisch abgezogenen Ochsenfelles wird naß zu einem Pompadour geformt und aufgeblasen; so trocknet der Beutel, bis er hart und formfest geworden ist. Dann wird die Öffnung etwa talergroß scharfrandig abgeschnitten und mit einem Riemen als Henkel überspannt. In diesen Fettvorratsbeutel, *ǂgu-bus,* gießen sie Schmalz oder ausgelassene Butter und schließen die Öffnung mit Kuhmist.

So hoch der Hottentott den Ertrag der Jagd anschlägt, er gibt sich doch in der hohen Wertschätzung der Milch in erster Linie als Hirt zu erkennen. Die Milch zieht der Hottentott, den die Kultur noch nicht entartet hat, jeder anderen Nahrung vor, sie übt als Lebenselixir in ihren Sagen wunderbare Wirkung aus. Kuhwarm *(ᵓǂai-χadai-b)* oder abgekühlt *(ᵓǂādaib)* wird die frische Milch je nach der Jahreszeit mit verschiedenen Vegetabilien versetzt: die Blüten der *Acacia horrida Willd. (ǂha-reb,* die Dornbaumblüte*)*

und die erbsengroßen grünen Früchte des Ebenholzbaumes *(Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey.*, h: *ǃna·rus)* werden gekaut und in die Milch gespuckt. Die grünen Blätter eines Gewächses mit zwiebelartiger Bildung *(*ǃkχabib)* werden trocken im Topf über dem Feuer gestampft und dann mit der Milch wie zu einem Teig vermengt (siehe vegetabilische Nahrung).

Die abgestandene, noch flüssige, aber schon angesäuerte Milch wird ihres angeblich urinartigen Geschmacks wegen Pißmilch, **ǃūdaib* genannt. **aūdaib* ist die im Eimer dick gewordene saure Milch, deren Rahm *(ǃaobeb,* auch für süße Sahne gebraucht*)* zu Butter gekarnt wird.

Das Buttern, *ǂnuba·*, geschieht in der Weise, daß die saure Milch aus dem Holzeimer in eine Kalabas, *aba·s*, gegossen wird. Diese Kürbisflasche, deren enge Öffnung mit einem Holzpfropfen verschlossen wird, rollen sie in schräger Stellung auf einer weichen, meist aus Fellen hergestellten Unterlage. Das geschieht in greller Sonne oder in der Nähe des Feuers. Nach etwa dreistündigem Rollen wird die Kalabas zum Schluß so langsam bewegt, daß die Butter sich oben sammeln kann. Dann wird die Flüssigkeit abgegossen und getrunken und die Butter, *abaǂnui·b*, d. h. Kalabasfett, in einem Holzeimer aufgehäuft *(ǃkχao*, verb*)*; sie wird frisch *(*ǃkχaoǂnui·b)* oder ausgebraten *(*ǃgē·beǂnui·b)* genossen.



Butter-Kalabas, mit Fell umspannt. 1/2 nat. Gr.

Um den Butterertrag zu steigern, werden zuweilen die frischen, dickeren Wurzelteile einer Pflanze, die im Habitus einer *Portulaca* der Kalahari gleicht, in die Milchkalabas gesteckt. Weil der Leib *(ǃkχāb)* dieser Pflanze reich *(-χa)* mit Haaren *(ǃū·ǃgu)* besetzt ist, führt sie den Namen *ǃū·ǃχaǃkχā·s*.

Der mashi a madila der Betschuanen entspricht die **ǂhu-niniǂhu·ni-*Milch der Hottentotten. Die frische Milch wird in eine gleichnamige Kalabas mit handbreit ausgeschnittener Öffnung gegossen und etwa 2 Tage still stehen gelassen, bis sie sich in eine obenstehende wässerige säuerliche Flüssigkeit und eine feste bodenständige Masse *(ǂhare·b)* zersetzt hat.

Der hölzerne Milcheimer, *ǂhoē-s*, wird mit Vorliebe aus dem Holz eines weidenähnlichen Baumes *(ǂhūi-b)*, der im Oranje-Rivier häufig ist, geschnitzt. Zum ursprünglichen Molkereigerät der Hottentotten scheint auch ein selbstgefertigter Trichter, *ǂkχaru-s*, gehört zu haben; ich habe ihn nicht zu sehen bekommen.

Frische Ziegenmilch ist die Hauptnahrung der Hottentottenkinder; auch die Erwachsenen greifen zuerst nach ihr, um die Kuhmilch zum Buttern aufzuheben.

Zum Wildpret, das die Hochjagd liefert, und zu den Produkten der Viehwirtschaft kommt nun eine Menge „Kleiner Leute"-Nahrung, wie man sie nennen könnte, die sich der Hottentott draußen in der Einöde zusammensucht oder von glücklichen Zufällen schenken läßt. Verarmtes nomadisierendes Volk ist auf diese Nahrungssuche angewiesen.

Es gibt kein Säugetier, das der verarmte Hottentott nicht äße: Mäuse, Hasen, Klippschliefer, Stachelschweine, Erdmännchen, Wildkatzen und Schakale sah ich in den Kochtopf wandern, selbst die Hyäne wird gegessen. Der Genuß ihres Herzens soll schlaftrunken machen, ein Aberglaube offenbar, zu dem der feste Tagesschlaf der Hyäne Veranlassung gab.

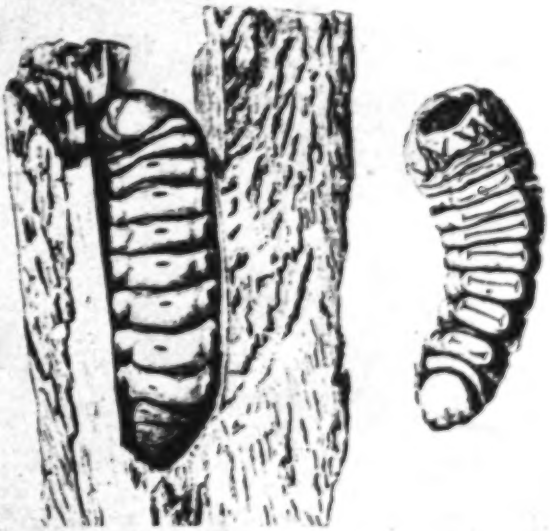
Andere Vögel als die jagdbaren (s. Jagd) werden nur hie und da von Kindern erlegt und gegessen. Dagegen verachtet zu Zeiten auch der Erwachsene Schildkröten und Eidechsen nicht. Die Schildkröte, **ǂkχuri-s* (im Klein-Namalande: */hu-ǂrob*), wird mit Steinschlägen getötet und im offenen Feuer im Gehäuse geröstet. Fleisch und Eier werden ohne Zutat genossen. Will die Frau das Gehäuse als Buchubüchse benutzen, werden die Weichteile ausgeschält, die Eingeweide ausgenommen und der Rest gebraten.

Zonurus polyzonus Smith. Nat. Gr.

Von Eidechsen werden mehrere Arten, so die hier abgebildete, **ǂuru-s* genannte Art, in der heißen Asche geröstet, vorwiegend von jungen Hottentotten gegessen.

Das Fett der *#uru-s* und einer neuen *Mabuia*-Art, frisch aus dem Leibe des eben getöteten Tieres entnommen, wickeln sich die Kinder in Gras ein und lutschen es wie ein Bonbon.

Auch die Insektenwelt stellt dem Hottentotten einige willkommene Gerichte. Das bescheidenste davon besteht aus einer Käferart, **/nuims* genannt.



Larve von *Acanthophorus capensis White*, links im selbstgebohrten Gang steckend. ca. $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.

Diese Käfer werden wiederum nur von Kindern gegessen, geröstet oder roh, nachdem ihnen Kopf, Beine und Flügel ausgerupft worden sind. In derselben billigen Zubereitung verzehren jene Hungerleider, die als „Buschmänner" im Groß-Namaland umherschweifen, einen großen schwarzen Käfer, *Acanthophorus capensis White*, **/naori-b* genannt. Die fingerlange und -dicke Larve dieses Käfers, der Dornbaumwurm, **#kχū-tu-/nis*, bohrt in das Kernholz der *Acacia horrida Willd.* tiefe, weite Gänge, die sie mit ihren Exkrementen füllt. Die verdaute Holzmasse ist oft von dem abfließenden Harz des Baumes durchtränkt, quillt aus den Bohrlöchern hervor und erstarrt zu einer dunkelbraunen, wie mit Zuckerguß bedeckten knusperigen Masse, die von den Hottentotten, groß und klein, eifrig gesammelt und gegessen wird.

Acanthophorus capensis White.
ca. $^{1}/_{2}$ nat. Gr.

Die Larven selbst sind ebenfalls ein Leckerbissen. Um zu ihnen zu gelangen, brennen sie den Dornbaum, wenn er im Absterben begriffen oder abgestorben ist, nieder und holen sich mit spitzen Hölzern aus den glühenden Holzstücken den im eigenen Fett gerösteten Braten heraus. Oder sie warten, bis die Larve das Hinterteil zur Kot-Entleerung aus dem Bohrloch herausstreckt und spießen sie mit einem Dorn.

Mehr Scharfsichtigkeit als die Dornwurmsuche erfordert das Auffinden einer Wohnung eßbarer Termiten. Es gilt, die Stelle ausfindig zu machen, an der man graben muß, um auf die unterirdische Wohnung von *Hodotermes viator (Latr.)* zu stoßen. Das erste Anzeichen gibt der Mist der Tiere, winzige Ballen, die zu kleinsten bis maulwurfshügelgroßen Haufen beisammen liegen. Im Bereich dieser Misthäufchen sind nun die runden, im Durchmesser meist erbsengroßen Öffnungen im Boden zu finden, in denen die unterirdischen Gänge ausmünden. Verfolgt man diese Gänge, so stößt man in wechselnder Tiefe auf die Wohnung; zuweilen schon 1 bis $1^1/_2$ Fuß unter der Oberfläche, wenn ein Fels oder eine harte Bodenschicht in weichen Grund eingelagert ist und dem Haus von oben her Schutz gibt; zuweilen aber muß man über mannstief graben, ehe man zum Ziele kommt.

Die unterirdische Wohnung hat die Gestalt einer Linse von ca. $^1/_2$ m Durchmesser und 20—25 cm Höhe. Das Baumaterial ist eine papierdünne, spröde, zerbrechliche, gelblichgraue Masse; sie ist widerstandsfähig gegen Wasser. Man kann das Haus tagelang unter Wasser setzen, ohne daß es zergeht; es wird nur weich und weniger brüchig.

Das Haus ist aus etwa 40 Etagen, jede durchschnittlich $^1/_2$ cm hoch, aufgebaut. So kompliziert auf den ersten Blick das Labyrinth der vielen Hunderte allseitig kommunizierender Räume erscheint, es läßt doch ein einfaches Bauprinzip erkennen: Den Wendelgang. Unzählige Wendelgänge sind bald weit voneinander entfernt, bald eng aneinander gerückt, bald in regelmäßigen horizontalen Fluchten, bald mit stark geneigten Achsen und dementsprechend abschüssigen Bahnen neben- und übereinander gefügt, aber immer so, daß die Lauffläche jedes Wendelganges ohne Unterbrechung in die der Nachbarschaft übergeht. So kommen Kammern, Hallen, Gänge, Tore und Pfeiler zustande.

Die Zusammensetzung der Bewohner wechselt je nach der Jahreszeit. Im Juli 1904 fand ich in einem Bau Eier, Larven in allen Übergängen bis zum erwachsenen Arbeiter, Arbeiter verschiedener Größe, großkieferige Sol-

daten, drei Königinnen von ca. $2^1/_2$ cm Länge, endlich*) neben einigen wenigen noch unentwickelten Flügeltieren zahlreiche, meist ungeflügelte Nymphen.

Auf diese fetten, weißen, 12 mm langen Nymphen hat es der Hottentott abgesehen. Er schaufelt zunächst die ganze Wohnung mit Insassen und anhaftender Erde in einen Sack, um in der Hütte das Eßbare auszusondern. Zu diesem Zweck schüttet er die Masse portionsweise in ein Gefäß mit lauem Wasser und rührt mit einem Zweigstumpf so lange den Grund auf, bis alle Tiere oben schwimmen; dann schöpft er sie mit den Händen ab, preßt das Wasser aus und trocknet sie über dem Feuer, bis sich die eßbaren Individuen von den übrigen auswannen lassen. Der so gewonnene reine „Hottentottenreis", *!gîbes* ist durch das Trocknen über dem Feuer schon schwach angeröstet und wird meist ohne Zutat gegessen.

Ich habe oft gesehen, daß die Tiere beim Sammeln lebendig genascht wurden. Während dann der Alte aus dem dunklen Lehmwasser die Insekten fischt, hocken die Kinder herum und führen, was nebenher krabbelt, zum Mund. Lebendig genossen fand ich die Tiere fast ohne allen Geschmack, angeröstet sind sie wohlschmeckend.

Ein Gericht, auf das nicht fest zu rechnen ist, aber ein überreiches, wenn es überhaupt geboten wird, sind die Wanderheuschrecken.

Wo sich ein Schwarm niedergelassen hat, deckt er den Boden und bepackt *(!gare)* die Büsche mit seinen Abertausenden, *!garethums* nennt deshalb der Hottentott die auf den Zweigen sitzenden Tiere. Unter diesen sind die eiergefüllten Weibchen, *!kx'äithumti*, die begehrenswertesten. Wenn sie nach ihrer Tagesarbeit, die im Eierlegen besteht, ihre Nachtquartiere bezogen haben und dicht gedrängt an den Zweigen hängen, legt der Hottentott Feuer an den Busch; allenthalben lodert es auf. Am nächsten Morgen wird die Asche mit Zweigen zusammengekehrt, in Felle gesammelt und auf große Felsplatten ausgebreitet. Hier werden die eerhaltigen Tiere ausgelesen; die anderen werden nur gesammelt, wenn die Eiertiere nicht in genügender Zahl sich vorfinden. Die Auslese wird in Säcke gefüllt und auf Tragochsen zu den Hütten gebracht.

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*) In den Nestern von *Hodotermes viator (Latr.)* fand ich einen neuen Cetoniden, *Trichoplus aepytus Kolbe.* Die Hottentotten kennen diesen ca. 9 mm langen, gleichförmig schwarzen Termitengast gut; sie nennen ihn *tkxautsams.*

Dort wird die Masse ausgebreitet, Frauen sitzen rings herum und stampfen sie mit Steinen klein. Die fertig zubereitete, hellbraune weiche Masse wird in Fellsäcke gefüllt und aufgehoben. Wohlschmeckender als roh gegessen soll sie mit Milch angerührt sein.

Obwohl ein Heuschreckenschwarm eine schwere Schädigung, oft eine Vernichtung des Weidefeldes bedeutet, ist die Zeit des Heuschreckenbrennens doch eine Festzeit, wenigstens für die Jugend. Der Aufsicht der Alten, die bei den Hütten bleiben, wenn der Heuschreckenplatz weiter entfernt ist, sind die jungen Leute entzogen und genießen nun ungebunden ihre Freiheit; besonders in Venere feiern sie.

Der Überfluß an Nahrung läßt die kommunistischen Grundsätze, die ohnehin im Volk lebendig sind, uneingeschränkt zur Geltung kommen: keiner darf einem anderen wehren, von den Heuschrecken zu essen, die jener gesammelt hat; schon eine abwehrende Handbewegung ist verpönt. Wer dem entgegenhandelt, wird ihrer Ansicht nach mit Übelbekommen der Heuschreckenmahlzeit bestraft. So tierisch uns eine Heuschreckenmahlzeit erscheinen mag, der Hottentott hält sie in Ehren. Mit einem merkwürdigen Gemisch von christlicher und heidnischer Phantasie erzählte mir ein Hottentott, daß selbst Gott, als er vom Himmel auf die noch unbevölkerte Erde herunterkam, lange Zeit nur von Heuschrecken gelebt habe; brauche er sich dann dessen zu schämen?

2. Die vegetabilische Kost

der Hottentotten stellen mit den verschwindenden oben genannten Ausnahmen (Gartenbau) wilde Pflanzen*). Die wichtigsten an Menge und Nährwert sind

a) die unterirdischen, mit Reservestoffen angefüllten Teile gewisser Pflanzen, mögen es Wurzelstöcke, Knollen oder Zwiebeln sein (s. Analysen im Anhang).

Die eßbaren „Feldzwiebeln" (kapholländisch: Uientjes, h: *kyai-ran*) gehören verschiedenen Formen an: die Iridaceen sind in den Ebenen um Kubub vor allem durch eine *Babiana*-Art (h: *°gûnub*) vertreten, die sich auch in der Trockenzeit leicht an ihren verdorrten Blättern verrät. Auf den Kubober Bergen dagegen wächst eine Feldzwiebel, die nur zu finden

*) Die hierher gehörigen Pflanzen sind botanisch und nahrungsphysiologisch meist so mangelhaft bekannt und die Notizen über sie in der Literatur so verstreut, daß ich von einer Zusammenstellung der Beobachtungen unserer Kommission absehe und mich hier auf eine Mitteilung der wenigen eigenen Beobachtungen beschränke.

ist, wenn der Regen die jungen Blätter herausgelockt hat. Die Hottentotten nennen diese Art, die sich nicht bestimmen ließ, *°/goo-beb.*

Babiana spec. $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr. *Moraea* spec. $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr. *Ixia* fol. $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.

Beide Uintjes-Arten werden in guten Jahren sackweise gesammelt. Die Zubereitung der erstgenannten Zwiebel ist zwiefacher Art: sie wird ent-

weder in der heißen Asche geröstet, oder die Zwiebeln werden frisch von der Faserumhüllung gereinigt und in einem Felsnack durch Klopfen mit Steinen zerkleinert. Wenn dann die Masse in der Sonne getrocknet worden ist, wird sie gemahlen mit Milch zu Brei gekocht.

Die Zwiebel einer anderen ellipsoiden Iridacee, einer *Moraea*-Art mit eigentümlich gebrochten Blättern (ǂ: *tgarib*), soll dem Orte Karibib *(tgo-ribeb)* den Namen gegeben haben.

Zwiebelähnlich sind die unterirdischen Reservoire ellipsoider Oxalidaceen. Die Uientje einer Art der Gattung *Oxalis*, von den Hottentotten *°ǂi-trobit* genannt, wird roh oder in der Asche geröstet gegessen. Eine andere Art *(°ǂkp-teb)* wird auch in kochender Milch zerstampft. Die *Oxalis obtusa L. f.* (ǂ: *ǂkyo-ren*) gilt als giftig für das Vieh; eine verwandte ungiftige Art gräbt sich der Pavian aus.

Grielum humifusum Thbg. ⅔ nat. Gr.

Ihrer Wirkung auf den Organismus wegen seien hier noch einige Feldzwiebeln genannt, die sich z. Z. botanisch noch nicht charakterisieren lassen: die *ǂhatti*-Uientje[50]·[51]) soll, übermäßig genossen, die Ohrspeicheldrüse anschwellen lassen. Einem Bergdamara mit dieser Art geschwollenem Backen hörte ich von einem Hottentotten zugerufen werden: *„ǂkyare-ǂgarib ǂkyema ǂhanǂa tamara !"*, d. h. „du mit dem Hanizwiebelkopf wie ein Zebrahengst", der ja bekanntlich an seinem breiten Kopf und Hals kenntlich ist.

Einer anderen Uientje mit gelben Blüten und braunroter Zwiebel wird nachgesagt, daß ihr übermäßiger Genuß zur Zeit des Aufsprießens der Pflanze

Blutharzen hervorrufe. Ihr Name, **ao-beb*, spielt vielleicht auch auf die Farbe des eßbaren Teils an.

Welche Uientje die Bergdamara **ǂgŏ-gîreb* nennen, und welche Pflanze dem **ao-mareb* der Hottentotten entspricht, konnte ich nicht feststellen.

Ceropegia spec. ½ nat. Gr.

Wenn man mit den unterirdischen knolligen Gebilden, die sich der Hottentott gräbt, nicht auch die zugehörigen Blätter und Blüten sammeln kann, so ist es meist unmöglich, den Fund zu bestimmen. So kann ich hier nur drei Namen angeben: *Oxalis hirsutissima Thbg.* (h: **ǂkya-ib*, oder **tsî-(gangai-eb)*, eine Rosacee mit krautig-saftigen, glatt auf dem Boden kriechenden Zweigen und hell-schwefelgelben Blüten liefert dem Hottentotten in karottenförmigen unterirdischen Teilen ein Gericht.

Dasselbe gilt von einer Umbellifere, einer *Peucedanum*-Art.

Eine windende Asclepiadacee aus der Gattung *Ceropegia* bildet eßbare kartoffelähnliche Knollen mit gelbbrauner runzelig-höckeriger Oberfläche. Die rohen Knollen sind hart, aber saftig und kühl genug um zu erfrischen.

Die Aufmerksamkeit späterer Reisender möchte ich auf folgende Pflanzen lenken, von denen Blätter und Blüten dringend erwünscht sind, will man die wilden Feldfrüchte der alten Einwohner des Landes noch kennen lernen:

α) °*omam‖gaub* ist eine Pflanze mit succulenten Blättern; der möhrenartige unterirdische Teil hat stark abführende Wirkung. Der Name der Pflanze drückt das drastisch aus: „Mar läßt schon in der Tür *(ams)* der Hütte *(oms)* fallen *(‖gau)*" oder „erreicht den Hof mit Müh und Not" in optimistischer Übersetzung.

omam‖gaub $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

Der „Strandkohl". $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

β) °*‖go-‖marib-* (1 Terz st.) oder *‖ha-bab* hat einen glatten, möhrenartigen unterirdischen Teil und dünne, schmale, 3 cm lange, am Rand eingekrunkelte Blätter.

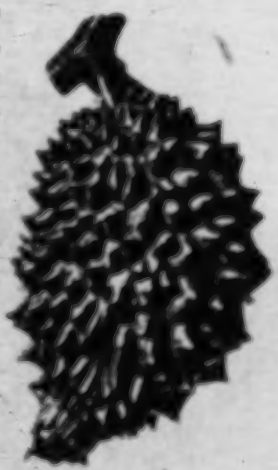
7) *°ǂgya-ku* bildet bis kindskopfgroße saftige Wurzelgebilde.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., h: *°ia-mitai-b*, der „Straußenfuß" (nach der Gestalt der austreibenden Blätter so benannt) ist die letzte der Pflanzen, die ihrer edlaren unterirdischen Teile wegen hier zu nennen wären.

b) Von den Früchten stehen die der Kürbis- und Gurkengewächse des Wasserreichtums ihres Fleisches und des Nährgehalts der Kerne wegen oben an.

Die Topnaars im Walfischbaigebiet haben ihren Stammesnamen *ǂna-ranin* von der Kürbisfrucht *ǂna-rab* erhalten, der *Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*, von der sie einen großen Teil des Jahres leben (s. Analysen im Anhang). Die Zeit der Narareife fällt in die 4 ersten Monate des Jahres; die Hauptemtezeit ist der Februar und März.

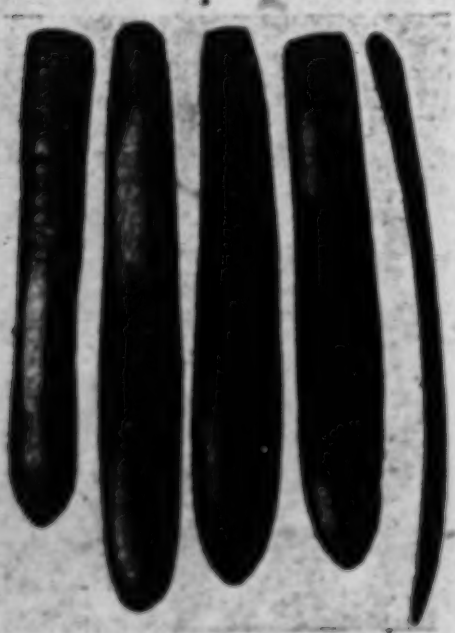
Dann veröden die Werften. Die ärmeren Familien ziehen mit Sack und Pack in die Dünen, nehmen entweder ihr Mattenhaus mit oder errichten notdürftig aus Strauchwerk ein Obdach, kaum eine Hütte zu nennen, und kommen an ihre alte Wohnstätte nur, um Wasser zu holen, wenn es im Narafeld selbst nicht zu finden ist. Wohlhabendere Hottentotten bleiben zu Haus, lassen sich durch ihre Hörigen die Nara bringen und kommen nur hie und da auf einen Tag zum Besuch oder zur Inspektion heraus.



Halbreife Narafrucht. $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

Die einzelnen Familien haben auf bestimmte Narabüsche (s. Tafel IX oben und Abbildungen S. 146, 147) erbliches Eigentumsrecht. Das ist der einzige mir bekannte Fall von Privatbesitz eines unbeweglichen Gutes außerhalb des Hüttenbereichs bei den Hottentotten. Seine Narabüsche verteidigt der Hottentott gegen Übergriffe von seinesgleichen auf dem gesetzlichen Wege der Klage vor dem Kapitän. Mit Bergdamara und Buschmännern wird kurzer Prozeß gemacht. Mehrere Fälle sind mir bekannt geworden, in denen die Diebe einfach niedergeschossen wurden auf dem Anstand am Narabusch, wo der Besitzer ihre Spuren zufällig gemacht und damit zugleich das Todesurteil gefällt hatte. Wenn überhaupt der Kapitän von einem solchen Vorfall Notiz nimmt, wird er nie die Partei des Getöteten nehmen.

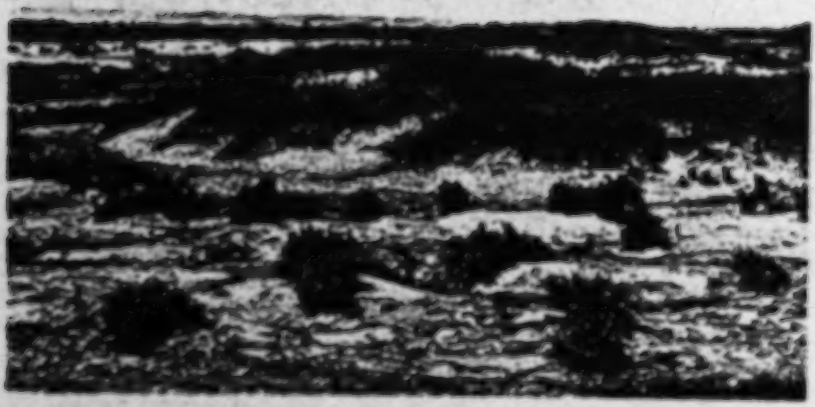
Bei der Zubereitung der Nara fand ich im Besitz der Hottentotten im Walfischbaigebiet noch Knochenmesser vor, aus Rippen oder auch aus Unterschenkelknochen des Rindes hergestellt. Die Bezeichnung für ein solches Knochenmesser, *ǂâ-ros (ǂ Terz fallend), scheint mir soviel wie „das kleine Scharfe" zu bedeuten (ǂâ — scharf sein, -ro, Diminutivum, -s, Personalsuffix, fem.).

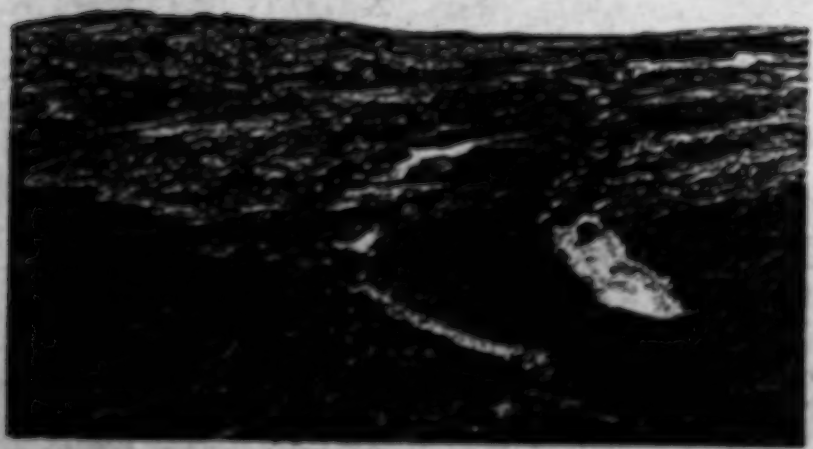


Ornamentierte Knochenmesser der Topnaar. ca. ⅓ nat. Gr.

Mit diesen Messern also wird die Frucht halbiert und in Zeiten des Überflusses roh ausgegessen. Der Inhalt, der sich aus der reifen Frucht in fünf natürlichen Doppelabteilungen leicht von der Schale lösen läßt, hat schwach rötlich gelbe Farbe und ist mit einem kühlen, süßen Saft durchtränkt, der im Geschmack und Geruch einem dünnen vanillierten Eiergetränk nicht unähnlich ist. Aber eine einzige Frucht genügt, dem Neuling in solchem Genüssen auf Zunge und Gaumen ein lästiges Gefühl von Wundsein zu erregen.

Ihre Bedeutung als Volksnahrung gewinnt die Nara erst, wenn sie haltbar zubereitet als Vorrat in die Hütten geht. Die ausgeschälte Frucht wird in walnußgroße Stücke zerschnitten, die reifen Früchte nur mit Fettzusatz, die nicht völlig ausgereiften auch mit etwas Wasser angesetzt, gekocht und mit einem Quirl primitivster Art, *dâdi-b (auch /aodo-s genannt) zu Mus verrührt. Dann wird die heiße Masse in ein Sieb gegossen, in ein Binsenkörbchen, *gutôrus, das so lange um starken Henkel auf und nieder geschüttelt wird, bis der schwefel- oder braungelbe Brei durchgegangen ist. Der Brei wird auf eine Dörre gegossen, nachdem ihm zuvor im Sand ein schwach geneigtes Lager geglättet worden ist. Nach 1—2 Tagen ist die Masse zu einem dunkelbraunen, auf der Unterseite stark mit Sand inkrustierten





[p 198a]

Fladen erstarrt. Ein solcher Narakuchen, *ǂgoaĭg(a)a-ribeb*, ist ungefähr ½ m breit, ¾ m lang und 3 mm dick, biegsam, knetbar, zähe, auf dem Schnitt dunkelschliérig glänzend, wenn zerrissen braungelb zerfaserend. Er hat den würzigen Geruch frischen Pumpernickels und läßt an den Fingern einen Fettglanz zurück. Als ich mir die Kuchen zuerst zeigen ließ, sah ich erwartungsvoll den alten, schmutzigen, eingerissenen Lappen, in dem ich die Leckerbissen vermutete, auseinandergewickelt werden, bis ich sah, daß es der Kuchen selbst war, mit dem hantiert wurde. Er schmeckt besser als er aussieht: Süß, kräftig und aromatisch; er zergeht langsam im Munde.

Korbeimer der Topnaars. ½ nat. Gr.

Harnspieß. ½ nat. Gr.

Jede Frucht enthält etwa 250 Kerne. Sie bleiben im Sieb zurück, werden zum Trocknen ausgebreitet und in Säcke gefüllt. Einzeln aus der harten Schale gelöst, ist der weiche Kerninhalt ebenso schmackhaft als nahrhaft. Die Hauptmasse wird aber mitsamt den Schalen in einem großen starken Holzbecher zu einer braunen, grobmehligen

Nara-Kuchen. ½ nat. Gr.

Masse zerstampft, die mit der Hand zu Bissen geformt und ohne Zutat gegessen wird.

Der Stampfbecher **hai-os* (der hier abgebildete, ist von einem Hottentotten aus dem Holz des Anabaumes geschnitzt) gleicht dem Holzgefäß, in dem die Buren und Bastards den Weizen stampfen und ist vielleicht von diesen entlehnt. Der Stampfer, *ǂō-ab* (= Arm) stammt vom Holz der Giraffenakazie.

Hinter der Nara stehen die übrigen Cucurbitaceen *(z. B. Cucumis, Citrullus* und *Coccinia)* des Namalandes zurück. Von den Kürbissen, die sie *tsaima-b* nennen, essen die Hottentotten nur die süße Art mit dem Fleisch, von der bitteren Art, **so-robe-tsaima-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.)*, frißt nur das Vieh Laub und Früchte und der Buschmann die Kerne. Die Tsamagewächse sind dagegen in der Kalahari (s. d.) entscheidend für das Tier- und Menschenleben weiter Strecken.

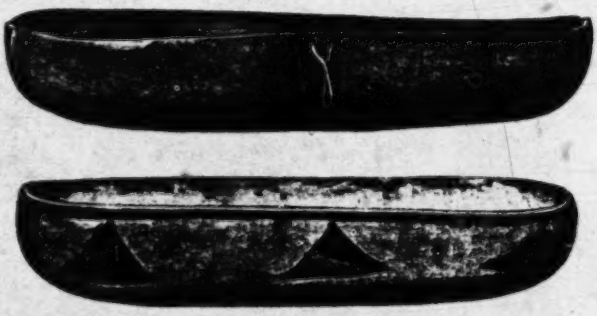
Namkara-Stampfer. ⅓ nat. Gr.

Von genießbaren Baumfrüchten sind außer denen des früher erwähnten Rasenkibusches und Schwarzebenholzbaumes die „wilde Feige", *ǂnoima-s*, und die Körner einer Anacardiacee, eines Taaibusches *(Rhus celastroïdes Sond*, h: *ǂa-nas)* zu nennen. Die Früchte der *Grewia flava D.C. (*h: *ǂaũis)* werden wir in der Kalahari kennen lernen.

c) Die Findigkeit des Hottentotten bei der Nahrungssuche wird frühzeitig zur Entdeckung geführt haben, daß gewisse Ameisen Samen eintragen, die auch für den Menschen genießbar sind. So sammeln große schwarze Ameisen, deren Bestimmung noch aussteht, die Kerne, die in flügelförmigen Lamellen eingeschlossen, fächerig in den gerippten Früchten der *Augea capensis Thbg.* sitzen. Die Hottentotten plündern diese Vorratshaufen der Ameisen („Mierkost"), rösten die Kerne in der Pfanne, zermahlen sie mit Steinen und essen das Mehl.

Besonders geschätzt sind solche Ameisenvorräte, die ausschließlich oder vorwiegend aus Samen der *Aristida*-Gräser bestehen. Ein derartiger Grassamenvorrat heißt *tsa-ǂmab*. Die Frauen kochen ihn mit Milch zu Brei.

Endlich werden auch die *//kχuni-b* genannten Vorräte, die aus den Samen der Buschmannskerze *(Sarcocaulon)* bestehen, gegessen. Die Hottentotten, mit denen ich diese Samen sammelte, behaupteten, daß mit den eintragenden Ameisen eine Schlange, *//kχu-ǃnibe-b* genannt, häufig zusammenlebe. Ein anderer Name dieser fragwürdigen, einstweilen zoologisch weniger als ethnologisch beachtenswerten Schlange ist **/ga-riao/ga-ǃmi. /gariaob* ist ein frischer, arbeitsfähiger, junger Mann, */gaǃm* ist töten. Der Name bedeutet also „Burschentöter": die Phantasie läßt diese Schlange um beide Fußgelenke des Mierkost-Diebes sich ringeln, um ihn festzuhalten, bis auf ihren Pfiff eine giftige Schlange ihn zu töten kommt.



Hölzerne Wannschüsseln, die untere mit eingebranntem Muster verziert. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Das Reinigen der Ameisenvorräte von Staub und Steinen geschieht in einer flachen, langgestreckten Holzschüssel *(ᵉ'nu-bi/o-reb)*. Die Masse wird hier durch einfaches Auf- und Niederschwenken der breit vor den Leib gehaltenen Schüssel von staubigen Beimengungen gereinigt: der Staub geht in die Luft, während die schweren Bestandteile in die niedersinkende Schüssel zurückfallen. Von Steinen wird die Kost durch eine eigenartige Doppelbewegung der Schüssel gereinigt: die rechte Hand faßt die Schüssel mit lockerem Griff an einer schmalen Seite und stößt die Schüssel nach vorn und oben. Die linke Hand unterstützt diese letztere Bewegung, indem sie die Schüssel (locker mit dem Daumen die Mitte einer Längsseite, mit den übrigen Fingern die Unterseite fassend) im Rhythmus der rechten aufwärts gleiten läßt. Alle Steine sammeln sich im tiefen, hinteren, die Kost im vorderen Bereich der Schüssel.

d) Als Gemüse seien hier einige Pflanzen aufgeführt, deren Blätter und Blüten oder fleischige Stammteil gegessen werden.

Eine Asclepiadacee, *Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz*, bildet dicke, fleischige keulen- oder birnenförmige Kolben, die der Pflanze den Namen */naǃba-kχaǃrab*, das heißt Nashornhoden, eingetragen hat. Nach Ausdrücken

oder Aussaugen des ungenießbaren Saftes wird das übrigbleibende Fleisch roh gegessen. Umgekehrt werden zwei dornbesetzte Sukkulenten *(ǂgoia-b* und *ǂkχo-bab* genannt) ihres Saftes wegen gesucht. Ein säuerlicher Saft erfrischt auch in den fleischigen Blättern gewisser Geraniaceen.

Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 nat. Gr.

Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 nat. Gr.

Die runzeligen, von graubrauner Rinde bedeckten, auf frischem Schnitt innen rötlichen Äste von *Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L). Ait.* und *P. zonale Willd. (*h: **ǂhurms)* werden in der heißen Asche geröstet.

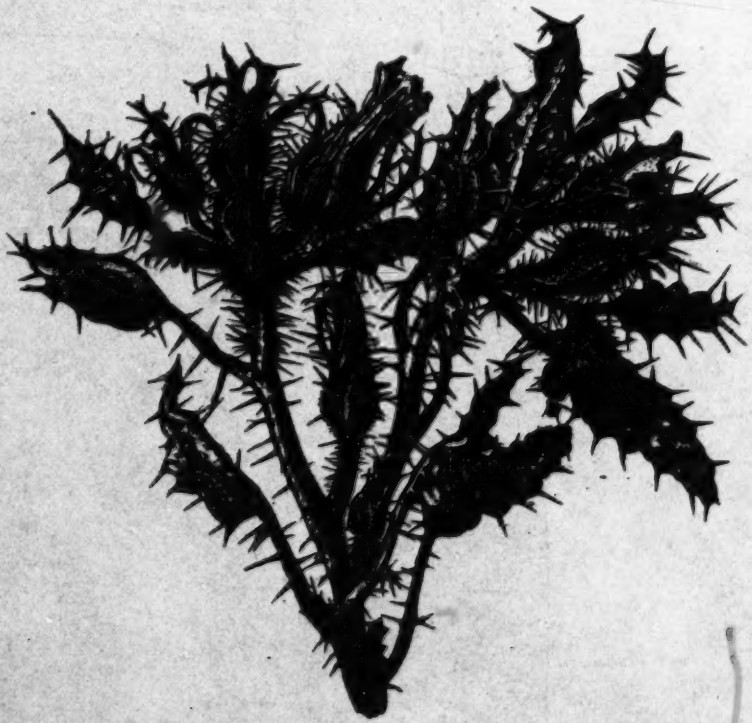
Eine Liliacee, *Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr.*, h: **ǂkχo-rob*, liefert ein wohlschmeckendes Gemüse.

Kraut und Blumen der *ǂũrobis* genannten *Oxalis*-Art werden über dem Feuer in der Pfanne gedörrt, gestoßen und nach dem Erkalten in roher Milch durchgeknetet. Die Milch gerinnt dann. Alle grobfaserigen Teile werden ausgelesen. Kraut und Blüten zerteilen sich fein und werden aufgegessen.

Eßbare Blüten bieten mehrere Kompositen: die Blüten zweier *Gazania*-Arten (einer weiß- und einer gelbblühenden Art, beide **ǂgo-boũnâis* genannt) werden gern gegessen, roh oder unter Salzzusatz in kochender Milch zu einem Brei zerrührt.

Unter dem Sammelnamen *ǂgĩ-gyeiga-mes* werden eine Anzahl Kompositen zusammengefaßt, zu denen auch solche mit eßbaren Blüten gehören,

so die *Berkheya corymbosa D. C.* Die genannte Hottentottenbezeichnung umfaßt aber auch eine Hydrophyllacee mit eßbaren Blüten, *Codon Royeni Thbg.* (und wird endlich auch auf Kompositen angewandt, die nicht genießbar sind wie *Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.*). Es muß zwar bedacht werden, daß manche der genannten Blüten für den Erwachsenen nur gelegentliche Zutaten sind, aber man darf an ihnen nicht achtlos vorbeigehen, weil sie für die Ernährung der Kinder, die sich selbst durchzuhelfen haben und sich an ihnen sättigen können, von Bedeutung sind. Das gleiche gilt von dem Gummiharz *(hai-rab)* der Akazien.



Codon Royeni Thbg. Nat. Gr.

3. Genußmittel

waren den Eingeborenen in früherer Zeit Aufgüsse aus Schotenfrüchten und Kräutern verschiedener Art. Auch heute noch werden die Kapseln von *Ectadium virgatum E. Mey.* und die Samen in den fingerlangen, steif

aufrecht stehenden Hülsen der *Acacia hebeclada D. C.* geröstet, gemahlen und kochend aufgegossen. Ebenso verwerten sie die Samen eines schotentragenden Busches, den sie *ǂkχāīs* nennen, leicht kenntlich an über fingerlangen, weichen, kiefernadelartigen Blättern, die paarweise an der Wurzel eines gelben, harten, spitzen, zentimeterlangen Dornes sitzen. Auch ein Farnkraut wird zu Tee aufgebrüht. Aber mit der Gewöhnung der Eingeborenen an unseren Kaffee und Tee haben die genannten Pflanzen ihre Rolle, wenigstens im Haushalt des gesunden Hottentotten, ausgespielt. Im übrigen ist der Hottentott seit seiner Berührung mit dem Weißen Sklave des Alkohols und des Tabaks geworden.

Farob, Teefarn. $^{3}/_{4}$ nat. Gr.

Tabak ist den Hottentotten beiderlei Geschlechts unentbehrlich; er ist das erste, nach dem sie frühmorgens beim Erwachen greifen. Sie haben ihn in Form großer Rollen oder als stark gepreßten amerikanischen Plattentabak kennen gelernt. Da ihn der Raucher erst schneidet *(χao)*, dann in die Pfeife stopft *(ǂhāi)*, nennen sie ihn **χaoǂhaib*, wenn sie nicht das Fremdwort *ta-bagab* vorziehen. Wilder Hanf, *da-χab*, den die Betschuanen so leidenschaftlich rauchen, ist im Namaland nicht unbekannt, wird aber seltener genossen. Die Hottentotten sind sparsame Raucher, sie ziehen den Rauch tief ein, halten ihn solange als möglich bei sich und lassen ihn nur langsam aus Mund und Nase abziehen. Die Tabaksschmiere ihrer Pfeifen wischen besonders Sparsame in eine kleine Ledertasche, *ǂnuni-ǂga-ǂrus*. Ist ihr Tabaksvorrat zu Ende, so zerschneiden sie das nikotingetränkte Leder und rauchen die Schnitzel mit Häcksel vermengt.

Der Alkohol war dem Hottentotten von Haus aus bekannt. Wo sie weit draußen im Feld den Genuß sich nicht anders als nach alter Väter

Art verschaffen können, brauen sie auch heute noch ihr Honigbier, *ǂkχa-ɪrib.*

Die wilde afrikanische Honigbiene (h: *ǂhabu-b)* baut im Namalande ihre Waben meist in Felshöhlen, seltener in hohle Bäume. Der Hottentott kennt genau die einzelnen Teile des Bienenbaues: Er unterscheidet genau am Honig *(dani-b)* den in den Waben aufgespeicherten Pollen *(ǂna!o-b)* vom Honigseim *(hũ-ɪdanib).* Die wächsernen Bienenzellen, zu einer Wabenscheibe vereinigt, wie sie bei der Zuckerbierbereitung nach Entleerung ihres Inhalts oben aufschwimmt, wird **ǂha-ɪmi* genannt. Davon werden die Waben, in der Brut liegt, als *ǂãib* unterschieden, und **tsžb* oder *tsžrab* ist die Masse, mit der die Bienen die gefüllten Honigwaben abdeckeln.

Honigstock. 1/6 nat. Gr.

Die Höhle, vor der Bienen gesehen werden, wird zunächst mit einem langen fingerdicken Holz sondiert. Klebt Honig an der Sondenspitze, so wird ein Feuerbrand in den Höhlengang gelegt und dadurch die Bienen so weit möglich vertrieben. Dann kriecht ein Mann in die Höhle und bricht die Honigwaben mit einer spitzen hölzernen Gabelhacke los.

Wo die Höhle zu eng ist, als daß ein Mann hineinkriechen könnte und wo ein kaum handbreiter Spalt den einzigen Zugang bildet, bedienen sie sich eines besonderen Honigstockes, **ǂa-rub* oder *ǂa-nib.* Sie schneiden aus den Zweigen des Taaibusches, besser aus den Wurzeln des Dornbaumes, einen langen, etwa kleinenfingerdicken Stock und befestigen an seinem Vorderende mit Lederstreifen zwei schwächere, fingerlange, spitz zulaufende Hölzchen, *ǂgaĩnkχa,* die nach hinten gerichtet sind; so kommt ein gabeliger Widerhaken zustande, der die Honigwaben faßt, wenn der Stock aus der Bienenhöhle herausgezogen wird. Aus der Haut des Leguans macht sich der Hottentott endlich auch einen Honigsack, **ǂkχo-rob,* in dem er den Honigseim sammelt.

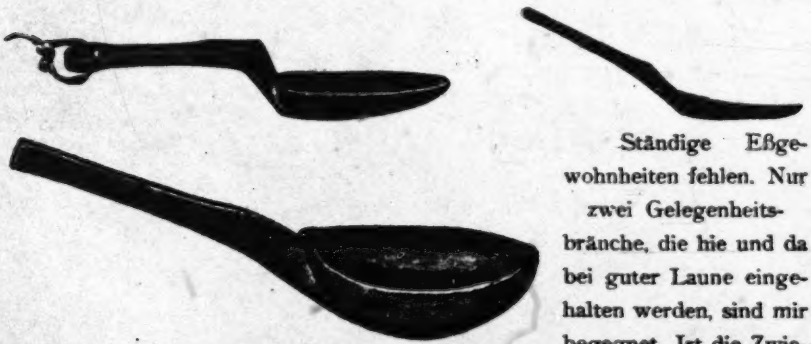
4. Salz

bietet das Namaland in der Küstenwüste reichlich genug für den Haushalt s. Tafel IX unten). Die Weiber sammeln den salzinkrustierten Boden in Eimern, füllen Wasser auf, lassen die Lauge klar abstehen und gießen sie dann in ein flaches Gefäß, um sie in der Sonne verdunsten zu lassen.

5. Das Einnehmen der Mahlzeit

ist an keine bestimmte Stunde gebunden; nur das Frühstück als die erste Mahlzeit des Tages hat einen Namen: *so-bos*. Tagsüber regelt bei der Hütte das Ankommen des Viehes, auf der Wanderung die Einteilung des Marsches in Trekks, auf Jagdzügen ein glücklicher Schuß Zeit und Ort der Mahlzeit.

Im Feld dienen als Schüsseln und Teller mit Vorliebe die Zweige von *Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax* (s. S. 85), oft aber auch andere Büsche. In geordneten Verhältnissen dient die hölzerne *tore-s* als Eßschüssel; mit einem großen Holzlöffel, *#goia-b*, wird aus ihr den Umsitzenden ausgeschöpft.



Holzlöffel. $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

Ständige Eßgewohnheiten fehlen. Nur zwei Gelegenheitsbräuche, die hie und da bei guter Laune eingehalten werden, sind mir begegnet. Ist die Zwiebelsuche erfolgreich gewesen, so machen sich alle, die im Kreis um den vollen Topf sitzen, ein kindliches Vergnügen, das sie **a-müga-ro* nennen. Es handelt sich da nicht um einen improvisierten Scherz, sondern um eine im Volk wohlbekannte Sitte: der Reihe nach darf jeder so lange zugreifen, als es ihm gelingt, die Zwiebel, die er hochwerfen muß, mit dem Mund aufzufangen. Auch alte Leute schließen sich dieser Sitte nicht aus.

Tsu-bugu/hu-ru nennt der Hottentott den Scherz, den Kinder sich machen, wenn sie ein Stück Fleisch, das ihnen gemeinsam gegeben wurde, in kleine Stücke zerschneiden, eines nach dem anderen auf einen Stein in ihrer Mitte legen und sobald die Hand des Gebenden zurückgezogen wird, mit schnell zufahrenden Händen zu greifen suchen. Dem Schnellsten gehört der Bissen.

E. Die Hautpflege

der Hottentotten kann schon aus dem Grunde, daß Wasser im Lande ein Wertobjekt ist, nicht ausschließlich nach unseren Grundsätzen der

1. **Reinlichkeit** beurteilt werden. Wo in der heißen Jahreszeit größere Wasseransammlungen, wie im Fischflußgebiet, sich halten, badet auch der Hottentott. Es wird ihm sogar Schwimmfertigkeit nachgerühmt [66]). Aber vor Waschwasser als täglichem Reinigungsmittel scheut er.

Dagegen ersetzt ihm frischer Ochsen- und Kühmist Wasser, Bürste und Seife zugleich und die trockene Luft das Handtuch. So sonderbar es auf den ersten Blick erscheint, so wirksam ist doch eine solche Waschung: Die Mistfeuchtigkeit genügt, die angetrockneten Hautausdünstungen zu lösen, die feinen Pflanzenfasern scheuern um so wirksamer, je trockener sie im Laufe der Einreibungen werden, und schließlich fegt die flache Hand ihren letzten Rest als leichten Staub von dem gereinigten und zugleich angenehm frottierten Körperteil ab.

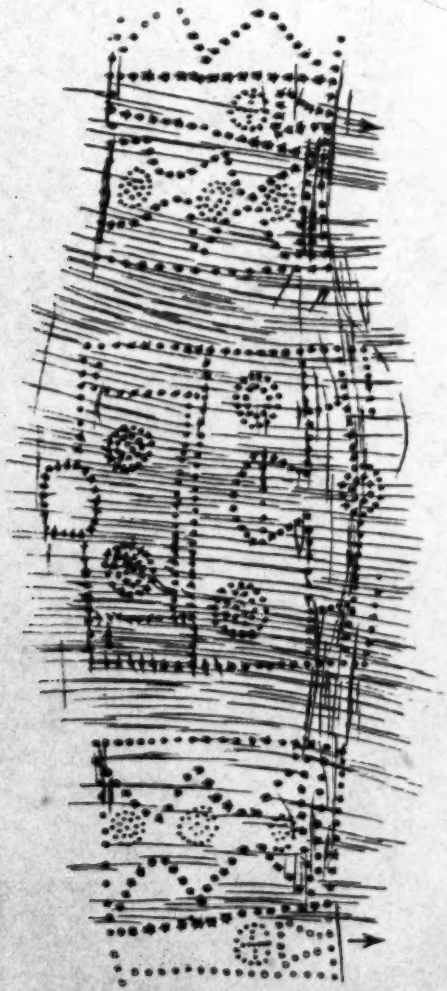
2. Um der Haut die nötige **Geschmeidigkeit** zu geben, schmiert sich der Hottentott zum mindesten Gesicht, Kopfhaut, Hände und Arme, am liebsten aber, besonders die Frauen, den ganzen Körper mit Fett ein (*ǂkχaus(e)n* oder *soibos(e)n*).

Fetthornbüchsen. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Die Fettbüchse, **ǂkχĭ-nas* oder **/gŏunăs*, die in keiner Hütte fehlt, wenn die Insassen etwas auf ihr Äußeres halten, wird aus einem Ochsenhorn herausgeschnitten und die beiden Öffnungen des Ausschnitts mit Rindsleder, der Boden fest, der Deckel beweglich, geschlossen. Dem Fett vom Rind und der Ziege wird das des Schwanzes der Fettsteiß-Schafe seiner Weichheit wegen vorgezogen. Der Schmalz wird in die Ochsenhornbüchse über einen kleinen, drinnen liegenden Fellstreifen gegossen, von dem sich die Salbe jederzeit bequem in kleiner Menge zwischen den Fingern abstreifen läßt.

Das Einschmieren des Körpers mit Fett ist zugleich eine gründliche Massage, das Wort */gu-ri* bezeichnet beides. Zur Linderung eines allgemeinen Krankheitsgefühls, zur Körperpflege Schwangerer und zur Erhöhung

des Wohlbefindens (z. B. um vor dem Schlafengehen eine angenehme Müdigkeit hervorzurufen) ist die Massage die beliebteste Art der Körperpflege bei den Hottentotten.



Eingestochenes Ornament rund um die Feuthornbüchse. 1/2 nat. Gr. Die senkrechten Linien geben die natürliche Zeichnung des Hornes an.

Wohlgeruch suchen sie der Haut zu geben, indem sie sich mit Buchu einpudern *(ǁnôs(e)ñ)*. Der Buchu, *sâtb*, ist ein feines braunes Pulver, das sich die Frauen aus folgenden Bestandteilen, bald einzeln, bald vermischt, je nach Vorrat und Geschmack, zusammensetzen:

a) Aus den kurzen, fleischigen Blättern gewisser *Mesembrianthemum*-Arten, die sie **gai-* und **ǂkχari-ǂga-eb* nennen. Statt dieser Blätter dienen ober- und unterirdische Teile der verschiedensten St. äucher zur Buchubereitung, so der schlank zwiebelähnlich angeschwollene Wurzelteil einer *Cyperus*-Art.

b) Flechten sind sehr beliebte Buchu-Ingredienzien. Die *Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach.* wird von den Steinen abgekratzt und daher **ǁu-inkχao-b*, d. h. „Steinkratz", genannt. Andere Buchuflechten gehen unter dem Namen **ǁna-ǂrobeb* und **ǁu-ǂrisâ-b*.

c) Das Sporenpulver eines Bauchpilzes (wie es scheint einer *Podaxon*-Art) ist an sich schon ein so feiner Puder, daß die Frauen den ge-

trockneten Sporenbehälter an einem Faden um den Hals hängen und ihn von selbst über Hals und Brust sich entleeren lassen. Die unterirdischen Teile des Pilzes werden getrocknet und gepulvert.

Die Buchukräuter heben die Frauen, die sie auch einsammeln, in einem Säckchen auf, das mit Vorliebe aus dem in toto abgezogenen Fell eines vorzeitig geborenen oder dem Mutterleibe entnommenen Lammes hergestellt wird. Die Pflanzenteile werden, wenn sie trocken sind, entweder direkt oder nach kurzem Rösten über dem Feuer auf Steinen pulverisiert, das Pulver häufig noch mit feinem Quarzstaub, *#guru-s*, versetzt, in eine flache Holzschüssel, *tsari-s*, geschüttet und durch Wannen von den groben Bestandteilen gereinigt.

Der so hergestellte Puder wird in eine Schildkrötenbüchse, */ü-ros*, gefüllt, die den unentbehrlichen Toilettengegenstand jeder Frau und jedes erwachsenen Mädchens darstellt. Die vordere Öffnung einer Schildkrötenschale wird durch Abschneiden eines Stückes des Bauchschildes erweitert, die hintere Öffnung mit dem geschwärzten Harz derselben Pflanze verklebt, aus der sie Perlen drehen. Zuweilen gibt die eintrocknende Haut und die eingezogenen Hinterbeine des Tieres einen genügenden Verschluß. Statt mit Harz wird der hintere Verschluß zuweilen auch mit einem erhärtenden Brei aus den gestampften frischen Speicheldrüsen des Rindes hergestellt. Ein Stück weiches Schakalfell dient als vorderer Verschluß und zugleich als Puderbausch. Durch ein Loch des Bauchschildes wird ein ledernes Henkelband gezogen.

Buchubüchsen. $^2/_3$ nat. Gr.

Die Männer reiben sich meist nur die Achselhöhlen und den Hals, die Frauen den ganzen Körper mit Ausnahme des Gesichtes mit Buchu ein.

Sie nehmen damit den Schweiß von der Haut und die Ausscheidungen der Regel weg. Die Angabe eines Hottentotten, daß sich die Frauen auch die Vulva und Scheide mit Buchu bestreuen, um hier durch die zusammenziehende Wirkung des Pulvers jungfräuliche Reize zurückzugewinnen, konnte ich nicht kontrollieren.

Lediglich des Wohlgeruches wegen räuchern sich *(ǂs(e)n)* die Frauen vielfach auch mit Buchu, indem sie das Pulver auf heiße Steine legen und den Dampf in die Kleider ziehen lassen. Buchu wird dem Säugling in die Fellwindel und dem Toten in das Leichenhemd und auf das Grab gestreut.

4. Die Farbe der Haut zu verschönern, bemalen sich *(ǂhoǂbe.)* Frauen und Mädchen das Gesicht. Das Pulver eines durch Eisenoxyd rot gefärbten Tonschiefers, *ǂnaub* genannt, wird mit rohem, durch Kauen geschmeidig gemachtem Fett verrieben und die Salbe mit dem Finger ins Gesicht geschmiert. Eisenrost dient, wo der Stein fehlt, als Ersatz. Der Effekt ist ein gleichmäßig braunroter Überzug des Gesichts, der zuweilen auch für unsere Augen die Reize eines hübschen jungen Gesichts erhöht, wenn er gut abgetönt ist.

Ein merkwürdiges Schönheitsmittel ist eine dunkelbraune klebrige Masse, die sich zuweilen in fingerdicker Schicht auf der Oberfläche von Felsen findet und „Steinschweiß", **ǂu-i aos-(e)ni* genannt wird (s. Analysen im Anhang). Die Stückchen werden auf einem flachen Stein wie Tusche mit Wasser angerieben und über das eingefettete Gesicht geführt. Die schmierig-fleckige Verteilung dieser Schminke ist häßlich.

Dunkle phantastische Gesichtsmasken malen sich die Hottentottenweiber mit Vorliebe an. Auf das vorher eingefettete Gesicht wird mit einem Fellwisch schwarzer oder roter Puder aufgetragen. Einen schwarzen Puder gewinnen sie aus den knolligen unteren Stammteilen eines *Pelargonium*, die scharf geröstet werden und dann aus ihrer Rinde eine staubtrockne, zerreibliche, dunkle Masse leicht ausklopfen lassen. Wer Rot vorzieht, stellt sich aus dem trocknen Kernholz der Giraffenakazie ein **ǂgürb* genanntes Pulver her. Ist das Gesicht fertig gepudert, wird vor dem Spiegel mit einem nassen Zipfel die gemalte Gesichtspartie scharf umrandet, hier und dort wieder rein gewischt, bis das Gesicht wie mit einer Faschingsmaske teilweise zugedeckt ist, aus der je nach dem Geschmack der Künstlerin bald nur die Augen und Nasenlöcher, bald auch die seitlichen Stirnpartieen und die Backenränder hervorsehen.

5. Haarpflege fehlt meist gänzlich. An der Küste wäscht sich der Hottentott zuweilen den Kopf mit dem Gelb roher Pinguineier, um den

Haarwuchs zu befördern. Rasur sah ich nirgends. Ein altmodischer Hottentott pflegte sein Haar mit der getrockneten rauhen Schleimhaut einer Rinderzunge zu bürsten.

Unserem Schweißtuch entspricht ein Schakal- oder Silber-Schakalschwanz, oder der dichtbuschige Schwanz des Löffelhundes, zuweilen ein Bündel Straußenfedern; **/na-bes* oder *gams* heißt dieser Schweißwedel.

Flöhe überwiegen auf den Küstenhottentotten, Läuse auf den Bewohnern der höheren Partien des Landes.

F. Medizin.

Die Medizin der Hottentotten wird durch die ausgezeichneten anatomischen Kenntnisse, die jeder einzelne von Jugend auf bei der Zerlegung des Schlachtviehs und Wildpreis sich aneignet, in keiner Weise gefördert. Über die Verrichtungen der einzelnen Teile machen sie sich keine oder nur vereinzelte verworrene Vorstellungen, und wo am kranken Körper kein äußerlich wahrnehmbarer Schädigungsgrund ersichtlich ist, geben sie alle anatomische Erfahrung preis.

So führen sie diffuse Schmerzen im Oberschenkel, zuweilen auch im Unterschenkel auf ein Heruntersacken der Eingeweide zurück. Massage in der Richtung nach dem Leibe soll die verlagerten Därme wieder zurückdrängen. Um sie aber vorher zu entleeren, wird das kranke Bein in der Richtung auf den Fuß massiert. Dadurch soll der Kot ausgestrichen werden; wohin er gerät, darüber machen sie sich kein Kopfzerbrechen. Der tatsächlich oft eintretende Erfolg der Kur bestätigt ja in ihren Augen die Diagnose zur Genüge. Am klarsten ist ihr Vorgehen noch, wo ihnen eine

1. Chirurgische Behandlung

angezeigt erscheint.

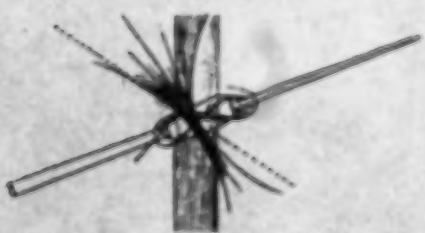
a) Der Aderlaß ist ein Universalmittel gegen jede auch nur einigermaßen lokalisierte Beschwerde. Im einfachsten Fall werden etwa 1 cm lange Einschnitte, *igo-regu*, in die Haut über dem leidenden Körperteil gemacht. Fast alle Hottentotten, die ich bei Körpermessungen näher untersuchte, wiesen Spuren dieser Aderlässe auf. In einem Fall war die Gegend des Schambergs und des Kreuzes mit einigen 40 halbzentimeterlangen Narben bedeckt. Die Wunden waren dem Mann als Kind vom Vater beigebracht worden, um „das tiefe Herunterfallen des Darmes in den Unterleib", an dem der Knabe litt, zu heilen.

Einen Aderlaß im engeren Sinne nennen sie *°/hui-ekys-rub* („Aderaufschlagen"). Er wird speziell gegen Steifheit und Schmerzen in den Gliedern angewandt und soll deren Anschwellung verhindern. Der Patient muß vor dem Eingriff ein heißes Getränk zu sich nehmen, dann wird ihm die Schneide eines scharfen Messers quer auf die Vena mediana cubiti im Ellenbogengelenk des rechten Armes gelegt und gegen den Messerrücken mit einem Stöckchen Holz geschlagen, daß die Klinge einfährt. Sie entnehmen bis gegen 100 ccm Blut, soweit ich schätzen konnte.

An das Öffnen der Ader schließt sich das Schröpfen, *gorra*. Als Schröpfinstrument *(°/hūrradi*, von „*°/hūi* = das Mark aus den Knochen saugen) dient ein Kalb- oder Ziegenhorn, das durch Kappen der Spitze auch am freien Ende eine Öffnung erhält, die Saugöffnung, die der Schröpfende in den Mund nimmt. Die entgegengesetzte, ebenfalls glatt abgefeilte, weitere Öffnung wird über den blutenden Einschnitt der Haut fest angedrückt. Das blutgefüllte Horn entleeren sie, um den Anblick des Menschenblutes schnell zu verwischen, nicht auf den Boden, sondern in einen nassen Kuhmistfladen.

Schröpfhorn. $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

Die Wunde wird folgendermaßen geschlossen: sie stecken einen Dorn, *d*, zweimal tief in der Haut fest (bei *c*, rechts und ebenso links neben der Vene *a*) derart, daß er quer über die Schnittwunde *b* zu liegen kommt. Unter die freien Enden des Dornes schlingen sie einen Faden und schnüren ihn fest zusammen. Die Haut zwischen den Doppelstichstellen wird dadurch in zwei Falten erhoben, die sich fest gegeneinander pressen und so das Gefäß schließen. Der Dorn wird dann an beiden Enden gekürzt, so daß er unter dem Wulst des Schnürfadens verschwindet. Der Arm muß so lange in der Binde getragen werden, bis Dorn und Faden sich spontan ausstoßen.



Wundverschluß.

Westlich von *!Haγaβâβ*, im Grenzgebiet der Witbói und der roten Nation, soll ehedem, als das Wasser dort noch reich stand, ein Kurort im hottentottischen Kleinstil bestanden haben! Leute, die irgendwelche Beschwerden hatten und sich zur Ader lassen wollten, wateten barbeinig im Teich von *!Oãs* und ließen sich von den zahlreichen Blutegeln, die dort hausten, schröpfen.

Wenn man, ohne Arzt zu sein, nach kraß hervortretenden Symptomen sich ein Urteil erlauben und dabei auch auf den Sprachgebrauch der Buren (der den Ärzten in der Kapkolonie wohl bekannt ist) sich stützen darf, dann möchte ich behaupten, daß die Krankheit, die der Hottentott *!hutlitsa-b* oder häufiger, in Anlehnung an das Burenholländische „vulziekte", *fi-hiß* nennt, die Syphilis ist. Einzelne syphilitische Geschwüre werden mit einem halbscharfen, mehr reißenden als schneidenden Instrument (z. B. einem Quarzsplitter) oberflächlich geöffnet und die Wunde gewaschen, mit Seewasser von den Küstenbewohnern, mit einer Seife aus der Asche eines *ǂgaub* genannten Baumes im Binnenland. Darauf wird die Wunde tüchtig ausgeschabt. Schuld die Blutung nicht, bestreuen sie die Wunde mit Seetangpulver. Die starken hohlen Stiele der *Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem.* (!n: *!khîb*), die das Meer überall auswirft, werden langsam verkohlt (nicht verascht) und die Kohle pulverisiert. Vor dem Pudern der Wunde trinkt der Kranke zwei Schluck Seewasser.

Treten die Geschwüre diffus über dem ganzen Körper auf, so wird, wie mir ein eingeborener Augenzeuge mitteilte, der Kranke gewaschen und die Haut solange mit den Fingernägeln bearbeitet, bis der Körper blutüberströmt ist. Ein Mann überwindet das Zerkratzen der Haut, aber andere sind nötig, um den Patienten festzuhalten, der in seinem Schmerz um sich schlägt, zuweilen schließlich wird, so daß die Prozedur unterbrochen werden muß. Pudern beschließt den Akt. Wenn unter dem Schorf von neuen Geschwüre sich bilden, wird die Haut abermals aufgerissen.

Zur Hilfeleistung werden vom anderen Geschlecht immer nur der Gatte oder bejahrte Personen zugelassen. Die Behandlung selbst darf nur von solchen vorgenommen werden, die bereits von der Krankheit befallen waren. Im anderen Fall, sagen sie, würde die Behandlung nichts nützen. Sie kennen aber auch die Gefahr der Ansteckung, denn der Kranke darf mit Gesunden weder Lager noch Eß- und Trinkgeschirr teilen. Sie glauben nach dem Verschwinden der Geschwüre an eine Heilung und damit erworbene Immunität.

b) Unblutige Behandlung wird einigen Fußleiden zu Teil. Als „Fetzen-Fuß", **ui-gyeui-hes*, oder Erbsenfuß, **ui-mero-s*, wird eine Krankheit bezeichnet, die mit einem Anschwellen des Fußes und der einzelnen Zehen beginnt. Die auftretenden Teile der Sohle werden schmerzhaft, röten sich und die Haut blättert ab. In der Mitte des entzündeten Bezirks schimmert ein länglicher, ca. 2 cm großer dunkler Körper, **akiri*, durch. Um sein Herauseitern zu befördern, wird der Fuß in den warmen Mageninhalt einer frisch geschlachteten Ziege und für eine Nacht in den kleinen Magen desselben Tieres gesteckt. Öffnet sich der entzündete Bezirk, dann wärmen und weichen sie Pferdemist in Wasser und bestreichen den Fuß damit und binden ihn ein bis der genannte dunkle Körper aus der Wunde abgeht.

In der kalten Jahreszeit leidet der Hottentott nicht selten an blutig eiternden Einschnitten auf der Beugeseite der Gelenke an der zweiten bis vierten Zehe. Die Krankheit wird **o-ragyetsi-hes*, d. h. „Ringelche" genannt.

Eiternde Risse, **o-hagu*, in der Haut der Ferse werden mit Ohrenschmalz verschmiert, unter Umständen zugenäht, wo Nadel und Zwirn nicht zur Hand ist, mit Dorn und Bast. Um die Zehenwunde zur Heilung zu bringen, wird der Fuß in den warmen, ungereinigten Netzmagen einer Ziege oder eines Schafes, am besten (weil am größten) eines Rindes gesteckt. Hier bleibt der Fuß so lange bis der Mageninhalt erkaltet ist. Unter dem Namen **tho-ruagûr* ist diese Heilmethode jedem Hottentotten geläufig.

Als gutes Pflaster bei Hautschwierigkeiten an den Füßen gilt die frisch abgezogene Haut der Eidechsen aus der Gattung *Agama*; als Salbe wird das frische Gehirn dieser Tiere aufgeschmiert. Die getrocknete Wurzel des *Zygophyllum cordifolium L. f.* (der braunen Blätter wegen **ui-khaib* genannt) gilt pulverisiert, mit Fett verrieben, eine Wundsalbe.

Die Geschwüre mannigfacher Art, die unter dem Namen *ma-ragu* gehen, habe ich nicht unterscheiden können.

Bezeichnend für ihre Bildersprache ist eine Ausdrucksweise, mit der das Umsichgreifen eines Krankheitsherdes bezeichnet wird: Die Krankheit „hasst Hitzen" *(tam, verb.)*.

Als letzte chirurgische Leistung sei das Schienen *(gui-)* eines Knochenbruchs *(*kyio-s)* genannt. Sie schnitzen um das gebrochene Glied 3 schmale Holzleisten, die sie an den beiden Enden untereinander verbinden, so daß sie eine Art Futteral bilden. Das Glied wird vorher mit einem Fell umwickelt und für freie Blutzirkulation Sorge getragen.

2. Geburtshilfe.

In die intimen Fragen dieses Gebietes kann sich nur Einblick verschaffen, wer nach längerer Anwesenheit im Lande das Vertrauen älterer Weiber so weit gewonnen hat, daß überhaupt ein ernstes Eingehen auf dieses Thema möglich ist. Hat man dieses Vertrauen, dann ist man wohl vor bewußten Täuschungen sicher, aber nie soll man sich auch hier auf eine einzelne Person verlassen, stets das Gehörte aus anderem Munde und am anderen Ort auf seine Zuverlässigkeit prüfen, ohne in jedem einzelnen Fall das geringste der schon gewonnenen Kenntnis durchblicken zu lassen. Auf diese Weise konnte ich mit Zeit und Geduld aus den Angaben der Eingeborenen selbst über eine Reihe von Punkten eine unabhängig übereinstimmende, somit glaubwürdige Auskunft gewinnen. Direkte Beobachtungen auf diesem Gebiete waren mir nicht möglich. Ich habe die Lücken dadurch auszufüllen versucht, daß ich mir Handgriffe, von denen ich in Erfahrung gebracht hatte, daß sie an Schwangeren, Gebärenden und Wöchnerinnen vorgenommen werden, am Körper einer mir vertrauten Person ad oculos demonstrieren ließ.

a) Schwangerschaft (*ǂgûb-i, ǂgum*, verb.). Als ersten Symptom der Schwangerschaft sieht das Hottentottenweib meist nicht das Ausbleiben der Regel, sondern das Eintreten von Schwangerschaftsbeschwerden, *ǂgao-rab*, wie Appetitlosigkeit, Übelkeit, Erbrechen etc. an, vorausgesetzt, daß die betreffende Person sonst nicht unter diesen Störungen zu leiden hatte. Das Auftreten der Schwangerschaftsverfärbung im Gesicht bezeichnen sie mit demselben Wort, das Schminken bedeutet: dasselbe. Ob die früher genannte Sitte der Gesichtsbemalung ursprünglich vielleicht in einem Zusammenhang mit der Schwangerschaft stand, wird schwer zu entscheiden sein.

Mit Sicherheit behaupten Hottentottenweiber, Schwangerschaft im zweiten Monat durch Massieren des Leibes und durch Betasten der veränderten Gebärmutter von den Bauchdecken aus nachweisen zu können. Sobald Schwangerschaft vermutet wird, wird der eingefettete Leib wöchentlich zwei- bis dreimal von zwei Frauen 1—1½ Stunden lang massiert. Die Massage beginnt, nach abwärts fortschreitend, in der Mittellinie zwischen den Brüsten. Mit breit aufgesetzten Daumen fahren sie den Rippenbogen entlang seitwärts und kehren mit flach aufgelegten fünf Fingern von der Gegend oberhalb der Darmbeinkämme zur vorderen Bauchwand zurück. Sie achten nun sorgfältig darauf, ob sie ein Glucksen im Dickdarm hören; haben sie einen Wind

gefunden, so sind sie zufrieden; sie streichen ihn auf der linken Körperseite abwärts, bis er entweicht, um dadurch zu verhindern, daß er „in den Kopf" geht, denn dort würde er fieberhafte Erkrankung der Wöchnerin hervorrufen. Den Schluß der Massage bildet ein zartes Aufwärtsstreichen auf den Weichen zu beiden Seiten der Mittellinie. Dabei fühlen sie die Gebärmutter durch und stellen bei jeder neuen Sitzung fest, ob und in welchem Grade sie sich vergrößert hat.

Schwangere binden sich zuweilen ein ledernes Band, do-mrob, um den Leib, um ein Vorhängen des Bauches zu verhindern.

Über das Geschlecht des erwarteten Kindes sagen sie nichts Bestimmtes aus. Einen Knaben vermuten sie, wenn der Gebärmuttergrund einen großen Breitendurchmesser hat.

Erst vom 7. Monat ab gilt die Frucht als lebend. Über die definitive Lage des Kindes im Uterus sind sie offenbar gut orientiert; sie unterscheiden genau, ob der Rücken des Kindes dem der Mutter zugekehrt ist, ob dementsprechend die Stirn des Kindes gegen die Bauchwand der Mutter sieht oder nicht. Man kann also sagen, daß sie erste und zweite Schädellage (jede in ihrer häufigsten Unterart) wohl unterscheiden. Sie wissen, daß diese Lagen die einzig normalen sind.

Daß sie abnorme Lagen erkennen, ist nach dem Vorgehenden anzunehmen, sie korrigieren sie aber nicht, weder vor noch in der Geburt. Einführung der Hand in die Geschlechtsöffnung zum Zweck der Untersuchung ist unbekannt.

Eine besondere Diät hat die Schwangere nicht zu befolgen. Sie achten nur darauf, daß sie nicht an Verstopfung leide, weil das die Geburt erschwere und den Wochenfluß hemme.

Vorsichtsmaßregeln anderer Art hängen mit dem tiefgewurzelten Glauben an „das Versehen" Schwangerer zusammen. Die Geschichten, die hier die Hottentottinnen zu erzählen wissen, decken sich im Prinzip mit denen von Frauen unserer Rasse. Charakteristisch für das Hirtenvolk ist, daß eine Schwangere, die noch die Sitten ihrer Eltern ehrt, nicht zugegen sein darf, wenn geschlachtet wird; sonst würde ihr Kind mit aufgeschlitzter Kehle zur Welt kommen. Die Frau darf sich auch nicht mit hochgestreckten Armen oben am Mattenhaus zu schaffen machen, um ihr Kind vor verhängnisvoller Umschnürung durch die Nabelschnur zu bewahren.

Ihre Vorstellungen von der Einbettung des Embryo im Mutterleibe stehen wieder in merkwürdigem Gegensatz zu ihren guten anatomischen

Kenntnissen des Tierkörpers: die Empfängnis findet ihrer Ansicht nach in der Harnblase, *#kyara-s*, statt. Dort bildet sich eine zweite Blase, in die der Embryo dann eingeschlossen wird. Der Embryo ist nur ein Anhängsel des Embryo, das mit der Ausstoßung des Fruchtwassers, *#aiha-b*, der Nachgeburt und des Blutes in Stücke geht und sich bei der nächsten Schwangerschaft neu bildet. Dieser Anschauung entsprechend haben sie für Gebärmutter und Nachgeburt vielfach nur eine Bezeichnung, *#khi*. Aufgeklärtere unterscheiden beides, indem sie *#khi #gu* „was in der Mutter bleibt", also den Uterus, nennen und mit *#khi* die Nachgeburt in unserem Sinne bezeichnen. Aus einer stärkeren Inanspruchnahme der Harnblase infolge des Wachstums der Frucht erklären sie sich vielfach die Harnbeschwerden Schwangerer: die Blase ist eben der Mehrbelastung nicht gewachsen.

Den Eintritt der Geburt berechnen sie nur ungenau. Die Rechnung fängt mit dem Neumond nach Auftreten der ersten Schwangerschaftszeichen an. Jeder Neumond wird mit einer Kerbe in einer der Hüttenstangen verzeichnet. Wenn sie die neunte Kerbe geschnitten haben, halten sie sich für das frohe Ereignis bereit. Beispiel: Eine Frau bemerkt am 15. Januar 1904 zur Zeit des ersten Mondviertels, daß sie empfangen hat. Als Tag des folgenden Neumonds (16. Februar) macht sie die erste, am neunten Neumond (9. Oktober) die letzte Kerbe. Jetzt, 246 Tage, nachdem sie die ersten Schwangerschaftszeichen bemerkt hat, erwartet sie das Kind. Der Schwangerschaftskalender einer weißen Frau würde die Geburt auf Ende Oktober festsetzen.

b) Die Geburt. *#gara-s* das Gebären, *#ai-hi* das Geborenwerden; daneben hört man auch *°aiße-s* die Erleichterung, *kûi* das Bekommen; *ôa-s* bezeichnet das Kalben des Viehs und ist, vom Menschen gesagt, als roher Ausdruck verpönt). Zwar habe ich Frauen unmittelbar vor der Geburt gesehen mit dem Stabe der Hebammen in Hilfsbereitschaft: einmal sechs Weiber, in einer Hütte von knapp 3 m Durchmesser zusammenhockend, und in den Qualm des rußenden Feuers in ihrer Mitte mischte sich der Rauch des Kaffees, den sie brannten, und der Tabakpfeifen, die ununterbrochen die Runde machten. Es kostete Mühe, im Hintergrund auf dem Boden, mit Fellen zugedeckt, die Frau zu erkennen, der diese Versammlung galt. Ich konnte auch Wöchnerinnen besuchen und über die Einzelheiten des Wochenbetts mich orientieren. Aber trotz aller persönlichen Beziehungen zu mehreren Familien und deren weiterer Verwandtschaft ist es mir nie geglückt, Augenzeuge einer Geburt zu sein. Trotz ausdrücklich von der Schwangeren selbst eingeholter Erlaubnis, der Geburt beiwohnen zu dürfen,

wurde mir entweder erst das eben beendete Ereignis mitgeteilt, oder, wo ich es bevorstehen sah und rechtzeitig kam, die Erlaubnis nachträglich entzogen. Die Rücksicht auf die Kreißende, die den herrschenden Anschauungen entsprechend die Gegenwart auch eines männlichen Hottentotten nicht duldete, zwang dann zum Nachgeben. Zu aufrichtigem Dank bin ich daher meiner hochverehrten betagten Freundin Frau v. B. verpflichtet, die unter Hottentotten groß geworden und in ihren Hütten jährelang häufig als Geburtshelferin tätig gewesen ist; sie hat die Geburtsgebräuche, wie sie bei den noch kulturfremden Hottentotten des kleinen Namalandes anzutreffen waren, auf das beste kennen gelernt. Die Mitteilungen, die sie mir machte, habe ich an früheren und späteren Erkundungen im Groß-Namalande eingehend geprüft und würde deshalb auch ohne die persönliche Garantie meiner Gewährsmännin die Verantwortung für das folgende übernehmen.

Fälle, in denen eine Hottentottin im Feld niederkam und abends den Sprößling munter nach Hause trug oder sich selbst in einem warmen Kuhlager entband*), dürfen nicht als Norm angesehen werden. Es sind genügend Fälle bekannt, in denen Burenfrauen auf der Wanderschaft nicht minder primitiv geboren, ohne daß dies einen Schluß auf die Gewohnheiten unserer Rasse zuließe. Die Geburt ist bei den Hottentotten wie bei uns, in geordneten Verhältnissen, ein sorgsam vorbereitetes Ereignis.

Wer irgend kann, läßt sich, und wenn es von weit her wäre, eine in Hebammendiensten erfahrene Frau kommen. Diese wichtige Person bezeichnen die Hottentotten mit verschiedenen Namen. Sie ist entweder die *ikyâ-ris*, d. h. „die das Kind fängt *(ikyâ)*," oder die *sitâ-ris*, d. h. „die da sitzt *(sitâ)*." Stunden und halbe Tage lang wartend, bis sie zugreifen kann. Unserer Oberhebamme entspricht, insofern als sie die entscheidenden Anordnungen trifft, die *°ikyâi-matsas*, „die Frau, die den Nabel abschneidet".

Meist finden sich mehrere Frauen zu einer Geburt ein und nicht bloß als Zuschauerinnen. Wenn die ersten starken Wehen einsetzen, legt sich die Kreißende auf die linke Seite. Die Wehefrauen ordnen sich nun, nach dem was ich ermitteln konnte, folgendermaßen gruppiert: Eine sitzt hinter der Kreißenden am Kopfende des Lagers und stützt ihr mit dem Knie Schultern und Rücken, um sie in ihrer halb aufgerichteten, halb liegenden Seitenlage zu halten. Ihr gegenüber sitzt eine zweite Frau und schlingt den rechten Arm um den Oberkörper der Kreißenden. Sie hat die Aufgabe, sobald eine Wehe einsetzt, den Oberkörper der Frau vornüber zu beugen, ihr den Kopf gegen die Brust zu halten und ein Tuch vor den

Mund zu legen, so daß sie nicht frei ausschreien kann. Es würde den Tod des Kindes bedeuten, würde sich die Mutter auf den Rücken legen oder die Beine strecken. Ihr linkes Bein liegt, im Knie stark gebeugt, platt auf dem Boden; das rechte Bein, ebenfalls gebeugt, steht frei auf, der Oberschenkel ist so weit als möglich abgespreizt, der Fuß findet im Knie des linken Schenkels eine Stütze. Die dritte Wehefrau, die der Kreißenden gegenüber nahe dem Fußende des Lagers sitzt, hat eine doppelte Aufgabe: Mit der linken Hand muß sie die Schenkel der Frau in der eben genannten Lage erhalten; die rechte Hand drückt durch die Bauchdecken mit abgespreizten Daumen gegen den Gebärmuttergrund, um das Fortschreiten der Austreibung zu kontrollieren. Die Oberleitung der Geburt hat die Alte, die der dritten Wehefrau gegenüber auf der Rückseite der Gebärenden Platz nimmt. Ihre linke Hand liegt, innerem fühlend, in der Steißgegend der vor ihr Liegenden; die Hand folgt dem vorwärtsdrängenden Kopf des Kindes über das Steißbein zum Damm bis zur Schamspalte. Sobald sie mit der rechten Hand, die zwischen den Beinen der Kreißenden durchgeführt wird, fühlt, daß der Kopf ins Einschneiden kommt, läßt sie die Frau bei der nächsten Wehe so stark als sie kann, mitpressen.

Ist der Kopf geboren, warten sie keine weitere Wehe ab, sondern ziehen das Kind hervor, indem sie es unter den Kniekehlen fassen.

Der einzige energische Eingriff in den Verlauf der Geburt, den sie vornehmen, wenn die Austreibung trotz starker Wehen nicht von statten geht, ist die Erweiterung der Schamspalte. Zunächst wird versucht, sie in seitlicher Richtung zu weiten. Nützt das nichts, dehnen sie auch in der Längsrichtung. In einem Falle sollen vier Frauen ihre Finger in der Vulva gehabt haben. Hat auch diese Dehnung nicht Erfolg, dann wird der Damm absichtlich eingerissen, oft bis in den After, um Platz zu schaffen. Heilung eines Dammrisses wird nicht einmal versucht, schon deshalb nicht, weil man ja, wie mir eine Hottentottin als selbstverständlich mitteilte, dem folgenden Kind dadurch den Weg verlegen würde.

Alle Handgriffe werden unter der Fellecke vorgenommen, unter der die Gebärende liegt. Während der Geburt wird der Kreißenden Suppe zur Stärkung gereicht. Die Geburtshilfe liegt ausschließlich in den Händen von Frauen, mögen sie alt oder jung, Mütter oder nicht Mütter sein.

Mit der Niederkunft der Frau bringen sie hie und da den heißen Ostwind in vagen Zusammenhang. Wenn er weht, kann man die Frage hören: „Welche Frau mag heute niedergekommen sein?“

Das Abnabeln wird unverzüglich vorgenommen. Die Nabelschnur wi
etwa in der Mitte mit Sehnen- oder Dornbaumbastgarn unterbunden un
mit dem langen Fadenende an das linke Bein der Mutter geknüpft, um ei
Zurückschlüpfen zu verhindern. Zuweilen binden sie die Schnur an eine
der Hüttenstangen fest. Dicht hinter der Unterbindungsstelle, die am mütte
lichen Ende bleibt, wird dann die Schnur durchschnitten. Eine Spanne we
(sie messen mit abgespreiztem Daumen und Mittelfinger) vom Nabel de
Kindes entfernt wird jetzt die Schnur noch einmal unterbunden und dan
durchschnitten. Vom Blut, das aus dem Schnitte tropft, wird der Mutte
etwas eingegeben, wenn sie zu stark blutet.

Das Abnabeln nimmt die Alte vor, die bei der Geburt die Oberau
sicht hatte. Sie allein erhält auch Honorar: Das übliche waren zwei Ziege
für einen Jungen und eine Ziege, wenn ein Mädchen geboren wurde.

Sie machen keinen Unterschied zwischen toten und scheintoten Kindern
kennen keine Wiederbelebungsversuche. Kindern, die mit einem „Helm
ago-boro (later. Schnalzlaut), unserer Glückshaube, zur Welt kommen, werde
prophetische Gaben zugeschrieben.

Über die Lösung der Nachgeburt machen sie sich meist wenig Sorge
es ist ihnen gleich, ob sie nach einer Stunde oder nach Tagen kommt. I
einem Fall war die Nachgeburt noch am dritten Tage nicht gekommen, di
Frau fieberte, die Nabelschnur, an einer der Hüttenstangen angebunden
war zu einem trockenen Strang zusammengeschrumpft. Keine der Frauen
dachte an einen Eingriff. Ein durchreisender Arzt entfernte die Nachgebur

In anderen Fällen wiederum wird Medizin gegeben, wenn die Nach
geburt ausbleibt. Aus den unteren Stammteilen eines **ho-rus* genannte
Busches quillt ein Harz, das sich mit Sand und Staub inkrustiert und z
schwarzen Knollen mit rauher Oberfläche erhärtet. Diese Masse, **nuru-k*
(s. Analysen im Anhang), wird zermahlen und mit heißem Wasser aufge
brüht. Der Trank gilt, besonders stark zubereitet, auch als gutes Mittel
die Nachblutungen, deren Verhaltung als todbringend gilt, herbeizuführen
Zuweilen greifen sie auch, wenn die Nachgeburt am dritten Tage noch nich
gekommen ist, zu dem beliebten Mittel des Fellumschlags: Ein frisch abge
zogenes, lebenswarmes Ziegenfell wird (die nasse Seite nach innen) mit dem
Schwanzende auf die Kreuzgegend der Frau gepreßt, zwischen den Beinen
durchgezogen und auf dem Unterleib ausgebreitet.

Die Nachgeburt wird in die Erde gegraben.

c) Der Säugling. Mit dem neuen Erdenbürger werden nicht viel Umstände gemacht. Er wird nicht gewaschen, sondern mit einem Fell abgewischt, am ganzen Körper eingesalbt und mit zusammengeringelter Nabelschnur in ein Fell gewickelt. Eine Salbe aus Fett und einem Pulver aus gebrannten Straußeneierschalen wird stets für ihn bereit gehalten. Die Masse wird dem Kind auf Stirn, Schläfen und Nase, vor allem auch in die Nasenflügel gestrichen, um Niesen und damit Schleimentleerung herbeizuführen. Die Fontanellen werden dick verschmiert, weil ihrer Ansicht nach an diesen Stellen Krankheiten am leichtesten Zutritt haben.

Die neugeborenen Kinder reiner Hottentotten, die ich am Morgen nach der Geburt sah, hatten nicht fahlgelbe, sondern rosig angehauchte Haut.

Wenn der Nabelschnurrest abfällt, reiben sie in die Wunde eine verkohlte, trockene, zupferartige Masse, die aus den unterirdischen Teilen von *Oxalis caledonica Sond* (h: **thotabe-s*) hergestellt wird. Ist die Nabelwunde entzündet, wird diese Masse mit Fett verrieben aufgestrichen.

Säugende Topnaarhottentottin, ca. 35 Jahre alt.

Ein weit verbreitetes und für den Fortbestand der Rasse verhängnisvolles Vorurteil der klein-namaländischen Hottentotten war es, daß sie die Milch der Mutter erst etwa am dritten Tage nach der Geburt dem Kinde für zuträglich hielten. Bis dahin wurde dem Neugeborenen verdünnte Ziegen- oder Kuhmilch zu schlucken gegeben, wenn ihm nicht eine andere Frau, die ein eigenes Kind schon stillte, die Brust gab. Wurden im anderen Falle die künstlich gefütterten armen Geschöpfe am vierten Tage angelegt, waren sie oft schon zu schwach, um ergiebig saugen zu können.

Das Kind wird entwöhnt, indem sich die Mutter die Brustwarzen mit dem bitteren Blattsaft einer Aloë einreibt. Leidet die Mutter darunter, daß sie die Milch nicht mehr abgibt, dann melkt man sie ihr einige Male direkt in die heiße Asche des Herdfeuers ab. Wie dort die Milch verbrozelt, so soll sie auch in der Frau austrocknen.

d) Wochenbett. Unmittelbar nach der Geburt wird die Frau so warm als möglich zugedeckt, damit sie in Schweiß komme.

Von einem merkwürdigen Gebrauch, der heute wohl nicht mehr ausgeübt wird, berichteten mir Augenzeuginnen: Der Frau, die eben geboren hat und immer noch auf der Seite liegt, drücken eine oder mehrere Frauen fest auf den Hüftknochen. Zuweilen wurde diese Manipulation des „Hüftensitzens", **tnũthum*, so vorgenommen, daß die ausübende Person, während sie den Fuß auf die Hüfte der Entbundenen setzte, mit dem Arm an einer der Hüttenstangen Halt suchte, um sich noch fester gegen die Wöchnerin anstemmen zu können. Der Sinn dabei ist: Die Knochen, die ihrer Auffassung nach durch den Geburtsakt auseinandergewichen sind, wieder zusammenzudrücken. Dahin zielt auch die Vorschrift, daß die Wöchnerin nur auf der Seite liegen darf. Die Knochen der einen Seite sollen mit ihrem Gewicht gegen die der anderen drücken; in Rückenlage der Frau würde das Becken, wie sie sagen, auseinanderweichen.

Eine hottentottische Wöchnerin vom alten Schlag kommt mit Wasser nicht in Berührung, nicht einmal im Anschluß an die Geburt wird eine Waschung vorgenommen. Eine Weiße wollte einer Hottentottin, die stark blutete und schon mehrfach ohnmächtig geworden war, ein kaltes, nasses Tuch vorlegen. Als sie es aus dem Wasser nahm und ausrang, verließen die eingeborenen Weiber die Hütte und machten die Weiße für den Tod der Frau, den sie nach der Berührung mit dem Wasser für unabwendbar hielten, verantwortlich.

Die Wöchnerin bleibt in ihren Decken bis zum dritten, zuweilen bis zum siebenten Tage liegen. Nur die Decke, die ihr als Unterlage dient, wird gewechselt. Um ihre Bedürfnisse zu verrichten, verläßt die Wöchnerin vom ersten Tag ab ihr Lager.

Um die Nachwehen zum Verschwinden zu bringen, wird ein heißer Aufguß derselben gerösteten und zermahlenen wurzelartigen Gebilde gegeben, die auch bei der Nabelwundpflege verwandt werden.

Vom siebenten, zuweilen erst zehnten Tage ab geht die Wöchnerin meist wieder ihren Beschäftigungen nach. Die Angabe einer Frau, daß die

Regel, selbst wenn das Kind gestillt wird, schon einen Monat nach der Geburt wieder einsetzt, habe ich nicht kontrollieren können.

Zum Schluß ein Wort über mehrfache Geburten. Zwillinge zu gebären, scheint nicht als Glück zu gelten. Ein Fall von Drillingsgeburt ereignete sich im Jahre 1897 im Orte Spektakel. Die Hottentottin Anna Marie gebar in zweiter Ehe einem freigelassenen Negersklavenabkömmling, Johannes Fortani, zwei Knaben und ein Mädchen, die jedenfalls bis zum Jahre 1902 noch lebten. Auch einen Fall von Fünflingsgeburt konnte ich aus dem Jahre 1884 oder 1885 ermitteln. Der Vater Jacobus van Neel war ein Bastard, die Mutter, Trein genannt, brachte drei Mädchen und zwei Knaben lebend zur Welt. Die Kinder starben unmittelbar nach der Geburt.

Die medizinischen Kenntnisse und Heilmethoden der Hottentotten werden um so unklarer, je mehr sie sich dem Bereich des inneren Klinikers nähern. Das Wenige, was mir hier der Mitteilung wert erscheint, sind einige ausgewählte Beobachtungen über

3. Die Behandlung mit Medikamenten.

Nichts läßt der Hottentott da unversucht. Außer dem praktischen Erfolg, mag er eingebildet oder wahr sein, leitet ihn ab und zu auch eine Überlegung: Er weiß, daß unter den Pflanzen seines Landes manche Heilpflanze ist, doch weiß er auch von manchem Leiden, für das ein Kraut wohl gewachsen ist, das er aber nicht kennt. Weiter weiß jeder Hirtenknabe, daß die Ziege in der Wahl ihrer Futterpflanzen nicht heikel ist, sie frißt fast alles, also wohl auch (so kalkuliert der Hottentott) die Heilkräuter, die er noch nicht kennt. Die wirksamen Substanzen dieser Pflanzen gehen in die Ziege über und werden zum Teil auch im Mist enthalten sein. Deshalb gilt Ziegenmist als Heilmittel.

So besteht die Behandlung der Windpocken, *ikχo-ras*, darin, daß der Kranke einige Male am Tage einen Trank erhält, in dem etwa ein halbes Liter verdünnter Milch mit einer Hand voll frischem (oder dem doppelten von altem) Ziegenmist eingekocht ist. Von anderer Nahrung darf ihm nur mageres Ziegenfleisch gereicht werden.

Ob folgendes Verfahren, von dem mir zwei Augenzeugen unabhängig von einander berichtet haben, noch viel angewandt wird, sei dahingestellt: Mehrere Männer fielen über eine Ziege her, zogen ihr so schnell als möglich das Fell ab, um es noch warm dem Kranken auf den Leib zu legen. Es mag wohl sein, daß dieser Umschlag als wohltätiger Hautreiz wirkt.

Als unfehlbares Gegengift gegen Schlangenbiß gilt der getrocknete Leib der sogenannten Springschlange, **ǂno-ǂhoɪao-ɪs, Scelotes capensis Gthr.* Einige Finger breit oberhalb und unterhalb der Bißstelle wird je ein ca. 1 cm langer, tiefer Einschnitt geführt und das Blut etwa ½ Stunde lang aus jeder dieser Wunden mit dem Schröpfhorn ausgesaugt. Dann wird je ein kleines, kaum 1 mm messendes Bröckchen der getrockneten Eidechse in die Wunde gedrückt und mit Holzkohle eingerieben. Die Bißstelle selbst wird nur mit Wasser gewaschen.

Die „Springschlange", *Scelotes capensis Gthr.* 1½ nat. Gr.

Ebenfalls einer wissenschaftlichen Prüfung wert ist vielleicht die Verwendung des Schlangengiftes selbst als Heilmittel gegen giftigen Schlangenbiß.

Ein Hottentott, der die Giftschlangen seiner Heimat gut kannte, hatte sich angewöhnt, ein Tier, das ihn gebissen hatte, sofort zu verfolgen, ihm die Giftsäcke auszuschneiden und ein wenig von ihrem Inhalt, in Wasser getropft, zu trinken. Den Rest des Giftes trocknete er und hob ihn sorgfältig auf.

Ein anderer nahm als Präservativ gegen die Giftwirkung von Schlangenbissen die frische Galle einer *Cobra (*h: *ǂhuni-ǂhui-b)* ein; die Gewohnheit scheint nicht vereinzelt zu sein, denn Männer mit dieser Gewohnheit werden *ǂaoǁgū aon*, d. h. Schlangengiftmänner genannt. Dem Hautsekret solcher Giftesser wird mit Bestimmtheit (ob mit Recht, muß erst entschieden werden) Heilkraft bei Schlangenbißvergiftung zugeschrieben. In eine kleine, neben der Bißstelle beigebrachte Schnittwunde reibt der Giftesser von seinem Schweiß dem Patienten ein; oder er löst, was er sich von der Haut abgerieben hat, in Wasser auf und läßt es den Gebissenen trinken. Wer die schweißgetränkten Kleidungsstücke eines Hottentotten gerochen hat, dem erscheint die Angabe plausibel, daß, wenn überhaupt der Schweiß der Giftesser heilkräftig ist, dann schon

ein wenig des wässerigen Auszugs aus einem Stückchen seiner Kleidung wirksam ist.

Denselben Grundsatz, den der zuerst genannte Giftesser verfolgte (die Giftwirkung des Bisses durch Teile des giftigen Tieres selbst sofort zu bekämpfen), befolgen viele Hottentotten, wenn sie von einem Skorpion gestochen worden sind. Sie suchen unverzüglich einen lebendigen Skorpion, zerquetschen ihn und legen die frische Masse auf die künstlich etwas erweiterte Stichwunde. Gleichzeitig wird dem Kranken eine dünne Lösung von Tabakssaft in Wasser als Brechmittel gegeben, auf Grund der unklaren Vorstellung; auf diesem Wege das eingedrungene Gift aus dem Körper beseitigen zu helfen.

Es scheint, daß Tabakssaft (Pfeifenschmirgel) in die Wunde selbst oder in einen Hauteinschnitt neben ihr eingerieben, als Gegengift bei Schlangen- und Skorpionenstichen wirkt.

Ob sich im Übrigen trotz des blinden Probierens und der Selbsttäuschung der eingeborenen Heilkundigen und Kranken doch auch brauchbare Medikamente in ihrem Arzneischatz finden?

Alter Klippdachsharn, **ǂaũ-ǂaru-b*, der sich in Höhlen faustdick ansammelt, gilt als Heilmittel gegen jede Art von Verhaltung. Ein wallnußgroßes Stück wird in etwa ½ l heißen Wassers gelöst und der Trank heiß genommen. Er soll Verstopfung, Harnverhaltung, krankhaftes Ausbleiben der Regel kurieren und den Wochenfluß befördern. In dieselbe Kategorie gehören die vermeintlichen Wirkungen des früher genannten „Steinschweißes."

Ebensowenig vertrauenerweckend wie die vorhergehenden sind ihre Medikamente gegen Geschlechtskrankheiten. Als Präservativ gegen Gonorrhoe, **ǂgaims*, reibt sich der Mann oder die Frau rechts und links in eine kleine Schnittwunde der Leistengegend eine kleine Messerspitze voll eines Pulvers ein, das aus den Wurzeln der **ǂgurisab*-Pflanze*) hergestellt wird. Die Gonorrhoe selbst behandeln sie lokal, indem sie den Milchsaft aus den frischen Blättern einer **ǂgubi-b* oder **χamǂkχairab* genannten Pflanze in die Harnröhre tupfen. Oder sie graben die Wurzel der Pflanze aus und trinken den heißen Aufguß der zerstoßenen Masse in möglichst großen Quantitäten.

Syphiliskranke (denen sie empfehlen, frühmorgens einen Schluck ihres eigenen Harns zu trinken) schreiben dem Tee aus den stark aromatisch

*) Wo es mir nicht möglich ist, den botanischen Namen zu nennen, gebe ich wenigstens die Bezeichnung der Eingeborenen, die späteren Untersuchern ein Anhalt sein kann.

nach Terpentin riechenden, fleischigen Blättern einer Geraniacee (wie es scheint) eine Heilwirkung gegen den Ausschlag zu.

Die Medizin der Hottentotten ist eng verbunden mit

4. Zauberei.

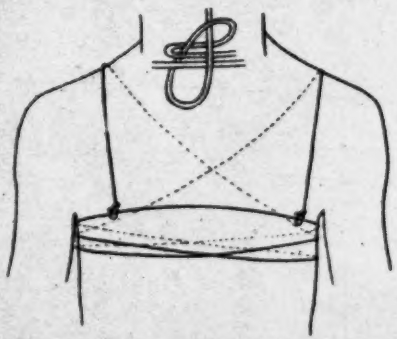
Der */gai-ǂaob* genannte Arzt oder Zauberer, zu dem sich jeder machen kann, der es sich zutraut, trägt seinen Namen nach der Zaubermasse, */gaib*, die er in einer Büchse bei sich trägt. Die vegetabilischen Bestandteile dieser Masse sind Wurzelstücke der verschiedensten Pflanzen; das Fleisch und die Knochen von Chamäleon-Arten, Elefanten-Spitzmäusen, Fledermäusen und eines kleinen Vogels aus der Familie der Sylviiden (h: *ǂoregu*) werden getrocknet, bald grob zerkleinert, bald pulverisiert in das rohe Bockfett gesteckt, das die Zauberbüchse füllt und die wirksamen Bestandteile aus den verschiedenen Ingredienzien ausziehen soll.

Die Zauberbüchse ist zugleich der Giftvorrat des Hottentotten. Während das Bockfett nur Heilkraft besitzt, soll der übrige Inhalt, heimlich in den Tabak gemischt oder an das Pfeifenmundstück des Feindes geschmiert, Giftwirkung haben.

Die Büchse ist zugleich ein Wahrsagegerät. Ein Garnfaden wird in das Fett gesenkt; sein Ende, das frei aus der geschlossenen Büchse ragt, wird angebrannt und gegen den Wind gehalten. Die Richtung, in der der Rauch verpufft, schlägt der Hottentott ein, wenn er einmal ratlos ist, wo er entlaufenes Vieh oder einen verloren gegangenen Begleiter suchen soll. Will er seinen Gefährten noch unterwegs erreichen, um vor ihm seine Ochsen an der spärlichen Wasserstelle tränken zu können, so bindet er einen Knoten in den Faden und brennt ihn an: Wie hier am Knoten das heranglimmende Feuer erlischt, gleichsam angehalten wird, so soll der Gefährte auf seinem Weitermarsch angehalten werden, bis er eingeholt ist. Wer in dem Ruf steht, auf diese Weise in den Gang der Dinge eingreifen zu können, steht meist auch als Arzt in Ansehen. Neben zielbewußtem Betrug enthält die ärztliche Zauberei manche Prozedur, die auf gutem Glauben beruht und vielleicht suggestiv wirkt. Kopf- und Gliederschmerzen werden mit zwei speziell diesem Zweck dienenden größeren Glasperlen, */gai-ǂa-ǂmra*, weggezaubert: Ein Faden wird fest um den Kopf geschnürt, die beiden Perlen liegen dicht beieinander in der Mitte der Stirn. Sind sie im Laufe der Stunden weit auseinandergerückt, dann hat der Schmerz verschwunden zu sein.

Eine Lendenkette, *ǂnūti-b*, aus runden Straußeneier-Schalenstückchen hergestellt, bindet ein Hottentottenweib sich oder dem Kinde um die Hüften, wenn sie im Unterleib Beschwerden fühlt.

Die sogenannte Schreckkrankheit der Kinder, die sich darin kundgeben soll, daß das Kind aus unbedeutendem Anlaß in Ohnmacht fällt, hat ihren Namen **/kxams* von der Eland-Antilope, deren Fell in diesem Fall als Heilmittel hoch geschätzt wird. Das Fell wird in kleine Platten von Oktavformat und in $^1/_2$ cm breite Riemen geschnitten, getrocknet und mit Elandfett geschmeidig gemacht. Die Heilmethode besteht darin, daß ein kaum linsengroßes Stückchen der Fellplatte verascht, mit der Nagelfläche zerrieben und, in einen Schluck Milch vermischt, dem kranken Kind zu trinken gegeben wird. Der Riemen wird dem Kinde, wie die Figur zeigt, um die Brust gebunden. Wenn er nach einigen Tagen von selbst abfällt, gilt die Kur als erfolgreich beendet. Als Honorar bekam der Zauberer in dem mir bekannten Fall eine Ziege.



Knüpfung des Elandfellstreifens. In der Halsgegend: Vergrößerung der Endschlinge.

Mangelhafte und unregelmäßige Ernährung, Entbehrungen aller Art, Unsauberkeit, vorzeitiger Geschlechtsverkehr und übermäßiger Genuß von Alkohol und Tabak sind die Hauptschädigungen, unter denen der Hottentottenkörper leidet. Lungenschwindsucht *(ǂnoba-b)* und Geschlechtskrankheiten sind weit verbreitet. Die Syphilis fordert viele Opfer.

Wohl abergläubischer Furcht entsprungen, aber praktisch von hohem hygienischem Wert ist die Gewohnheit des Hottentotten, nach einem Todesfall die Hütte abzubrechen, um sie abseits, auf reinem Boden, neu aufzubauen.

Capitulum II.

Die Hütte und das Handwerk.

A. Die Hütte.

Die Hütte, *o-mi*, der Hottentotten stellt den Typus einer Nomadenbehausung dar: einen luftigen Wind- und Sonnenschutz, leicht an Gewicht,

einfach im Material wie in der Konstruktion und deshalb leicht einzureißen, aufzupacken und an anderem Ort wieder aufzubauen.

1. Materialien und Bau.

a) Das Gerüst der Hütte wird am besten vom Dornbaum genommen, der Elastizität seines Holzes wegen; demnächst kommt der schon leichter brüchige Hakjesdorn in Betracht, die Verwendung einer anderen Holzart ist Notbehelf.

Der Kuppelform der Hütte entsprechend gibt man den Gerüststangen eine bestimmte Krümmung*). Der frisch gekappte, entzweigte Ast (unten ca. 3 cm im Durchmesser stark) wird platt auf den Boden gelegt, das eine Ende und die Mitte mit je einem großen Stein beschwert, das freie Ende umgekrümmt, gegen einen Steinklotz gestemmt und in dieser Spannung gehalten bis das Holz getrocknet und damit gestaltfest geworden ist. Oder sie stecken die Äste bündelweise aufrecht in den Boden, schnüren die freien Enden zusammen, biegen sie nach unten und halten sie mit einem Riemen, der am Boden verankert ist, gespannt.

Hüttengerüst.

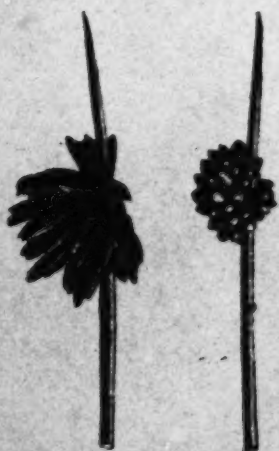
Die fertigen Gerüststangen, */hainagu*, werden senkrecht in den Boden gegraben, je nach der Größe der Hütte zu 20—60 in einen Kreis von $3^1/_2$—5 m Durchmesser geordnet. Die aufsteigenden Stammteile bilden dann das Wandgerüst und gehen mit ihren dünn auslaufenden umgebogenen Enden ohne Grenze in den Dachteil des bienenkorbähnlichen Baues über. Das montierte Gerüst stellt ein weitmaschiges Netzwerk von durchschnittlich $2^1/_2$ m

*) Diese Krümmung liegt als tertium comparationis einer hottentottischen Bezeichnung für Regenbogen zugrunde: **/a-bi/ha-/nab* d. h. „Regen-Hüttenstange."

Höhe dar; wo sich die Stangen entgegenlaufen oder seitlich überkreuzen, werden sie mit Riemen oder Baststricken aneinander geschnürt. Die Hölzer, die in flachem Bogen mit starker seitlicher Neigung gegen den Boden im unteren Wandteil verlaufen (meist 4 Paare), werden als **ǀnaǀnihaigu* besonders unterschieden. Größere Hütten erhalten zuweilen die nötige Festigkeit noch durch einen armstarken, senkrecht im Mittelpunkt der Hütte eingerammten Pfahl, der, wie bei den Betschuanen, die Dachmitte trägt. Sie nennen ihn dementsprechend **ǂgurihaib* oder *kχāǀnab*, auch **ǀnačhaib*, weil er im „Nabel" der Hütte steht.

Die Herstellung der Gerüststangen ist Männerarbeit.

b) Die Matten, die Dach und Wände bilden, werden von den Frauen hergestellt. Das Material zur Herstellung der Matten liefert ein Riedgras, gewöhnlich Binse genannt, eine *Cyperus*-Art aus der Sektion *Mariscus*, mit fettglänzenden Halmen und daher von den Hottentotten als *ǀhu-ǀmiǀharu-s* bezeichnet. Die Pflanze ist an Grundwasserstellen häufig.



Cyperus, Matteubinse.

Die Halme werden einzeln ausgezogen (nicht geschnitten), und, bis sie getrocknet sind, weggelegt.

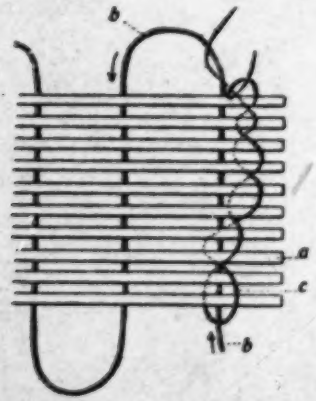
Das Stechen und Säumen *(kχu-iam* oder **kχu-im)* einer Matte erfordert viel Arbeit. Die Frau sitzt in der früher (S. 181 unten) beschriebenen Haltung auf einem Fell am Boden. Vor ihr liegt, unregelmäßig aufgerollt, die werdende Matte. Etwa 20 Halme faßt sie von dem losen Haufen, der neben ihr aufgeschüttet ist, legt sich das Bündel quer vor die Füße, richtet die neuen Halme den bereits gehefteten an und hält sie dabei mit den Zehen des rechten Fußes in der gewünschten Lage am Boden. Zum Zusammennähen der Halme dient ihr eine knöcherne Nadel, **ǂkχa-ru nā-b*, aus einer Rippe oder einem Beinknochen gefertigt. Mit der linken Hand hält die Frau die eingefädelte knöcherne Nadel, mit der rechten schiebt sie über deren vorwärts gerichtete Spitze 3—5 Halme gleichzeitig hinüber, so

a *b*

Knöcherne Nadel z. Mattenstechen. *a* von der Kante. *b* v. d. Flachseite. 1/1 nat. Gr.

daß sie durchbohrt werden. Dann werden die gespießten Halme über die Nadel weg auf den Bastfaden gezogen und den dort angereihten angefügt.*)

Sind auf die geschilderte Art einige Tausend Halme aneinandergereiht, so werden sie in umgekehrter Reihenfolge (siehe die Pfeile in der schematischen Abbildung) in einigen Zentimetern Abstand vom ersten Stichfaden abermals durchbohrt und auf den Bast gezogen. Dasselbe wiederholt sich in abwechselnd entgegengesetzter Richtung so oft, bis jeder Halm bei einer Länge von ca. 1 m 16—18mal durchstochen ist.



Stechen und Säumen der Matten (Schema). *a* Halm, *b* Stichfaden, *c* Saumfaden.

Die freien Enden der Halme werden nun noch, in der Weise wie die Figur zeigt, jederseits paarweise oder zu dritt fest aneinander geschnürt und mit dem randständigen Stichfaden am Anfang wie am Ende der Matte verknüpft. Was von den Halmen über diesen Schnürsaum ragt, wird bis auf Fingerbreite mit dem Messer glatt abgeschnitten.

Damit ist die Matte jetzt fertig zum Gebrauch hergerichtet. Sie wird im allgemeinen */haru-b* (1 Terz steigend) genannt; mit */gũ/b* wird eine Matte bezeichnet, die aus beträchtlich stärkeren und längeren Halmen gefertigt ist.

Die Länge einer Matte schwankt je nach der Größe der Hütte (deren Wölbung sie ungeteilt überspannen soll) und je nach der Lage der Matte auf dieser Wölbung zwischen 4 und 8 m bei knapp 1 m Breite.

Die Halme liegen in der Matte nur so dicht aneinander, daß sie direktes Sonnenlicht abhalten. Durch die Ritzen lassen sie zerstreutes Licht genügend ein, um die Hütte angenehm zu erhellen, und Luft, sie zu ventilieren. Die Lehmhütte des Herero dagegen ist düster und dumpfig, bietet aber besseren Schutz gegen den Regen. Nur wenn es langsam rieselt und die Matte Zeit hat zu quellen, schließen sich auch die Halme zu einem Regen-

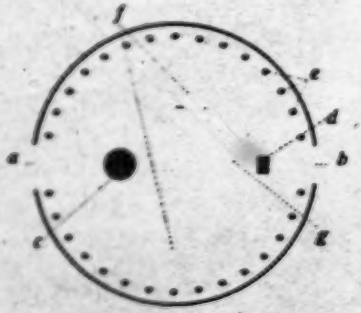
*) Im Klein-Namalande sah ich, daß die Matte nicht mit der eingefädelten Nadel gestochen wurde. Die Binsen wurden vielmehr mit einem platten Eisenpfriemen durchbohrt; der eingeführte Pfriemen wurde halb auf die Kante gestellt und so ein Kanal für den Faden klaffend gehalten. Der Faden wurde an einen Binsenhalm wie an eine Nadel gebunden und damit in den Stichkanal eingeführt. Diesen Einführhalm nennen die Klein-Namalander */kyo-rarab*, während die Topnaars mit diesem Wort das in die Knochennadel eingefädelte Ende des Bastfadens bezeichnen.

dach zusammen. Eine Matte hält 10—15 Jahre. In diesem ehrwürdigen Alter wird sie *tha-mi* genannt.

c) Die Befestigung der Matte am Gerüst erfolgt mittelst Riemen oder Baststricken an den henkelartig vorragenden Umbiegungen der Stichfäden, also längs der Mattenschmalseiten. Im Bereich der unteren Hüttenwand bis etwa in Mannshöhe werden die Matten (meist drei) mit ihren Längsseiten dem Boden parallel aufgehängt *(/nami)*; sie umfassen so das Gerüst kranzartig; die Ränder greifen breit übereinander. Die übrigen Matten werden senkrecht darüber längs über das Gerüst hinweggelegt, meist so, daß sie von Tür zu Tür verlaufen.

Fertige Mattenhütte.

2. Die Einrichtung der Hütte enthält nichts, was über die nackten Bedürfnisse des täglichen Lebens hinausginge. Zwei Türen, von denen immer nur die eine benutzt, die andere verschlossen wird, regeln die Ventilation. Die Türöffnungen, *°omaama*, d. h. „Hüttenmünder", ca. 60 cm breit, 1½ m hoch, liegen einander gegenüber, die vordere ist gegen Osten gerichtet. Der Türflügel selbst ist ein hart und straff getrocknetes Ziegen- oder Kalbfell, *°/gûnusgoas*. Außer in der Mitte seines oberen Randes ist auch seitlich je ein Riemen am Fell befestigt, mit dem es bei schlechtem Wetter fest an die Hüttenwand angeschlossen wird. Gehen die Bewohner aus, wird zur Vervollständigung des Verschlusses ein Stein auf den niederhängenden Rand des Felles gelegt. Aus alter Zeit hat sich hie und da die Erinnerung erhalten, daß zu Türfellen Elephantenohren verarbeitet wurden.



Schematischer Grundriß einer Hütte.
a Vorder-, *b* Hintertür, *c* Feuerstelle, *d* Stelzer, *e* Gerbstangen, *f* Seitenbaume, *g* Hinterraum.

Im Innern ist der geebnete Boden mit Fellen bedeckt. Nur in der vorderen Hälfte, der Tür genähert, bleibt die Feuerstelle frei.

Ist die Familie groß, so wird eine Herdstelle neben der Hütte unter freiem Himmel hergestellt, durch einen Halbkreis von ausgerauften Büschen gegen den Wind geschützt. Aber mag auch in einer solchen Windschirmküche, *#haob*, gekocht werden, die Feuerstelle im Innern der Hütte fehlt niemals. Das Abendfeuer, das gleich nach Sonnenuntergang angezündet wird, vereinigt die Familie und die unvermeidlichen Kostgänger, Freunde, Verwandte und Nachbarn.

Die Schlafstätten, *kχa-rogu*, liegen auf ebener Erde. Felle beliebiger Art sind die Unterlagen, Schafkompersen (s. S. 234 *β*) die Zudecken. Die Seitenteile der Hütte, *ǂanira*, d. h. der Raum hinter der Feuerstelle rechts und links neben dem Hinterraum (siehe unten) bieten die besten, dem Hausherrn und der Hausfrau, demnächst den älteren Familienmitgliedern reservierten Schlafplätze. Der Türe genähert schläft das ledige Gesinde, Knecht oder Magd, meist Berg-Damara- oder „Buschmann"-Leute, zur Beaufsichtigung der Kinder und des Viehes.

Das Hausgerät (s. Handwerk) und die Vorräte hängen an den Gerüststäben frei oder in Sehnennetzen und in Fellsäcken verpackt. Im Grunde des Hinterraumes, *ǂgu-rub*, d. h. des Raumes zwischen der Feuerstelle und der Hintertür, steht der sogenannte Steiger, *ǂhâs*, ein aus vier senkrechten, mit Zweigstümpfen als Aufhängehaken benutzten Ästen *(ǂâ!ti)*.

Ich habe der vorhergehenden Beschreibung solche Hütten zugrunde gelegt, die noch nicht die Zeichen jener rapid fortschreitenden Degeneration trugen, die das Volkstum des Namalandes heute auf allen Gebieten aufweist. Wird in 20 Jahren noch eine Mattenhütte zu finden sein wie die hier beschriebene? Sie werden allmählich alle wie die von Angra Pequena aus Lumpen und Abfällen des Haushalts der Weißen zusammengeflickt werden. Und wo früher, im Kreis zusammengeschlossen [67]), von einer Hecke aus gekapptem Dorngestrüpp umgeben [68]) [69]), Hütte an Hütte zu einem Kraal oder einer Werft *(ǂgaûs, ǂhaîs)* vereinigt war, und wo jetzt noch lockere Hüttengruppen *(ǂharigu)* beisammenstehen, werden bald nach dem Vorgang von Keetmanshoop schnurgerechte, polizei-übersichtliche Straßen entstehen, schließlich in Lokationsbaracken die letzten Reste ursprünglicher Wohnart verschwinden.

B. Lederverarbeitung.

Ehe der Weiße ins Land kam, waren die Felle der Haustiere und des Wildes das ausschließliche Material für die Kleider und Decken der Hottentotten. Heute muß man die Reste aus dieser Zeit mühsam zusammensuchen; sie sind zu finden, man muß sie nur aufzuspüren wissen: so in den Fellsäcken von Frauen, die sich trotz aller Druckstoffe und alles bunten Tücherschunds von ihrer Altvätermode noch nicht ganz getrennt haben und ihren Vorkaross und Fellschurz noch aufheben, — oder draußen im Feld, in den Hütten verarmter Viehknechte, die sich den Luxus europäischer Artikel nur von Zeit zu Zeit einmal leisten, im übrigen ihr Handwerk noch wie die Hottentotten vor 50 Jahren ausüben. Zu ihnen bin ich in die Schule gegangen.

1. Das Gerben, *ino-ro* im weiteren Sinne (gewöhnlich Frauenarbeit).

a) Das Verfahren selbst setzt sich aus folgenden Manipulationen zusammen: Das frisch abgezogene Fell wird, mit der Haarseite nach oben, zunächst zum Trocknen ausgebreitet, meist auf die Hütte gelegt, damit es vor Hunden sicher ist.

Ist das Fell trocken und hart, so wird es mit dem Saft sukkulenter Pflanzen, die auf der Fleischseite des Felles zerstampft (**ia-mai*) werden, aufgeweicht.

Die überschüssige Flüssigkeit wird abgegossen und das Fell zusammengerollt, damit es nicht vorzeitig trockne. Die Frau kniet sich nun auf die Rolle, nachdem sie nur so viel davon flach ausgebreitet gelassen hat, als sie zurzeit bearbeiten kann. Die Fleischseite des Felles wird mit Sandsteinpulver bestreut und mit einem faustgroßen Stück des Gerbesteins (**ikyoma*) fest gerieben (*mâi*).

Hat der Sandstein alle Fleischfetzchen abgeschabt, so lassen sie das Fell wieder halb austrocknen, walken (*ino-ro* im engeren Sinn) und kneten es dann wie Wäsche und schmieren die Außenseite mit weichem Fett ein.

Das Fell ist jetzt zwar trocken-geschmeidig, würde aber, wenn einmal vom Regen durchnäßt, beim Trocknen wieder hart und brüchig werden. Um das zu verhindern, wird das Fell mit dem zerstampften und aufgeweichten roten Bast der *Acacia horrida Willd.* gegerbt (**hasi*, wohl entlehnt). Dann wird das Fell, die Bastbäusche darin eingewickelt, für eine Stunde in die rote Bastlauge gelegt bis es sich vollgesogen hat. Halb wieder getrocknet,

wird es noch für etwa eine halbe Stunde in eine flache Grube ausgebreitet und mit schwach angefeuchtetem Sand zugedeckt *(thare-)*. Zum Schluß faßt ein Mann das Fell am Schwanz-, ein anderer am Kopfende, Frauen und Kinder an den Seiten und zerren und dehnen es glatt.

An der Sonne endgültig getrocknet, ist dann das Fell dauernd weich, regenfest und auf der Innenseite schön rotbraun gefärbt.

b) Die Gebrauchsgegenstände, die aus gegerbten Fellen hergestellt werden, sind:

α) Bodenfelle, *ngoro-n*. Sie sind die Teppiche der Hütte. Junge Rinder, Ziegen, Schafe, Springböcke und Ducker liefern das Material. Ein Einzelfell dieser Art wird *ngoro-s* genannt. *ngoro-b* ist die große Decke, die aus etwa sechs zugeschnittenen und mit Sehnenstreifen zusammengenähten Bodenfellen besteht.

β) Felldecken, „Kompenser", *nro-mti*, aus Schaf-, Schakal-, Löffelhund-, Klippdachs- oder Luchsfellen hergestellt, als Pelzumhang oder „Kaross", ein bequemes, schönes und warmes Kleidungsstück der Frauen (s. Tafel X); heute ist es fast vollständig durch europäische Kleidung verdrängt.

γ) Der Vorschurz*) *(ngoro-b, : Terz anzigend)* der Knaben ist ein Fellsatz, der aus jedem beliebigen schwachen Fell geschnitten wird; Ziegen-, Klippdachs- und Schakalfelle werden am häufigsten verwandt (s. Tafel XI). Das Fell ist an einem starken Lederriemen, *°nkyo-ngoro*, befestigt, der den Körper halb umfaßt und häufig ein Zick-zackornament erhält. Die Bezeichnung dieses Ornaments, *°nkyomthoti*, drückt aus, daß ein ähnlich schwarz-weißes Muster um die Mündung des hölzernen Milchbehälters eingebrannt wird.

δ) Der Hinterschurz *(ngoro)* der Mädchen (als weibliches Kleidungsstück auch speziell noch als *ngoro-khoi* bezeichnet) wird ausschließlich von Schaffell gefertigt, am liebsten von einem braun-weiß oder schwarz-weiß gescheckten. Mit einem messerartigen Instrument werden die Haare bis auf einen schmalen Rand und breite Ecken ausgestoßen. Der bunte Fellsaum hebt sich gut vom rotbraunen Leder ab. Der Hinterschurz deckt Gesäß und Schenkel bis zu den Knieen. Nach diesem Kleidungsstück wird die Fledermaus *se-ntsingo-khoi* benannt, da die Flughaut dem hängenden Tier so anliegt wie einer Frau der Hinterschurz.

ε) Alle Pelzmützen, *ngohoti*, die ich sah, waren aus dem Rückenfell des Erdwolfs gemacht. Der Rückenkamm des Tieres bildet auch auf der Mütze einen Längskamm langer Borstenhaare (s. Namib-Buschmänner, S. 99).

*) Vor- und Hinterschurz werden im Buschen „Bruchkarree" genannt.

[p234a]

ζ) Von kleinen Täschchen ist der sogenannte Schelmsack, *ǂkûnǂkûs*, zu nennen. Er trägt seinen Namen daher, daß er zur Aufbewahrung kleiner entwendeter oder einem anderen vorenthaltener Gegenstände dient. Der hier abgebildete ist aus dem Fell des Erdmännchens *(Cynictis)* hergestellt.

η) Ein Netzbeutel wird aus Gemsbock-Fellstreifen geknüpft.

2. Das Anfaulenlassen, *ǂûi*.

Das frische Fell wird fest zusammengeknüllt und in ein gegerbtes Fell eingewickelt, der Sonne ausgesetzt, nachts in die Nähe des Feuers gelegt, um die Fäulnis zu befördern. Ochsenfelle graben sie auch in den Erdboden der Hütte ein, knietief neben die Feuerstelle. Nach 3—4 Tagen stinkt das Fell und die Haare lassen sich leicht ausziehen. Das enthärte Fell wird zusammengerollt, ein Mann stellt sich mit beiden Füßen darauf und bearbeitet es von oben und unten und von der Seite her mit Fußtritten, bis es weich und fast trocken ist. Dann wird die Fleischseite mit Fett eingerieben.

Mütze aus dem Rückenfell des Erdwolfs. $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

ǂkûnǂkûs. $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

Auf diese Weise werden alle Felle vorbereitet, die zu Riemen geschnitten werden sollen. Die ganze Ochsenhaut oder die einer Oryx-Antilope wird in immer engeren Spiralen vom Rande her in einen großen Streifen aufgeschnitten *(ǂkarî-*, verb.). Die Weiterbehandlung ist verschieden, je nachdem es sich um Pack- oder um Ochsenriemen handelt.

a) Der Packriemen, *gurybûb*, muß glatt sein, damit er dem Lastier anliegt und nicht durch Rollen scheuert; er wird deshalb im Gegensatz zum Ochsenriemen nicht gedreht. Der unregelmäßigen Außenkontur des

Nordwand aus Fellstreifen geflochten. ¼ nat. Gr.

Felles entsprechend ist der Rahmreifen vielfach geknickt und mit ausspringenden Ecken besetzt. Es fordert einen vollen Tag Arbeit, ehe alle Unebenheiten weggeschnitten und die Verdrehungen glatt gedehnt sind. Der fertige Riemen ist ca. $2^1/_2$ cm breit. Die Abfälle werden zu Spannsenseln oder Nasenriemen (für den Reitochsen) verarbeitet.

Drehen des Ochsenriemens.

b) Zur Herstellung von Ochsenriemen (Stärkeriemen zum Festmachen der Ochsen) wird der naß aus dem sinkenden Fell geschnittene Spiralstreifen an einem genügend ausgreifenden Ast eines starken Baumes, in der Weise wie sie die Figur zeigt, aufgehängt und beschwert. Ein schenkelstarkes, knieförmig gebogenes Holz ist mit Riemen an einem schweren großen Stein befestigt. Zwischen Holz und Stein steckt der Drehstock; an ihm geht der Mann wie ein Esel in der Mühle im Kreis herum bis die lang herunter und hier nebeneinander hängenden Hautstreifen sich zu einem fest gedrehten Tau verkürzt haben. Dann zieht der Mann den Stock heraus, läßt das übergedrehte Tau zurückschnurren und dreht es in entgegengesetzter Richtung von neuem auf. Von Zeit zu Zeit wird das

Tau eingefettet. 4—5 Tage wird diese Arbeit fortgesetzt, dann ist der Riemen rund, fest und geschmeidig. Er wird dann in einzelne Ochsenriemen zerteilt. Ob diese Art der Lederbearbeitung dem Hottentotten ursprünglich eigen war oder ob er sie entlehnte, erscheint unsicher. Buren sowohl als Betschuanen (in Kanya) sah ich in der geschilderten Weise sich Ochsenriemen herstellen.

c) Schuhsohlriemen, *ǂ-gu*, werden mit Vorliebe aus den Fellen der Rapidorcasantilope hergestellt, Peitschen, sonstige, wohl nach dem Vorgang der Buren aus Ziegenleder geflochten. Das beste Material für den Vorschlag liefert der Kudubull; der echte Schambok, *ǂuiba-b*, wird aus Nilpferdhaut geschnitten.

Vorschurz der Mädchen. ⅛ nat. Gr.

d) Frauen und Mädchen verfertigen sich ihren Vorschurz (hier speziell *to-ǂab* genannt) folgendermaßen:

Aus einer enthärteten Schaf- oder Ziegenhaut wird ein rechteckiges Stück ausgeschnitten und von einer der Längsseiten (vom späteren Unterrand aus) in tief einschneidende, ca. 1 mm breite Streifen zerschlitzt. An der gegenüber liegenden Längsseite bleibt ein ca. 15 cm breiter Rand erhalten, der späteren Oberrand des Schurzes. Das so zusammengeschnittene Fellstück wird in 3 Lagen gefaltet, so daß das Streifengehänge dicht genug wird, um die Blöße zu verdecken. Der Oberrand wird um-

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*) Man hat das Wort *to-ǂab*, Vorschurz der Frauen, an verschiedenen Wortformen verdächtigen wollen: der Vorschurz sag — sexuelle sun sunt sexus — gelegentlich sexus; demzufolge hat Dickens*) das Wort von der Bezeichnung für „vagina" abgeleitet und mit „Trieb" übersetzt. Das ist sprachlich unmöglich, da vagina nicht *ǂab*, sondern *ǂabi* heißt. Krönlein*) bringt, offenbar an das Streifengehänge anknüpfend, das Wort mit der Bezeichnung für „schlitzen" in Zusammenhang. Aber den gleichbedeutenden Eigennamen der Haut zu Halbwerken wird *ǂabi* (= Torn-ung) gegenüber, in Tonalismus, Wortzeichen und Lage den Schön-Akzenten verschieden von der Bezeichnung für den Vorschurz. Es handelt sich hier meiner Auffassung nach um drei Worte, die sich nicht verwechseln dürfen können: drei Schnure mit gleicher Konsonantenfolge, jedes phonetisch und begrifflich selbständig.

geknickt und durch den Knick das Aufhängeband gezogen, ein 1 cm breiter rechts und links noch festgenähter Lederstreifen, *ñâ-ab*, der um die Hüften geschlungen und hinten geknüpft wird.

e) Der Sparsack, *ma-mabbi*, nimmt alle später vielleicht noch brauchbaren Abfälle des Haushalts auf. Da sind ein paar Kaffeebohnen liegen geblieben, dort liegen Kürbiskerne, hier ein Streifen Leder, dort hat jemand ein Stück Tabak fallen lassen, — alles derartige wird in den breiten Sack gesteckt, der mit zwei Riemen seiner Oberecken an Stützpfählen der Hütte hängt. Zu seiner Herstellung werden zwei Ziegen- oder Klippbockfelle mit ihren Rändern aneinandergepaßt und mit Sehnensträhnen rundum zugenäht, bis auf eine Stelle in der Mitte einer der Längsseiten. Die hier freigelassene Öffnung ist gerade groß genug, eine Hand einzulassen. In Zeiten der Not wird in den Sack gegriffen, er ist die letzte Zuflucht: eine Hand voll Kaffee und einige Pfeifen Tabak sind sicher aus dem Trödelkram, der sich hier angesammelt hat, noch zusammenzurauchen.

f) Eine sonderbare Sparbüchse für Tabak ist bei armen Hottentotten das Kopfkissen, *ekye-ôb*. Aus zwei Ziegen-, Schaf-, Klippspringer- oder Steinbockfellen wird ein Paar gleichgroßer Quadratstücke geschnitten, an drei Seiten zugenäht, die so entstandene Tasche mit Klippspringer- oder Ochsenhaaren oder Federn vollgepfropft und dann geschlossen. Will sich jemand für schlechte Zeiten Tabak sparen, so verkleinert er ihn, öffnet das Kopfkissen an einer Naht, streut die Krümel zwischen die Kissenfüllung *(ikyubi)* und näht zu. Auf diese Weise schützt er sich vor eigener Nascherei: Es muß schon harte Notzeit sein, ehe er sich entschließt, das Kissen aufzutrennen, um aus einem Haufen Haare einen Fingerhut voll Tabakstaub sich zusammenzulesen.

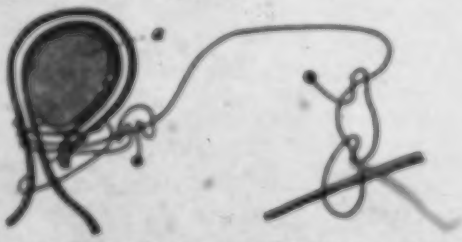
β. Das Frischtrocknen.

α) Was vom Rückenfell einer Oryx-Antilope oder einem Rinde für Sohlenleder bestimmt ist, wird frisch abgezogen, in lange rechteckige Stücke zerschnitten *(ikye-ni*, verb.) und hart getrocknet. Die steifen Platten werden auf ein Lager von frischem Kuhmist gelegt und mit Kuhmist zugedeckt oder in feuchten Sand gegraben, bis sie sich erweicht haben. Dann rollt man sie, schlägt sie mit Holz geschmeidig, feuchtet sie in nassem Sand schwach nach, schneidet sie zu und verwendet sie ohne weiteres. Die Haarseite des Fells wird zur Außenfläche der Schuhsohle *(khaibe-b*, auch *-m Sehuh)*. Es ist anzunehmen, daß nicht der hier abgebildete, jetzt von Hottno-

ottos viel getragene Schuh, sondern die Sandale, *ikyabo-s*, die ursprüngliche Fußbekleidung war.

b) Zu einem großen Wassersack, *gurbo-b*, wird die Haut einer Ziege, eines kleinen Kalbes, Oryx-Kalbes oder eines Steenbocks verarbeitet: das linke Vorderbein eines frisch erlegten Steenbocks wird längs geschlitzt und der Schnitt bis zur vorderen Schultergegend verlängert. Aus dieser Öffnung wird der ganze Körper aus dem Fell geschält; Kopf und Beine werden abgeschnitten und, ebenso wie die Schulteröffnung, der After und Blase- oder Schußwunden zugenäht; das Fell des rechten Vorderbeines dient als Ein- und Ausgußröhre und erhält einen leicht aufzuknotenden Steinverschluß. Das frisch abgezogene Fell wird umgekrempelt, die Fleischseite von allen Fleisch- und Fettteilchen gesäubert und dann getrocknet. Die Haare bleiben und kleiden die Innenseite des Sackes aus.

Frauenschuh. 1/4 nat. Gr.



Schemenhaft der Mündung des Fellwassersacks.

Der Mündungsschlauch wird umgebogen, in den Knick ein Stein (*a*) gebunden und der Schlauch zweimal um Stein, fest auf sich selbst zusammengeschnürt. Die Enden beschweren Anfang und Ende des Schnürbandes (rechts um die Fußknöchel, links um einen Finger, gebunden).

Frischer und kühler bleibt das Wasser in Säcken aus Tiermägen, wie sie sich die Kaffernhottentotten z. B. aus dem Magen der antarktischen Pelzrobbe herstellen.

Diagonaler Querschnitt einer Öffnung mit einer Flechtart und Schnürung. Die Richtschnüre wird in der Richtung der Pfeile durch Löcher gezogen, die im Umkreis der verschließbaren Stelle gemacht sind. Um diese Öffnung als feinen Hals wird die Pelzhaut in konzentrischen Schlingenführung geschnürt.

4. Gemischte Behandlung.

a) Für die Kaapstecke, *skoe*, meinen Ziege, Kalb, Oryxkalb, Steenbock, Springbock, Klippspringer und Ducker ihr Fell lassen. Dem Tier wird

der Kopf abgeschnitten, dann von einem bogenförmigen Schnitt aus, der längs den Hinterläufen und quer über die Dammgegend geht, das Fell mit der Faust losgestoßen und umgestülpt vom Leib gezogen. Das Fell lassen sie nun zunächst in der oben angegebenen Weise anfaulen. Ist es dann

Wanderknappsack, aus einem Bockfell hergestellt. 1/4 nat. Gr.

enthärt und trocken, so wird es gegerbt wie unter 1. beschrieben. Im fertigen Sack ist die ehemalige Haarseite nach innen gekehrt, dem Sackgrund entspricht das Kopfende des Tieres.

Kleiner Handknappsack, aus dem Fell eines Ziegenlammes hergestellt. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Die größeren Knappsäcke dienen zur Aufbewahrung alle Gegenstände, die man bei einer Fußwanderung benötigt, entsprechen also unserem Rucksack. Kleinere Säckchen dienen als Pompadour, den Frauen für ihre Buchukräuter, den Männern (zuweilen auch Frauen) als Pfeifentabak-, Zunder- und Feuerstein

dose; der beiden letzteren Gegenstände wegen heißt dieser männliche Pompadour *doro ǂhōīs**).

b) Das Oberleder wird aus der Bauchhaut der Oryx-Antilope geschnitten oder von der Kuh und jungen Rindern, im Notfall von dem frischen Fell alter Tiere genommen. Die Bearbeitung entspricht der des Knappsackleders.

Doro ǂhōīs. ca. 1/4 nat. Gr.

c) Aus Ziegen-, Steenbock- oder Klippspringerfellen schneidet sich der halbwüchsige Hottentott seinen Hinterschurz (s. Tafel XI). Zuweilen hängen vom Unterrand des Schurzes drei lange, 4 cm breite Riemen bis auf den Boden herunter, ein Schmuck in ihren Augen, wenn sie im Winde flattern.

C. Seilerei.

Der Bau der Hütte und das Anfertigen der Fell- und Leder-Gebrauchsgegenstände *(sa-ran* genannt, soweit sie als Decken oder Kleider direkt dem Körper zugute kommen*)* erfordert Stricke und Garn. Die Sehnen der erlegten oder geschlachteten Tiere liefern das beste Garn zum Aneinanderstücken der Felle; zum Mattenstechen wird nicht Sehnengarn, *saba-b*, sondern Baststrick, *tsa-rib*, gebraucht.

Das beste Material für die Herstellung von Stricken liefert die *Acacia horrida Willd.* Die frisch gekappten, von Seitenzweigen und Dornen befreiten Äste werden kurz durch die heiße Asche der Feuerstelle gezogen, die Rinde dann an einem Ende des Zweiges durch Klopfen vollends vom Holz gelockert, mit den Nägeln gelöst und in Streifen abgezogen.

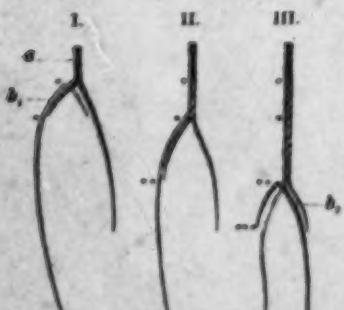
Das weitere ist Frauenarbeit. Die Borke, *soro-b*, die darunter liegende rote Rindenschicht, **hmib* (wohl entlehnt), wird nicht zur Strickherstellung benutzt. Nur die innerste weiße Schicht, die sich leicht abschlitzen läßt, ist brauchbar. An dieser weißen Fasermasse, *idib*, wird wieder die nasse, dem

*) Die Zunderdose, die dem Hottentotten von den Weißen verkauft wird, wird mit demselben Wortstamm *ǂhōīs* bezeichnet, der „Zucker" bedeutet. Das ist ein Überbleibsel aus der Zeit, da das ursprüngliche, längst verschwundene Feuerzeug der Hottentotten noch Bekanntschaft war, wie sie den Buschmann noch heute zum Feuermachen dienen (s. Kälteart).

Holz unmittelbar anliegende, von der äußeren zäheren, nicht nassen Schicht getrennt. Die Fasern werden zum Trocknen aufgehängt, später in lauwarmer Milch (im Notfall Wasser) wieder aufgeweicht, klumpenweise in den Mund genommen, ausgesaugt und zerkaut. Jetzt sind die Fasern genügend vorbereitet, um zu Stricken gedreht zu werden.

Die folgende Arbeit nehmen die Frauen nur ungern, zuweilen überhaupt nicht in Gegenwart junger Männer vor. Seitwärts auf dem Boden sitzend entblößen sie bis fast zur Hüfte einen der Oberschenkel; dessen Fläche dient ihnen als Unterlage bei der Arbeit: Zwei Bastfasern werden quer über den Schenkel ausgestreckt, zwischen den Fingern der linken Hand gehalten und mit der Fläche der rechten fest über die Schenkelhaut gerollt, so daß sie sich um sich selbst drehen. Durch diese erste, kniewärts gerichtete Rollbewegung wird jede der beiden Fasern einzeln zu einem Faden gedreht; das unmittelbar folgende rückwärtige Rollen dreht dann diese beiden Fäden in entgegengesetztem Sinne wieder zu einem einzigen Faden zusammen.

Die Aufgabe, aus Hunderten kurzer Fasern ohne Knüpfen einen zusammenhängenden Strick von vielen Metern Länge herzustellen, lösen sie folgendermaßen:

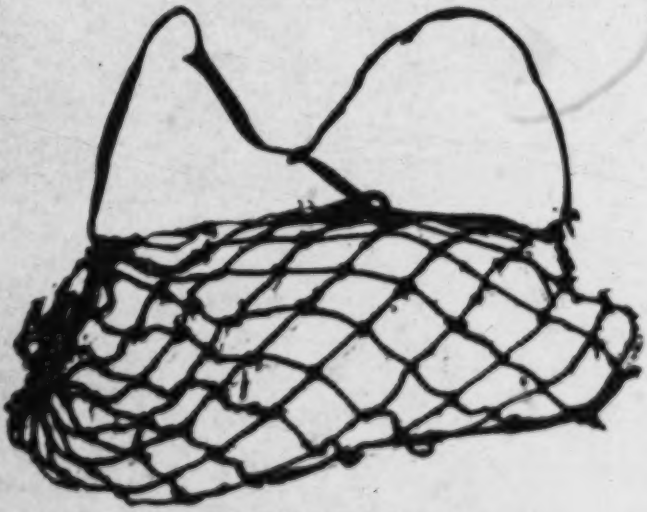


Herstellung langer Schnüre aus kurzen Fäden (Schema).

1. (Siehe Figur I.) Das Ende des Fadens a, der verlängert werden soll, wird gabelig ausgefasert; dem kürzeren Gabelast wird der längere, dem längeren Gabelast der kürzere Schenkel des anzustückenden, gabelig geknickten Bastfadens b_1 angelegt. Der Faden b_1 ist halb so stark als a.

2. (Siehe Figur II.) Jeder Gabelast wird, soweit er aus den zwei lose nebeneinanderliegenden Fasern oder Faden besteht (bis °), durch eine kniewärts gerichtete Rollbewegung zu einem einzigen Faden zusammengedreht. Das rückwärtige Rollen schlingt dann die gedrehten Gabeläste zu einem einzigen Fadenstück zusammen. Der Faden b_1 ist jetzt verankert. Das frei hervorragende Ende des Fadens a wird nun wieder in einen längeren und in einen kürzeren Gabelast ausgefasert; dem letzteren wird das frei vorragende Ende des Fadens b_1 beigegeben.

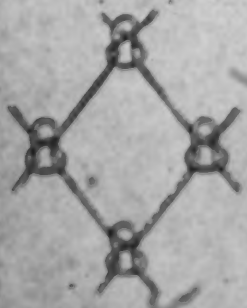
3. (Siehe Figur III.) Eine doppelte Rollbewegung schließt die losen Fäden bis ** zu einem neuen Fadenstück zusammen. An das letzte Endchen des Fadens *a* wird dann der längere Schenkel des Fadens b_2, an das frei vorragende Ende des Fadens b_1 der kürzere Schenkel des Fadens b_2 angelegt und alle diese Teile bis *** zu einem Fadenstück zusammengedreht.



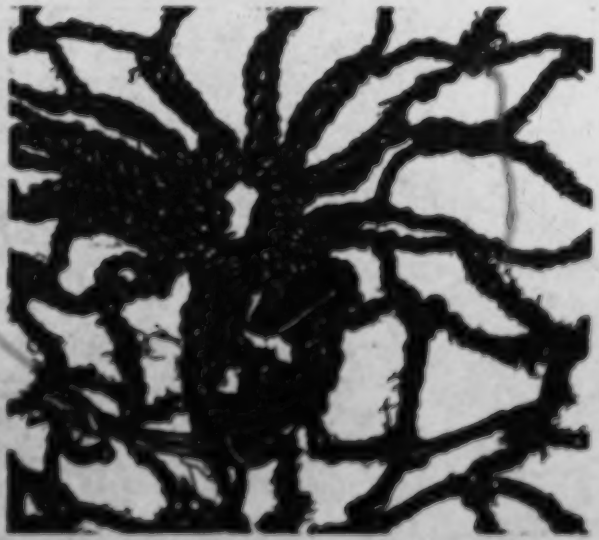
Sehnen-Netzbeutel. $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.

Auf diese Weise schließen sich alle kürzeren Fäden zu einem Strick zusammen, dessen Festigkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig läßt.

Der einzige ausschließlich aus Sehnen



Verschlingung der Sehnenfäden im Netzbeutel.



Verslechtung der Netzmaschen an einem der beiden Enden des Beutels. $^1/_3$ nat. Gr.

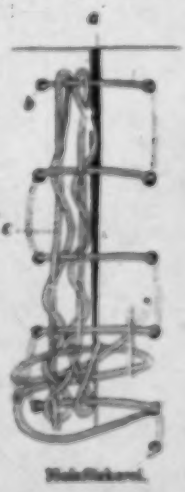
(und zwar am liebsten aus denen der Oryx-Antilope) hergestellte Gebrauchsgegenstand ist ein großer Netzbeutel, *tûti-s*, der in der Hütte als eine Art Beuteltruhe zur Aufbewahrung aller möglichen Dinge, auf der Wanderung als Rucksack für die Schlafdecke dient. Ein ähnlicher Beutel wird auch aus schmalen Gemsbockfellstreifen geknüpft (s. S. 236).

D. Die Holzschnitzerei und Korbflechterei

sollen hier nur des Zusammenhanges wegen kurz genannt werden. Von Holzgeräten hatten wir den Stuhl (S. 181), den Quirl (S. 199), die Wannschüssel (S. 201), den Löffel (S. 206), Stampfbecher (S. 200) und Honigstock (S. 205) zu nennen gehabt. Die hier folgenden Abbildungen sollen zur Vervollständigung die Haupttypen der Holzschüsseln und -Eimer zeigen.

f

Ein sachkundiger Hottentott berichtete mir, daß man die genannten hölzernen Hohlgefäße, die heute meistschon durch europäische Blechwaren verdrängt sind, doch hie und da auch heute noch halb bohrend, halb kratzend mit einem Instrument herstellt, das *°gure-s* genannt wird und aus einer rechtwinkelig gekrümmten Messerschneide an hölzernem Griff besteht. Leider gelang es mir nicht, ein solches Werkzeug zu erhalten.



Bemerkenswert ist die Manier der Hottentotten, Holzgefäße zu flicken. Sprünge und Risse in den Schüsseln und Töpfen werden mit zähen Wurzelfäden geschlossen: Rechts und links neben dem Riß *(a)* wird das Holz durchbohrt und durch die Löcher quer über den Riß der Wurzelfaden *(b)* gezogen, so daß die Querbrücken außen zu liegen kommen und

a

b

c

d

e

f

h

Holzgefäße.
1/5 nat. Gr.
a, d, e: shoëti, gew. Milchbehälter.
b u. *i*: Desgl. mit Wurzelflechtwerk.
c u. *f*: *oashoëti*, Milcheimer, „Halsbambus".
g: *saigulshoës*, „Fuß-Bambus". *h*: *jore-s*, Elfenbeinsaal.

i

dem vielfach verschlungenen Flickfaden *(c)* in der Weise, wie es die Figur zeigt, Anhaltepunkte geben. Es sind nur zwei Parallelen des Längsfadens gezeichnet und alles so auseinander gerückt, daß die Art der Verschlingung zu sehen ist. Bei * ist das Endstück des Querfadens; es wird mit einigen Querschlingen fest verankert. Das ganze Flickwerk wird mit Fett bestrichen; dann sammelt sich nebenbei allmählich genügend Staub in dem Wurzelgeflecht an, daß der Riß verklebt.

Die Korbflechterei tritt, wenn wir vom Mattenstechen absehen, ganz zurück. Außer den Narasieben (s. S. 199) wären hier nur noch die Fischreusen zu nennen, mit denen die Hottentotten im Fischfluß auf Fang ausgehen; sie sind mir nicht zu Gesicht gekommen.

E. Die Ton-, Stein- und Metallarbeit

der Hottentotten ist in den primitivsten Anfängen stehen geblieben.

1. Aus Ton und Sand haben sich die Hottentotten ehedem einfache Töpfe von Urnenform geknetet und gebrannt. Das beweisen die Scherben, die in den alten Schneckenabfallhaufen des südlichen Küstenstrichs vom Kap der guten Hoffnung bis nach Port Nolloth häufig zu finden sind. Heute wird Töpferei nicht mehr geübt. Aber die Vorzeit des Namalandes liegt nicht weit zurück, die erste geschichtliche Urkunde vom Hottentottenvolk ist ja nur wenige Jahrhunderte alt. Es war deshalb nicht aussichtslos, nach einem jener alten Tongefäße, die ich als Vorzeitsreste im Dünensand der Küste bei Port Nolloth vergraben fand, auch in den Hütten der Überlebenden zu suchen. Der einzige Fund, den ich nach vielen vergeblichen Bemühungen zu verzeichnen habe, ist der nebenstehend abgebildete. Das Tongefäß wird *tgoaxûn*, d. h. Lehmtopf, genannt; eine andere Bezeichnung, °*kyoē-kyoēsûn*, war mir insofern von Interesse, als sie den einzigen Fall abgab, in dem mir die alte eigene Stammesbezeichnung der Hottentotten (siehe S. 322) zu Ohren kam.

Gebranntes Tongefäß alter Art. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Während auf der einen Seite europäische Importware die Tongefäße abgelöst hat, sind auf der andern Seite verarmte Namib-Nomaden in ihrem

Kochgerät wieder auf den denkbar tiefsten Kulturzustand zurückgesunken, indem sie statt des Topfes das Brustbein eines Straußes, **ŋǔis* genannt, auf das Feuer setzen.

2. Der Stein, wie ihn die Natur roh bietet, spielt heute im Haushalt der Hottentotten eine untergeordnete Rolle.

Handsteinmühle. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Nur ein Steingerät ist heute wie ehedem unentbehrlich: die Handmühle. Sie besteht aus zwei Steinen, einer dünnen Steinplatte, **ui aib* (stets masc. gen.), als der Unterlage und einem Rundstein*), **uiams* (stets fem. gen.), der geradlinig auf der Platte vor- und rückwärts gerieben und dabei schwach gerollt wird. Auf dieser Mühle werden Wurzeln, Schoten, Kaffeebohnen, Buchukräuter, Schminkfarben, kurzum alles gemahlen, was in Pulverform verwendet wird.

Die drei Kochsteine, *ǀnôiti*, auf denen der Kochtopf im Feuer steht, der Schleifstein, *ikχô-ǂuis*, und der Feuerstein, *ǀnôrns* (bei Keetmanshoop nicht selten), mit dem sie gegen einen Eisengriff Funken an den Zunder (meist morsches Holz) schlagen, sind die letzten rohen Steingeräte, die der Hottentott in Gebrauch hat.

Für Steinbearbeitung ist weder der Sand- oder Kalkstein der Tafel-Landschaften noch der Gneis und Granit des Urgebirges ihrer Heimat geeignet, wohl aber lokal der Serpentin, dessen Vorkommen [49]) bei Kaukaussib und an der Südseite des Brandberges im Kaokoland nachgewiesen und an

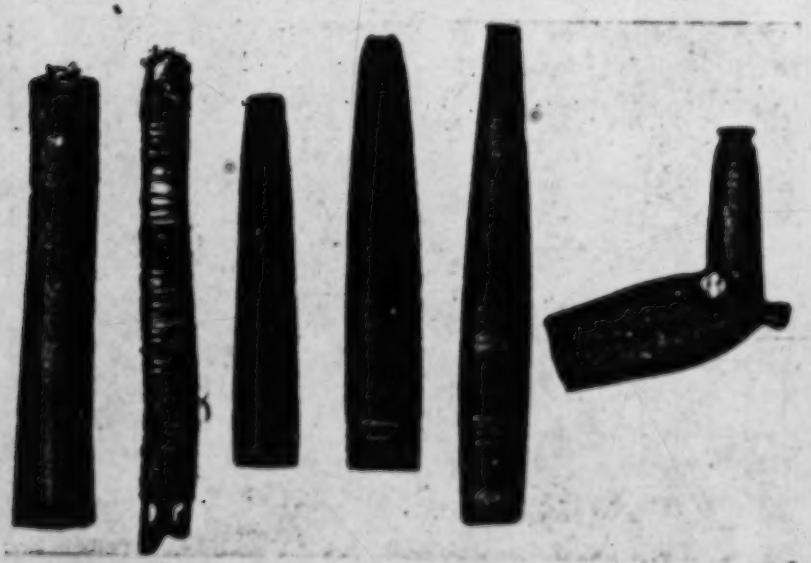
*) Die Geschlechtsendungen der beiden Bezeichnungen sind hervorzuheben, weil ihr Gegensatz in diesem Zusammenhang konstant gewahrt und diese Art Gegenständlichkeit typisch für das Sprachgefühl der Hottentotten ist: Der platte Stein ist stets männlichen Geschlechts, weil er schlaff und schwächlich ist (im Verhältnis zu seiner Masse eine große Oberfläche hat), während der kompakte Rundstein an die gewölbten und gedrungenen Formen des Frauentypus erinnert und daher die weibliche Endung erhält.

In der Umgebung von Kubub liegen nahe beieinander zwei Wasserstellen, **ikχoaxa-b* und **ikχoaxa-ŋ*, jede am Hang einer hohen Urgesteinserhebung. Der eine Berg erhebt sich schlank mit spitzem Gest: Seine Wasserstelle wird ausschließlich und scharf durch die männliche Kasusendung von der anderen Wasserstelle unterschieden, die demselben Namen aber mit weiblicher Endung führt, da sie von mehr gerundeten, sanfteren Kuppen überragt wird.

Wie hier die Kasus, so ist in anderen Fällen die Größe der verglichenen Objekte bei der Wahl der Geschlechtsendung entscheidend: So sind die konventionellen Bezeichnungen für die Frauentypen und für die Hinterbacken des Weibes männlichen Geschlechts, während die entsprechenden Teile des männlichen Körpers, ihrer geringen Entwicklung wegen, die weibliche Endung erhalten.

So ist sich der Hottentott überall auch der sinnlichen Wurzel seiner Gemeinsprache bewußt.

anderen Stellen, die nur den Eingeborenen bekannt sind, zu vermuten ist. Den Serpentin schneidet der Hottentott mit dem Messer zu Pfeifen; als Modell dient ihm dabei die Pfeife, die sich, wo er den weichen Stein nicht hat, am einfachsten aus den Markknochen mittelgroßer Säugetiere herstellen ließ. Diese Knochenpfeife, */hani-b*, ist viel im Gebrauch; der Markraum wird mit einem Grasbüschel dicht genug zugestopft, daß die Asche nicht mit eingesogen wird. Die gewöhnliche Serpentinpfeife, */ui/kχôb*, wird ebenso benutzt. Man würde sie für eine nach europäischem Muster geschnittene



a b c d e f

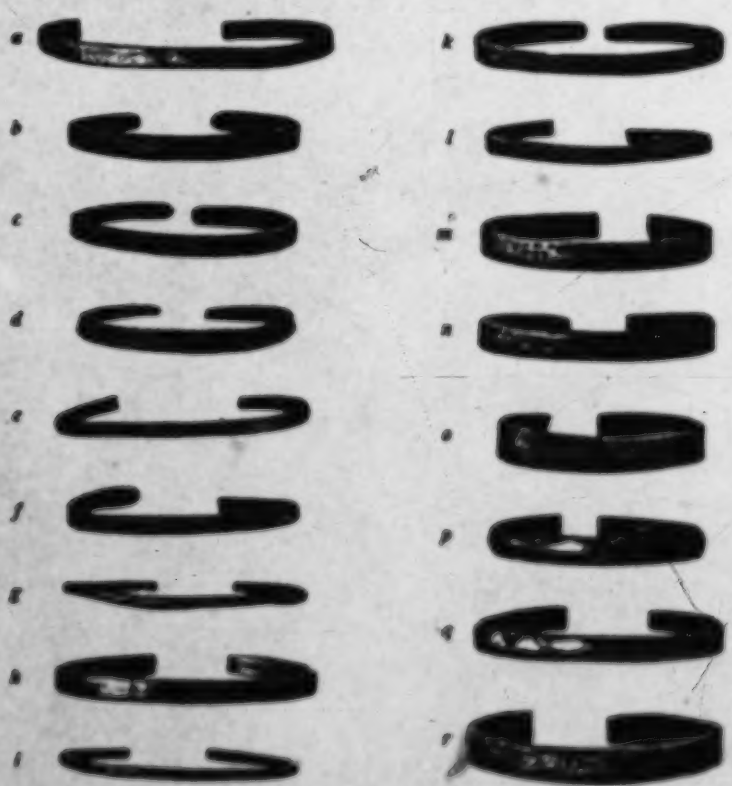
a und *b* Knochen-Tabakpfeifen. *c*—*e* Serpentinpfeifen einheimischen Modells.
f Serpentinpfeife nach europäischem Muster.

Zigarrenspitze halten, wenn der Hottentott überhaupt Zigarren rauchte. Dagegen ist die europäische Stummelpfeife unverkennbar das Modell für die Pfeifenform, die sie */hu-bes* nennen.

3. Ein Metall war dem Hottentotten schon vor seiner Berührung mit europäischer Kultur ein geschätzter Artikel: das Kupfer, das er vermutlich von seinen Bantunachbarn im Norden eintauschte. Mit dem Verschwinden des einheimischen Schmuckes und bei der leichten Gelegenheit, alle technisch nützlichen Metalle vom Weißen zu erhandeln oder zu stehlen, ist das Kupfer jetzt vielfach vom Eisen und Messing verdrängt. Der männliche

Hottentott schneidet jetzt dreierlei Schmuck, je nach dem verfügbaren Material aus Eisen, Messing oder Kupfer, seltener Blei.

Armbänder und Armringe, */gunuti*, tragen Frauen und Mädchen an beiden Armen dicht oberhalb des Handgelenks, zuweilen 10 Stück beisammen. Bei Männern sah ich — wenn überhaupt — dann nur eines am



Armringe. ⅓ nat. Gr.

rechten Handgelenk. Eine einfache Ornamentik wird durch Einkratzungen, Einkerbungen und Einstiche hervorgebracht. Die Muster, stets nur an der Außenseite angebracht, stimmen denen aus unserer Vorgeschichte und sind das einzig Bemerkenswerte an diesen Schmucksachen. Denn weder das Material noch die Instrumente zu seiner Bearbeitung sind den Hottentotten original, sind vielmehr den Werkstätten der Weißen entnommen.

Im einfachsten Fall stellt der Armschmuck einen einfachen, ringförmig umgebogenen, offenen, unverzierten Eisendraht dar, von D-förmigem Querschnitt oder von vierkantiger, außen schwach gewölbter Gestalt. Ein solches glattes, unverziertes Eisenband ist in Fig. *a* abgebildet.

Das in *b* abgebildete vierkantige Messingarmband mit verjüngten Enden ist mit eingehauenen oder eingeschnittenen Querlinien verziert, die von der Mitte des Bandes nach beiden Seiten zu divergieren. Gekreuzt werden diese Linien von unregelmäßigen, den Rändern genähert und parallel verlaufenden Längsrillen. Ein kupfernes Armband *(c)* mit abgerundeten Kanten ist in unsauberer Arbeit mit dichtgestellten, unregelmäßigen Quereinschnitten und Gruppen längsverlaufender Rillen verziert.

Der vierkantige Messingstreif *d* zeigt neben einer plump und unzusammenhängend gezogenen Mittellinie regellos verteilte Einkerbungen an den Rändern. Diese Kerben legen sich auf einer etwas fortgeschritteneren Stufe regelmäßiger so zusammen, daß sie nach einer Mittellinie konvergieren; so in dem schmalen Eisenband *e*, dessen Kerben so tief eingehackt sind, daß das Material sich seitlich aufgewulstet hat und so die Plastik erhöht. Das folgende Eisenband *f* zeigt ein regelmäßig von kleinen glatten Feldern unterbrochenes „Fischgräten"-Muster, wie ich es nach Analogie prähistorischer Ornamentik auf Anregung meines verehrten Kollegen Dr. Eichhorn nenne. Als zusammenhängendes Muster tritt dieses Ornament noch primitiv im dicken, plattgedrückten Kupferdrahtring *g* und im Eisenreifen *h*, endlich am deutlichsten und regelmäßigsten, mit Divergenz der Winkellinien nach den freien Enden zu, im Messingring *i* uns entgegen.

Weit verbreitet, gleich beliebt auf Holzgeräten (eingebrannt) wie auf Schurzgurten (eingeflochten) und auf Serpentinpfeifen (eingekritzt), ist das Zickzackornament auch auf den Armbändern der Hottentotten (eingeschnitten oder eingeschlagen). Bald stellt es eine einfache und fortlaufende Linie *(k)*, bald ein doppeltes bis dreifaches und nicht überall geschlossenes durchgeführtes Liniensystem dar *(l)*. Die beiden zickzackornamentierten vierkantigen Armbänder sind aus Messing geschmiedet.

Nur in messingenen *(m)* und kupfernen *(n)* Armbändern sah ich ein Punktmuster in Gestalt tiefer viereckiger oder runder, in zwei- oder dreireihiger Anordnung stempelförmig eingeschlagener Eindrücke.

Als letztes Ornament sind schraffierte oder karrierte Felder verschiedener Gestalt auf den Armringen zu nennen. Ein bandförmiger, dünner,

vierkantiger Eisenring *(o)* zeigt vier Parallelogrammfelder mit seitenparallelen Karrierlinien. Ein goldig glänzendes Metallband *(p)* von flach-dachförmigem Querschnitt zeigt zwei Reihen mit Kerbschnitten ausgefüllter Dreiecke, die mit der Basis dem Rand aufsitzen, mit den Spitzen auf die Mittelkante stoßen. In der regelmäßigen Schraffur seiner Dreiecksfelder erinnert ein Eisenband *(q)* mit flach D-förmigem Querschnitt auffallend an die prähistorischen „schraffierten Dreiecksmuster". Eine regellose Kombination von Randkerben, Längsrillen und karrierten Dreiecksfeldern zeigt der letzte der hier abgebildeten Armringe *(r)*.

Selten sind Armringe aus spiral um eine Drahtachse gewundenem Messing- oder Eisendraht mit Haken und Öse.

Fingerringe haben keine Eingeborenenbezeichnung. Frauen tragen zuweilen bis 15 Stück am dritten bis fünften Finger beider Hände.

Fingerringe aus Kupfer, Messing und Eisen. $^{2}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.

Ohrringe, *gumß*, sind bei beiden Geschlechtern beliebt. Die Durchbohrung des Ohrläppchens wird an den Kindern beiderlei Geschlechts im Alter von 3—4 Jahren von der Mutter vorgenommen. Das Ohrläppchen wird zunächst zwischen den Fingern eine Zeit lang geknetet und dann mit einer kreisförmig zurecht gebogenen Nadel durchbohrt. Die Blutung wird mit der heißen Asche des Herdfeuers gestillt. Wenn nach einigen Tagen die Heilung vollendet ist, wird die Nadel entfernt und durch den Ohrring ersetzt. Über schwerhafte Schwellung des Ohrläppchens nach der Durchbohrung wurde häufig geklagt.

Eiserne Ohrringe. $^{2}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.

Ein Schmuck, der sich trotz seiner unbequemen Herstellung und seines unscheinbaren Aussehens gegen alles bunten eingeführten Glasperlen hält,

sind Hars-Perlketten. Das gelbe Harz einer *Otkonno*-Art *(h: ǂgûs)* wird mit der kalten Kohle des Herdfeuers verrieben. Dieses Gemisch (ein Pulver) wird mit einem brennenden Holzspahn erwärmt und mit der anderen Hand gleichzeitig geknetet. Die warme Masse wird dann mit der flachen Hand über einer ebenen Unterlage zu Würsten gerollt. Von diesen Würsten werden kleine Stücke abgenommen und über dem daselbst unterhaltenen Feuer zu Pillen gedreht, die Pillen auf ein Holzstäbchen gespießt und nach dem Erhärten auf Schnüre gereiht, häufig mit regelmäßiger Einschaltung einiger bunter Steine oder Glasperlen. Die Perlketten (wie die Pflanze, aus der sie gefertigt werden, genannt) sind oft zu einem dicken Kettenbündel, *ǂgo-ûsi*, vereinigt, das unter Hottentotten guten Handelswert hat: Ein zehnfach weit um den Hals zu schlingendes und auf die Brust fallendes Kettenbündel hat den Wert einer Matte=ziege.

Halskette.
ǂGam und ǂnuro: Aus Harz gedreht. In das Mittelstück Straußeneierschalen geschlagen.

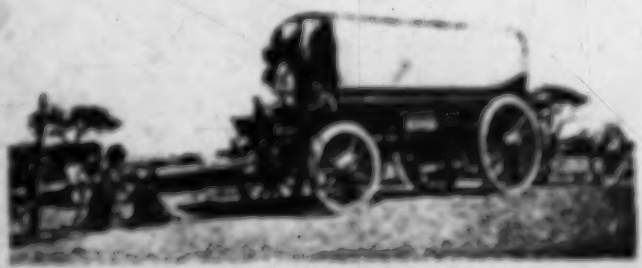
Eingeführte Glasperlen sind beliebt. Die grobperlige Kette wird als *ǂnuro* von der kleinperligen, *ǂgo-rab*, unterschieden. Der Kniebehang, *ǂgo-rakya-ib*, aus dichtgedrängten kleinen Glasperlreihen hergestellt, wird nur noch selten unter dem Fellschurz getragen.

Capitulum III.

Lebensführung

Das Groß-Namaland ist als einer der typischen Trockengebiete Südafrikas so spärlich bewachsen, als daß es der Tierwelt auf beschränktem Raum genügend Futter und Wasser bieten könnte. Die Charaktertiere der südafrikanischen Grassteppe, zugleich für wertvollstes Wild, die Antilopen, müssen daher über weite Strecken schweifen, um sich den dürftigsten Lebensunterhalt zusammenzusuchen. Wie das Raubwild, so folgt der Jäger diesen Herden; und wo der Eingeborene diese unsichere Lebensführung, die ihn heute in Not, morgen in Überfluß läßt, mit dem geregelten Leben eines Hirten vertauscht hat, tritt die Notwendigkeit weiter Wanderungen um so gebieterischer an ihn heran, je zahlreicher sein Vieh *(ges-ab)* ist.

In normalen Regenjahren sind diese Wanderzüge in das Weidefeld *(thabe-, verb.)* nach Zeitpunkt und Ziel durch langjährige Erfahrungen geregelt. In Dürrezeiten ist die Weidesuche schwierigste und dringendste, und mehr Familien als sonst machen sich reisefertig; wie kommen Fälle genug, in denen schließlich der ganze Stamm seine Wohnsitze verläßt. Für eine weite Wanderschaft wird die Hütte abgebrochen und mit Stangen, Matten und dem innern Hausgerät auf Tragochsen gepackt. Der weidewechselnde Hottentott ist im Besitz eines Ochsenwagens, jenes bekannten schweren 10—12-spännigen Gefährts, das der Bur in Südafrika eingeführt hat. Vordem soll der umherwandernde Hottentott aus starken Zweigen ein Lager verfertigt, darauf seine Binsenmatten, Felle und Hausgeräte aufgepackt und davor Ochsen gespannt haben, die das Ganze wie einen Schlitten fortschleiften. Wie der Wagen den Packochsen, so ist das Pferd dem Reiseochsen im Notfalle fast verdrängt. Immerhin sieht man noch Ochsen,



Südafrikanischer Ochsenwagen.

dessen die Nasenscheidewand zum Durchtritt des Zügelriemens, *halsgrick*, durchlöchert ist.

Also wenn möglich barfuss und im Wagen steht der Hottentott im Wichtigkeit. Die halbwüchsigen Kinder haben die Kälber und das Kleinvieh zu weiden, so langsam, daß die Tiere dabei weiden und die Lämmer Schritt halten können. Deshalb pflegen die Kleinviehherden frühmorgens eher als die Alten aufzubrechen. Die Rinder werden auf dem Marsch meist so schnell getrieben, als daß sie gehörig weiden können; dafür werden sie den Nachts im Feld gelassen.

Vor 150 Jahren waren die Hottentotten die reichsten Viehbesitzer des westlichen Südafrika vom Wendekreis bis zum Kap der guten Hoffnung. Van Riebeeck war ein nüchterner Beobachter und schrieb sein Tagebuch nicht zur Unterhaltung des Publikums. Wenn er sagt[*], daß zu Zeiten im Umkreis des Tafelberges das Land mit Vieh wie mit Gras bedeckt war, so dürfen wir ihm glauben. Noch in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts waren vieltausendköpfige Herden von Rindern und Schafen nicht selten. Die Jagd scheint damals mehr von Buschmännern ausgeübt worden zu sein; heute ist sie Teil der Hottentotten auf das Niveau dieser seiner verachteten Feinde und Leibeigenen gesunken. Der Hottentott von heute hat sich, wenn er nicht in den Dienst des Weißen tritt, als Hirt und Jäger zugleich durchzuschlagen.

Hottentotten-Viehherden. ca. 1 Jahr alt.

A. Haustiere und Viehwirtschaft.

1. Das Rind.

Mit der dunklen Frage nach der Herkunft der Hottentotten wird immer auch die verbunden sein, wie sie in den Besitz des Rindes kamen. Wie kam das Volk von indonesischen Südseeinseln der alten Welt in den Besitz dieses

Hausrinds, dessen Ursprung in Asien zu suchen ist? Ägypten wird als das Land angesehen, das in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit die Rinderzucht von Westasien her den Hirtenvölkern Afrikas übermittelt hat. Ein schmaler Landstreifen, der nahe der Ostküste Afrikas vom oberen Nil zum Südkap zieht und mit einzelnen Unterbrechungen von rinderhaltenden Negerstämmen bewohnt wird, bezeichnet vielleicht die Straße, auf der das Rind als Haustier von Norden nach Süden gewandert ist[74, 75].

α) Die Viehraubzüge der Hottentotten in das Gebiet der benachbarten Bantustämme (vor allem der Herero, zum Teil auch der Ovambo), ferner der Austausch ihres Viehes mit dem der Kapkolländer von Süden, der Betschuanen von Osten her, hat den Rinderbestand des Namalandes stark

Hottentottenkuh.
Spannweite der Hörner: 71,5 cm. Höchster Punkt der Stirn bis zum oberen Rand der Schnauze in oberer Nüstenhöhe: 53,5 cm. Vordere Rückenhöhe: 109,5 cm. Hörnerspitze bis Schwanzwurzel: 195 cm.
Als Namaqua-Kuh wird von den Amerikanern noch eine Rasse unterschieden, die sich von der Hottentottenkuh durch kürzeren, dickeren Kopf, kürzere Beine und gedrungeneren Körperbau unterscheiden soll.

durcheinander gemengt, sodaß sich die Rasse nicht mehr klar feststellen läßt, die den Hottentotten ursprünglich, d. h. zur Zeit ihrer Entdeckung, zu eigen war. Den einzigen Anhaltspunkt gibt hier eine von Eingeborenen und Ansiedlern aufrecht gehaltene Überlieferung, die, ohne sich kontrollieren zu lassen, einen gewissen Rindertypus als den im Namaland heimischen, als Abbild den alten Rindes der Hottentotten bezeichnet. Es wird sich aber dabei nur um eine Annäherung an diesen Rind handeln. Zwei solcher Rinder sind hier dargestellt. Ein Kenner der Hausrindrassen wird vielleicht aus einem Vergleich[76] dieser Abbildungen mit denen des „Afrikaner"-, Betschuanen- und Damarrindes das Charakteristische der namaländischen Rasse präzisieren können. Übrigens nennt der Hottentott die

von Europa eingeführten Kühe, deren auffallendster Charakter ihre kleinen Hörner sind.

b) Die Fortpflanzung des südafrikanischen Rindes weist trotz der verschiedenen Rassenmischungen gemeinsame Grundzüge auf. Zur Zeit der besten Weide, d. h. im Herbst, wenn die Sommerregen der sogenannten großen Periode niedergegangen sind, also in unserem Gebiet im März-April, springt der Bulle im allgemeinen am häufigsten und am wirksamsten. Dementsprechend fällt bei der sommerlichen Trächtigkeitsdauer der Kuh die Hauptkalbezeit in den Dezember und Januar. Die Unregelmäßigkeiten im Eintreffen der Regen und deshalb auch im Ausprießen der Weide ver-

„Afrikaner"-Kuh, im ehemaligen Protektorat und Transvaal heimisch, 5 Jahre alt, mit ihrem dritten Kalb.

schieben im einzelnen die Sprungzeit des Bullen und damit den Termin des Kalbens.

Den Zuwachs seiner Herde verfolgt der Hottentott genau an der Lebensgeschichte jeder einzelnen Kuh. Das Alter der Rinder kennt er besser als sein eigenes; er weiß auch von jeder Kuh seiner Herde, ob sie zum erstenmal trächtig ist (*tro-as*, verb.) und zum erstenmal kalbt (*ikyaxa*), oder ob sie zum zweiten und drittenmal trägt (*iqua* und **inna- ikyaxa gwana-a*).

Wenn die Partie dicht unter der Schwanzwurzel der trächtigen Kuh ihre Prallheit verliert und die inneren Teile mit jedem Schritt unter der Haut schlottern, wird das Kalb noch an selbem Tage erwartet. Ein Hirt

hat dann speziell die Kuh zu hüten und Mutter und Kalb sogleich nach Hause zu bringen.

Die Milchsekretion der südafrikanischen Kuh hat im Gegensatz zu der unserer einheimischen Rinder noch ganz die ursprüngliche Form einer Teilerscheinung der Fortpflanzung bewahrt, ist periodisch wie diese und in ihrer Quantität dem Nahrungsbedürfnis des Kalbes angepaßt. Deshalb nennt der Hottentott die Milchkuh *tara-gumm (von tara-, gebären). Ist das Kalb so weit, daß es sich selbst ernähren kann, so hört die Milchsekretion auf, die Kuh „wird trocken", *ti oder ti. Im einzelnen schwankt der Milchertrag der Kuh innerhalb weiter Grenzen. Es gibt eingeborene Kühe, die bei guter Weide bis kurz vor dem nächsten Kalben, wenn auch stets abnehmend, Milch geben. Treten alle die Milchproduktion günstig beeinflussenden Umstände zusammen, dann soll auch die südafrikanische Kuh 10 bis 15 Liter Milch täglich geben können; ca. 4 Liter pro Tag scheint für die „Afrikaner"-Rasse das Mittelmaß zu sein [8]). In trockenen Jahren gibt die Kuh unter Umständen so wenig Milch, daß das Kalb verhungert, von Melken also nicht die Rede ist.

Stirbt das Kalb vor der Zeit oder hat die Kuh ein totes ausgetragenes Kalb geworfen (*kyaxa), gibt sie zunächst mit Ausnahme der Biestmilch (s. unten), die sich leicht abmelken läßt, nur wenig Milch, je ½ bis ¾ Liter früh und abends in der ersten Woche, allmählich gibt sie bei geeigneter Behandlung so viel wie eine Kuh mit lebendem Kalb. Will die kalblose Kuh ihre Milch nicht von sich geben, bläst ihr der Hottentott mit Erbsig Luft in die Schamteile, oder er räuchert sie mit dem Fell des krepierten Kalbes. Jedes Stück Vieh, gleichgültig ob Kuh, Ziege oder Schaf, das ohne Hilfe des Kalbes oder Lammes gemolken wird, heißt ara-a. Die Milchproduktion der südafrikanischen Kuh soll nach dem dritten oder vierten Kalbe am ergiebigsten sein.

c) Während bei den viehhaltenden Bantustämmen lediglich das Melken Geschäft des Mannes ist, melken bei den Hottentotten regelmäßig die Frauen und Mädchen, der Mann nur ausnahmsweise (über die Tageszeit des Melkens siehe Herdenbericht).

Der Kuh werden vor dem Melken die Hinterbeine mit Riemen zusammengebunden, oberhalb der Fußgelenke bei ruhigen, dicht unterhalb der Kniee bei unruhigen Tieren. Stößige werden außerdem mit einem Riemen, der um die Hörner geschlungen wird, an einem Pfahl bei der Hütte oder beim Kraal festgebunden. Die genannten drei Arten der Fesselung werden als *ga-rubi, *ti-bi und *ga-mubi unterschieden.

Steht die Kuh, so wird das Kalb für kurze Zeit zugelassen (die jüngeren länger als die alten), dann kommt die Frau mit dem Holzeimer, jagt das Kalb mit dem Stock vom Euter und melkt. Wo viele Kühe sind, wird in einer Stunde nur einmal gemolken. In anderen Fälle wird das Kalb zum zweitenmal zugelassen. Die Milch, die die Kuh dann gibt, die Nachmilch, *gubâ*, ist nach Aussage der Hottentotten dicker und vielfach auch gelber als die erste, die sie *ai-dâb* oder Vormilch nennen. Die Nachmilch wird deshalb mit Wasser verdünnt. Die Milch, die die Kuh gibt, nachdem das Kalb zum drittenmal angelegt hat, heißt *°hakigubâ*, die vierte Milch *°hakigôrigubâ*; doch wird die Kuh nur selten in dieser Weise bis auf den letzten Tropfen ausgemolken.

Von der gewöhnlichen Nachmilch unterscheidet der Hottentott als *ramidâb* die Milch, die gewonnen wird, wenn die Kuh nach dem ersten Abmelken einige Stunden lang wieder weidet und dann unter Vorlegung des Kalbes von neuem angemolken wird.

Die unmittelbar nach dem Kalben abgemolkene Milch, *ekurigi*, „Biestmilch", gilt als schädlich für das Kalb, weil sie zu harter Masse im Magen gerinne. Um so mehr schätzt sie der Hottentott für sich selbst. Er trinkt sie meist gekocht und mit gewöhnlicher Milch verdünnt. Die Zitzen der Kuh dürfen mit dieser Milch nicht in direkte Berührung kommen, sie werden deshalb mit Spreublatt bedeckt. Hat sich das Euter entzündet, so werden die erkrankten Teile mit einer Salbe aus Fett und dem Sporenpulver eines Pilzes (*°rhizoidâb*, d. h. Hyänenschwanz) bestrichen. Ist die Biestmilch geronnen, so wird sie, nach einem gallgrünlichbraungrünen Busch, *°dydigyorenkarni* genannt; ist sie weiß, heißt sie *°dambarni*.

β) Der Herdenbetrieb eines Viehbesitzers im Groß-Namalande, der aus den oben genannten Gründen sich über weite Strecken ausdehnen muß, wird anderseits durch die Trockenheit, die ihn so weitläufig machte, wieder eingeschränkt. Wasser steht dauernd nur an wenigen Lokalitäten, Menschen und Vieh wohlbekannten Stellen, und beide wissen auch, wo es vorübergehend nach guten Regen zu finden ist. Das sind die gegebenen Sammelpunkte der Zerstreuten.

Volle Wunderbarkeit hat jedoch nur das erwachsene Rind, da es weder Schutz noch Leitung braucht. Die Ochsen, *gumi-gu*, kommen je nach der Jahreszeit alle 1—3, zuweilen erst alle 2—3 Tage zum Wasser und sind hier, wenn sie zur Arbeit gebraucht werden, leicht einzufangen, während sie weiden. In seltenen Fällen müssen sie im Feld getränkt werden.

Der Mann, der diesen Auftrag hat, erkennt in den Spuren, die seinen Weg nach allen Richtungen kreuzen, mit Sicherheit die seiner Herde heraus, und in ihnen sucht er wieder die Spur desjenigen Ochsen, den er fangen will, unaufhaltig. Sinne, die Generationen hindurch geschärft und von Jugend ab geübt sind, dann das Bewußtsein, daß ein Irrtum zu tagelangen, entbehrungsreichen, fruchtlosen Umherschweifen führt, befähigen ihn hier zu Leistungen, in denen ihm kein Weißer gleichkommt.

Damara-Frühstück. Spannvieh der Hirten. (Art. 10.

Die Kühe, gemolken, werden frühmorgens in die Weide getrieben, dann sich selbst überlassen; abends kommen sie aus eigenem Antrieb zur Werft zurück; die milchenden Kühe wissen, daß sie dort ihr Kalb finden, und die übrigen sind gewohnt, mit den Mutterkühen zu gehen. Alte Kühe, die nicht mehr kalben, werden als Schlachtvieh in der Weise gemästet, daß sie den Ochsen zugesellt werden. Die gehen weiter als die alsbaldlich jedesmal trennenden Kühe in die Weide, finden daher besseres Gras und weiden länger, da sie keine Zeit mit dem Hin und Her verlieren. Eine starke, junge Kuh, ojóvo (auch gaurêxhi d. h. Festtag genannt), wird, weil sie

meist wohl gepflegt blühte und glänzendes Fell hat, gern als Schmuck bei der Herde gehalten.

Die Kälber (*thaiba*, so bis zur Entwöhnung genannt) werden des Abends nach dem Saugen von den Kühen abgesondert in den Kraal getrieben. Der Kraal, *khaxa* (↑ Torr. steig.), eine etwa mannshohe Umfriedigung unter freiem Himmel, wird von Hottentotten meist aus gekappten Dornästchen, seltener aus Steinen und Lehm hergestellt. Die Mutterkühe lagern frei in der Nähe; früh werden die Kälber wieder zu den Müttern gelassen, darauf in anderer Richtung als diese ins Feld getrieben, wo sie bis zum Abend unter ständiger Aufsicht eines Hirten bleiben. Nur wenn ein Kalb ernstlich abmagert, wird es der Mutter auf die Weide mitgegeben (*tsaxi, xoeb*).

„Kälberstube" in Jakobsdal.

Eine Zucht im Sinne einer Auswahl bestimmter Tiere oder einer Regelung der zeitlichen und örtlichen Verhältnisse bei der Fortpflanzung kennt der Hottentotte nicht. Der Bulle, *ngôb*, schweift im Feld um Wasser, beim Kraal willig frei über seinen Harem. Während der Regenzeit, von Oktober—November bis Februar—März, folgt er den Kühen auf Schritt und Tritt. Am Anfang der Trockenzeit, wenn er sie alle beigesprungen hat, sondert er sich ab und lebt bis zur Zeit der ersten Regen als Einsiedler im Feld. Nur wenn er dort nicht genügend Wasser findet, kommt er zur Tränke in die Nähe der Werft. Im übrigen „arbeitet" er (*tama*) draußen. Darum und seiner Stimmigkeit wegen wird er "Allgemeingültigkeit genannt; *ôkyamâ* ist die große gültige Gesetzlosenlichkeit (s. S. 130), der man, wie jenem, aus dem Wege geht. Dieser „Weisheit" fällt jedes unklare Reden und jedes ungerechtfertigte

Kalb an, verfolgt gelegentlich auch Menschen; man sieht ihn mit den Hörnern in den Erdboden stoßen.

Ist die Weide im weiteren Umkreis der Ansiedelung schlecht, so wird das Vieh für Wochen oder Monate ins Außenfeld geschickt unter der Aufsicht eines oder mehrerer Hirten, die den Viehposten halten (*khoreza* oder *tgaidisa*).

c) Während der Bulle das ganze Jahr über, zeitweise halb verwildert, ungestört seinen Wegen geht und die Kuh am Melkpfahl sich friedlich überlisten läßt, muß der junge Ochse bewältigt werden, soll er von Nutzen

Hottentottische Ochsenzeugung.
Der Treiber mit der langen Zwinge, der Tauleiter haltend, der Ochsenwärter auf dem Wagen.

sein. So lange der Ochse noch ungebändigt ist, heißt er **ekyangwaxaib*, Jungochse, mag er auch so alt sein.

Der Hottentott, der mit dem Einfangen des jungen ungestümen Ochsen beauftragt ist, bahnt sich schnell einen Weg durch das Viehhaus, in dem das Tier steht, und hält ihm einen Stock mit der quer aufgespaltenen Schlinge einer ca. 10 m langen Fangriemens so zwischen die Beine, daß das erschreckt davonspringende Tier mit einem Fuß, gleichviel welchem, sich fängt; 4—6 Mann halten das andere Ende des Fangriemens fest und warten, bis das Tier sich einigermaßen ausgetobt hat. Dann nähern sich zwei Männer vorsichtig dem Ochsen von hinten, der eine geht rechts, der andere links, einen langen Riemen quer über den Rücken des Ochsen haltend. Wenn der Riemen an die Hörner des Ochsen sich anlegt, geht der eine Mann in

respektvoller Entfernung vorn um das Tier herum, schleift die Schlinge und läßt den anderen Mann sie zuziehen. Während das Tier nun von den Männern am Fangriemen und von dem, der die Hörnerschlinge hält, nach der einen Seite gezogen wird, dreht ein Mann mit so kräftigem Ruck nach der entgegengesetzten Seite den Schwanz im Bogen über den Rücken des Tieres hinweg, daß der Ochse stürzt und dann allen Widerstand aufgibt. Die Herero wollen ebenso verfahren.

Wie die Hottentotten die Tiere kastrieren, *dabí-*, habe ich nicht beobachtet. Erkundigungen bei den Eingeborenen ergaben, daß ehedem reiche Hottentotten die glücklich beendete Arbeit eines Massenkastrierens mit dem Schlachten eines Kalbes feierten. Das Fleisch soll mit den Hoden der kastrierten Tiere zusammen gekocht und verstampft worden sein. Wenn die Hörner des Kalbes kleinfingerlang bis handlang geworden sind, sehen sie den Zeitpunkt für die Kastration gekommen: ein nachträglich noch geschnittener Bulle wird von den übrigen Ochsen als *'kyao-kyao-dabí-b* unterschieden, weil er durch das Hinausschieben des Kastrierens „stark gemacht" worden ist *(kyao-kyao-*, verb.). Er ist in der Tat stärker als die jung geschnittenen Tiere, aber bei weitem nicht so zumlaufend.

Nama-Ochsenschädel, Schädellänge 75 cm.

Wie die dem Reit- und Packochsen *(beide tgu-rub* genannt) schnell und den Zug- oder Trekochsen *(tgulgommab)* an das Joch gewöhnen, konnte ich nicht beobachten.

2. Das Schaf und die Ziege

haben im Laufe des letzten Jahrhunderts ihre Rollen im Herdenbestand der Hottentotten vertauscht. Das Fettschwanzschaf, *gûb*, nach Berichten aus dem Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts[1]) einst in ungeheurer Zahl vorhanden, tritt jetzt hinter der Ziege, *hî(ri)-b*, die ehedem fehlte, zurück.

[p. 2623]

Wie die ursprünglich von den Hottentotten gehaltene Schafrasse entstanden hat, ist nicht mehr anzugeben. Die nebenstehenden Abbildungen zeigen Schafe, wie sie heute von Ansiedlern und Eingeborenen als Nutztiere bezeichnet werden. Dasselbe gilt von der Ziege.

Landschaft.

Ziegen und Schafe werden, wie die Kälber, tagsüber im Feld gehütet und nachts im Kraal untergebracht. Einzelne Ziegen oder kleine Trupps bedürfen keiner Aufsicht; sie gewöhnen sich leicht daran, abends von selbst zurückzukommen. Ernstere Gefahren, die ihnen von wilden der Raubtiere drohen, und Diebstahl, während das Vieh lebt ist. Eine größere Ziegen- erweist als Schutzwehr bedarf aber stets eines Hirten. Ohne ihn (vor Gefahren und Diebstählen abgesehen) beeinträchtigen die Tiere sich gegenseitig beim Weiden oder entfernen sich zu weit. Eine wichtige Aufgabe des Hirten ist es, das Vieh in den heißen Stunden im Schatten eines Baumes oder Felsens zu sammeln, damit es ruht. Das Zusammenkommen des selbständig-handelnden Viehes ist charakteristisch für eine Hirtengesellschaft im Wirtschaftlichen.

Ziegenherde.

Die Lämmer (Ziegen vom Schaf, Kälber vom Ziegen) bleiben, so lange sie noch klein sind, dauernd in einem besonderen Kraal und werden

nur früh und abends zu den Müttern gelassen. Größere Lämmer gehen mit der Herde; um sie zu entwöhnen, werden die Euter der Muttertiere mit Mist eingeschmiert (*°khau-tle*, verb. *khau-rra* sagen).

Der Bockramm (*ŋâgaxa b(i)rûb*, d. h. Hodenbock) sowohl wie der Schaframm (*ŋâib*, d. h. der Stößige)[1]) weidet jederzeit frei mit der Herde. Der erstere aber verläßt zeitweilig die Ziegen, wenn er sie alle gedeckt hat, und sucht sich in eine andere Herde, meist nicht ohne Kampf, Eintritt zu verschaffen.

Die Ziege ist das Hauptmilchtier (¾ bis 1 Liter pro Tag) der ärmeren, d. h. der großen Mehrzahl der Hottentotten. Junge Böckchen werden kastriert, um später als fette Kapaune bei frohen Gelegenheiten geschlachtet zu werden. Da ihr Fleisch im Gegensatz zu dem der ungeschnittenen Böcke zart ist, werden die Kapaune *kaxa-b(i)rûpa* genannt. Das Schaf spielt im Herdenbetrieb der Hottentotten der Menge und der Verwertung nach eine untergeordnete Rolle. Die Milch wird nur gelegentlich, z. B. von den Tieren, die ihr Lamm verloren haben, abgemolken; die Wolle wird nur im Fell verwertet, das Fleisch aber wird dem der Ziege vorgezogen und durch Kastrieren der Widder verfeinert. Das Fett des Schwanzes ist seiner Weichheit (es hat ungefähr die Konsistenz von Gänseschmalz) und seines Wohlgeschmacks wegen mit das begehrteste Stück des Körpers.

Kapaun der Namaqualandrasse.

3. Die Unterscheidung der Individuen in einer Viehherde.

Als guter Hirt kennt der Hottentott natürlich jedes einzelne Tier seiner Besitzes. Da der Jagochse vor dem Buschwagen auf Ausruf antwortet, so gibt ihm auch der Hottentott einen Rufnamen und zwar einen kopfbezeichnenden, wie er ihn von ihnen her gewohnt ist. Nur zwei Fälle be-

gegnetes mir, in denen er dem Rind (Kühen) einen Namen in seiner eigenen Sprache gegeben hatte: *ǂkharu-s* und **gl-aas*. Der letztere Name besagt, daß die Kuh von ihrem jetzigen Besitzer einst im Feld gefunden wurde, als er in Kriegszeiten auf der Flucht war (**gl*).

Viel geeigneter zur Orientierung und Verständigung als Eigennamen ist eine Bezeichnung des einzelnen Stückes nach Farbe und Zeichnung. Wie reichhaltig die Skala ist, deren sich die Hottentotten hier bedienen, zeigt die folgende Liste, die ich in zahlreichen Gesprächen mit Hirten gesammelt habe.

Man ist hier gezwungen, einige Volgtrbezeichnungen etwas zu präzisieren. Gescheckt: wenige, große, unregelmäßige, oft miteinander verbundene Farbenpartien. Gefleckt: zahlreiche, nur mittelgroße, gesonderte Farbenpartien. Gesprenkelt oder getüpfelt: ungezählte, kleine, gesonderte Farbflecken. Von den einfachen Farbenbezeichnungen können wir hier absehen.

a) Ausschließlich für Rinder (wo nicht anderes vermerkt ist) gelten folgende Bezeichnungen:

1. **dzĭ̀nam:* bei beliebiger Gesamtfärbung ist je ein schwarzer Seitenfleck charakteristisch.

2. *ǂhi:* schwarz und weiß gescheckt; (auch für Schaf, Ziege und Hund).

3. *ŋgaxi-:* rotbraun und weiß gescheckt; (auch für Schaf, Ziege und Pferd).

4. **mĭ̀ŋgara-:* schwarz und weiß gesprenkelt, (auch für Schaf, Ziege und Hund). Die Zeichnung von Perlhühnern z. B. wird mit *ŋgara-* charakterisiert (vgl. dem Leoparden).

5. **ra-ŋgara-:* rot und weiß gesprenkelt.

6. **gaĭ̀khani-:* auf die grau-gelbbraune Färbung des Klippdachses verweisend; (auch für Pferd, Ziege und Hund).

7. **ǂarisigaĭ̀gu:* weiß um Maul, Nüstern und Ende des Nasenrückens.

8. *ra-ŋgaĭ̀gu-i:* rote Gesamtfärbung mit weißem Rücken (nicht umgekehrt, wie eine naheliegende, aber dem Sinn zuwiderlaufende Übersetzung vermuten lassen könnte).

9. *mĭ̀ŋgaĭ̀gu:* schwarze Gesamtfärbung mit weißem Rücken.

10. **mĭ̀ŋnaamari:* schwarze Gesamtfärbung, Bauch weiß bis zu den Flanken.

11. **ra-ŋnaamari:* rote Gesamtfärbung, Bauch weiß.

12. °*mkʒnâ*: schwarze Gesamtfärbung, Stirnmitte und Nasenrücken weiß; (auch für Pferd, Ziege und Hund).

Freiheitsdressur der in all. Beziehungen bekannten Schultzeschen

13. °*ŋ-ḥaŋnâ*: rotbraune Gesamtfärbung, im übrigen wie 12.

14. °*ǂhani-nâ*: gelbe Gesamtfärbung mit Blaß, d. h. weißen Streifen auf Stirnmitte und Nasenrücken.

15. *mkʒan*: Gesamtfärbung beliebig, um den Nacken aber einen schwarzen Ring.

16. °*ŋ-ḥaŋan*: wie 15, aber mit rotbraunem Nackenring.

17. °*mkʒkyan*: Gesamtfärbung beliebig, aber mit Weiß an den Hinterbacken, auch für Ziege.

18. °*ǂhani-xgani-*: gelb und weiß gescheckt; auch für Ziege.

19. °*mkʒnaf*: Gesamtfärbung beliebig, nur in der Leistengegend weiß.

b) Ausschließlich für Ziegen gebräuchlich:

20. °*mkʒnâra*: schwarz gefleckt.

21. °*ŋ-ḥaŋâ-ra*: rot gefleckt.

22. °*ǂganyan*: mit schwarzbraunem Band um den Hals.

Im übrigen Pelzwert und Temperament bekannter Freiheitsdressurakt. 3 Jahre alter Rammler.

23. °*ǂkaiga-r*: Oberschenkelinnenseite weiß.

24. °*ǂkyaŋgâ*: mit hellem Rückenstreif wie die Eland-Antilope.

15. *ǂgra-*: (von alten Hottentotten gebraucht) schwarz und weiß gesprenkelt.

c) Ausschließlich für Schafe gebraucht:

16. **ruqnam-*: schwarze Zeichnung um das Maul (das Schwarze fällt am Maul den weißen Schafen ähnlich in die Augen wie die schwarzen Kiefer an einer farblosen Insektenlarve *(ruqnî-ŋ)*.

17. **nuli-* oder *ra-ka-ŋi-b*: mit schwarzen oder rotbraunen Wangen.

18. **ap-rib*, von Kindern im Spott auch **b'(r)ûkûnd-gun* genannt wird ein Schaf oder eine Ziege mit rostfarbenen Stumpfohren.

4 Jahre alter Bastard deutscher einfarbschwarzer Fettschwanzschafe. (Schwarz weiß.)

Eine verfeinerte Liebhaberei der Hottentotten ist es, gleichartig gefärbte Tiere zu sammeln *(ǂgî, verb.)*. Sie benutzen zu diesem Zweck Rinder, Schafe und Ziegen gegeneinander aus. Durch bestimmte Einschnitte oder Ausschneidungen, Durchbohrungen oder durch Kappen der Ohren merkt der Hottentott sein Vieh.

4. Das Pferd

lebt wie das Rind frei im Feld und wird am Wasser leicht eingefangen. Zuweilen, so in den weiten Ebenen der Kalahari, liegt das Pferd so zu verwildern und flieht scheu, wenn es dem Menschen von weitem kommen sieht. Gewöhnen sich die zahmeren Pferde (allein leicht einzufangen) an die Führung eines wilden scheuen Tieres, so ist der Reiter in mißlicher Lage. In einem Fall war das Kinderwärterchen des zahmbleiben Pferdes das einzige Mittel, wieder in den Besitz der übrigen zu kommen.

Mutterstuten werden bevorzugt, und da das Füllen eine leichte Beute des Leoparden ist, steht es meistens im Kraal.

Auf die Manier der Hottentotten, ein Pferd zuzureiten, sei hier nicht eingegangen; denn sie steht an stark unter europäischem Einfluß, als daß sie uns etwas dem Volk eigentümliches kennen lehren könnte.

5. Der Hund

ist neben dem Rind und Schaf ein Hauptstück der Hottentotten von Alters her. Er hält das Raubzeug vom Vieh fern und ist durch Milch leicht an die Herde zu gewöhnen. Auf der Jagd leistet er besonders hinter den kunderartigen Raubtieren ausgezeichnete Dienste; die Oryx-Antilope holt er mit Erfolg. Über das Äußere des Hottentottenhundes vermag ich nichts auszusagen. Meine Bemühungen, ihn auf die Platte zu bekommen, scheiterten, ebenso mehrere Kaufangebote.

Der Hottentott macht das meist scheue Tier durch seinen Geruch an sich zu gewöhnen *(tame, verb.)*. Er schmiert zu diesem Zweck etwas von seinem Achselschweiß dem Tier um die Nasenlöcher oder er trägt ein Stück rohes Fleisch einige Stunden im Fellschurz und füttert es dann dem Hund. Hündinnen, die nicht trächtig werden sollen, brennen sie mit einem heißen Eisen die Schamteile. Die Tiere werden dann so empfindlich gegen Berührung, daß sie jeden Hund abweisen.

6. Die Jagd

der Hottentotten hat seit der Einführung der Feuerwaffen und des Pferdes europäischen Anstrich bekommen. Damit steht sie technisch der Jagd in unserer Heimat gleich, erhebt sich aber hinsichtlich über sie, wenn man unter einem Jäger nicht nur einen Jagdbeflissen, sondern einen Kenner des Wildes und seiner Naturgeschichte versteht. Waidgerecht auch insofern, als er im Wilde nichts wittet, ist der Hottentott schon deshalb, weil er im allgemeinen jede Tätigkeit scheut, die ihm seine und seiner Familie unentbehrliche Bedürfnisse hinzugeht. Die teilweise Geschütz-Ausrüstung der Buren imponiert und einige Sportsmarkskanonen anderer Nationen, der innerhalb kurzer Zeit auf weite Strecken das edelste Wild bis auf das letzte Tier unwiederbringlich zum Opfer gefallen ist, ist ein Schandfleck in der Erlebnisgeschichte Südafrikas. Klimatische Veränderungen und Seuchen haben gleichzeitig die Wildbestände gelichtet.

7. Das Wild[1]).

das der Hottentott heute noch jagt, ist nur ein kümmerlicher Rest des Reichtums seiner alten Jagdgründe. Alles jagdbare Wild wird erbeutet,

[1]) Es soll hier nur eine Aufzählung sein, wie sie bei Interesse der Ausbeutefähigkeit für diese Gebiete wünschenswert erscheint, aber keine Beschreibung der jagdbaren Tiere des Groß-Namalandes

ge-nanis, °*zaharas* oder *zamaras* genannt. Das Gewehr des Hottentottenjägers hat mit Ausnahme des Stoßens und des Zielens nur noch historisches Interesse. Wenn nicht

1. Der Elephant, *Elephas africanus* (Blumenb.), Olifant der Buren, b: *ekyuub*.

Obwohl mit zwei Mannschaften oder länger kein Hottentott mehr in seiner Heimat einen Elephanten gemieden hat, sind mir doch noch einige Erinnerungen aus der Zeit seiner Jagd lebgeblieben. Eine Hauptregel soll es gewesen sein, daß keiner der Jäger in der Nacht vor dem Jagen mit einem Weib Gemeinschaft haben durfte, der Elephant würde mit dem Rüssel auf sie gewiesen und Erde gegen ihn aufgeschaufelt haben. Der Schuldige durfte dann an der Jagd nicht länger teilnehmen.

Die Lage der Zitzen vorn an der Brust und die Gestalt der Vulva wurden die leicht erregbare Sinnlichkeit der Hottentotten. So erzählte mir ein Hottentott in einer Jagdgeschichte, wie zwei Schwäger zusammen und nach erfolgreichem Pirsch der ältere den jüngeren warnt, nicht von hinten an die erlegte Elephantin heranzutreten, wie dieser die Warnung in den Wind schlägt und mit einer unbeschreiblichen Erektion bestraft wird, die ihn lahm *(°ti)* gehen macht und ihn noch heute das Spottgelächter der Zeltvoll diesen Schwachs einträgt. Der Wortlaut der Erzählung war: *kyoi ninukye ga i gye gye nuke ekyuuna. ekya gye ekyuuna gye igun. ob gye guiba ge ti ta: „ti kyun ekyüb ai i°. ti ge ni. yuheb gye ekyuuna ge i ta ekyuun ti nuna ani ta ogüi ta i ge ikyi. ob gye guiba: „kuroi ti ta!" ob gye: „ai'n, gi kuroi!" ti ge ni.*

Heute ist der Elephant aus dem Kernlande für immer verschwunden; in die nördlichen Teile des Hererolandes will er langsam wieder vordringen.

In Südafrika war der Elephant ehedem weit verbreitet. In Transvaal, im Gebiet des Matabelekönigs Mosilikatze fand Kapitän Harris ermüdliche Mengen von Elephanten, in einem Tal allein, friedlich abgrasenden, Hunderte der Riesen. Heute kann ein Jäger das Matabele- und Maschonaland ein Jahr durchstreifen, ohne einen Elephanten zu Gesicht zu bekommen. Kaffraria, Natal und das Zululand, noch im vorigen Jahrhundert von reichen Elephantenherden bevölkert, sind für immer verödet. Im nördlichen Betschuanenland (im Gebiet der Bamangwato) und vor allem im Ondonga des

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auch diese ungefähligsten Methoden gegeben werden. Näheres Beobachtungen über den Lebensweise und über Verbreitung der Tiere nach endgültigen Gesichtspunkten sollen später an anderem Ort Platz finden.

Ngamisees blühte das brutale Geschäft der Elfenbeinjäger. Man hat berechnet, daß der jährliche Verbrauch der Welt an Elfenbein einer jährlich zu stimmden Masse von 100 000 Elephanten entspricht[1]). Südafrika hat seinen Tribut gegeben und ist auf dem Elfenbeinmarkt jetzt bankerott. Nur als Naturdenkmäler werden einige Elephantenrudel in der äußersten Südostecke, im Addo-Busch, in den Knysna- und in der Zitzikammawildnis erhalten bleiben.

2. Vom Rhinoceros, — unentschieden ob *Rh. simus Burch.* oder *Rh. bicornis (L.)*, — Rhenoster, hat sich im Namaland nur eine verschwommene Erinnerung, an den Namen *gaiseb-ô* anknüpfend, erhalten. Der Name der S. 201 erwähnten Pflanze läßt darauf schließen, daß das Rhinoceros einstens im Namalande wohl bekannt war. Noch in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts war das *Rh. bicornis* in der Kapkolonie verbreitet (vgl. S. 168, No. 75). Das letzte soll im Jahre 1849 im Addo-Busch gestanden worden sein.

3. Das echte Quagga, *Equus quagga Gmel.*, ist völlig ausgerottet; nicht einmal sein alter Hottentottenname hat sich sicher erhalten; nur ein einziges Mal wurde hier von einem Eingeborenen auf meine Erkundigung nach dem verschwundenen Zebra, das nur an der vorderen Körperhälfte gestreift ist, der Name *gnu-gub* genannt.

Über die ehemalige Verbreitung des Quaggas in Südafrika haben wir nur wenig brauchbare Angaben. Sicher ist, daß es hier einst in großen Scharen lebte. In der großen Karroo und in den Ebenen der westlichen Kapkolonie, in Griqualand und im Oranjefreistaat war es meist in Gesellschaft des schwarzen Wildebeestes und des Straußes zu finden. Die Buren jagten das Quagga um ihre Hottentotten- und Buschmannsklaven zu füttern und so für Vieh zu sparen. Mit den Hirten handelten sie und rühmen nicht eher ab bis das letzte Quagga vom Erdboden verschwunden war. Das war um 1860 erreicht.

4. Das Zebra, *gnu-rib*, ist den Hottentotten in den beiden Arten bekannt, die wir als *Equus zebra L.* (= *E. montanus Burch.*, Bergzebra) und *E. burchelli Gray* (Steppe Quagga) unterscheiden. Das ausgesprochene Zebra, das er selbst als die kleinere, in den Bergen lebende Art bezeichnet, nennt der Hottentott *°ai-gnu-gnorib*, wahrscheinlich nach der Weißlichkeit (s. S. 130), mit deren Milchsaft er die Tiere an der Tränke vergiftet. Ein anderer Name für *E. zebra* ist *°hâ-gnorib*, d. h. das „schwarz-weiß gestreifte". Diese Bezeichnung, die an sich auf jedes Zebra passen würde, wird als diagnostische Bezeichnung erst durch den Gegensatz verständlich:

Die dunkle Streifung von *E. burchelli*, das die weisse Ebenen bewohnt, erscheint spärlicher als die bei der anderen Art, die weisse Grundfarbe des Körpers leuchtet entsprechend breiter hervor, daher nennen sie diese Art °*n-rigureb* oder das „weisse Zebra".

Das schwer zugängliche Gebirgsland im Westen des Fischflussbeckens und die östlichen Namibfächen im südlichen Gross-gebiet sind die letzten Zufluchtsstätten kleiner Zebratruppe im Groß-Namaland.

Ende der 1890er Jahre war *Equus zebra* in den gebirgigen Teilen der südlichen Kapkolonie noch zu finden. In den Bergen um Kapstadt °) 170 Meilen von Willemoet fiel um diese Zeit den Verfolgungen der Buren

Equus burchelli Gray.

und Eingeborenen eine Zebrastute zum Opfer, mit Annahme eines Hengstes. Vereinsamt, schloß sich das Tier den Pferden einer Farmerei an, die hier frei weideten, folgte ihnen auf allen Wanderungen, folgte ihnen sogar in den Kraal der Farm. Hier verbargen das Zebra, da es selbst das Futter, das ihm von seinen alten Weidegründen gebracht wurde, nicht annahm.

5. Das Nilpferd, *Hippopotamus amphibius L.*, Zorkoe, b: *Kyam* oder °*Kyam*, ehemals in allen Flußläufen des Kapstandes häufig, hat sich in einigen wenigen Exemplaren im Unterlauf des Oranje gehalten.

6. Die Giraffe, *Giraffa capensis (Lesson)*, Kameel, b: *ruuhâ*, wie ihrer Reisebeschreiber übereinstimmend angeben noch um die Wende des 18. und

19. Jahrhunderts im Groß-Namalande zu finden, ist jetzt dort ausgerottet und lebt nur in Sagen weiter.

3. Der Strauß, *Struthio australis L.*, vrut aurib, b: *aunib*, (Abbild. s. bei den Sagen) ist in allen diesen Teilen des Groß-Namalandes anzutreffen, am reichsten in der Übergangszone der Namib zum Hinterland. Ich sah ihn auch südlich des Oranje, im kleinen Bowbawenland.

Seines unvergleichlich scharfen Gesichts wegen kennt ihn der Hottentott auch *ǂgaiba mûti* (von *ǂgaiba* — scharf in die Ferne sehen, *mûti* — Auge). Unter den weiblichen Tieren unterscheidet der eingeborene Jäger eine vereinzelt im Trupp auftretende, leichter abzustreifende, zu Federbildungen geeignete Henne als *ǂâ-ǂes* vom gewöhnlichen Straußenweibchen, das er *ǂkai-ǂgare-s*, „die mit dem kahlen Hinterkopf" nennt, *naiba-b* (= Tier ewig) ist der junge Strauß.

Junge Straußenvögel.

Nächst dem Strauß sind die Trappen, *Eupodotis*-Arten, das auffallendste Vogeltier des Namalandes.

4. Der Löwe, *Felis leo L.*, Leone, b: *gaub*, ist heute auch aus der Namib und den angrenzenden Gebieten, seinen letzten Refugien, verschwunden und nur noch im Nordosten in der Übergangszone des Groß-Namalandes zur Kalahari anzutreffen.

5. Das Kudu, *Strepsiceros capensis (A. Smith)*, b: *gaib*, entführt die Reihe der Antilopen. Groß, stark und dabei von kurzhaarem Ebenmaß der Form gilt das Kudu mit Recht, wie in unseren Wäldern der Hirsch, dem

es auch in der Größe gleicht, als das schönste gehörnte Wild der südafrikanischen Savanne. Auch darin erinnert es an unseren Hirsch, daß nur das Männchen eine Kopfwaffe besitzt; es gibt keine schönere Trophäe als das in schöne Spiralen aufgerollte Gehörn dieses Kuhantilopen.

Die Farbe des Kudus ist ein wundervolles Gelbgrau; gegen 7 schmale weißliche Querstreifen ziehen über den Rücken und über die Keulen. Von der Schwanzwurzel bis zum Hinterhaupt steht in der Mittellinie des Rückens

Foto der I.

die Strähne etwas verlängerter Haare, so kurz, als daß man von Mähne sprechen könnte. Aber ein deutlicher Bart beginnt beim Bullen zwischen den Unterkiefern, schwärzt in der Mittellinie herunterreichend, die Vorderfläche des dunkler grauen Halses und setzt sich seitlich oberhalb der Schultern in eine schwache Halsmähne fort.

Das Kudu liebt dichtes Busch und ist im Innern des Groß-Namalandes auf die gebirgigen Teile beschränkt. Es schwärmt, wenn es den Feind bemerkt. Der nächste Verwandte dieser herrlichen Antilope,

10. das Eland, *Taurotragus oryx (Pall.)*, h: *ãyoms*, ist in seiner ganzen äußeren Erscheinung das Gegenteil des Kudus. Die kurzen, starken Beine mit den plumpen Hufen und die schwerfällige Last des umfangreichen, langgestreckten Körpers zeigen nichts antilopenhaftes. Die weit herunterreichende, dunkle Stirnmähne des Bullen, die stark entwickelte Wamme und die buckelige Erhebung des Rückens über den Schultern erwecken vielmehr die Vorstellung eines Rinderviehes. Der lange dünne Schwanz mit seiner schwarzen Endquaste ist ebenfalls rindähnlich. Das Gehörn besteht beim männlichen Geschlecht aus starken, kurzgedrungenen, beim weiblichen Geschlecht aus schwächeren und etwas längeren, aber schlankeren Zapfen, die schräg nach oben und hinten laufen, mit einem kräftig vortretenden Spiralwulst in der unteren Hälfte. 8—10 dünne weißliche Querstreifen des Rückens, die sich im unteren Teil der Flanken verlieren, erinnern wie das Graugelb der Gesamtfärbung an das Fell des Kudus. Das Eland scheint auf den äußersten Nordosten des Namalandes beschränkt und auch hier selten zu sein.

11. Der „Gemsbock", *Oryx gazella (L.)*, h: *ŋaib*, ist die Antilope der flachen Halbwüsten, das Grenzgebiet der Namib und des Hinterlandes in nur Zeit der besten Weide sein Lieblingsrevier.

Der Gemsbock hat die Größe etwa eines schwachen Hirsches. Nächst dem Springbock zeigt er die abwechslungsreichste Färbung unter den südafrikanischen Antilopen. Die Grundfarbe des Rumpfes und Halses ist ein helles Graubraun, das sich am Spiegel weißlich lichtet. Ein dunkelbrauner Streifen zieht über den Rücken, setzt sich vorn an die kurze Mähne des Rückens, hinten breit auf das Kreuz und in den langen, buschigen, zuweilen tiefschwarz erscheinenden Schwanz fort. Ein gleicher dunkler Streifen zieht vorn von der Kehle die Mittellinie des Halses herunter und gabelt sich zwischen den Vorderläufen. Die Gabeläste ziehen divergierend als breite Längsbänder am Bauch entlang und gehen auf die Keulen über. Das weiße, kalbrunige Feld, das sie auf dem Bauch zwischen sich fassen, setzt sich breit auf die Keulgegend der Hinterläufe fort. Ein breites dunkelbraunes Band endlich umschließt die Oberschenkel der Vorderläufe; die weiße Keul- und Hofgegend wird auf der Streckseite von einem langen, dunkelbraunen Fleck unterbrochen. Die schwarz-braune Zeichnung des Gesichts gleicht einer tief und reich eingeschnittenen Maske, die sich scharf von den freigebogenen, beschmutzweißen Gesichtspartien abhebt.

Junge Gemsböcke mit etwa halblangen, an den Spitzen ungeringelten Stangen, sind gleichmäßig hellbraun gefärbt. Nur das buschige

Schwanzende enthält reichlich schwarzes Haar, und ein dunkler Streifen, der vom Vorderrand des Auges gegen den Mundwinkel hin zieht, deutet (verschwommen über Stirn und Nase) die schwarze Gesichtsfärbung des erwachsenen Tieres an. Der Hottentott nennt ein Oryxkalb bis zu diesem Stadium *ākyo-reb*. Ein älteres Kalb, dessen Gehörn bereits die Länge eines kleinen Armes hat, ist *'nanib*. Endlich unterscheidet der Jäger das ausgewachsene Tier vor der ersten Paarung als *'nāxuadoreb*, d. h. „Schwarzhorn", weil das Gehörn noch frische, dunkle Farbe, noch nicht die graue, abgeschürfte Oberfläche des älteren Tieres zeigt. Den alten, aus der Herde ausgestoßenen Gemsbockbullen nennt der eingeborene Jäger *nanib*.

Antilopa oryx leucoryx Zimmerm. Junger Spießbock ♂.

Das Gehörn (beim Männchen stärker und gedrungener) stellt zwei kräftige, bis 1 m lange, in der unteren Hälfte geringelte Spieße *'dar*, die schwach divergierend in der Ebene der Stirn schräg nach hinten aufsteigen. Der Burenname „Gemsbock", der sich in Südafrika überall eingebürgert hat, zeigt, wie so viele andere Namen, mit welch kindlich verschwommenen Fabelerinnerungen der Bur an die Tierwelt seiner neuen Heimat herantritt.

12. Der Springbock, *Antidorcas euchore* Zimmerm., h: *ǂgûb*, ist in Bau, Zeichnung und Größe das Urbild der zierlichen, leichtfüßigen Gazelle. Er hat die Größe eines starken Rehes. Auf hohen, zarten Läufen ruht der ebenmäßige Rumpf, ein schlanker Hals trägt das Köpfchen mit dem Lyragehörn. Von der unteren Schultergegend zieht ein dunkelbraunes, breites Band schräg aufwärts nach hinten zur Hüfte und grenzt scharf das lichte Gelbbraun des Rückens vom Schneeweiß der Bauchseiten ab. Vorn setzt sich das Rückenbraun auf den Hals und auf die Streckseiten der Vorderläufe fort, hinten zieht es auf die

Außenseite der Keulen über, läßt aber dem ganzen vorderen Hälfte frei. Der Spiegel bleibt ebenfalls weiß, von da schneidet ein scharf gezogener weißer Streifen mitten in den Rücken ein und endet kurz vor der Körpermitte. Das Weiß der Bauchseiten deckt auch die Brust und zieht als schmales Band in der Mittellinie des Halses zur Kehle. Weiß ist auch das Gesicht des Springbocks. Ausdrucksvoll stehen darum die großen dunklen Augen hervor. Ein dunkelbraunes Band, das die Oberlippe mit dem vorderen Augenwinkel verbindet, belebt die Züge; ein Fleck über dem Auge und einer auf der Stirn vervollen, besonders bei jungen Männchen, über den ganzen Nasenrücken fortgesetzt; vollenden die einfache und doch so lebendige Zeichnung des Tierchens.

Der Springbock bewohnt in vielhundert-, zuweilen vieltausendköpfigen Rudeln die offenen Flächen. Seine auffallenden Bewegungen haben ihm den Namen eingetragen. Die Tiere springen so hoch, daß bei aller Geschwindigkeit jeder Bewegung doch ein endlanges Zeitmoment vergeht, ehe sie den Boden wieder berühren. Sie scheinen dann, wenn der Sprung annähernd senkrecht in die Höhe geht, eine Sekunde lang mit allen vier Beinen in der Luft zu stehen. Noch sonniger sind die Bewegungen, wenn die Tiere, plötzlich beunruhigt, wie von unsichtbarer Kraft in die Luft geschnellt, bald nach rechts, bald nach links in unberechenbaren halb Seiten-, halb Verwärtssprüngen ihre Erregung kundgeben. Dann setzen sie in voller Flucht davon. Aber auch dann sieht man sie zuweilen mitten im flüchtigsten Galopp steil in die Höhe springen, kängurnartig über die Büsche setzen. Dabei ist der Rücken gekrümmt, der Kopf gesenkt und der Rückenfächer, ein Bündel schneeweißer, langer, erektiler Haare, leuchtet breit entfaltet auf.

Das Springboklammen wird vom Jäger *tgu-tib* genannt, der aus der Herde ausgestoßene alte Rammen *°tgu-riseb* oder *°tgurimdi*, d. h. „der allein steht".

13. Der Steenbock, *Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg)* h: *ra-ris*, ist ein kleines (ebkitzgroßes), rotbraunes, meist einzeln äsendes Böckchen. Das Männchen ist mit einem geraden, dünnen, glatten, schwarzen, spitzen, stark aufragenden Spießgehörn bewehrt. Auf dem Nasenrücken fällt vielfach ein schwarzer Fleck auf, der bis halbwegs zum Auge zieht. Einen Hottentotten, der sich über die schmutzige Nase Jemandes lustig machen will, hört man deshalb gelegentlich sagen: *„aris kyoma tsi tgaise ti"*, d. h. „Du mit der Nase, die schwarz wie die eines Steenbocks ist".

14. Den Klippspringer (s. Abbild. S. 276), *Oreotragus saltator (Lapurd)*, Klipbok, h: *skyal-b* oder *skyal-ab*, können man die Gemse Südafrikas nennen. Er lebt in kleinen Rudeln ausschließlich in zerklüftetem Bergland. Sicher und graziös klettert er über die zerklüfteten Felsen; ohne Anlauf, nur kurz die hinteren Keine beugend, springt er fast senkrecht um die Höhe des eigenen Körpers die steilen Stufen der verwitterten Granit- und Granitblöcke hinan. So genau weiß er die Entfernungen und den nötigen Kraftaufwand abzumessen, daß er selbst nach kühnem Sprung auf einem kaum handbreiten Grat mit erstaunlicher Sicherheit Fuß faßt. Die Hufe des Tieres laufen nicht, wie die der anderen Antilopen, spitzdreieckig nach vorn zu aus, sondern sind zu scharfkantigen aufgerichteten, kräftigen Zylindern umgebildet. Das Tier steht auf den äußersten Spitzen dieser Hufe wie auf Krücken.

Oreotragus saltator (Thbg.). Groothoek. ♀.

Merkwürdig ist auch das Fell des Klippspringers: Dichte bewegliche Haare bilden eine weiche elastische Decke, die eigentümlich raschelt, wenn die Hand über sie hinwegstreicht. Die Spitzen der meisten Haare sind hellgelblich gefärbt, sie setzen sich scharf von den freiliegenden dunklen Partien der Haarschäfte ab; das Fell, von weitem einförmig graubraun, erweist sich so in der Nähe als lebhaft meliert. Das Männchen trägt ein Gehörn ähnlich dem des Steinbocks.

15. Der Duiker, Ducker, *Cephalophus grimmi (Gray)*, h: *°ño-s* oder auch *°duiño-s* genannt, lebt wie der Steinbock einzeln oder paarweise. Das Männchen, seltener das Weibchen, besitzt ein kurzes, gerades Spießgehörn. Der Duiker duckt sich zu Boden, sobald er einen Feind gewittert hat und kriecht eine Strecke weit fort im Schutze des dichten Gebüsches, das sein Lieblingsaufenthalt ist.

16. Das blaue Wildebeest, *Connochaetes taurinus (Burchell)*, h: *gnū-ab*, gleicht, wie das nahe verwandte, hier abgebildete Gnu, in der äußeren Erscheinung, besonders in der Bildung des Kopfes einschließlich des Gehörns, weit mehr einem kleinen Rind als einer Antilope. Die Grundfärbung des Körpers ist ein bald dunkleres, bald helleres Grau, das auf dem Kreuz und den Beinen in leicht bräunliche Töne übergeht. Der Hals und die Seitenteile des vorderen Rumpfes sind quer gebändert; bald sind es breite, braunschwarze, zusammenhängende, bald schmale, zerrissene Streifen. Der buschige schwarze Schweiß berührt fast die Erde. Eine langhaarige, bald längere, schwarze Mähne zieht vom Hinterkopf bis ungefähr zur Rückenmitte. Hinter dem Mundwinkel sprießt ein bartartiges Haarbüschel hervor, auch der Kehle zu geht es in eine dünne struppige Mähne über, die ein Stück weit auf der vorderen Mittellinie des Halses herunterwächst.

Connochaetes taurinus (Burchell). Junger Klippspringer, ♂.

Ich habe das blaue Wildebeest weder von Angesicht noch in Fährten im Groß-Namaland selbst, sondern nur in der Kalahari gesehen. Ob und wo es im Namalande heute noch zu finden sein mag, kann ich nicht angeben.

17. Das rote Hartebeest, *Bubalis caama (Cuv.)*, h: *ākyama-ǂ*, beschließt die Reihe der Antilopen im groß-namaländischen Jagdrevier; in

[illegible] nördlichen und westlichen Grenzgebieten (Kreuzbreitland, Rosenfeld und Neudegelow) ist es noch zu treffen.

Dicht über den starken Augenbrauenwülsten erhebt sich der turmartige Unterbau des Geweihes; vorn fällt er gewölbig in die Stirn und den stark vorspringenden, steil abwärts gerichteten Nasenrücken ab, hinten steigt er gewölbig in den Hals, der steil in den Schädelturm übergeht. So erhebt sich das Tier ein Hinterkopf ganz zu fehlen: Nacken und Stirnnasenrücken laufen in eine hohe Dreieckspitze aus; auf sie ist dann ein wundersam rückwärts gekrümmtes Geweih aufgesetzt, wenig im männlichen, schlank im weiblichen

Canadischer Elch (Zimmermann). Schwarze Wildform, Bulle.

Geschlecht. Der Rücken steigt sanft nach vorn an und erhebt sich buckelartig über der Schulterpartie. Die Gesamtfärbung des Haarkleides ist ein helles Kastanienbraun, das sich am Kopf und an der Streckseite besonders der Vorderbeine verdunkelt. Ein schwarzbrauner, breiter Streifen zieht über den Nasenrücken bis zur Stirn, und als dunklere vollendgrobe Warzen erheben sich schräg vorn unter den Augen zwei Haarwülste. Sie erheben, ebenso wie die Zeichnung des Kopfes, beim Männchen stärker als beim Weibchen ausgeprägt zu sein.

Der Schwanz ist unterhalten: „*tsuisi gye ôyaris saras !*“ „von seinem Trab (infolge seiner vielen schwanzschlenkernden Bewegungen) ist er so kleinschwänzig geworden“, sang eine Frau in einem Jagdlied vom Hartebeest.

Während die Antilopen in gleicher Weise ihres Fleisches und Leders wegen gejagt werden, gilt die Jagd auf Raubtiere, wo sie nicht einfach als Notwehr aufzufassen ist, ausschließlich dem Fell.

16. Von den Raubtieren den Gerd-Namalaiden ist der Leopard, *Felis pardus L.*, Tiger.fk: *garu-b*, das gefährlichste. Der Hottentott unter-

Bubalis caama (Cuv.) Das rote Hartebeest. *ǂ*

scheidet zwei Arten von Leoparden: die eine, *ǂkurdu-garu-b* genannt, soll kleinflockiger, in der Gesamtfarbe gelber sein als die zweite Art. Da dieser Leopard nicht allein raubt, sondern jedes Stück Vieh im Kraal tötet, dessen er habhaft werden kann, ist er besonders gefürchtet. Er bewohnt das flachere Land und die Täler. Die zweite Art: weniger blutdürstig, dunkler, schlechtweg *garu-b* genannt, wohnt in den Bergen.

Nach dem Jägerglauben der Eingeborenen springt der Leopard, wenn er nicht angegriffen wird, nur den Menschen an, der nach ihm hinsieht,

während er den, der ohne Schamhaft an ihm vorbeigeht, unbehelligt läßt. Will aber der Leopard nicht will (*ākyō* = sich weigern), daß er bemerkt (*khani*) wird (-*kx* Passivendung, -*ni* Adjekt.-Endung, *gye* Hilfszeitwort), nennen ihn die (alten) Hottentotten **khan-khangyenkyō-ā*. Offenbar ebenfalls ein alter Jägername des Leoparden (denn ich hörte ihn nur von betagten Männern) ist **ekkhaā*.

19. Der Gepard, *Cynaelurus guttatus Herm.*, Leipard, h: *ga-rab*, ist, von der Zeichnung seines Felles abgesehen (kleine, runde, ungeordnete, nicht gruppierte, weit auseinanderstehende, schwarze Flecken auf hellem Braungelb), auf den ersten Blick an dem hundeartig-schmächtigen Beinen zu erkennen, die mehr zum Lauf als zum Sprung und Taxusweibling geschaffen sind. Der Rücken erscheint in die Länge gezogen; man kann den Hottentott gelegentlich einen langen Menschen mit den Worten schimpfen hören: „*tarab kyama gaya gūba k*" d. h. „Du mit dem langen Rücken wie ein Gepard". Der Gepard ist ein seltenes Wild im Namaland, gegen die Kolonisation hin wird er häufiger.

20. Die Wildkatze, *Felis caffra Denn.*, Grauwolf, h: *ibbab*, ist die häufigste der kleinen Katzen des Groß-Namalandes. Sie erinnert am meisten an unsere Hauskatze, ist aber stärker und vor allem buschiniger als diese. Der Schwanz läuft schwach buschig aus. Die Grundfärbung ist grau, vermischt mit hellbraunen Tönen, die auf der Bauchseite bis zur Kehle hinauf reiner hervortreten. Die Bengelreife der Vorderbeine und die der Hinterbeine von der Ferse abwärts ist bald mehr, bald weniger zusammenhängend schwarz gefärbt. Die Streif- und Außenseiten der Vorderbeine sind schwarz gefleckt, die der Hinterbeine vom Knie abwärts schwarz quer gebändert. Unregelmäßig ist die reiche, schwarze Bänderung des Schwanzes. Am Bauch sowie an der Innenseite der Glieder und in der Kehlgegend hebt sich das Braungelb rosenlos bis zu reinem Weiß. An der Innenfläche der Vorderbeine treten schwarze Querbänder auf.

21. Der Luchs, *Felis caracal Guldenst.*, Rooikat, h: *ibbib*, ist nicht selten im Groß-Namaland. Die Haarpinsel an den Ohrspitzen lassen das Fell auf den ersten Blick als das einzige erkennen. Der Pelz ist unscheinbar, mit geringen Schattierungen gleichmäßig braunrot gefärbt, nur am Kopf, an Ohren und Oberlippe und auf einem Streifen zwischen innerem Augenwinkel und Nase tritt Schwarz hinzu.

Ob die übrigen im Südafrika bekannten Katzenarten, die sogenannte Tigerkat, *Felis serval Erxleben* und die kleine *Felis nigripes Burchell* im

Groß-Namaland angetroffen wurden, kann ich nicht sagen. Die Hottentotten, mit denen ich jagte, kannten sie nicht. Die erstere soll im nördlichen Namaland*) nicht selten sein, die letztere könnte von Osten aus der Kalahari hereinwechseln.

11. Ein belästigender Wild jagenden Jäger ist eine Viverride, das „Erdmännchen", eine Cynictis-Art, vermutlich *Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.)*, gnui Mouhat, h: *gurrib, in der Flucht einem Wiesel nicht unähnlich. Die Tierchen sind häufig aufrecht vor den Löchern ihrer Kolonie sitzend zu sehen.

Eine verwandte, etwas größere und dunklere Art, der *nadib der Hottentotten, scheint einer *Herpestes*-Art anzugehören.

Ob die Ginsterkatze, *Genetta*, im Groß-Namaland vorkommt, wie ich annehme, konnte ich nicht feststellen. Häufig scheint sie nicht zu sein, obwohl sie im Klein-Namaland, im südlichen Hererolande und in der Kalahari gemein ist, also von Süden, Norden und Osten her in unser Gebiet eindringen könnte.

13. Das Stinktier, *Zorilla striata (Shaw.)*. Stinkt ausnehmend, eine schwarz und weiß gestreifte Mustelide, nennen die Hottentotten *gurumûb*, den Stinker, dem Volksglauben entsprechend, daß das Tierchen in den Stinkdrüsen Jahr und Tag Stinkwasser zur Erde hält.

Aus der Familie der Marder sind noch zwei in ihrer Lebensweise extrem auseinandergehende Vertreter zu nennen, zunächst

14. der Honigdachs, *Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.)*, h: *tha-rebib oder *thaxrebib, ein Verwandter unseres Dachses, mit so dicker Haut ausgerüstet, daß er ungestraft die Bienenstöcke plündern kann. Das Weiß der Rückenmähne kontrastiert scharf mit dem tiefen Braunschwarz des übrigen Körpers. Die weiße Kappe, die den Schädel deckt und seitlich bis fingerbreit über das Auge, median etwas tiefer in die Stirn reicht, setzt sich breit über den Nacken fort und teilt sich in der Schultergegend in zwei Schenkel; die ziehen seitlich divergierend nach hinten und vereinigen sich wieder in der Schwanzwurzel; in der Mittellinie des Rückens gehen sie in ein mähnenartiges, im Gesamteindruck grau erscheinendes Rückenschild über.

15. Eine Fischotter, wahrscheinlich *cf. Lutra capensis Schinz* gelblich, ist auf die größeren Wassertümpel des Großen Fischflusses angewiesen. Die Hottentotten nennen sie wie die Ohrenrobbe der Küste *thurisi*.

Von mittelgroßen Raubtieren liefert die Familie der Hunde dem Jäger die zahlreichsten und besten Pelze. An erster Stelle steht hier

c). der Schabrackenschakal (Abbildung siehe bei den Tafeln). *Canis mesomelas Schreb.*, Fox. b: *gûrûb*, von allen Hottentotten auch häufig *gui-rub* genannt, abgeleitet von **gui* = durcheinanderringen: Die Schakale umzingeln beutelnd ein gefallenes Tier oder den Lagerplatz, an dem sie Fleisch wittern*).

Die lohgelbbraune Farbe seines Pelzes hat ihm auch den Namen Goldschakal eingetragen. Ein breiter, schwarzer, weißmelierter Streifen deckt wie eine lange Schabracke den Rücken vom Nacken bis zur Schwanzwurzel und die oberen Partien der Flanken. Die letzten zwei Drittel der langen schlanken Rute sind schwarz, die Kehle und ein Saum längs der Oberlippe sind weißlich gefärbt.

c). Einer der zierlichsten Schakale Südafrikas ist der Silberschakal, *Vulpes chama (A. Smith)*, b: *Ayamâ-b*. Die dreikantige, wolligweiche Rute ist stärker als der schmächtige Rumpf und kommt ihm an Länge ungefähr gleich. Der Rumpf selbst ist nicht stärker als der eines Kaphasen. Rücken und Nacken, Außenseite der Oberschenkel und der Schwanzwurzel sind silbergrau, mit feiner dunkler Melierung, der übrige Körper gelblichrau, verschieden schattiert. Das breite Ende der Rute ist schwarz, und schwarze Flecken zeichnen sie jedenfalls im ersten Drittel.

Der Jägerglaube sagt, daß, wer den Namen des Silberschakals auf der Jagd nennt, keinen Fang macht. Wer gezwungen ist, von ihm zu sprechen, bezeichnet ihn daher als **ngui-thittima-b*, als den, der *(-b)* nicht *(tima)* gerufen *(gui)* wurden *(-kr* Passivendung) ist.

d). Wie der Silberschakal, so ist auch der Löffelhund, *Otocyon megalotis (Desmar.)*, A-jackal, b: *ûkûb*, ein kleiner, harmloser Bursche, der nie in eine Herde fällt. Sein graubrauner Pelz ist lang und buschig. Der buschige Schwanz ist lang, aber schmächtig, sein Ende schwarzbraun gefärbt.

e). Im Gegensatz zu allen seinen südafrikanischen Familienmitgliedern ist der wilde Hund, *Lycaon pictus (Temm.)*, in höchstem Grade gefährlich. Er hetzt in Rudeln das flüchtigste Wild, bricht in Herden ein und greift selbst den Menschen an.

Der wilde Hund hat nicht die feine, spitze Schnauze des Schakals, auch nicht den breiten Schädel der Hyäne; man würde seinen Kopf viel-

*) Der Ableitung des Wortes von *ngûb* — Fettgeruch und demzufolge der Bezeichnung des Schakals als „Fettgeruch-Nachkömmling" kann ich nicht zustimmen, da die Bezeichnung für Fettgeruch nicht *ngûb* sondern *ngûb* lautet; **ngi-ori* — ein Stück Fett am Stäbchen über der Flamme braten.

mehr für den etwa unserer Hausbunde halten. Sein Fell ist schwarzbraun weiß und hellbraungelb gesleckt. Am Hals sowie über und hinter den Schultern fließt das Gelb zu einigen größeren Flecken zusammen; Gesicht und Kehle sind dunkelgraubraun gefärbt; ein dunkler Streifen zieht meist in der Mittellinie zwischen den Augenbrauen über den Scheitel und setzt sich schmäler werdend über den Nacken fort. Im Verhältnis zum Kopf ist der Rumpf und Hals sehr lang; unwillkürlich vergleichen wir eben das Tier mit einem Hausbund, deshalb erscheinen uns auch die Beine verhältnismäßig lang und stark. Der schwärzliche, schwach buschige Schwanz reicht etwas über die Ferse.

Weil die vordere schwarze Schwanzpartie den Tieren sich wie ein „Maskuart" von der helleren Färbung der benachbarten Teile abhebt, nennen die Hottentotten den wilden Hund *ǂgaub* (von *ǂgaub* — Spitze ringe um den Mund haben haben). Der Name den Tieren darf ebensowenig wie der des Löffelhundes auf der Jagd genannt werden.

30. Daß die **gefleckte Hyäne**, die *Hyaena crocuta* (E. vJ.), Tigerwolf, aus einer Kreuzung von Leopard und Hyäne entsprungen sei, ist bereits Sternglaube. Die dunkelbraunen oder schwarzen Flecken, die über den ganzen schmutzig gelbgrauen, kurzhaarigen Fell (mit Ausnahme des Kopfes und der Halsunterseite) gestreut sind, ferner die Raubgier und Kraft, mit der das Tier das Vieh bekämpft, erinnern in der Tat an den Leoparden. Im übrigen ist das Tier äußerlich sowohl als seinem inneren Bau nach eine echte Hyäne.

31. Die **braune Hyäne**, *Hyaena brunnea* Thunbg., Strandwolf, unterscheidet sich vom Tigerwolf, von dem sie geringere Größe abgesehen, durch die Einförmigkeit ihrer braunen bis grauen Färbung, die nur wenige verschwommene, größere dunkle Flecken aufweist. An den Füßen ist die Zeichnung etwas schärfer; dunkle Querbänder ringeln sich deutlicher um die Vorder- als um die Hinterbeine. Der Pelz ist langhaarig, nur den breiten Schädel mit der plumpen, stumpfen Schnauze deckt kurzhaariges Fell. Der Kopf sieht zuweilen wie aus einer Mähne hervor, denn dicht hinter den spitzen Ohren und den Kinnbacken ist der Pelz besonders dicht und lang.

Wie der Hottentott die beiden eben genannten Hyänen unterscheidet, kann ich aus meinen Aufzeichnungen nicht mit Sicherheit ermitteln. Nur so viel steht fest, daß die allgemeine Bezeichnung für Hyäne, *ǂâi-ǂâi*, weiter spezifiziert wird in **ǂâi-ǂâi-ra* und **ǂâi-ǂâi-roß*. Ich vermute, daß

die weitere Bezeichnung der dunkleren (nisi) = schwarz) *H. brunneus*, die zweite der *H. crocutta* gilt, deren Fleckenzeichnung den Jäger von ebendem an die Giraffe (*tsuidi*) erinnerte. Dem kommt die Konstanz des Geschlechtsunterschiedes beider Namen: Der erste hat stets die weibliche, der zweite stets die männliche Endung; das würde objektiv den Unterschieden in der Kraft und dem Charakter der beiden Tiere, subjektiv ganz dem Spannungsgefühle der Hottentotten entsprechen; doch sei dies nur als Vermutung geäußert.

32. Die Raubtierwelt des Wildes beschließt der *Erdwolf, Proteles cristatus (Sparrm.)*, h: *gûbi*. Dieses kleine Raubtier, ungefähr fuchsgroß, gleicht bei aller Zierlichkeit auffallend einer Hyäne: Der Schädel erscheint breit, der Rücken fällt stark nach hinten ab und geht in einen dunklen buschigen Schwanz über, ähnlich dem des Streifwolfs, aber der Besitz von fünf Zehen an den Vorderbeinen und Eigentümlichkeiten seines Gebisses entfernen das Tier von Hyänen wie von Hunden und räumen ihm eine Sonderstellung als Vertreter einer eigenen Familie ein.

Über den gelblichgrauen Rumpf ziehen 5—6 schwarze Querbänder. Sie ziehen eben in der Mittellinie zu einem schwarzen Längsstreifen, der sich da, wo der Rücken am höchsten ist, zu einem Fleck verbreitert. Die Beine sind ebenfalls quer gestreift. Im Nacken und Rücken sind die Haare länger und starrer, sie bilden hier einen aufrichtbaren Kamm; Stirn und Backen tragen kurzen, silbergrauen Pelz, der sich scharf von dem gleichmäßigen Schwarz des übrigen Gesichts abhebt.

33. Den Antilopen und Raubtieren gegenüber spielen die *Nager* jagdlich eine untergeordnete Rolle. Das Vorurteil, das die Hottentotten früher dem Hasen, *ǂâb*, als Wildpret entgegenbrachten[*], ist jetzt geschwunden. Sie unterscheiden drei Arten: der größte, *Lepus saxatilis Cuv.*, Felshase, Kreilhase, den sie *ǂkye-eib* nennen, gleicht in der Färbung noch am ersten unserm Feldhasen, da ein schwach bräunlicher Ton die Grundfarbe seines schwarzmelierten Pelzes bildet.

Kleiner ist der *Lepus capensis L.*, wilde Hase, h: *ǂkye-ras*. Die jungen Tiere werden ihrer an durchscheinenden Ohren wegen **ǂa-haragu-es* genannt. Ein leichter Grau mit schwach gelblichem Tönen und schwarzer Melierung bildet die Grundfarbe seines etwas rauhen Pelzes.

Während der Felse und der Kapsche Hase ein kleines Schwänzchen haben, das oben schwarze und unten weiße Wolle trägt, ist die letzte Art, *Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr.*, Kliphase, h: *tsaxaro-s* oder *tsaxara-s*, leicht kennt-

sich an der gleichmäßig braunroten Farbe seines dichthaarigen, kräftigen Schwanzes.

24. Der Springhase, *Pedetes caffer* (Pallas), h.: *ge-rub*, ist im südlichen Gemsgebiet häufig. Wer an der dämmernden Tagesdämmerung vergeblich suchte zu sehen, sieht oft im Mondschein den kängeruartigen Tier zwischen dem Spurenmengewirr springen. Die Hinterbeine des Tieres mit ihren stark verlängerten Zehen sind zu kräftigen Sprungbeinen umgestaltet und nur als zwei kurze Ärmchen hängen die Vorderextremitäten dem Körper an. Der Körper ist oben gelblich graubraun, unten weiß gefärbt. Der lange, buschige, oben gelblichbraune Schwanz endet in seinem letzten Drittel schwarz.

25. Das Stachelschwein, *Hystrix africae-australis* (Peters), Sperrok. Zeigt einen schwarzbraunen Braun. Viererlei Haargebilde decken den Körper. Schmiegsame, kräftige Haare sind nur an den Gliedmaßen und auf der Bauchseite zu finden. Dicht hinter dem Ohr beginnen die erst etwa fingerlangen, schwachen, starren Stacheln, die sich über dem Körper noch als dunkelbraunes Pelz anlegen. Nach hinten gehen sie ohne viele Zwischenglieder in die weiß und dunkelbraun quer geränderten bis bleistiftdicken spitzen Stacheln über. Vom Nacken bis zum Anfang der Stachelwehr steht in der Mittellinie des Rückens ein Kamm langer, biegsamer Borsten, der mit den langen Stacheln dahinter aufgerichtet das Tier doppelt so hoch erscheinen läßt als es tatsächlich ist. Die Rasseln am hinteren Körperende vervollständigen die Schreckwaffen des Tiers.

Hystrix africae australis (Peters).

Der Hottentottenname des Stachelschweins, *gnuu-ǂ*, hängt vielleicht mit *nuǂ-* = ergrauen zusammen, im Tonwinkel und dem ausgeprägten Wortanfall können beide Worte übereinstimmen. *gnuu-ǂ* würde dann „Graukopf" bedeuten, ein Gesamteindruck entsprechend, den in der Tat das nächtliche Tier im nächtlichen oder im matten Licht des Sternenhimmels hervorruft.

36. Die mono- und rattenähnlichen Nager werden, wie von den arbeitsamen Bergdamara, so auch von halbwüchsigen Hottentotten gejagt und gegessen. Eine Untersuchung der eingebrachten Felle und Skelette wird zeigen, welchen der rattengroßen Tiere, die sie *ǂhaiǂ* nennen, *daros* (Tarsius spec.) ist eine Sammelnamen für verschiedene Mäusearten. Im Einzelnen unterscheiden sie unter anderem eine Nachtmaus, *ǂhi-gudaros* oder *ǂhi-ǂ*, und eine Art mit langgestrecktem Pelz, *ra-Arvicanthis* gelblich, als *gnuu-ǂ*.

37. Das Erdeichhörnchen, *Xerus capensis Kerr.*, wird *ᵍgu-ǂhi ǂaiǂ* genannt.

38. Das kleinste Huftier, sagenhaftlich im Gebahren, der Klippschliefer, *Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.)*, Dassie, h: *ǂaiǂ*, wandert oft in den Topf des Jägers. Die Jungen werden *ᵍgǂhâgu* genannt. Der Klippschliefer bedeutet in großen Scharen die Felshöhe in der Nähe von Wasserstellen.

39. Zum Schluß sind eine Anzahl Säugetiere zu nennen, denen der Hottentott mehr gelegentlich nachstellt, als daß er sie regelmäßig jagte. Er tötet sich ein Erdferkel, *Orycteropus afer (Pall.)*, h: *ǂgubu-ǂ*, nicht entgehen lassen, wenn er es einmal bei Tag im freien Feld antrifft. Aber der Jäger muß ihm selbst jagen, ehe er sich zu dem unsicheren und bewaffneten Nachtwesen vor der Höhle entschließt (s. Kalahari).

40. Die Jagd auf die Elephantenspitzmaus, *Macroscelides*, h: *hans* Khoin-Namaland *ǂgaurugaiǂ* genannt, ist ein Vergnügen der Knaben, unterscheiden, wie mir scheint mit Recht, zwei Arten: Eine trägt, die leicht einfangen läßt, „Schlafmaus", *"nun-hans*, und die „Klettermaus", *gaiǂ-hans*, die an den Felsen, im Leben rot durchscheinenden Ohren kenntlich ist.

41. Dem Pavian, *Papio porcarius (Bodd.)*, Bavian, h: *ǂaiǂ-ǂnâ*, wie ihn ähnlich Leute nennen, *ǂaiǂ-ǂnâ*, wird von den Hottentotten selber nachgestellt. Der Jäger kennt seine Lebensweise genau, unterscheidet Vorposten der Pavianherde als *ǂkyâ-ǂnâ*, „Späthemann", und das älteste Muttertier als *"ᵍgaro ǂaiǂnâ*, weil es als erstes zum Wasser drängt

(ganze) und keinen anderen der übrigen Hunde wittern läßt, bevor er sich selbst sein Teil geholt hat.

Als Parforcehund betrachtet der Hottentott einen kleinen langbeinigen, dem Affen der Gattung Cercopithecus, der im Busch den Ursprung kommen soll. Sie nennen ihn seiner Farbe wegen *°chai-tsiroab*, d. h. „Fuchspavian", oder *ao-ngyab*, Kobold (von *ao-ro* = Unfug machen).

Papio porcarius (Bodd.). Aus Wallace.

Bekannt ist jedem eingeborenen Jäger die Wut und Heimtückigkeit, mit der die Parforcehunde in corpore den Leoparden, ihren Hauptfeind, angreift und zerreißt.

Die Hirten behaupten übereinstimmend steif und fest, daß der Pavian Ziegen fängt und sich die Milch in den Mund melkt.

2. Die Jagdarten.

Den kleinen Tagesjagdausflug unterscheidet der Hottentott als *gâm* von einem größeren Jagdzug, *ǂkami*,' der mehrere Tage oder Wochen in Anspruch nimmt.

a) Auf der Pürsch zeigt der Hottentott seine Meisterschaft. Nur der Buschmann kann mit ihm in der Kunst konkurrieren, das Wild zu beschleichen (Khyeri, Gquam, etwa). Er achtet dem Wild zunächst auf große Bewegungen und erkennt es trotz aller Schutzfärbungen, die unser ungeübtes Auge täuschen, unfehlbar aus der Nähe. Im Spurenlesen hat er es zu einer Höhe der Sinnesschärfe und der verstandesmäßig kombinierenden Erfahrung gebracht, der gegenüber der Weiße blinde erscheint. Man sehe nur einmal einem Hottentotten einer Antilope folgen, die gewittert hat und krank geschossen abgegangen ist. Wo Schweiß und Fährten fehlen, ist das Spurensuchen Kinderspiel; aber wo wir rathos vor einem Gewirbelt stehen, dessen Kunst dicht gedrängt, einer wie der andere gleich blendend, vor uns liegen, da weiss er auf Einen unter den Hunderten hin: Der dreht kaum merklich eine seiner Unterlippen der Sonne zu, den wird also das flüchtige Tier mit dem Huf angestreift haben, der gibt also einen Fingerzeig nach der Richtung, in der weiter zu suchen ist. Dann nimmt dieser Durchsuch jeden Augenblick, der Boden ist auch so wie bewachsen, als daß er irgend einen Anhalt gäbe. Der Hottentott wandert die umwindenden Bäuche, schwenkt plötzlich ein Paar Schritte vor links und bringt ein Blatt, an dem zwei Grannenhaare hängen: Hier also hat das Tier angestreift; er nimmt die veränderte Richtung auf und mitgen Stunden vergehen, er findet die Stelle, wo das Wild verendet liegt.

Eine unübertreffliche Kenntnis der Lebensweise des Wildes und der Örtlichkeit fördert ihn die Pürsch. Es mag uns nicht waidgerecht erscheinen, aber dem eingeborenen Jäger, dem in der Einöde jede einzelne Patrone einen Wertgegenstand darstellt, ist es das Sicherste, an eine Oryx-Antilope sich anzuschleichen und ruhig zu warten, bis sie auch besonderer Äsung in den Bereich geht, um hier die tödlichen Mittgenommen zu verschießen. Der Hottentott folgt ihr dann lautlos und schießt das schießende Tier aus nächster Nähe nieder.

Der Hund ist für die Raubtierpürsch unentbehrlich.

Unter dem Schutze der Viehherde nähert sich der Hirt dem Steenbock, der arglos mit den Ziegen und Schafen äst, und tötet ihn mit einem sicheren Steinwurf (*tsuuri*), oder er jagt mit seinem Hund den Klippspringer in die Enge. Der Hund leistet auch bei der Pürsch auf die Oryx-Antilope gute Dienste; er stellt sie unter Umständen so fest, daß der Hottentott sie selbst mit dem Assagai, seinem „Wurfmesser", abfangen, erlegen kann. Ein besonders scharfer Hund hatte die Gewohnheit, sich dem

geeignetes Geschoß in die Nieren frei zu treffen, selbst das Tier sich nicht von der Stelle rühren kann. Der Hund ist willkürlich einem verwundeten Geschoß, dem er sich unvorsichtig nähern, zum Opfer gefallen; mit einer kurzen seitlichen Kopfbewegung des Nashorns stößt dies das bereits eingedrungene Tier eine Stange in den Leib.

b) Die Hetzjagd zu Pferd, *chasse*, scheint der Hottentott schon frühzeitig betrieben zu haben, wenn die Mitteilung eines eingeborenen Jägers, daß auf diese Art der Elephant gejagt worden sei, auf Wahrheit beruht. Der Elephant wäre dabei als Verfolger, indem ein Reiter nach dem anderen sich von ihm jagen ließ, so lange antrieb gehetzt worden, bis er zu überwältigen war.

Das Elend soll leichter zu bejagen sein.

Die Hetzjagd auf den Strauß ist ermüdender als die Pirsch, die der enormen Scharfsichtigkeit des Vogels wegen selbst für den Eingeborenen Schwierigkeiten hat.

Eine einzelne Oryx-Antilope ist an sich schon ein schöner Anblick, deshalb doch einen ganzen Hirschen; aber es fehlt jeder Vergleich mit Wild und Landschaft unserer Heimat, wenn man das Glück hat (wie es mir im Mai 1910 südlich von Kubub zu Teil wurde), einige Hunderte, etwa 150 Stück dieses kostbaren Hochwildes beisammenstehen zu sehen, keine Gefahr ahnend, die Köpfe tief im Gras gesenkt, von der Abendsonne so scharf beleuchtet, daß die Bewegungen jedes einzelnen Tieres klar zu verfolgen sind. Da plötzlich gewahren sie den Reiter: Die Unruhe der Nächststehenden teilt sich der ganzen Herde mit, in wenigen Sekunden ist die Schar im Galopp und bald zeigt nur noch eine hohe gelbe Staubwolke den Weg der Flüchtigen an. Ein gutes Jagdpferd, das selbst Passion hat, bringt den Jäger bald auf Schußweite heran. Dann heißt es schnell abspringen und ruhiges Blut zu einem sicheren Schuß haben.

Eine Eigentümlichkeit der Oryx-Antilope, die ihre Verfolgung erleichtert, ist die Gewohnheit, stets in der Richtung gegen den Wind flüchtig zu werden. Eine Oryx-Herde, der man sich z. B. von Osten her nähert, wird bei Nordwind sie nach Westen, niemals stets nach Norden fliehen. Man braucht in diesem Fall nur rechts zur Seite zu schwenken und wird, wenn das Pferd den scharfen Galopp lange genug aushält, das Wild aus nächster Nähe von links her schräg nach rechts hinüber an sich vorbeiflüchten sehen.

c) *Der Anstand* an der Wasserstelle ist die sicherste Art der Lauer auf größeres Antilopenwild und auf das Zebra.

Der Leopard schleppt, wenn er keine Jungen hat, die Beute meist nicht in seine Höhle, sondern verzehrt sie in einem Versteck nicht weit von der Stelle, wo er sie geschlagen hat. Der Hottentott verfolgt deshalb die frische Spur des Räubers vom Kraal, in den er eingebrochen ist, bis zu der Stelle, an der er gefressen hat, und schießt ihn, wenn er dahin zurückkehrt, um den Rest zu holen.

Den wühlenden *(Orycteropus)* oder in Felsspalten wohnenden Tieren (Klippschliefern) wird abends oder morgens vor der Höhle aufgelauert.

Die geselligen Antilopen, vor allem der Springbock und der Gemsbock, ziehen während der Trockenzeit aus dem Innern des Landes nach Westen in das Winterregengebiet und wandern hier langsam, bald auf gewohnten Wechseln, bald scheinbar ziellosen querfeldein, den regenbringenden Südwinden entgegen. Der Hottentott pflegt sich dann neben dem Wechsel *(°ego-rab)* im Schutz eines Buschkraals anzusetzen. Von den Wanderungen kleinen Stils, wie sie je nach der Jahreszeit und den lokalen Weideverhältnissen schwanken, sind jene ungeheuren Massenwanderungen zu unterscheiden, die der Springbock zu Zeiten der Dürre unternimmt. Der Strom der wandernden Springböcke *(trekbokken)* ist zuweilen so breit und so dicht, daß an ein Ausweichen vor menschlichen Ansiedelungen nicht zu denken ist. Die Tiere überrennen in der Tat die Gehöfte, Saaten und Gärten niedergetrampelt. Im Jahre 1892 [1]) mußte der Civil commissioner des Klein-Namalandes gegen 100 Gewehre amtlich an die Buren verteilen, um den Ansturm der Springbockherden abzuwehren. In einem Falle überfluten die Springböcke in so dichter und breiter Kolonne eine Farm, daß ein Teil von ihnen — da sie nirgends ausweichen konnten — wie eine Herde in einen Viehkraal gedrängt und dort niedergemetzelt wurde. Vor einem Ochsenwagen teilt sich der Strom, die Tiere scheuen so weit, als die nachdrängenden Massen erlauben, zur Seite, um wenige Schritte hinter dem Wagen wieder geschlossen weiter zu ziehen. Tage und Nächte kann sich ein Trekk ohne Unterbrechung dauern. Wie Hyänen und Schakale in früheren Zeiten auch Löwen und Leoparden, so folgt der Hottentott dem Springbockzug *(°dafigili)*. Noch im Jahre 1896 [2]) wurde in der nördlichen Kapkolonie ein Springbockzug von mindestens einer halben Million Köpfen beobachtet.

4) Treibjagd scheint früher (s. Erzählung No. XIII) die Art, Giraffen zu jagen, gewesen zu sein. Heute gilt sie nur noch dem Hasen. Die Einzeljagd auf den Hasen, die Suche mit Hunden, ist beschwerlich, denn

der Hund betrachtet den gebeizten, totgeschossenen Hasen meist als sein Eigentum, und der Jäger muß scharf hinterdrein laufen, will ihn der Hund nicht mit vollem Magen entgegenkommen. Lebendig ist die Hasenjagd im Kesseltreiben mit Kiris. Die Hunde töteten dann zu Hause. Ist ein Bezirk von einigen hundert Metern Durchmesser eingekreist, so schießt sich die eine Halbperipherie der Jäger gegen die andere, die andere bleibt, vor.

Kiri.
$^1/_{10}$ nat. Gr.

Bei diesem Halbkreisgange, *gâi*, wird *Zentrum*, *tgubi-a*, und Flügel unterschieden, letztere nach einem dem Heimweh entlehnten Vergleich, *mid-khya*, Hirnge, oder *ela-kya*, Arme, genannt.

Der aufgejagte Hase wird mit dem Kiri *(tsib-ti*, am besten am Taillenwirbel) geworfen. Das Kiriwerfen, *tgibi* oder *mami*, geschieht mit seitlich ausholendem Arme und so, daß das Holz annähernd horizontal durch die Luft wirbelt. Je nachdem das Stäbchen oder die Keule trifft, wird die Beute erwischen oder erschlagen. Dabei rufen die Leute: *„khyare tsisi, yam yam saisi, mid saisi, ali saisi, ayagu gaisi!"* Der Magen des Hasen wird im Feuer *gesengt* gebraten. Vorher wird das frisch erlegte Tier mit Kiris so lange gegen die Rippen geschlagen, bis die Leibeshöhle voll Blut gelaufen ist. Dann wird der ausgeweidete Hase (die Brustorgane bleiben im Leibe) mit Haut und Haaren in der heißen Asche gebacken. Der dicke Blutknochen im Innern ist ein Leckerbissen. So wird der oben genannte Treiber- und Schützenruf verständlich: „Kuru-Hase, du Brustorgane (*°gun gun* — schwammiges Gewebe) hervorrufen, von krumpligen Sachen gesagt, du Dickdarm (*°said, ali* — dick, *saib* — Blut), Dickdarm, du Liebling *(gu-ti* ist das heiratsfähige Mädchen) der Knaben!" *(a-ggu)* (die auf die letzte Anrede ist statt des Suffixes der 2. pers. das der 3. pers. comm. sing. *-i*, gebraucht).

Dem erlegten Hasen werden beide Oberschenkelknochen gebrochen; unterbleibt das, so wird der Hund dem Jägerglauben nach steif in den Beinen. Dem Hasen darf beim Zerlegen die Gurgel nicht durchschnitten werden.

α) Der Fallenfang ist gut ausgebildet und entspricht der Vorliebe des Hottentotten, sein Opfer, Mensch oder Tier, zu überlisten.

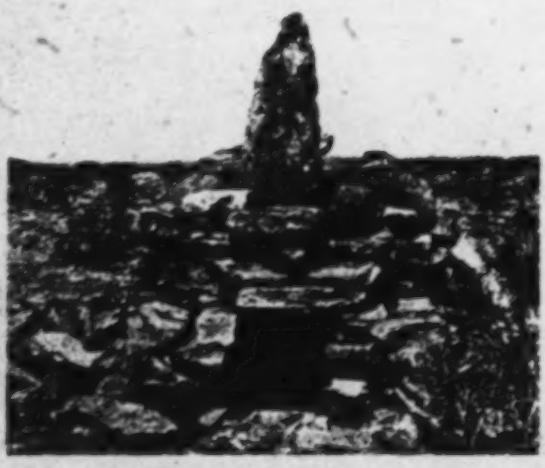
Fallgruben, die die Hottentotten von den Bergdamara gelernt zu haben scheinen, dienten zum Fang des Zebras. Im Wechsel des Wildes zum Wasser wurde, wie mir ein eingeborener Jäger berichtete, eine etwa

3 m lange und ebenso tiefe, 1 m breite Grube mit senkrechten Wänden ausgehoben und querüber mit schwachen Zweigen frischen grünen Buschwerks zugedeckt. Die Bergdamara nennen eine solche Fallgrube */gai-seb*.

Steinerne Kastenfallen, */nu-igu*, dienen zum Fang des Schakals und der Hyäne. Aus großen platten Steinen bauen die Hottentotten eine ca. $^3/_4$ m hohe Schakalsfalle mit einem Durchmesser von ca. 2 m, dem Unterbau eines kleinen runden Turmes ähnelnd. Beim Zubauen der oberen Öffnung wird eine Lücke gelassen, durch die man in den Fallenraum hineinsieht und das gefangene Tier mit einem Knüppel ins Rückgrat stößt. Durch eine Seitenöffnung gelangt der Schakal an den Köder, der im Mittelpunkt des Fallenraumes liegt. Sobald das Tier am Köder zerrt, wird eine einfache, mit Zweigstücken hergerichtete Stellvorrichtung ausgelöst, die einen schweren Stein vor die Eingangsöffnung, bald von oben herunter, bald schräg von der Seite her, fallen läßt.

Schakalsfalle, bei Aruguams (S. 167 No. 63).

Stärker als die Schakalsfalle ist die Hyänenfalle gebaut. Aus schweren platten Steinen, die lückenhaft, aber im eigenen Gewicht festruhend aufgeschichtet werden, bauen sie einen rechteckigen Kasten, dessen Binnenraum $1^1/_2$ m lang, reichlich $^1/_2$ m breit und $^3/_4$—1 m hoch ist. Das Dach bilden große Steinplatten. An der einen Schmal-



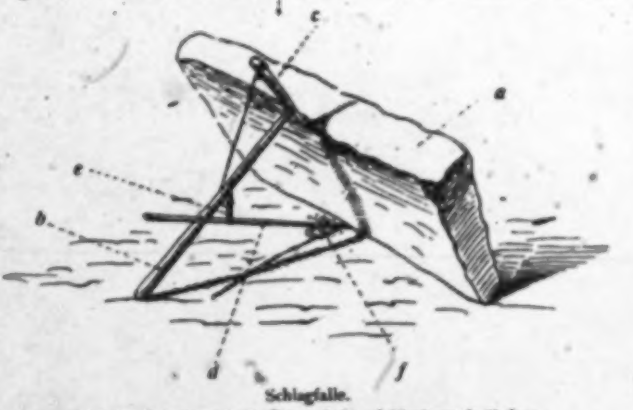
Hyänenfalle auf der Fläche nördlich von Chamis.

seite des Kastens ist die $^1/_2$ m hohe, $^1/_2$ m breite Eingangsöffnung freigelassen. Dicht hinter dieser Öffnung ist im Dach ein Querspalt ausgespart und von besonders starken Steinen umgeben, damit die Wand der Wucht des fallenden Steines standhält. Im Hintergrund des Fallenraumes liegt der Köder (Viehdärme u. dgl.), durch Stricke am Boden mit den beiden aufrecht stehenden Holzstäben verbunden, auf denen der zentnerschwere Fallstein lose aufsitzt. Durch Zerren am Köder zieht die Hyäne die Stäbe unter dem Fallstein fort, der im selben Moment stürzt und die Zugangsöffnung verrammelt. Ein breiter Wall unregelmäßig übereinander getürmter Steinklötze stützt die Seitenwände der Falle rings von außen; das Dach ist ebenfalls mit solchen Steinen beschwert, so daß die ganze Falle einen Steinbau von insgesamt $3^1/_2$ m Länge, 2 m Breite und reichlich $1^1/_2$ m Höhe darstellt. Eine solche Falle steht Jahre lang.

Schwippgalgen (s. Kalahari) kann man kurz den Fallentypus nennen, der zum Fang kleiner Antilopen, speziell des Klippspringers dient. Ein armstarker, mehrere Meter langer, frischer Ast wird mit dem dicken Ende fest in den Boden gesteckt. An seinem freien Ende wird eine Schlinge aus starkem Sehnengarn befestigt. Mitten durch die Schlinge läuft, an beiden Enden fest mit ihr verknüpft, ein Mittelfaden, auf dem das Lieblingsfutter des Klippspringers befestigt wird. Die Schlinge wird gestellt, indem man das dünne Astende bis etwa $^1/_2$ m über den Boden niederbiegt. Die Verbindung zwischen Ast und Schlinge stellt ein Sehnengarn her, das besonders kräftig sein muß, da es den ganzen Zug des Astes auszuhalten und später das gefangene Tier zu tragen hat. Die Schlinge wird von vier kurzen Pflöcken platt auf den Boden gehalten. Der Klippbock entwurzelt die Pflöcke, sobald er am Mittelfaden der Schlinge zerrt; der Ast schwippt in die Höhe, zieht dabei dem Tier die Schlinge über den Hals und reißt es mit nach oben; es hängt dann wie an einem Galgen.

Schlagfallen, *mō-agu*, dienen zum Fang des Stachelschweines und kleinerer Säugetiere, z. B. der Mäuse, die eine beliebte Speise der Bergdamara bilden. Der Einstellungs- und Abzugsmechanismus ist hier feiner als bei den vorhergenannten Fallen. Ein platter Stein *(a)* wird schräg gegen einen Stützstab *(b)* gelehnt. Dieser Stab ruht unten locker auf dem Boden auf; oben an der äußersten Kante des Steins drückt er ein Klemmholz *(c)* zwischen sich und den Stein. Seitlichen Halt gibt dem schrägen Stützstabe ein schwach aufwärts weisendes Horizontalstäbchen *(d)*, dessen eines Ende der unteren Steinkante fest anliegt, während das andere Ende frei

vorragt. Stützstab und Horizontalstäbchen werden durch das *ʃa-r(a)das*-Hölzchen *(e)* gegeneinander gedrückt; dieses Hölzchen endlich wird durch ein straffes Sehnengarn, das es mit dem Klemmholz verbindet, in seiner Lage erhalten. Sobald jetzt das Horizontalstäbchen von dem Tier, das sich am Köder *(f)* zu schaffen macht, niedergetreten wird, wird dem Stützstab der seitliche Halt entzogen, gleichzeitig schnippt das *ʃa-r(a)das*-Hölzchen aus seiner Zwangslage heraus und stört sowohl in loco als mittelst des Sehnengarns oben am Klemmholz das lose Gleichgewicht des ganzen Aufbaues. Die genannten kleinen Holzgeräte, die zur Herstellung einer Schlagsteinfalle notwendig sind, nennt der Berydamara **ǂhâiru-n.*



Schlagfalle.
a Stein, *b* Stützstab, *c* Klemmholz, *d* Horizontalstäbchen, *e* *ʃa-r(a)das*-Hölzchen, *f* Köder.

Capitulum IV.

Zusammenleben.

A. Familie.

1. Gründung einer Familie.

a) Der Eintritt in die Mannbarkeit, das Auftreten der ersten Menstruation, *kxaru-b* oder *ǂhaiba-b*, ist als erste Bürgschaft zukünftigen Familienglücks ein freudiges Ereignis und wird entsprechend gefeiert: Das Mädchen wird durch eine Mattenwand von den übrigen Bewohnern der Hütte getrennt. Sie legt ihren Schmuck an, Verwandte und Freunde bringen ihr Armringe und behängen ihre Brust mit Perlketten. Ein Teil davon bleibt als Geschenk zurück. Die Eltern schlachten und bewirten die Gäste mit Honigbier.

Ehe europäische Kleidung bei den Hottentotten Eingang fand, vertauschte das reife Mädchen ihren Kinderschurz mit dem der Erwachsenen; heute ist diese Sitte aufgegeben. Aber ein anderer Brauch hat sich noch hie und da erhalten, wo er den Blicken der Mission sich entziehen konnte: Männlichen Personen, vom kleinsten Kinde ab bis zum alternden Manne (Greise sind dispensiert), wird als Vorbeugungsmittel gegen Geschlechtskrankheiten von dem erstmenstruierten Mädchen das Scrotum mit Buchupulver eingerieben. Die Ausübung dieser Prozedur wird **ma-raǂxaira-* genannt *(ǂxairā-b* = der Hoden; **ma-ra* ist das sanfte Streichen über die Euter einer Kuh, deren Kalb verendet ist und die durch das Streichen veranlaßt werden soll, ihre Milch von sich zu geben; so zart wird also das Scrotum mit Puder bearbeitet).

Ist die erste Regel beendet, so wird das Mädchen von einer Frau vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen gereinigt mit nassem Kuhmist (besser Schafmist), der mit wenig Milch dickbreiig angerührt ist, (vergl. Körperpflege, S. 207). Diese Masse wird auf dem Körper in der üblichen Weise verschmiert und verrieben; sie trocknet dabei auf der warmen Haut schnell ein und fällt am Ende der Säuberung von selbst ab.

So gereinigt tritt das Mädchen aus ihrem Separatraum aus der Hütte heraus. Dieses Heraustreten des Mädchens, **xamsui* (*xam* ist die spezielle Bezeichnung für die genannte Art der Reinigung mit Mist; *su-i* = hinausgehen), ist das allen Werftbewohnern sichtbare Zeichen der vollendeten Mannbarkeit. Bis zur ersten Menstruation gilt das Mädchen als Kind, *ǂgŏ-as*. Von der ersten Menstruation ab bis zur Verheiratung wird sie als *o-aǂa-es* bezeichnet (nicht *ǂaǂais*[87]).

Die Eitelkeit der Mädchen ist häufig darauf bedacht, der Entwickelung ihrer Reize nachzuhelfen. Der Warzenhof fühlt sich zur Zeit beginnender Pubertät hart an. Aus der Warze läßt sich dann bei starkem Druck eine schwach fadenziehende Flüssigkeit pressen. Wenn die Brüste eben anfangen hervorzuknospen und die Umgebung der Warze fest wird, pressen die Mädchen den hellen Saft geflissentlich aus, um die Entwickelung der Brüste zu befördern. Die aus den Milchdrüsen zur Zeit des Pubertätsanfangs auspreßbare Flüssigkeit nennen sie **ŋgu-ruruheb*.

Die Menstruation tritt in der Regel zwischen dem 13. und 15. Lebensjahre zum erstenmal ein. Von da ab wird sie in ihrer regelmäßigen Wiederkehr **ǂxŏa-es(e)ni*, d. h. „Mondkrankheit", genannt: sie soll durchschnittlich

L. Schultze Ab. Gesichtsbild und Hinterkopf

Taf XII

L. Schultze

FX13 Hottentot

L. S. phot.

Verlag Gustav Fischer Jena

TOPNAAR-HOTTENTOTTIN

1: Schultze FX13 Hottentot

drei Tage dauern und wenig ergiebig sein. Häufig schminken sie um diese Zeit das Gesicht mit einer dunklen Fettsalbe (s. Körperpflege S. 210).

Menstruierende dürfen nicht in den Viehkraal gehen, geschweige denn melken. Über das Aufhören der Regel ist es schwer, zuverlässige Mitteilungen zu bekommen. Von zwei Frauen weiß ich, daß sie noch mit 47 Jahren geboren haben und von einer anderen, daß sie noch im 55. Jahre die Regel hatte. Im allgemeinen scheint der Eintritt des Klimakteriums nicht von den Normen unserer Rasse abzuweichen.

b) Die Heirat, *ga-meb*, ist nun das erstrebenswerte Ziel des Mädchens. Ich war erstaunt, wie sorgsam geregelte Bräuche sich versteckt noch da erhalten haben, wo das Sittenleben noch nicht verwildert oder noch nicht in christliches Gewand gehüllt ist. Zufällige Beobachtungen und gelegentliche Äußerungen meiner Begleiter brachten mich auch hier auf Spuren, die ich nur mit Geduld zu verfolgen brauchte, um den Rest ursprünglichen Volkstums noch gut erhalten unter der Tünche der Halbzivilisation zu finden.

Ein Mann, der sich das Eingeständnis der Gegenliebe holen will, reicht dem Mädchen seiner Wahl ein Stäbchen hin. Sind die Beiden einig, so zerbrechen sie das Stäbchen, jeder an einem Ende festhaltend, und werfen sich gegenseitig das abgebrochene Stückchen an die Brust. Der Mann ist jetzt der **taob* des Mädchens, das Mädchen die **taos* des Mannes. Sie treten damit, wie das Wort *(tao* = sich schämen*)* anzeigt und die alte Sitte es tatsächlich fordert, in ein Liebesverhältnis, das ihnen folgende Pflichten der Scham auferlegt: Die Liebenden dürfen kein Wort mit einander sprechen, nichts sich selbst reichen. Was sie sich zu sagen oder zu geben haben, muß ihnen ein Vermittler, Mann oder Mädchen, bringen. Übertretungen werden mit Bußgeschenken gesühnt — es sind im Grund Liebesbezeugungen und das ganze ein verliebtes Versteckspiel, das zur Sitte erstarrt ist.

So kann es monatelang, ein Jahr lang oder länger gehen, ehe das Verhältnis enger wird. Das kann dann auf zweierlei Weise geschehen: offenkundig durch die Werbung bei den Eltern, oder heimlich und abwegs auf Grund einer symbolischen Handlung, die das Einverständnis des Mädchens zu völliger Hingabe ausdrückt. Unter vier Augen zieht der Liebhaber einen seiner Fellschuhe aus und wirft ihn dem Mädchen zu. Läßt sie den Schuh unbeachtet liegen, so ist der Antrag vorzeitiger Vereinigung abgewiesen; will sie den Antrag annehmen, so gibt sie den Schuh zurück.

Bei Liebesintriguen ist wieder Zauberei im Spiel. Ein wirksames Mittel, Liebende auseinander zu bringen, ist nach der Auffassung sachver-

ständiger Zauberer in den Sprungbeinen der Heuschrecke enthalten. Ein Mädchen, das seinem Liebhaber abspenstig gemacht werden soll, wird — wie es ohne Harm im täglichen Leben oft geschieht — gebeten, einen Haufen trockener Buchukräuter zu Puder zu reiben. Zwischen den Blättern ist unbemerkt ein Heuschreckenbein verbröckelt. Wenn sich das Mädchen nach getaner Arbeit, wie üblich, die buchubestäubten Hände in den Achselhöhlen sauber reibt, reibt sie sich unbewußt das Zaubermittel ein, das ihre Liebe tötet. In anderen Fällen wurden die Heuschreckenbeine zu innerst in die Knochenpfeife gestopft, die Pfeife macht die übliche Runde und wenn es richtig so abgepaßt wurde, daß das Liebespaar von den Beinstücken zu rauchen bekommt, gilt die Zauberei als geglückt. Es ist mir auch ein Fall bekannt geworden, in dem die Eltern des Mädchens einen Berufszauberer konsultierten, der ein Stäbchen mit dem Inhalt seiner Giftbüchse beschmierte (s. Medizin S. 226), das Stäbchen zerbrach und die Stückchen mit den Worten auseinanderwarf: *„ǂâigu hã kχoëra gye nī ǂgoira"* d. h. „die Beiden, die einander lieben, sollen sich trennen".

Ehe die Einwanderung des Weißen überhand nahm und die alte Sitte umstieß, wurde uneheliche Liebe bestraft. Alte Hottentotten, die kopfschüttelnd mit ansehen, wie es heute zugeht, haben mir das vielfach und unabhängig von einander gesagt. Die Schuldigen wurden im Einverständnis mit den Eltern entweder beide verprügelt oder dem Liebhaber der Strafanteil der Geliebten mit versetzt. Die Strafe wurde auf Anordnung des Unterkapitäns vollzogen, war also ein Akt öffentlicher Sittenpflege.

Die Werbung übernehmen die Eltern des jungen Mannes. Ablehnung des Antrags, langes Hin- und Herparlamentieren und endlich sich Erweichen lassen gehört zum guten Ton: Der Mann soll nicht denken, daß man auf ihn gewartet habe.

Die Hochzeit wird mit großem Schlachten gefeiert. Der Bräutigam oder seine Eltern haben den Festbraten zu liefern (vergl. Erzählung No. XXXIV). An diesem Hochzeitsschlachten, *ǂgūitās*, beteiligen sich aber zuweilen auch beide Familien. Arme tauschen unter Umständen ihre einzige Milchkuh gegen ein Schlachttier aus, um ihrer Hochzeitspflicht nachzukommen.

Am Tage der Hochzeit schenkt der junge Ehemann und die junge Ehefrau, jedes seiner Schwiegermutter eine Kuh, *abagoimas*, in Erinnerung daran, daß die Alte einst den Geliebten resp. die Geliebte im *Aba*-Fell getragen hat (s. folg. Seite). Da sie ihnen auch die Brüste gereicht haben, wird jene Hochzeitskuh auch **samagoimas* genannt. Die Bezeichnung

kχāigoimas, die ich seltener hörte, besagt, daß den Müttern gleichsam etwas, worauf sie Anspruch haben, zurückerstattet wird *(= kχāi)*: Das Geschenk soll die Mütter für den Verlust der Kinder entschädigen.

Das Ankommen der jungen Frau, *tara-s*, im Dorf des Mannes wird wiederum mit Schlachten gefeiert, eine Begrüßung, auf die sie Anspruch hat (s. Erzählung No. LVIII).

Nur wenige Hottentotten würden sich heute bei der Verarmung des Volks einen Vielweiberhausstand leisten können, wie ihn die alte Sitte zuläßt. Zudem ist der Geschlechtsverkehr jetzt vielfach zu verwahrlost, als daß die intime Gemeinschaft eines Mannes mit mehreren Weibern ehelich sanktioniert zu werden brauchte.

2. Das Verhältnis der Familienmitglieder untereinander.

a) Im Verhältnis der Ehegatten unterscheidet die würdige Stellung der Frau die Familie der Hottentotten scharf von der der Herero: Die Frau gilt in allen häuslichen Angelegenheiten als die Herrin der Hütte; sie hat dementsprechend das Recht, dem Mann unter Umständen den Eintritt zu verwehren. Sie hat die Verwaltung der Vorräte unter sich, der Mann bittet um Milch und sie gibt ihm. Auch daß sie in erster Linie die wichtigste Handlung im Haushalt des Hirten, das Melken, vornimmt, unterscheidet sie vom Hereroweib. Die geachtete Stellung des Weibes in der Ehe schließt gelegentliche Zwistigkeiten, in denen der Mann von seiner physischen Überlegenheit ausgiebig Gebrauch macht, nicht aus.

Nur Unfruchtbarkeit setzt das Ansehen einer Frau dauernd und tief herunter.

b) Das Verhältnis der Eltern, *ǂgü-ǂra*, zu den Kindern, *ǂgō-an*. Die kleinen Kinder zu warten, *aba-*, ist selbstverständlich Sache der Mutter. Sie trägt das Kind auf dem Rücken in einem Lammfell, *ǂhani-b* genannt (s. Taf. X).

„ǂHaniba ǂkχara!", d. h. „Schlepp das Abafell hinter dir her!" ist ein Prositruf, der kleinen Kindern, wenn sie niesen *(sī)*, zugerufen wird. In anderen Fällen hörte ich die Mütter dem niesenden Kind wünschen *„ǂoiman kχaob"* d. h. „Stoß dir den Hintern!" (*-an* scheint Reflexivpartikel zu sein). Beide Wünsche beziehen sich auf die ersten, freudig erwarteten Gehversuche des Kindes: Das Kleine sucht sich aus der hilflosen Sitzstellung am Boden aufzurichten und fällt dabei zunächst immer wieder auf den Hintern zurück; wenn es dann gehen kann, schleppt es das Abafell, dem es nun entwachsen ist, als Spielzeug nach.

Jedem Kind, auch dem erwachsenen, wird von den Eltern eine bestimmte Kuh zur Nutznießung zugeteilt (*°maĩam*, d. h. dem Munde hinstellen); nur die Milch dieser bestimmten Kuh, *ãibes*, darf das Kind sich früh und abends melken. Tagsüber, wenn die Rinder auf der Weide sind, wird ihm aus dem gemolkenen Vorrat gegeben. Verheiratete bekommen von ihren Eltern bisweilen 4—5 Kühe in dieser Weise zugeteilt.

Von einer Erziehung der Kinder habe ich nur alltägliche Rügen augenfälliger Unarten oder Torheiten wahrgenommen. Ehedem erstreckte sich die Erziehung auch auf das spätere Knaben- und Jünglingsalter [83]), heute bleibt sie meist der Jugend unter sich überlassen (s. S. 309). Die Erziehungsgewalt der Eltern hat mit dem Überhandnehmen des Einflusses der Weißen viel eingebüßt. Während vorher der Sohn, *ǂgõ-ab*, so lange er halbwüchsig war, zum großen Teil von dem, was ihm der Vater zum Unterhalt gab, materiell abhing und dementsprechend sich auch moralisch abhängig fühlte, kann er sich heute im Dienste der Weißen frühzeitig selbständig machen. Die Tochter, *ǂgõ-as*, ehedem bis zur Verheiratung auf die Eltern angewiesen, kann sich heute mit ihren Reizen jeden Unterhalt und Kleinluxus selbst verschaffen, den sie begehrt.

Aber trotz dieser Erschütterung der Erziehungsgewalt ist das Ansehen der Eltern in der Familie doch gewahrt geblieben. Das spricht sich am deutlichsten im vorgeschrittenen Alter aus: Die Großeltern werden von niemandem in der Familie zur Arbeit angehalten und jeder hat die Pflicht, ihnen behilflich zu sein. Daß alte, hilflose Leute ausgesetzt werden, wie man gelegentlich im Land behaupten hört, ist meiner Überzeugung nach eine Fabel oder eine Verwechselung mit Notmaßregeln der Buschmänner. Denn eine solche Behandlung des Alters steht in schroffem Gegensatz zu den Anschauungen des Volkes, wie sie sich am deutlichsten in seinen Sagen und Erzählungen wiederspiegeln. Die Anrede *ti ǂnaoǂb* oder *ti ǂnaoǂosa*, d. h. „mein Großvater" oder „meine Großmutter", werden als Ausdrücke höchster Ehrerbietung auch Personen gegenüber gebraucht, die in keinerlei Verwandtschafts-Beziehungen zum Redenden stehen. Über die Kindespflichten im häuslichen Leben gibt uns die Erzählung Nr. XXIV ein Bild.

Die Bezeichnungen für Vater und Mutter sind verschieden, je nachdem es sich um die Eltern einer ersten, zweiten oder dritten Person handelt: Ein Kind redet den Vater nur mit *ti°dãb* oder *dã-tse*, die Mutter mit *ti ais* oder *aise* an: mein Vater! meine Mutter! Die Ausdrücke *dãda-b* und *mama-s* sind wohl dem Kapholländischen entlehnt.

Als grobe Sprachverkehrtheit empfindet es der Hottentott, daß die Kinder der Namib-Buschmänner ihre Eltern *saoib* und *saoios* anreden. Denn diese Bezeichnungen sind reserviert für den Fall, daß man von den Eltern einer zweiten Person spricht, mag man dabei ein Kind oder einen Greis anreden: *sa saoib*, dein Vater etc.

Handelt es sich um die Eltern einer dritten Person, so heißt es gewöhnlich *ǂ(e)ĩb di ǂgũib* (resp. *-s*) oder *ǂ(e)ĩb di ũb* (resp. *-s*), d. h. sein Vater (resp. seine Mutter).

Ohne die genannten Regeln zu durchbrechen, sind noch folgende Ausdrucksweisen, die ich ebenfalls häufig hörte, korrekt: *sa ǂgũib*, *sa ũb* dein Vater, und entsprechend deine Mutter. Ferner hörte ich *ǂ(e)ĩb di dãb(ais)*, sein Vater (seine Mutter).

Die Stiefmutter ist **ŏaǀgāǂgũis*, d. h. „die Mutter, die hinter der steht, die das Kind gebar".

Die Bezeichnung **abo-b* für den Vater ist mir nur in der Sagensprache, nie im Gespräch begegnet.

c) Im Verkehr der Geschwister untereinander fiel mir eine Mannigfaltigkeit der Anreden auf. Ich glaubte hier anfangs Kose- oder Spottnamen zu hören; als ich aber ihren Sinn zu ermitteln suchte, stieß ich auf feststehende Normen, die den starken Sinn der Hottentotten für Altersrangordnung auch innerhalb des Geschwisterkreises (*ǀgãb, -s, -n* = Bruder, Schwester, Geschwister) erweisen: Es ist das ausschließliche Vorrecht der älteren Geschwister, die jüngeren beim Namen zu nennen. Die jüngeren Geschwister bezeichnen (anderen gegenüber sowohl wie in der Anrede) ihre älteste Schwester, die erste Respektsperson unter den Geschwistern, als **ausis* (1 Terz fall.); die dann folgende oder folgenden werden **sirŏ-s* (1 Terz steig.) genannt. Den ältesten Bruder reden die jüngeren Geschwister **a-budib* an; der oder die dann folgenden nächstältesten werden **bi-dirob* genannt.

d) Über die Schwiegerverhältnisse habe ich am wenigsten ermitteln können. Das Verhältnis der vier Schwiegereltern zu den Schwiegerkindern ist in der Anrede, also in der zweiten Person, dasselbe wie zwischen Eltern und Kindern. In der dritten Person werden die Schwiegereltern *ǂui-b* und *ǂui-s* genannt.

Die Frau wird von den Angehörigen ihres Mannes in der Anrede mit Namen, wenn in der dritten Person von ihr die Rede ist, **ǀoaras* genannt. Mit allen weiblichen Angehörigen ihres Mannes, mit Ausnahme der Schwiegermutter, nennt sie sich ohne Rücksicht auf Altersverschiedenheiten: *χaĕ-s*.

ǂu-ǂiaob bedeutet Schwager; in dem Worte *ǂu-ǂigukχa*, das zur Bezeichnung zweier Schwäger gebraucht wird, scheint die Reziprokalpartikel, *-gu*, die Gleichheit des Ranges der Beiden einander gegenüber, dem einseitigen Respektsverhältnis den Schwiegereltern gegenüber, auszudrücken.

Ein kleines Streiflicht auf die Stellung des Schwagers in der Familie wirft die Redensart, mit der der Hottentott gelegentlich einen Wirbelwind beschwichtigt: *„ǂuiaob ǂgoē!"* Wie man in Gegenwart seines Schwagers die Kinder nicht durch Schlagen zum Schreien bringt und sich nicht zankt, kurzum sich gesetzt benimmt, so wird der Wind gemahnt, die Gegenstände, die er erfaßt hat, nicht so wild durcheinander zu werfen: „Der Schwager ist da!"

e) Neffen- und Vetternschaft (direkte und verschwägerte). Das Verhältnis der Kinder zu den Geschwistern und Schwägern der Eltern ist folgendermaßen geregelt: Die Kinder werden von Jenen beim Namen genannt, die Kinder aber nennen in der Anrede sowohl wie im Gespräch mit anderen:

1. Den älteren Bruder des Vaters und den Mann der älteren Schwester der Mutter: **gai-dāb*, d. h. wörtlich „großer (oder alter) Vater".
2. Den jüngeren Bruder des Vaters und den Mann der jüngeren Schwester der Mutter: **dā-daro-b*, d. h. „Väterchen" (*-ro* ist Diminutivpartikel).
3. Die ältere Schwester des Vaters: **mīgyi-s*.
4. Die jüngere Schwester des Vaters: **mi-gyiro-s*.
5. Den älteren Bruder der Mutter und den Mann der älteren Schwester des Vaters: **o-meb*.
6. Den jüngeren Bruder der Mutter: **o-mero-b*; den Mann der jüngeren Schwester des Vaters: *o-meda-b*.
7. Die ältere Schwester der Mutter: **ais gais* oder **gai mās*, d. h. gleicherweiße „große Mutter".
8. Die jüngere Schwester der Mutter: **ai-ros* oder **ma-maros*, d. h. „Mütterchen".

Als Neffe und Nichte, *ǂnuiri-b, -s*, bezeichnet der männliche Hottentott nur die Kinder seiner Schwester. Eine Hottentottin hat keinen *ǂnuiri-b* oder *ǂnuiri-s*; es gibt kein Wort, das ausdrückte, was ihr die Kinder ihrer Geschwister sind. Was sie selbst den Kindern ist, ist oben gesagt worden.

Geschwisterkinder nennen sich untereinander, wie es oben für die Geschwister angegeben wurde. Nur in einem Fall sah ich zwischen den Kindern zweier Brüder die sonst beobachteten Respektsbezeichnungen wegfallen.

Zwischen den Kindern eines Weibes und dessen Brüdern besteht ein Verhältnis, das (von den Beziehungen der Eltern und Kinder abgesehen) dem Hottentotten als das innigste gilt, das zwischen zwei Generationen einer Verwandtschaft existieren kann. Ob dieses Verhältnis einen erbrechtlichen Hintergrund hat, konnte ich nicht feststellen, ich glaube es nicht. Wie dem auch sei, — eine naiv-sympathische Annäherung des Mutterbruders und seiner Neffenschaft, hier das Bewußtsein einer Liebespflicht gegen die Kinder der Schwester, dort freundliche Abhängigkeitsgefühle gegen den avunculus sind das einzige was unmittelbar zu beobachten ist. Seinen Ausdruck findet dieses Verhältnis in einem eigenartigen Tausch-Rechtsverhältnis. Der Onkel (hier also der Bruder der Mutter) hat das Recht, einen schadhaften oder verunstalteten Gegenstand aus dem Besitz des Neffen sich anzueignen. Bei nächster Gelegenheit entschädigt sich der Neffe dadurch, daß er einen entsprechenden makellosen Gegenstand dem Onkel ausführt. So trieb einst ein junger Hottentott eine Milchkuh mit Kalb und 10 Ziegen als Entgelt dafür heim, daß ihm der Bruder seiner Mutter vor Jahren ein Pferd mit einem Hufschaden abgenommen hatte. Buskoprinder (hornlos oder mit Schlotterhörnern), Ziegen mit Stumpfohren, Rinder mit unsymmetrischen Hörnern, eine Felldecke mit Löchern, ein schartiger Holzeimer, eine Steinpfeife mit ausgebrochenem Rand etc. etc. darf der Onkel sich aneignen. Er sucht zuweilen die ganze Hütte des Neffen ab, um dergleichen zu finden. Kommt sein Besuch überraschend, so kann er manchen guten Fund machen; in anderen Fällen hat die junge Frau alles Zweifelhafte ihres Haushalts rechtzeitig beiseite gesteckt. Das Auswahlrecht des Neffen wird *ǂnuriǂgab*, das des Onkels **ǂigab* genannt. In keinem der mir bekannten Fälle hörte ich eine Klage über Mißbrauch dieser Rechte. Das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis ist im allgemeinen zu sehr auf gegenseitiges Vertrauen gegründet, als daß es egoistisch ausgebeutet würde.

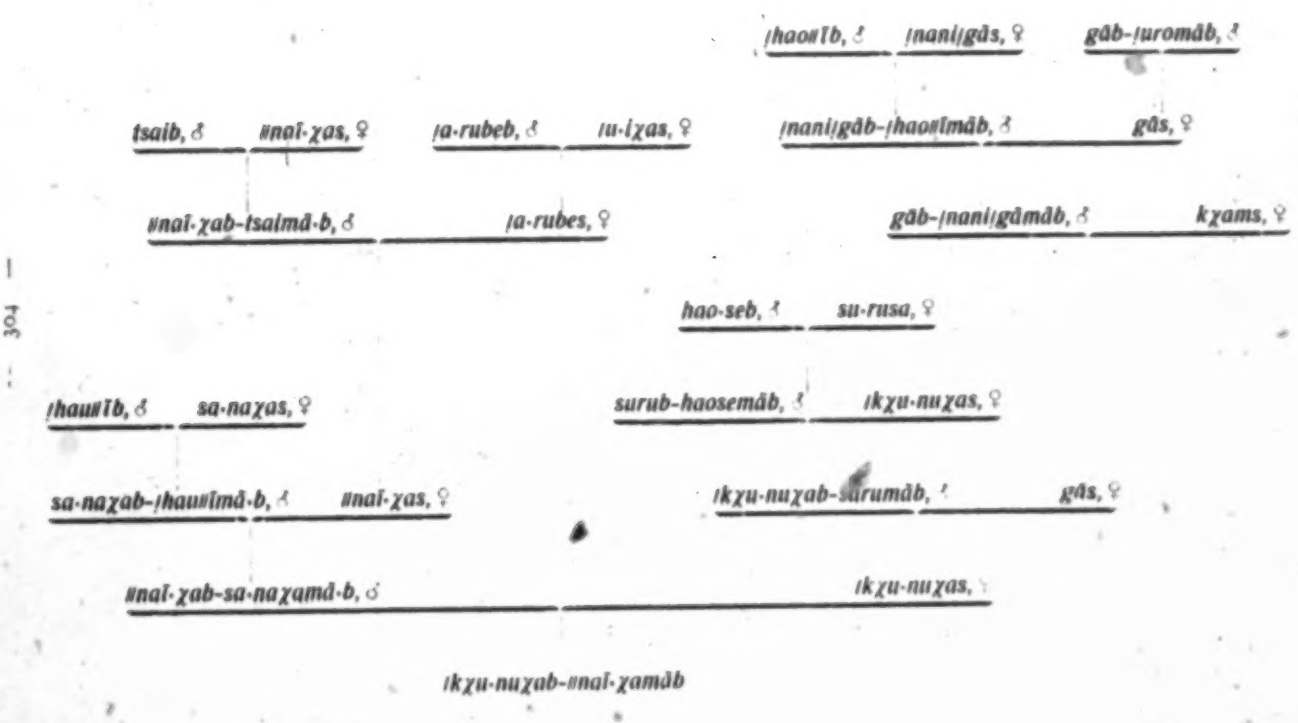
Die bevorzugte Stellung des Bruders der Frau in der Familie erinnert an alte indogermanische Anschauungen [*].

3. Namengebung.

Wir haben zwei Hauptgruppen von Eigennamen, */o-inti*, zu unterscheiden, soll uns die Mannigfaltigkeit, die hier herrscht, nicht verwirren.

a) Die erste Gruppe mag die der Elternnamen heißen. Vorauszuschicken ist hier, daß jeder Hottentotten-Eigenname je nach dem An-

Stammbaum einer Topnaarfamilie zur Demonstration der Namensvererbung.



hängen des männlichen *(-b* oder *-ba)* oder des weiblichen *(-s* oder *-sa)* Personalsuffixes als Knaben- oder als Mädchenname verwandt werden kann.

Die allgemeine Regel ist nun, daß der Sohn den Namen der Mutter und die Tochter den Namen des Vaters als Hauptnamen erbt. Heißt also z. B. der Vater *gomarib* und die Mutter *ǂkχunibes*, so wird der Sohn *ǂkχunibeb* und die Tochter *gomaris* genannt.

Zu diesem Hauptnamen nimmt nun der Sohn, wenn er erwachsen ist, einen Nebennamen an. Als Nebenname des Sohnes dient der Hauptname des Vaters unter Einfügung der Silbe *-mā* vor das schließende Personalsuffix. Der Sohn der eben genannten Eltern heißt also mit vollständigem Namen *ǂkχunibeb-gomarimāb*. (Im weiblichen Geschlecht scheint von solcher Doppelbenennung weniger Gebrauch gemacht zu werden. Die Tochter der genannten Eltern würde mit vollem Namen *gomaris-ǂkχunibemās* heißen.)

Um mich zu überzeugen, ob diese Art der Namengebung auch über mehrere Generationen hinaus konsequent durchgeführt wird, habe ich mit Hilfe der Dorfältesten der Topnaaransiedelung in Rooibank hinter Walfischbai eine Familie, soweit das Gedächtnis der Gewährsmänner reichte, zurückverfolgt. Das Resultat ergab die Konstanz der genannten Regel der Namengebung.

Für das praktische Leben ergeben sich aus der Art, wie die Namen vererbt werden, Folgen, die leicht zu Verwirrungen Anlaß geben könnten, wenn nicht, wie wir sehen werden, eine zweite Gruppe von Namen Abhilfe schaffte. Die Regel, nach der die Kinder ihre Elternnamen erhalten, hat als nächste Folge die, daß alle natürlichen Brüder unter sich und alle natürlichen Schwestern unter sich völlig gleichen Namen haben. Eine einfache Überlegung am Beispiel der letzten Generation des zweiten Stammbaums ergibt ferner folgendes: Denselben Hauptnamen, *ǂkχu-nuχab*, den die Brüder führen, führen auch alle ihre Vettern, soweit sie die Söhne einer Tante mütterlicherseits sind, also alle Söhne von *ǂkχu-nuχas'* Schwestern. Verschieden von diesen und untereinander verschieden sind die Namen der Vettern, die von Vaters und von Mutters Brüdern stammen. Die Vettern, die von Vaters Schwestern stammen, heißen alle *sa-naχab*.

Analog liegen die Verhältnisse bei den Schwestern der Gebrüder *ǂkχu-nuχab:* Denselben Hauptnamen, den sie führen, *ǂnaĭ-χas*, führen auch alle ihre Kousinen, soweit sie die Töchter eines Onkels väterlicherseits sind, also alle Töchter von Vaters Brüdern. Die Töchter von Vaters Schwestern würden alle *sa-naχas* heißen. — Die Kousinen mütterlicherseits, soweit sie die Töchter eines Onkels (eines Bruders der *ǂkχu-nuχas*) sind, würden alle

gās heißen. Verschieden von diesen und untereinander verschieden sind die Namen derjenigen Kousinen, die von Mutters Schwestern stammen.

Mögen die Elternnamen über die Abkunft ihres Trägers einem Hottentotten auch meist so weit Aufschluß geben, daß sie zur Legitimation in einer fremden Werft genügen, so lassen sie doch keine genügende Unterscheidung innerhalb der engeren Verwandtschaft zu. Diese Lücken füllen Namen einer zweiten Gruppe aus, die wir

b) Beinamen nennen wollen.

Im einfachsten Fall geben diese Namen eine schlichte Charakteristik der betreffenden Person auf Grund irgend eines äußeren Kennzeichens oder eines Faktums. So wurde eine junge Hottentottin mit dünnem Kopfhaar kurzweg *ǂgāts* d. h. Glatze, Kahlköpfin, genannt. Ein Junge hieß **ǂgu·ruŋa·reb*, weil er linkshändig war. Ein Mann, der Kälte gut ertrug, war unter dem Namen **ǂkχai-t(o)mab* bekannt, als „Einer, der nicht *(t(o)ma)* kalt *(ǂkχai)* hat." Ein Anderer, seiner Unpünktlichkeit wegen berüchtigt, hieß **ǂaũ-ǁkχui-b*, „der vergeblich *(ǁkχui-*, vermissen*)* auf sich warten *(ǂaũt)* läßt." Ein gefürchteter Viehräuber im unteren Swakop-Gebiet hieß nach der Farbe seines Haares **ǂhaihāb*, das „Fahlpferd". Ein friedlicher Alter, der sich beim Wasser ein Tabaksbeet angelegt hatte, das immer grünte *(ǂam)*, hieß *ǂa·mχab* usw.

Bestimmte Ereignisse liegen zwei anderen Namen zugrunde: **hã·ǂgyeb*, d. h. „der da kam", denn der Betreffende wanderte einst von fremd her dem Orte zu, an dem er jetzt seßhaft war. Ein Junge, dessen Mutter kurz nach der Geburt starb, erhielt und behielt den Namen, mit dem ein Hottentott ein Neugeborenes, gleichviel ob Mensch, Lamm oder Kalb bezeichnet, das mit der Milch eines fremden Weibes oder Muttertieres aufgezogen wird: **hã·slb*.

Solche Namen können sich so fest einbürgern, daß sie zeitlebens den Rufnamen des Betreffenden bilden. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß solche Beinamen einst die einzigen und ursprünglichen Eigennamen der Hottentotten bildeten und daß sie auch heute noch zu erblichen Hauptnamen werden, also in den Wortschatz der Elternnamen neue Elemente bringen.

Eine persönliche Beziehung auf eine Eigenart des Trägers gibt sich oft nur den Nächststehenden zu erkennen. So habe ich nicht ermitteln können, worauf einige Beinamen Hendrik Witboois, die ich mehrfach hörte, *ǂhu·iseb*, **ǂgã·mab* und **kχabu·b* anspielen.

Ein Teil der Beinamen erweist sich als Kose-Bezeichnungen, die nur für gewisse Zeit in Gebrauch sind, dann vergessen oder nur noch

1: Schultze

FX13 Hottentot

S. phot.

Verlag Gustav Fischer, Jena.

[p 306a]

TOPNAAR-KNABEN

gelegentlich angewandt werden. So nannte eine Hottentottin ihr Söhnchen **ǂkχa-ri/kχu-bib*, d. h. „die kleine Vlej"; sie wollte damit ausdrücken, daß sie der Anblick des Kindes so freudig stimme wie der eines Wasserspiegels in der trockenen Einöde. Eine andere Mutter hatte ihre naive Freude an den niedlichen („sauberen") Schamteilen des Töchterchens und nannte es deshalb *ǂa-nu+nüi-s*. Ein Hottentottenkind, das von Vaters Seite Negerblut und entsprechend dunklere Hautfarbe hatte, pflegte von seiner Mutter **+nü-ǂsagyeanu-s* genannt zu werden, d. h. „die du so nett schwarz bist".

Auch der Weiße bekommt hie und da seinen Schmeichelnamen. So sprach einst ein Hottentott in dankbarer Erinnerung an eine empfangene Wohltat von einem hochverdienten Missionar, der schwarze Bartkoteletts trug, in einem Bild, das dem Hirten nahe liegt und von keinem Hottentotten anders denn als Kosebezeichnung aufgefaßt wurde: **+nüi/χûgürsôatse*, „o, du Sohn des schwarzwangigen Schafs" (s. Abbild. S. 263).

Der ausgeprägte Sinn des Hottentotten für Satire ergeht sich frei und mit Behagen in Spottnamen für seinesgleichen und seine weißen Herren: **ǂkχa-nsab* hieß ein Junge mit vorgestrecktem Bauch (von **ǂkχan*, sich den Stuhlgang verkneifen); **ǂgo-res+nôa-tsoia-b* ein Junge von ungelenkiger Körperhaltung, dem „der Genickwirbel im After sitzt"; **/hoimχôs*, d. h. die „Bergwange", hieß ein dickbackiger Neger; **ǂkχôre-b*, d. h. „Knochenbold", ein magerer Bursche; **ǂgaorab* hieß ein Schmutzfink, „der ekelhaft schmeckt" etc.

Knaben in den Übergangsjahren mit ihrem Gemisch von kindlichen und männlichen Zügen fordern den Spott auch eines Hottentotten heraus. So wurde ein solcher Jüngling der besten Flegeljahre **a-ruǂgui-b* genannt: Das Wort *aru* bedeutet das Abjagen der jungen Lämmer von den alten Tieren, die auf die Weide gehen, während die jungen bei der Hütte bleiben; das Wort spielt also auf die kindlichen Züge des Flegels an. *ǂgu-i* bedeutet in der Hirtensprache: einem Vieh, das eigentlich kastriert werden sollte, einstweilen noch die Hoden lassen; das Wort weist also auf die erwachende Männlichkeit des Knaben hin.

Bezeichnend für die Abnahme der Vielweiberei ist, daß ein Mann, der diesen Luxus noch trieb, unter dem Spitznamen **a-mikχoma+gu-ita-raseb* bekannt war, d. h. als einer „der viele *(+gui)* Frauen *(lara-s)* wie ein Strauß *(ami-s)* Hennen hat."

Am Körper des Weißen findet der Hottentott noch leichter als am eigenen schwache Punkte heraus. Der Eine hat in seinen Augen einen zu langen Hals, er heißt also der „Halsige", **/ao-χab.*; dem Anderen hängt

der Schnurrbart über den Mund *(ams)* wie einem Hunde die Lefzen *(°ŋgaibu-b)* über die Schnauze, er heißt deshalb „*ŋgobu-χao-mi*.

Der wird nach dem eigenartigen Ausdruck seiner Augen nach einer gleichnamigen Gecko-Eidechse, einer *Pachydactylus*-Art, °*ǂna-nigyemûts*, jener seines Stampfganges wegen °*ǂnô-tarib*, der „Fersenmann", genannt. Einen auffallend langen Menschen nannten die Hottentotten in Kubub *ǂa-batomaǂnao-b*, d. h. „der nicht auf den Wagen zu klettern *(ǂa-ba)* braucht, um aufzuladen" *(ǂnaio-)*.

Einen anderen nannten sie, *ǂa-osaiǂ-batana-s* (mit weiblicher Endung), weil er den Kopf *(tana-s)* schlaff zur Seite hängen und mit jedem Schritt pendeln ließ, ihn gleichsam auf einem „nassen" *(iǂ* d. h. gleich einem jungsaftigen Blumenstiel noch weichen, haltlosen) Halse *(ǂaos)* trug. Sein Gegenstück, ein Mann, dessen Männerstolz sich in ständiger Überstreckung des Rückgrats aussprach, nannten die Männer: „den Hohlen", °*ǂnǂib*, die Weiber: °*ǂû-saχǂô-b*, weil sein Penis *(χâb)* neu *(ǂâsa)*, d. h. recht gebrauchsfähig war.

Daß der Obeinige *(°ǂkχô-aseb)*, der Dickbäuchige *(°ǂô-etob)*, der Rothaarige *(°ǂa-batana-s)*, ein jeder sein Epitheton schon eine Stunde nach seinem Erscheinen weg hat, ist selbstverständlich.

Andere Spottnamen spielen auf Begebenheiten an: Ein höherer Beamter, der ab und zu mitten im Marsch vom Pferde stieg, um einen Stein oder einen Käfer aufzulesen, hieß vom ersten Reisetag ab der „Lumpensammler", °*na-boreb*. Ein Anderer wurde °*ǂu-triǂa-ogorab*, „der weißhalsige Rabe", getauft, nachdem er, der sonst ruppig angezogen war, gelegentlich eines Empfanges im weißen Stehkragen und schwarzem Rock sich sehen ließ.

Ein Soldat endlich, der den ganzen Tag hartnäckig um die Gunst eines Bastardmädchens warb, das ihn abfahren ließ, hieß allgemein unter den Hottentotten seiner Station: °*ǂnû-soreiŋgâ-ib*, „der da sitzt *(ǂnû)*, auch wenn die Sonne *(so-res)* untergeht" *(iŋgâi)*.

4. Kinderspiele

habe ich vielfach beobachten können.

a) Wo sie eine Nachahmung der Tätigkeit Erwachsener sind, spiegeln sie die Doppelnatur des Hottentotten als eines Hirten und eines Jägers wider. So fangen sich die Knaben gelegentlich Mäuse lebendig ein (eine leichte Aufgabe, wenn sie das Nest gefunden haben), sperren sie als Milchvieh in kleine Lehmkraale und kastrieren die Männchen bis auf eines, das sie als Ramm bei der kleinen Herde halten.

Auf ihren Jagden, mit selbstgefertigten kleinen Bogen und befiederten *Eragr:stis*-Halmen als Pfeilen oder mit Steinen als einziger Waffe, sehen sie in den Eidechsen ihre Springböcke, die Rüsselmäuse (s. S. 287, No. 40) sind die Elephanten, ein rattenartiger Nager der Löwe, die Streifenmaus das Zebra. Das erbeutete Wild wird regelrecht abgehäutet und zerteilt. Wer einen Vogel erlegt hat, rupft ihn und macht wie mit Straußenfedern einen guten Handel.

Der Ochsenwagen der Buren ist auch im Namalande so populär, daß ihn die Kinder in ihre Spiele mit übernommen haben. Große flügellose Heuschrecken sind ihnen willkommene Zugtiere. Sie spannen die starken, halb fingerlangen Insekten vor einen kleinen Ochsenwagen, den sie sich selbst zurecht zimmern. An das Trekktau binden sie die Joche und spannen die Tiere regelrecht ein: zuerst den linken Hinterochsen mit der Jochstrippe außen, dann den rechten mit der Strippe nahe am Trekktau usw. Es scheint ihnen weniger darauf anzukommen, den wunderlichen Anblick eines 24köpfigen Heuschreckengespanns zu haben, als darauf, hier ihren Kräften entsprechend nach allen landesüblichen Regeln den Erwachsenen es gleich zu tun.

In ihren gemeinsamen Spielen liegt trotz alles kindischen Treibens im Einzelnen nicht selten ein Ernst von erzieherischem Wert. Die Knaben rotten sich keineswegs immer nur zu kurzem Zeitvertreib zusammen, um dann wieder auseinander zu stieben, sie organisieren sich häufig fest für ein Jahr und länger. Sie wählen sich ein Oberhaupt, Kapitän, der wählt sich einen Vormann; beide nehmen, wie alle älteren, einen jüngeren als persönlichen Diener. Ungehorsam wird nicht nur spielerisch mit Tribut von Tabak oder Kost bestraft, die Strafe ist für einen Jungen, der sich sein Brot selbst zu verdienen hat, oft empfindlich genug. Der Kapitän hat sich jeder Handgreiflichkeit zu enthalten; er beauftragt einen seiner Leute zur Strafvollziehung, wo er sie für angebracht hält. Die Erwachsenen überlassen ihre Knaben dieser Gerichtsbarkeit der eigenen Altersgenossen und stärken damit dieses System der Selbsterziehung der Jugend.

Bei der sinnlichen Frühreife des Volkes ist es nicht zu verwundern, daß Knaben oft schon Geschlechtsverkehr haben, ehe sie den Kinderspielen entwachsen sind. In einem Fall hatte der Liebhaber eine einmalige Abgabe an das Oberhaupt zu entrichten. In einem anderen Falle entschied der Kapitän sogar Streitfragen in Liebessachen, sprach ein Mädchen diesem ab und jenem zu und trat damit weit aus den Grenzen des Kinderspiels.

Wo keine Reibereien mit anderen Spielrotten den kriegerischen Sinn befriedigen, werden gelegentlich Kampfspiele veranstaltet. Hat z. B. einer

der Viehwärter einen Dornbaum mit Wespennestern gefunden, dann bewaffnet sich die Schar mit kurzen Steinschleudern, die sie sich aus einem Stückchen Fell und zwei Riemen herstellen. Etwa 20 Schritte vom Baum entfernt stellen sie sich auf. Es ist jetzt die Aufgabe des Vormannes, auf den Baum zu klettern, von einem der Nester ein Stück loszubrechen und dem Kapitän zu überbringen. Es ist keine leichte Probe auf den Mut des Jungen, nur mit einem Lendenschurz bekleidet, sich in den bösartigen Schwarm vorzuwagen. Hat er sich dieser Aufgabe entledigt, eröffnet die Bande ein Bombardement auf die Nester. In dem Fall, den ich hier in Erinnerung habe, gelang es den Knaben nicht, die Nester zu zerstören; zur Strafe dafür durften sie an diesem Abend nicht von der Milch ihrer Ziegen trinken, die ihnen wie üblich die Eltern oder der Brotherr zur Nutznießung überlassen hatten.

Das *nabi*-Spiel ahmt im Äußeren nur noch symbolisch, in der Vorstellung aber unmittelbar anschaulich, die Kriegsgebräuche Erwachsener nach. Ein Dorn der Giraffenakazie oder des Dornbaumes wird auf ein etwas über fingerlanges, dünnes Holzstäbchen gesteckt. Dieses pfeilähnliche Spielzeug wird in der Weise, wie die Figur zeigt, zwischen die Finger geklemmt und unter Abziehen des Daumens nach unten und vorwärts geschnippt, in ein Häufchen fingerlanger Binsenstücke hinein, die entweder offen daliegen oder mit Sand bedeckt werden, damit sie nicht wegspringen, wenn der Dorn zwischen sie fährt. Die gespießten Binsenstückchen sind in der Phantasie der Kinder Kühe, werden dementsprechend *gomati* genannt; die Kinder selbst fühlen sich als siegreiche Kriegsleute, die sich im Hazardspiel in ihre Beute teilen.

Haltung der Hand im Beute-Verlosungs-Spiel.

Die Nachahmungsspiele der Hottentottenkinder sind insofern noch spezieller beachtenswert, als sie das einzige Stadium im Leben des Mannes darstellen, in dem ein künstlerischer Trieb nach plastischer Betätigung sucht. Die halbwüchsigen Jungen, im Alter etwa zwischen 8 und 16 Jahren, formen sich aus Lehm ihr Spielzeug, brennen den Lehm auch am Feuer, um ihm außer der Härte auch Farbennuancen zu geben.

Den Mittelpunkt der ersten Gruppe nimmt die Figur eines weißen Mannes ein, der hinter dem Pferd steht. Dem Hottentotten mit seiner breiten,

niedrigen Nase fällt der schmale, hohe Nasenrücken unserer Rasse auf und reizt ihn, wie hier, zur Karrikatur. Rechts daneben steht ein rauchendes eingeborenes Weib mit Steatopygie; hinter ihr, bei den Schweinen, ein Junge am dreifüßigen eisernen Burenkochtopf. Am Reitochsen ist das Nasenholz

I.

II.

beachtenswert. Der Fettschwanzhammel stößt sich mit einem Ziegenbock. Der kniende Schütze im Anschlag, mit dem zugekniffenen Auge, ist gut beobachtet.

Fig. II zeigt links ein Straußenpaar, das Männchen durch natürlichen Federschmuck und seine Größe hervorgehoben. Die Giraffe hat der Künstler jedenfalls nicht im Namaland, sondern wohl gelegentlich in einem Tierpark der Kapkolonie gesehen. Die Oryx-Antilope ist an ihrem Stangengehörn, der Springbock an der Lyraform seiner Hörner kenntlich. Von den beiden Skorpionen mit dem drohend erhobenen Stachel ist der rechte der gelungenere. Paviane zu beobachten hat der junge Hirt reichlich Gelegenheit; die hier wiedergegebenen Vorgänge hat er sichtlich mit Aufmerksamkeit verfolgt. Die übrigen Figuren stellen einen Frosch, einen Leguan und eine Schildkröte dar.

Die letzte Gruppe der Lehmfiguren (Fig. III) stellt einen Ochsenwagen dar, den von der Vorkiste aus der alte Bur mit der langen Peitsche dirigiert,

III.

während der eingeborene Tauleiter den Weg sucht. Auf die naturgetreue Wiedergabe der Vorderochsen, die sich stark in die Joche legen, sei besonders hingewiesen.

Was überall in gleicher Weise in diesen plastischen Versuchen sich zu erkennen gibt, ist die Fähigkeit, das Charakteristische des Gegenstandes ohne Reflexion, nur aus lebendiger Anschauung heraus, wiederzugeben. Es ist das dieselbe Ursprünglichkeit, die die Zeichnungen der vorgeschichtlichen Menschen von denen unserer mehr denkend reproduzierenden Kinder (mit denen sie gerade jetzt wieder eingehend verglichen werden) unterscheidet.

Seltsam ist, wie die unzweifelhafte plastisch-nachbildende Fähigkeit des Hottentotten erlischt, wenn das Alter der Kinderspiele vorüber gegangen ist.

b) Wettspiele treiben die Knaben auf zweierlei Art mit Wurfhölzern. Ein armlanger Stock, *ǂa-rab* genannt, am besten aus dem Holz einer *Rhus*-Art oder einer *Grewia* geschnitten, wird am dicken Ende (von ca. 1 cm Durchmesser) gefaßt und mit kräftigem Anlauf so platt auf den Boden geworfen, daß er elastisch aufspringt und pfeilartig vorwärts schießt.

Verwandt ist das Spiel mit den etwas kürzeren **/kχaus*-Stöcken; sie werden etwas vor dem hinteren, spitz zulaufenden Ende gefaßt und, ebenfalls mit Anlauf, derart von unten gegen einen Busch geworfen, daß ihm die Zweige (besonders die glatten *Cyperus*-Büsche sind geeignet) eine feste Haltung im Flug geben. Der Stock fliegt dann in höherem oder niedrigerem Bogen mit dem schweren Ende voran über Strecken, die ich mit keinem Steinwurf erreichen konnte.

/kχaus- und *ǂa-rab*-Wurfstock.

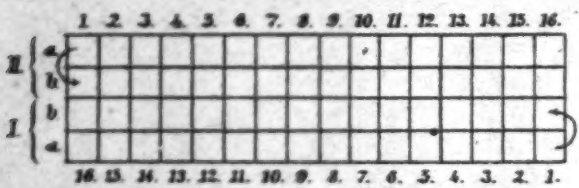
Ihre Fingergewandtheit üben die Kinder hie und da in kleinen Taschenspielerkünsten. Sie nehmen z. B., am Boden hockend, in jede Hand drei Steinchen und werfen, gleichzeitig beide Hände senkend, zwei Steinchen symmetrisch vor sich hin, — wie jedermann glaubt, je einen Stein aus einer Hand. Dann öffnen sie die Hände und zeigen lachend drei Steinchen in der einen und ein Steinchen in der anderen Hand. Es erfordert immerhin einige Geschicklichkeit, aus der eben noch fest geschlossenen Hand zwei Steinchen so zu werfen, daß das eine gerade herunter, das andere seitwärts vor die Nachbarhand fällt.

Auf andere Weise messen sie sich in Gewandtheit, indem sie auf verschnörkelten Wegen, die sie in den Sand gezogen haben, so schnell als möglich daherzulaufen suchen, ohne einen Fehltritt zu tun. — Dabei rufen sie einen Bussardartigen Vogel mit den Worten an: *„hisaruse, ǂgama daose, hisabese, ǂgama daose“*, d. h. *„Hisarus*, der Wasserweg, *Hisabes* etc.“ (Warum sie gerade diesen Vogel anrufen, ob er ihnen wie der Taubenflug die Richtung des Weges zum Wasser anzeigt, ist unklar.)

Weit verbreitet in Südafrika und von Hottentottenkindern ebenso gern gespielt wie von Erwachsenen, ist das Grubenspiel, *ǂhûrs* genannt, bei dem ich den Eingeborenen mit besonderem Interesse zugesehen habe, da es Überlegung erfordert und mit Leidenschaft gespielt wird. Ohne Bezug

darauf zu nehmen, wie dieses weitverbreitete Spiel in anderen Teilen Südafrikas gehandhabt wird, seien hier nur kurz die Beobachtungen mitgeteilt, die ich über diesen Gegenstand unter Hottentotten gemacht habe.

α) Das Spiel wird ausgefochten von zwei einander gegenübersitzenden Parteien *(I* und *II)* mit beliebig vielen Teilnehmern. Die Parteimitglieder können jeden Zug gemeinsam beraten, einer führt ihn aus.



β) Das Spielfeld besteht aus 4 Reihen von je 16 bis 22 mit der Hand im losen Sande ausgehobenen Gruben, *ihũ-rti*, die sich gleichmäßig auf beide Parteien verteilen. In der ersten Reihe *(a)* jeder Partei wird jedes Loch mit zwei Marken besetzt, in der zweiten Reihe *(b)* nur die rechte Hälfte jeder Spielfront. Als Marken dienen kleine Steinchen, häufig auch Ziegenmist.

γ) Vier Anfänge sind möglich. Es kann gesetzt werden:

aus a^7 in b^6 und b^5
oder „ a^8 „ b^7 „ b^6
„ „ b^8 „ b^7 „ b^6
„ „ a^9 „ b^8 „ b^7.

δ) Das Setzen der Marken. Nur beim ersten Anziehen ist es erlaubt, aus der Mitte der einen Reihe in die andere zu setzen. Im übrigen erfolgt das Setzen, ohne ein Loch zu überspringen, nur gegen die Richtung des Uhrzeigers. Ein Übergang von einer Reihe zur anderen erfolgt für jeden Spieler nur an der rechten Ecke seines Spielfeldes (siehe Pfeil).

Das Setzen besteht darin, daß der Spieler die Marken einer seiner Gruben aufnimmt und einzeln auf die folgenden Gruben verteilt. Diese Marken aufnehmen muß jeder, der beim Setzen mit mehr als einer Marke in einer Grube endet. Die Marken dieser Grube werden also ausgenommen und weiter gesetzt. Kommt in das letzte Loch, das besetzt wird, nur eine Marke zu liegen, so spielt der Gegner weiter; kommen in das jeweilige letzte Loch, das benutzt wird, zwei oder mehr Marken zu liegen und hat gleichzeitig der Gegner in der entsprechenden (gleichzahligen) Grube seiner Reihe *b* eine oder mehrere Marken, so nimmt man die eigene Grube, in der man endete, nicht aus, sondern raubt dem Gegner alle Marken, die,

kurz gesagt, in der Flucht dieser Gruben liegen (d. h. alle Marken, die in den gleichzahligen Löchern der *a*- und *b*-Reihe des Gegners sich befinden).

Die geraubten Marken legt man sich nach den Regeln, die für das Setzen gelten, in die eigenen Gruben. Die Zahl der Marken in einer Grube kann beliebig steigen.

Gewonnen hat, wem es gelingt, dem Gegner auf dem angegebenen Wege alle Marken abzunehmen.

c) Als Phantasiespiel sei endlich eine Kurzweil der Kinder und Frauen genannt, die darin besteht, bestimmte rhythmische Geräusche zu erzeugen. Das eine Spielzeug wird *χa-bubu-s* genannt. Ein rechteckiges, flaches Stückchen Holz wird an zwei Stellen durchbohrt, durch die Löcher ein Riemenfaden gezogen und durch Schwingen die beiden Riemenfäden derartig überdreht, daß durch taktmäßiges Anspannen und Schlaffgeben das Hölzchen von den überdrehten und sich wieder abdrehenden Riemen in lebhaft schwirrende Bewegung versetzt wird. Je nach dem Rhythmus, den sie dabei anwenden, rufen sie sich die Vorstellung erst eines trabenden, dann eines galoppierenden, dann eines durchgehenden Pferdes wach. Durch Blasen gegen das Schwirrhölzchen lassen sie das flüchtige Pferd schnauben. Demselben Zweck dient ein dünnes Stäbchen, dessen Name, *ǂha-buhaib* (von *ha-bu* = Durchgehen scheuer Tiere) aus dem Vorhergesagten verständlich ist. Das Stäbchen oder der Halm einer bestimmten Grasart wird zwischen die Lippen genommen und mit dem Finger auf- und niedergeschlagen, daß es im Surren den drohend sich überstürzenden Hufschlag eines wild gewordenen Pferdes nachahmt.

Ehe wir die Kinder verlassen, ist darauf hinzuweisen, wie sie ihr gemeinsames Treiben in Freundschaft verbindet. Knaben unter sich und Mädchen unter sich, oder beide miteinander, betrachten sich, wenn sie gleichalterig (*ǂhāi*, verb.) und an einem Ort aufgewachsen sind, ihr Leben lang als Alterskameraden, *ǂguiǂhāin*. Jeder ist der **ǂhā-tsab* oder der **ǂhō-tsab* des anderen. Meist hörte ich sie nicht sich bei Namen nennen, sondern in einer besonderen Form von Vertraulichkeit mit *ao-tse* im männlichen und *a-χase* im weiblichen Geschlecht sich anrufen. Es ist nicht nötig, die Pflichten der Altersgenossen gegeneinander einzeln aufzuzählen; die Generalpflicht der Altersgenossenschaft, die alle anderen einschließt, ist: Zusammenhalten in allen Lebenslagen.

5. Auflösung der Familie

findet unter den heutigen Verhältnissen meist frühzeitig statt. Früher wird der große Herdenbestand, wie bei uns etwa ein großes Bauerngut, die Familie im Interesse ökonomischer Bewirtschaftung und voller Auswertung des Besitzes lange zusammengehalten haben. Heute ist der Hottentott frühzeitig auf Broterwerb im Dienst des Weißen angewiesen und so stieben die Kinder oft schon halbwüchsig auseinander.

Inwieweit der Tod eines der Ehegatten die Familienbande lockert, läßt sich ohne Kenntnis des Erbrechts nicht ermessen. Ich habe in dieser Richtung keine Studien angestellt.

Nur über die Totenbräuche konnte ich mich informieren. Wie sie heute gehandhabt werden, stellen sie ein Gemisch alter Traditionen, christlichen Einflusses und der auch hier fortschreitenden Degeneration des Volkstums dar. Dem Toten werden die Augen zugedrückt, der Leichnam von alten Frauen gewaschen und in Rückenlage gestreckt; die Arme liegen lang herunter neben dem Leib, die Hände sind, mit dem Rücken nach oben, im Schoß nebeneinander gelegt. Felle bilden das Leichengewand; mit der Haarseite nach innen und mit Buchupulver bestreut werden sie um den Körper gewickelt und zusammengenäht. Das Gesicht bleibt bis kurz vor der Beerdigung frei, dann wird ein ausgesparter Fellzipfel darübergedeckt und locker festgeheftet.

Der Tote bleibt allein in der Hütte, auf Decken am Boden liegend. Die Angehörigen, Nachbarn und Freunde bringen die Nacht außerhalb der Hütte gemeinsam mit Singen zu. Noch ehe die Leiche beerdigt ist, fängt der Totenschmaus an. Die Männer, die die Grube graben, essen schon, ehe sie an die Arbeit gehen. Wenn die Grube etwa $^3/_4$ m breit und knapp mannstief ausgehoben ist, wird in der Tiefe, der einen Längswand des Grabes folgend, eine niedrige enge Seitennische zur Aufnahme der Leiche gehöhlt. Meist am Nachmittag des Tages nach dem Tode findet die Beerdigung statt. Der eingenähte Tote wird auf Riemen heruntergelassen. Dann steigen zwei Männer nach und schieben die Leiche in die Nische stets so, daß sie die Grube zur Rechten hat und das Kopfende nach Westen gekehrt ist. Die Leiche, deren Beerdigung ich mit ansah, wurde in gestreckter Rückenlage gebettet; kauernde Haltung wird als ursprüngliche Sitte angegeben[68]).

Mit dichtem Buschwerk, das den ganzen Boden der Grube deckt, wird die Totennische geschlossen. Auf das Buschwerk folgt eine Steinschicht;

mit Erde oder Sand wird die Grube dann vollends gefüllt und der Hügel aufgeworfen. Den Abschluß bilden wieder Steine, die sich in mehrfachen Schichten über den Boden häufen. Ein großer Stein, senkrecht eingepflanzt, halb armlang aufragend, zuweilen auch eine Gemsbockstange, bezeichnen das Kopfende des Grabes. Die geschilderte Bestattungsweise bildet den besten Schutz der Leiche gegen Hyänen und findet wohl von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus ihre Erklärung.

Alle Angehörigen und Freunde bis zu den kleinsten Kindern, die sonst noch zu keiner Arbeit angehalten werden, helfen das Grab schließen. Wie wir Blumen niederlegen, so streuen sie wohlriechendes Buchupulver auf den Hügel.

Wer nach langer Abwesenheit zum Grabe zurückkommt, legt einen Stein oder ein Holzscheit oder einen Zweig dort nieder. Das gleiche tut jeder, der in den Ort kommt und einen Freund nicht mehr am Leben findet, als Symbol dafür, daß auch er ihn mit bestattet hat.

Wer sanft stirbt, lebt ebenso mild in den Träumen der Überlebenden weiter. Wer im schweren Kampf oder wild phantasierend starb, erscheint den Überlebenden nachts als Schreckgespenst. Die Frage aber, ob der Abgeschiedene an sich in irgend einer Gestalt noch eine Schattenexistenz fristet, habe ich nirgends erwogen gefunden. Ihre Phantasie endet hier in der Sage vom Hasen, dessen Feigheit die Menschen um die Unsterblichkeit, die ihnen der Mond verheißen hatte, betrog (siehe Sage No. XXX).

Regen, Sturm oder dichtes Gewölk, das etwa eine Woche nach dem Todesfall erscheint, gilt hie und da als Zeichen, daß die Galle aus dem verwesenden Körper fließt. Auch jeder Witterungswechsel, Windstille, Sturm, Kälte, Hitze, Gewitter, gelten als eine Sendung des Toten; so hielten die Hottentotten einst eine große Cirruswolke für die Totensendung eines verstorbenen weißen Mannes.

B. Stammesgemeinschaft.

Die Zerstreuung der Bevölkerung über weite Gebiete und ihre unstete Lebensweise, beides eine Folge der klimatischen Bedingungen des Landes, hat das gesellschaftliche und staatliche Leben der Hottentotten niemals zu festen Normen erstarren lassen. Zudem haben die Wirren der letzten Jahre, was sich von alten Einrichtungen noch bis vor kurzem erhalten hat, weggefegt, so daß eine geschlossene Darstellung des Zusammenlebens der Hottentotten in Staat und Gemeinde heute gegenstandslos wäre. Dem Reisenden

bleibt hier nur übrig, im Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen auf diejenigen Grundanschauungen zu achten, die vielleicht noch im Volke lebendig sind, auch wenn sie sich nicht mehr offenkundig ausprägen. Das wenige, über das ich hier zu berichten habe, bezieht sich auf die Anschauungen der Hottentotten in Fragen des Eigentums, des Geschlechtsverkehrs und der Macht.

1. Eigentum.

Im Nara-Buschfeld des Kuiseb-Gebiets hinter der Walfischbai liegen wohl die einzigen Fälle von Privatbesitz nicht beweglicher Güter vor. Die Hütte ist bewegliches Gut und die sogenannten Gärten sind dem Hottentottenbesitz etwas ursprünglich Fremdes, das hier nicht mitzählt. Die nutzbaren Strecken des Landes, die Weidegebiete, sind Allgemeinbesitz der Familien, die ihr Vieh auf ihnen stehen haben. Das Recht auf dieses Weidefeld besteht aber nur so lange als keine stärkere Gemeinschaft es streitig macht; Kämpfe um Weide und Vieh sind von den ältesten Zeiten ab zwischen den Hottentotten ausgefochten worden. Der Mangel einer Organisation, die über die engen Stammesgrenzen hinausginge, hat viel zur Zersplitterung nationaler Kraft beigetragen.

Innerhalb des Stammes (dem Weißen gegenüber gilt eine andere Moral) ist das Privateigentum an beweglichem Gut, also vor allem an Vieh, genügend geschützt. Diebstahl gilt hier als schweres Unrecht und wird auf das strengste bestraft (siehe Macht).

Die Tilgung einer Schuld (wieder nur unter ihresgleichen) gilt zwar als Ehrensache, wird aber oft genug leicht genommen: *„ǂaûs ga ǂareχa ota ni ra ma tsi,“* d. h. „wenn der Klippdachs einen Schwanz bekommt (also niemals), dann werde ich Dir's zurückgeben“.

Bei aller Strenge in der Wahrung seines Eigentumsrechts liegt dem Hottentotten doch Geiz fern. Er teilt nicht nur mit seinesgleichen sein Letztes, er ist auch (und war es vor allem, wie alle älteren Berichte bezeugen), von hervorragender Gastlichkeit dem durchreisenden Fremden gegenüber. Es wäre überflüssig, hier noch einmal zu beweisen, daß diese Gastlichkeit nicht lediglich in kluger Berechnung auf einen Vorteil gewährt wurde, sondern einem tief eingewurzelten Zug von Brüderlichkeit entspricht.

Dieser Charakterzug gibt sich auch in einer Art Liebesgaben-Verhältnis kund, für das wir im Deutschen keine Bezeichnung haben, das deshalb am besten bei seinem Eingeborenennamen **soregus* genannt wird. Die Soreschaft wird durch Zutrinken eingeleitet. Mit den Worten: *„ǂî soreb“* oder

„sore ǂgams", d. h. „das ist Sorewasser", wird dem oder der Erwählten ein Trunk gereicht, von dem der Geber selbst zuerst einen Zug getan hat. Ein Knabe, der auf diese Weise in ein näheres Verhältnis zu einem alten Hottentotten trat, bekam ein Pferd und etliche Stück Kleinvieh geschenkt; er überlebte seinen Wohltäter, fühlt sich aber noch heute verpflichtet, dessen Kindern später — darüber mögen 20 Jahre vergehen — einmal ein Gegengeschenk zu machen, wenn ihn auch niemand dazu zwingen könnte. Auch Frauen untereinander treten in dieses Verhältnis. Ohne nach einer Gegenleistung zu fragen, schenkte eine Frau ihrem kleinen Günstling, einem Mädchen, mehrere Ziegen; nach Jahren bekam sie dafür einen Sack Kaffee gelegentlich geschenkt. Charakteristisch für das Soreverhältnis ist, daß es keinerlei Rechtsschutz, wie etwa ein Tauschgeschäft, beansprucht, sondern lediglich auf gegenseitigem Vertrauen beruht. Eine Kritik der treibenden Motive gab mir in keinem Fall Anhalt zu der Annahme, daß Gewinnsucht im Spiele war: Gebefreudigkeit als ein Charakterzug des Volkes ist jedenfalls eine der Triebfedern des Sorebrauchs. Ob sie die ursprüngliche war oder ob hier geschlechtliche Neigungen von vornherein mitspielten (s. weiter unten), wage ich nicht zu entscheiden.

2. Der Geschlechtsverkehr

der Hottentotten wird nicht mehr wie früher im Interesse der Stammesgemeinschaft durch Sittenvorschriften geregelt. Heute stößt man sich — mit Ausnahme der treu zu den Lehren der Mission haltenden Familien — selbst an den freiesten Geschlechtsverkehr nicht mehr. Ehedem war Sittenstrenge auch unter den Hottentotten zu finden. Augenzeugen aus der Zeit vor 30—40 Jahren berichten, daß ein Mädchen, das sich vergangen hatte, in Gegenwart des Schuldigen von ihren Eltern mit Riemen gepeitscht wurde und daß sich dann der Mann in Gegenwart des Mädchens derselben Strafe unterziehen mußte. Ähnlich wurde mit einem Mädchen verfahren, bei dem die massierenden Frauen Striae als Zeichen einer alten verheimlichten Schwangerschaft fanden. Heute denken die Hottentottenmütter anders. Die Moral unter Verheirateten ist nicht besser. Das oben genannte Soreverhältnis, das zwar in einem großen Teil der Fälle durchaus ehrbar ist, bedeutet in anderen Fällen eine verschwiegene Übereinkunft zu intimem Verkehr außerhalb der Ehe.

Auch die Zauberei steht hier und da im Dienst der Unzucht; *ǂnarminaim* bedeutet das Behexen zur Sicherung der Liebe: Das Mundstück der Pfeife

wird unbemerkt mit dem Inhalt der Medizindose bestrichen; der Mann raucht an und reicht die Pfeife der Frau, deren Liebe er sich verschaffen will.

Vergewaltigungen werden natürlich trotz aller Sittenlosigkeit als schweres Unrecht empfunden; man würde das kaum erwähnen, wenn man nicht ab und zu einer gegenteiligen Auffassung bei den Weißen im Lande begegnete. Einem Hottentotten, der sich unverbesserlich nachts in die Hütten schlich, um allein schlafende Frauen zu vergewaltigen, wurde (dem Bericht eines alten Hottentotten nach) ein Hoden ausgeschnitten, mit der Drohung, im Rückfall auch den anderen lassen zu müssen. Der diese Halbkastrierung vorgenommen hatte, starb kurz darauf, und darin sahen die Hottentotten des Kraals einen Fingerzeig, daß ihre Methode doch nicht einwandfrei sei, und wandten sie seitdem nicht wieder an. Derartige Fälle haben vielleicht Anlaß zu der Vorstellung gegeben, daß halbseitige Kastrierung ein Brauch der Hottentotten sei.

Abtreibungen sind nichts ungewöhnliches. Ein heißer Aufguß von alten Klippdachsharn (s. Analyse im Anhang), wenn nötig, mehrere Tage hintereinander getrunken, gilt als wirksames Abtreibemittel. Die Prozedur selbst nennen sie bezeichnenderweise **ǂūnāt*, d. h. „Trinken und Fallen".

Um das wenig erfreuliche Bild zu vervollständigen, sollen die Flüche sexuellen Inhalts, die man häufig hört, nicht verschwiegen werden. Zuvor sei betont, daß selbst bei freiestem Geschlechtsverkehr (wahllos-handwerksmäßige Prostitution ausgenommen) das Schamgefühl meist nicht verloren gegangen ist. Die Tat ist frei, Blicke und Worte verletzen. Deshalb werden Schimpfreden, die das Schamgefühl laut beleidigen, wie das häufige *„gai-χāba ū"*, „Du mit dem großen Penis" auch von den wenigst Prüden als Herausforderung empfunden. Die Häßlichkeit des Bildes verstärkt dann weiter die Beleidigung: *„ǂara χāba ūts"*, „Du mit dem Penis gleich dem Schamwulst des Pavians". *(*ǂa·ras* ist die grell gerötete, periodisch dick anschwellende, nackte Hautwulstung im Umkreis der Scham des weiblichen Pavians*)*.

Am schwersten sind die Flüche, die außer dem Schamgefühl auch die Pietät verletzen, indem sie mit dem Beschimpften selbst gleichzeitig dessen Mutter oder dessen Schwester treffen: *„ǂhaǂ+nūisōats"*, „Du *(-ts)* Sohn *(ōab)* der Scham *(ǂnūis,* vulva*)*, ekelhaft wie die Milch-Kalabas-Schmutzkruste" *(ǂhaǂs)*. Der Fluch: *„sa ǂgāsa χaē"*, „Treib Schande mit Deiner Schwester", kann selbst den stumpfsten Hottentotten zur Wut stacheln.

Mehr darauf abzielend, den Beschimpften lächerlich zu machen, ist der Zuruf: *„ǂgûits go hã o“*, „ei, Du bist ja steif geworden“ *(ǂgûi*, Erektion haben*)*.

Die Zustände im Verkehr der Geschlechter dokumentieren den rapiden Verfall des sozialen Lebens der Hottentotten.

3. Die Macht

innerhalb der Stammesgemeinschaft lag noch zur Zeit meines Aufenthalts im Namalande wie von alters her in der Hand eines Oberhauptes, *gao-aob* oder **gao-b*, eines „Kapitäns“, und eines Rates älterer Männer, mit dem der Kapitän alle wichtigen Angelegenheiten, je nach der Persönlichkeit bald selbstherrlich führend, bald selbst geschoben, besprach. Das Recht, im Rat zu sitzen, ist nicht an bestimmte Bedingungen geknüpft: Fähigkeit, Erfahrung und Alter qualifizieren. Im einzelnen aber steht heute diese althottentottische Regierungsform schon stark unter dem Einfluß kapholländischer Vorbilder und christlicher Elemente (vergl. den Troß Hendrik Witbooi) [78]).

Sind die Werften der Hottentotten, die unter einem Kapitän stehen, weit voneinander entfernt, so setzt der Kapitän einen Mann aus seiner Verwandtschaft als eine Art Statthalter über die fernen Werften ein. Auf diesem Wege verzweigt sich die Herrscherfamilie in räumlich getrennte Sippen, die mit besonderem Namen (häufig einem ihrer Vorfahren entlehnt) unterschieden werden. So unterscheiden die Topnaars in der Verwandtschaft ihres Kapitäns: *ǀhai-begu, mũ‖(e)în* und *ǁnorabagu*.

Die Entscheidung über Krieg und Frieden, über Wanderzüge und Handelsbeziehungen, die Schlichtung von Rechtsstreitigkeiten und die Verhängung von Strafen waren noch bis vor kurzem die Machtbefugnisse des Kapitäns und seines Rats. Der letzte Auflehnungsversuch der Hottentotten gegen die weiße Oberherrschaft wird bald restlos mit der eingeborenen Regierungsform aufgeräumt haben. Mit Hendrik Witbooi ist ihr letzter, in seiner Art respektabler Vertreter dahingegangen.

C. Das Verhältnis der Hottentotten zu den fremden Menschenrassen in ihrer Heimat und Nachbarschaft

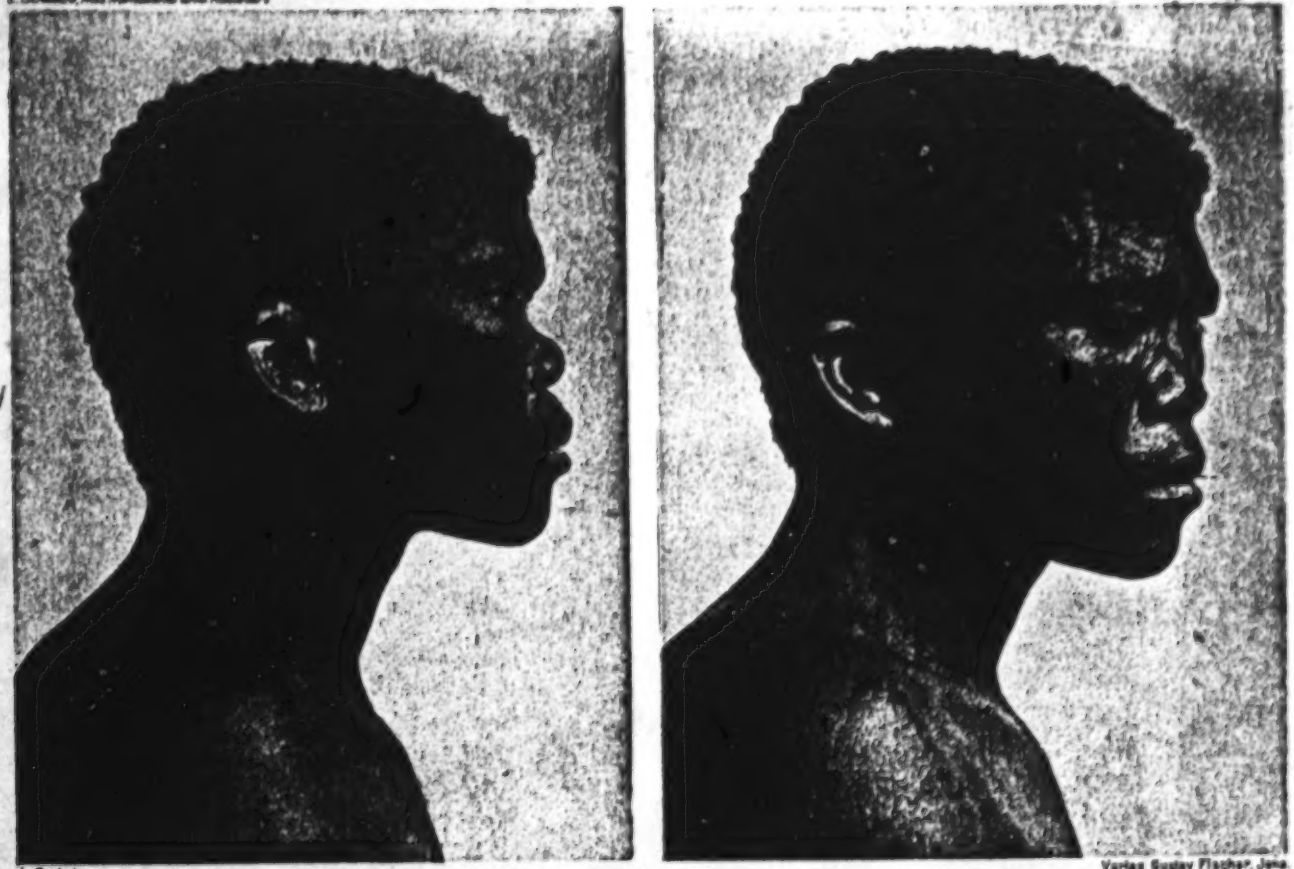
soll uns hier nur kurz und nur in seinem persönlichen Moment, soweit es zur Charakteristik des Eingeborenen beiträgt, beschäftigen.

Man nimmt unbestritten an, die Hottentotten hätten ihrem Selbstbewußtsein dadurch Ausdruck gegeben, daß sie sich über alle anderen

Menschen erhebend *K'χoĭ-kχoĭn*, „Menschen der Menschen", nennen, in demselben verherrlichenden Sinne wie wir etwa von einem „Buch der Bücher" reden. Diese Auffassung ist zu modifizieren. Fragt man einen Hottentotten: *„mā ǂhaos kχoĕtsa?"*, d. h. wörtlich „ein Mensch welchen Stammes bist Du?", so antwortet er entweder: *„na-ǂmata"*, „ich bin ein Nama", oder er setzt diese Kenntnis voraus und sieht dann in der Frage einen Zweifel an der Reinheit seines Menschentums; seine Antwort lautet in diesem Fall: *„kχoĕ-kχoĕta"*, „ich bin ein echter Mensch". Die Verdoppelung hat hier denselben Sinn wie in der Antwort eines Hottentotten, den ich auf die skeptische Frage: *„tarebe hāba?"*, „was für ein Pferd ist das?", erwidern hörte: *„hā-hāba g(u)mo"*, „ei, doch ein Pferd-Pferd", d. h. ein echtes Pferd. Mit der Verdoppelung der Bezeichnung „Mensch" drückt also der Hottentott im gegebenen Falle aus, daß er ein Mensch ohne fremde Zutat ist, kein Zwitterwesen wie etwa ein Buschmanns-Bastard oder wie der verachtete Bergdamara, der ihrer Auffassung nach mit dem Pavian verwandt ist (siehe Sage No. XV). In demselben Sinne würde der Hottentott die Antwort *„kχoĕ-kχoĕta"* auch aus dem Munde eines Weißen verstehen. Wenn also die Benennung *kχoĭ-kχoĭn* eine Sammelbezeichnung für sämtliche Hottentottenstämme war (sie scheint als solche heute nicht mehr im Volke lebendig zu sein), dann hat sie nicht den Sinn von „Menschen-Elite" gehabt, sondern ist nur der Ausdruck dafür gewesen, daß sich der Hottentott inmitten der Völker, die ihn umgeben, seiner „Echtheit", d. h. des rassenreinen Ursprungs seines Menschentums bewußt ist. Das schließt nicht aus, daß er das gleiche auch anderen Völkern zuerkennt. Im einzelnen bestimmt aber die Erfahrung seine Wertschätzung einer fremden Rasse. In seinem persönlichen

1. Verhältnis zu den übrigen Eingeborenen Südafrikas

a) nimmt der Buschmann die tiefste Stelle ein. Die Buschmänner sind wohl von allen südafrikanischen Menschenrassen dem Hottentotten am ältesten verbunden. Aber wann und wie sie seine Sklaven wurden, wissen wir nicht. Sie werden mit Verachtung und äußerster Strenge behandelt. Viehdiebstahl, den sie als besitzlos nicht mit Eigentumsstrafen büßen können, verwirkt meist den Tod. Das nomadisierende Jägerleben der kläglichen Buschmannsreste im Namaland läßt einen Anschluß ihrer Familien an die ihnen [illegible] meist nicht zu und läßt das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis lockerer erscheinen, als man gewöhnlich mit dem Begriff des Sklaventums verbindet.



L. S. phot. Verlag Gustav Fischer, Jena.

BUSCHMANN AUS DEM SANDFELD, VOM STAMM DER GOBANIN

[p 322a]

L: Schultze FX13 Hottentot

Es ist weniger auf Zwang begründet als auf freiwilliger Unterordnung des Schwächeren, in der Erwartung kleiner Vorteile im Lebensunterhalt, wenn auch mit dem Bewußtsein völliger Rechtlosigkeit im Hintergrunde. Enger sind

b) die Bergdamara oder „Klippkaffern" der Hottentottenfamilie angegliedert. Auf den rätselhaften Ursprung und die ethnologischen Merkmale dieser tiefschwarzen, gedrungenen, mittelgroßen Menschen gehen wir ebenso wenig wie auf die der Buschmänner ein, auch hier interessiert uns nur die Stellungnahme der Hottentotten.

Die erste Berührung der Hottentotten mit den Bergdamara reicht über die Zeit zurück, aus der uns geschichtliche Daten überliefert sind. Denn schon Pieter Brand, der Begleiter des entdeckungsfreudigen Willem van Reenen [16]), der im September 1791 eine Expedition in das Groß-Namaland führte, fand bei den Bergdamara die Sprache der Hottentotten im Gebrauch; die eigene Muttersprache schien damals schon wie heute vergessen gewesen zu sein. Obwohl die Bergdamara unter deutscher Schutzherrschaft ihre Freiheit erhalten haben und wie vom Joch der Herero, so auch von dem der Hottentotten befreit sind, sind sie doch bei den letzteren wie die Buschmänner vielfach in freiwilliger Abhängigkeit als Hausgesinde geblieben.

Obwohl allgemein als gutartig und anleitsam bekannt und dementsprechend vom Weißen geschätzt, ist dem Bergdamara der geringschätzige Name, den seine Unterdrücker ihm gegeben haben, doch geblieben. Der Hottentott nennt die Bergdamara *ǂau-daman*, d. h. „Scheißkaffern", ich hörte sie auch als *ǂhau-/kχoĩn* bezeichnet werden, d. h. (nach Angabe der Hottentotten selbst) „Mistmenschen" *). Eine freundliche, halb scherzhafte, auch für den Pavian gebrauchte Anrede, mit der der Hottentott sich gelegentlich an einen Bergdamara wendet, ist **/no-ro /kχo-nibetse*, mit einer mir unklaren Anspielung auf eine eßbare Pflanze; oder er nennt ihn ebenfalls wie den Pavian, **/hu-nitsi /hai-tse*, spottend, er sei so fahl *(/hai)* wie der */hunis*-Baum (eine *Boscia*-Art).

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*) Abgeleitet von **ǂhaub* — Mist. Krönlein [17]) kennt dieses Wort nicht und leitet die gesamte Bezeichnung, die sich nach ihm die Bergdamara selbst gegeben haben sollen, von dem Wort für „richtig sein" ab, das aber für mein Ohr nicht *ǂhau!* sondern mit getrennter Aussprache der beiden Vokale und steigendem (Terz) Wortionfall *ǂhau-* lautet. Ich kann der Krönleinschen Anschauung die meinige nur als nacktes Resultat meiner Aufnahmen ohne Entscheidung, welcher von beiden der Vorzug gebührt, gegenüberstellen. Schinz [18]) schreibt irrtümlicherweise */haukhoin*, und sein Setzer verwechselt den Schnalzer noch weiter im Register.

c) Von den Stämmen, die man auf Grund ihres gemeinsamen Sprachbaues als Bantu zusammenfaßt, können wir die Ovambo, *ǂnabe-n*, und die Betschuanen, *b(e)rin*, d. h. Ziegen, als nur gelegentlich mit den Hottentotten in Berührung gekommen, übergehen. Nur mit einem Bantustamm haben die Hottentotten in Jahrhunderte alter Feindschaft ihre Kräfte gemessen, mit den Ovaherero, die vor etwa 100 Jahren von Nordosten in die Länder südlich des Kunene eindrangen[70]. Vom Hottentottenstamm der Roten Nation und dem Anhang Jonker Afrikaaners wurde um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts die Macht der andrängenden Herero gebrochen. Von Anfang der 60'er Jahre ab wandte sich aber das Blatt und nach blutigen Kämpfen unterlagen die Hottentotten endgültig. Zu einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der Sieger und Besiegten, ähnlich dem der Hottentotten und Bergdamara, ist es nicht gekommen.

Herero von 17 Jahren mit geöffnetem Munde, zur Demonstration des Zahnzeichens: Ausbrechen der 4 unteren und Anfeilen der oberen mittleren Schneidezähne.

Der reiche Viehbesitz, um den sich die ganzen Kämpfe drehten, hat dem Herero den Namen *goima-damab*, d. h. „Rinderkaffer" gegeben. Eine andere spöttische Bezeichnung für die Herero ist **ǂna-ǂntomagyeǂhabo- kχoĩsõ-an* d. h. „die Menschen- *(kχoĩs*, fem.*)* Kinder *(õ-an)* mit Fellschuhen *(ǂhabo-)*, die sich nicht *(ǂoma)* umsehen *(ǂnain)*": Der verschlagene Hottentott, der nie einen Platz verlassen wird, ohne zurückzusehen, um sich zu orientieren, was hinter seinem Rücken vorgeht, gibt der Achtlosigkeit seines Gegners mit diesem Spitznamen Ausdruck.

2. Das Verhältnis der Hottentotten zur weißen Rasse.

a) Die erste Berührung des Hottentotten mit dem weißen Mann, *Khîb*, fällt in das Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, in die Glanzzeit der Portugiesen. Neugierde und Wissensdurst auf der einen, Furcht auf der anderen Seite waren die begreiflicherweise vorherrschenden Empfindungen bei der ersten Begegnung. So mußten Vasco da Gama's Leute[14]) die Eingeborenen, die sie im November 1497 am Fuße eines Hügels in der St. Helenabai entdeckten, umzingeln und wie ein Stück Wild einfangen, um überhaupt mit ihnen Fühlung zu gewinnen. Die gute Behandlung des einen glücklich Gegriffenen und reich beschenkt wieder Entlassenen lockte andere seines Stammes zum Schiff; auch sie kamen auf ihre Rechnung und so war man beiderseits im besten Einvernehmen.

Mißtrauen, in der Unmöglichkeit begründet, sich ausreichend zu verständigen, zerriß bald das eben geknüpfte Band. Der Soldat Fernão Veloso war auf dem Weg, die Eingeborenen zu ihrem Dorfe zu begleiten, als er Verdacht an ihrer rechtlichen Gesinnung schöpfte und eilig zum Schiff sich zurückwandte. Die Hottentotten folgten ihm — wie es schien, nicht in feindlicher Absicht, denn es wäre ihnen leicht gewesen, ihn niederzumachen; — die Mannschaft an Bord wurde mobil gemacht, Bewaffnete an Land gesetzt, und mit blutigen Köpfen trennten sich die Parteien, ohne offenbar zu wissen, was denn der Grund des ganzen Auftritts gewesen war. Mißtrauen scheint auch die Ursache einer Plänkelei gewesen zu sein, die um 1503 Saldanha mit den Hottentotten in der Nähe des Tafelberges bei Kapstadt hatte.

Der heißblütige Entschluß, eine anscheinend selbstverschuldete Prügelei zwischen Hottentotten und Schiffssoldaten mit einer Strafexpedition zu rächen, trieb dann am 1. März 1510 über 60 Portugiesen ins Verderben. Es erscheint uns heute unfaßlich, wie um einer Lappalie willen, die kein Menschenleben gefordert, nur den Stolz verletzt hatte, der durchreisende Vizekönig von Indien, Francisco d'Almeida, diesen Rache- und Viehraubzug, bei dem selbst Kinder aus dem friedlichen Kraal entführt wurden, nicht nur dulden, sondern in eigener Person leiten konnte. Er fand dabei mit einem Dutzend Würdenträgern unter Stock- und Steinschlägen und Assagaistichen seinen Tod.

Die Nachfolger der Portugiesen am Kap, die Engländer (s. S. 24) machten gute Erfahrungen mit den Hottentotten. Der Handel ging gut (für ein Messer wurde ein Schaf, für zwei Messer ein Ochse eingehandelt)

und Reibereien fanden nicht statt. Aber auf die Dauer werden die Beziehungen der Weißen zu den Eingeborenen unter der Gewohnheit der Portugiesen sowohl wie der Engländer gelitten haben, Verbrecher am Kap auszusetzen, Männer, die in der Heimat Leben oder Freiheit verwirkt hatten, aber als Spürhunde gegen Hottentotten noch verwendbar schienen. Obwohl uns über das Schicksal dieser Deportierten wenig, über ihr Treiben im Einzelnen fast nichts bekannt ist, so spricht doch alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß sie den Eingeborenen weder Respekt noch Vertrauen unserer Rasse gegenüber eingeflößt haben.

So trafen die Holländer zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts schon übel vorbereiteten Boden an: sie trugen selbst nichts dazu bei, ihn zu verbessern[48]), bis Johann van Riebeeck in der klaren Erkenntnis, daß die Erschließung der natürlichen Hilfsmittel des Landes nur mit Hilfe der Eingeborenen eingeleitet werden könne, System in den Verkehr der gelben und weißen Rasse brachte.

Für die Zeit der ersten näheren Anknüpfung zwischen Holländern und Hottentotten ist das Tagebuch van Riebeeck's ein um so wertvolleres Dokument, als es nicht nur Tatsachen, sondern in den täglichen kleinen Entwicklungsphasen der Handlung, die alle kurz und klar eingetragen werden, auch die Motive und Ziele der Beteiligten registriert. Hier kommt nicht nur der Geschichtschreiber, sondern auch der auf seine Rechnung, der mit psychologischem Interesse die Begegnung zweier extremen Menschenrassen verfolgt. Wir müssen uns hier mit Hinweisen begnügen: Im ersten Stadium herrschte gegenseitig freundliches Entgegenkommen, und beiderseits befriedigende Geschäfte wurden abgeschlossen. Kupfer und Tabak, daneben Spirituosen, bildeten die besten Tauschartikel. Drei Pfund Plattenkupfer und $^1/_2$ Pfund Tabak war der Preis einer Kuh, ein Pfund Plattenkupfer und etwas Tabak wog ein Schaf, $^1/_4$ Pfund Kupferdraht und etwas Tabak ein Lamm auf. Wildpret, hie und da Elephantenzähne und junge Strauße, wurden wohlfeil eingehandelt.

Im zweiten Stadium führt ein Erlahmen der Nachfrage nach Kupfer zu Preissteigerungen von Seiten der Hottentotten. Die Hottentotten wollen, nachdem ihr Kupferbedarf gedeckt ist, ihr Vieh, von dem sie leben, nicht weiter veräußern. Frisches Schlachtvieh ist aber unentbehrlich für eine befriedigende Proviantierung der Indienfahrer, und da diese Proviantierung der einzige Zweck der weißen Ansiedlung in Südafrika ist, so ist der Viehbesitz für den Holländer am Kap nicht minder eine Lebensfrage wie für

1: Schultze FX13 Hottentot

den Hottentotten. So treten die ersten Verstimmungen ein und mit ihnen wird wieder das alte Mißtrauen wach — nicht ohne Grund, auf beiden Seiten. Der Hottentott kann der Versuchung, sich mühelos wieder in den Besitz des veräußerten Viehes zu setzen, nicht widerstehen und stiehlt. Was er weiterhin noch veräußert, ist minderwertige Ware; er nährt dabei bei den Weißen Hoffnung auf guten Nachschub und täuscht sie am Ende.

Auf der anderen Seite hat auch der Holländer, durch dieses Verhalten der Hottentotten gereizt, keine sauberen Hintergedanken. Er wartet nur auf den geeigneten Augenblick, seine Interessen brutal durchzusetzen und verbirgt sie bis dahin geschickt. Wie man vorher in England die Verwendung von Verbrechern als Avantgarde gegen die Hottentotten mit der Begründung anführte, es sei das für diese Sträflinge „eine sehr barmherzige Tat und ein Mittel, sie zu Gott zu führen, indem man ihnen Zeit zur Buße ließe, Vergebung für ihre Sünden zu erflehen etc.", so wurde der holländischen Indien-Handelsgesellschaft von ihren Berichterstattern (26. Juli 1649) im Anschluß an gut kaufmännische Kalkulation der Bau einer befestigten Station am Kap auch mit der Begründung empfohlen, daß damit durch Heidenbekehrungen „viele Seelen zu Gott gebracht würden, — sicherlich die ausgezeichnetste Tat, den Namen des Allerheiligsten zu verherrlichen und sein heiliges Evangelium zu verbreiten. Auf diesem Wege wird auch Ihr Unternehmen in Indien mehr und mehr gesegnet werden." Van Riebeeck glaubt auch ohne daß man dem lieben Gott Aktienanteile anbietet, zum Ziele zu kommen. Er hofft, die Vertrauensseligkeit der Hottentotten zur rechten Zeit zu einem Viehraub großen Stils und einem ergiebigen Sklavenfang für Indien ausbeuten zu können (Tagebucheintragung vom 13. Dezember 1652). Daß er zu diesem Zweck, seinen Verdruß herunterkämpfend, überall Nachsicht und Freundlichkeit an den Tag legt, wird ihm von Seiten der Hottentotten als Schwäche gedeutet. Gleichzeitig wächst die Erbitterung auf dieser Seite in dem Maße, als sich der Eingeborene durch die Fremdlinge von wertvollen Strecken seiner alten Weidegründe verdrängt sieht.

So kommt es im dritten Stadium zum offenen Ausbruch der Feindseligkeiten, kompliziert durch Verräterei eines einzelnen einflußreichen Hottentotten, der mit den Holländern und mit seinesgleichen doppeltes Spiel trieb. Viehraub und Mord hüben und drüben schienen jedes Einvernehmen für immer zu vereiteln; aber mit der Zeit bahnen sich friedliche Beziehungen neu an und der Tauschhandel blüht wieder. Dieser unberechenbare Wandel von Freundschaft und Feindschaft kennzeichnet den Verkehr der Weißen

mit den Hottentotten von Anfang an, kennzeichnet ihn bis in unsere Tage, in denen die Beziehungen der beiden Rassen über gelegentliche Reibereien hinaus immer ernster in das Stadium bewußt tiefgreifender Interessenkollisionen eintraten.

Wir wollen hier keine Geschichte der Hottentottenkämpfe geben; wer sie schreiben will, müßte im einzelnen verfolgen, wie aus der kleinen Feste und dem Gemüsegarten der holländischen Indiengesellschaft die Kapkolonie des britischen Weltreichs wurde. Uns kommt es nur darauf an, die Typen kennen zu lernen, die in den Kämpfen der folgenden Jahrhunderte auf weißer Seite ausschlaggebend waren. Wir haben hier an van Riebeecks Gründung anzuknüpfen. Sie erhielt in erster Linie aus Holland, nach Aufhebung des Edikts von Nantes auch aus Frankreich neuen Nachschub, den Stamm der heutigen Burenbevölkerung.

b) Der Bur ist der Kulturpionier Südafrikas geworden. Ein wetterharter Körper, im neuen Klima ungeschwächte Fruchtbarkeit, Beharrlichkeit und ein Minimalmaß körperlicher und geistiger Bedürfnisse befähigten ihn, mit den wenigen Kulturmitteln, die er aus der Heimat mitbrachte, dauernde Ansiedlungen zu gründen und sich immer tiefer ins Innere des Landes vorzuschieben. Die Geschichte zeigt ihn uns hier als brutalen Egoisten. Um zu verstehen, wie der Hottentott sich zu ihm gestellt hat, muß man den Buren heute in den entlegenen nördlichen Teilen der Kapkolonie aufsuchen. Hier begegnet man noch einem starken Rest jenes Selbstherrenwesens, das dem Buren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert auf seiner einsamen Vorpostenlinie der Zivilisation zur zweiten Natur geworden ist; das läßt ihn nur da sich heimisch fühlen, wo im Umkreis vieler Meilen kein Weißer in den Bereich seiner Hütte kommt, wo nur er sich selbst, seiner Familie und vor allem den Eingeborenen, die in seiner Gewalt sind, Recht und Sitte vorschreibt. Nur mit Murren fügt er sich heute dem Gesetz, vor dem der Eingeborene ein Wesen mit Menschenrechten ist. Der Sinn für Nächstenpflichten, wo sie zum Wohle des Ganzen mit irgend einer ernsten Verzichtleistung für den Einzelnen verknüpft sind, ist diesem Familieneinsiedler im nördlichen Klein-Namaland noch kaum wieder aufgedämmert, weder auf politischem, noch socialem, noch religiösem Gebiet. Selbst eine formale Eheschließung gilt ihnen vielfach für unnötig; daß ihre Kinder vor dem Gesetz illegitim sind, kümmert sie nicht; daß sie ungetauft aufwachsen, tut dem Ansehen der christlichen Familien unter ihresgleichen keinen Abbruch. Ende der 90er Jahre deckte ein englischer Geistlicher solche paradiesischen Zustände

in dem Landstrich zwischen der Oranjemündung und Port Nolloth auf. Da wurden dann bärtige Männer getauft und Großeltern getraut, um die Enkel ehrlich zu machen. Der einzige soziale Instinkt, der in diesen Buren noch lebendig ist, ist ihre Gastlichkeit.

Dieser Mangel eines politischen Zusammenschlusses degradiert den Buren des Namalandes in den Augen der Hottentotten. Ihm ist die erbliche Kapitänschaft der stolze Ausdruck seines angestammten Landbesitzrechts sowohl als eines (nach seinen Begriffen) geordneten Nationallebens. Von diesem Standpunkt aus verachtet der Hottentott, von seinem Haß gegen den Eindringling abgesehen, noch heute den einsiedelnden Buren als zugelaufen und herrenlos, weist zum Vergleich auf die Deutschen, die doch, wie er selbst, einen Oberkapitän hätten und eine Nation seien, wie die ihrige.

Weit stärker als solche nationale Empfindungen sind die rein menschlichen Gefühle, die dem Hottentotten den Buren für immer entfremdet haben. Der Bur ist dem Eingeborenen von vorn herein mit jener prinzipiell jeder Verständigung unzugänglichen Verachtung der farbigen Rasse, die auch dem Kaukasier auf der niederen Stufe seines Rassen- und Nationalitätsbewußtseins eigen ist, unverhohlen gegenübergetreten. Noch heute bezeichnet der Bur den Hottentotten schlechtweg als „schepsel", d. h. als ein Geschöpf im Sinne eines Wesens, das nun einmal neben ihm noch existiert wie so manches andere Unverständliche oder Überflüssige in der Welt. Oder er nennt den Hottentotten „geel goed", „gelbe Ware", die man wie Vieh einspannen oder verhandeln kann. Die Gewohnheit, Hottentottenkinder aufzugreifen und aufzuziehn, „groot maak", ist heute weniger lohnend als früher, da der Hausherr noch über Leben und Tod seiner Leibeigenen frei verfügte und Ungehorsam oder Entlaufen kurzerhand mit Erschießen bestrafte. Daß ihm die nachdrängende Kultur diese alten Gewohnheitsrechte genommen hat, ist dem Burentypus, den ich im Klein-Namaland kennen lernte, ein Hauptmotiv, die englische Herrschaft (die ihn im übrigen so frei als nur denkbar gewähren läßt) zu verabscheuen.

Diese Buren waren komisch enttäuscht, als sie erfuhren, daß auch auf deutschem Gebiet, in das sie auswandern wollten, der Hottentott Rechte habe. Näher mit den Buren bekannt geworden, suchte ich mir im Gespräch Aufklärung darüber zu verschaffen, wie wohl in ihren Augen der Gott, vor dem sie dreimal am Tage auf den Knieen liegen, ihre Auffassung der Nächstenliebe farbigen Menschen gegenüber ansehen möge? Man verwies mich auf die Bibel. Ich würde ihre Argumentation aus dem alten Testament

nicht ernst genommen haben, wenn sie mir nicht so ernst vorgetragen worden wäre und sich in der Tat, auch an anderem Ort, als Richtschnur ihres Handelns erwiesen hätte: Im neunten Kapitel der Genesis verflucht Noah den Sohn Ham's, Kanaan, und seine Nachkommen zur Knechtschaft. Der Bur dehnt diesen Fluch auf alle Hamiten aus, den Hottentotten rechnet er dazu, sieht also in ihm einen geborenen Sklaven. Wer ist nun der Herr, den Gott über sie gesetzt hat? Was das Volk Israel im alten Bunde war, das ist der Christ im neuen. Im 7. Kapitel des 5. Buches Mose wird die Austilgung der Kanaaniter geboten. So hat Gott den christlichen Buren als den Erben Israels zum Herren über Leben und Tod der verfluchten Nachkommen Kanaans bis in ihr jüngstes Glied (das sind die Eingeborenen Südafrikas) gesetzt. An dieser Auffassung hängt der Bur um so fester je beschränkter und rassenstolzer er ist. Den freier Denkenden ist diese Art Evangelium ein Deckmäntelchen, das selbst am klarsten zeigt, was es verbergen soll: den maßlosen Egoismus des Buren, der bald dem Hottentotten nichts anderes übrig ließ, als den langsamen Würgekrieg auch seinerseits schonungslos zu führen. Wer in der gegebenen Situation die Oberhand hatte, handelte und handelt noch jetzt, wo das Gesetz nicht hinreicht, nach diesem Grundsatz.

c) In ein extrem entgegengesetztes Verhältnis trat der Hottentott zu einer anderen Klasse weißer Männer, zu den Vertretern der christlichen Mission, die heute im Groß-Namalande von den Sendboten der rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen ausgeübt wird. Wer die älteren Berichte dieser Gesellschaft liest, ermißt den Abstand der heutigen Nama-Mission von der vor 50 Jahren. Damals war die Tätigkeit unter den Hottentotten im herrenlosen, von Kämpfen der Eingeborenen untereinander heimgesuchten Land ein Opfer ersten Ranges. Ohne jeden Schutz einer Regierung lieferte sich der Missionar dem Volk auf Gnade und Ungnade aus, folgte den ruhelosen Stämmen auf ihre Wanderzüge, teilte mit ihnen Hungersnot und Durst. Um in engster Fühlung mit dem Volke zu bleiben, scheute der Missionar selbst vor der Ehe mit einer Eingeborenen nicht zurück. Allmählich führte die Erschließung des Landes zur Anlage fester Missionsstationen; der Schutz des Reiches gab Leben und Eigentum neue Garantien, und heute sind die Missionshäuser dank der vorzüglichen Handwerkerschulung der Missionare die besten und schmucksten Bauten im Lande, Stätten nicht nur der Arbeit, sondern zugleich auch der Behaglichkeit und, wie ich mit aufrichtigem Dank hervorhebe, auch liebevoller Gastfreundschaft

I: Schultze FX13 Hottentot

für den Reisenden. Dieser Umschwung zum Besseren in den äußeren Lebensbedingungen der Mission hat sicherlich nicht wenig zur Festigung ihres Ansehens unter den Hottentotten beigetragen. Aber auch hiervon abgesehen bringt der Hottentott dem Missionar in der Erkenntnis, daß er in ihm den besten Vertreter seiner geistigen und leiblichen Interessen hat, ein großes Maß von Ehrfurcht und (wo er religiösen Anstoß nicht zu scheuen hat) auch Vertrauen entgegen.

Nur ein blinder Missionsfeind wird die Bedeutung dieser Brücke, die das Christentum hier zu friedlicher Verständigung zwischen zwei heterogenen und doch aufeinander angewiesenen Menschenrassen schlägt, in ihrer Tragweite für die kulturelle Entwicklung des Landes verkennen. Aber ebenso sonnenklar ist, daß die Mission zum Fluch des Landes wird, wo sie in einseitiger Verfolgung geistlicher und hierarchischer Ziele das politische oder kolonialwirtschaftliche Wohl des Landes aus dem Auge verliert. Daß dieses Wohl zum großen Teil davon abhängig ist, wie weit der Interessenkampf der eingeborenen und der eingedrungenen Rasse nach Maßgabe der wirtschaftlichen Leistungsfähigkeit der Konkurrenten auf friedlichem Wege sich regulieren läßt, ist eine alte, aber von Humanitätsutopisten wie von brutalen Kraftaposteln gleich oft beiseite geschobene Wahrheit. Man muß sich die Kalamitäten der Eingeborenen-Arbeiterfrage in der Kapkolonie vergegenwärtigen, um einzusehen, welche Ersparnis es bedeutet, seine Interessen mit denen der Eingeborenen (und sei es auch nur der verachtete Hottentott) verknüpfen zu können. Die erste Bedingung dazu ist selbstverständlich eine genaue Kenntnis der Daseinsbedingungen und Anschauungen der Eingeborenen; und solange bei uns die Missionare mit wenigen Ausnahmen die einzigen im Lande bleiben, die es der Mühe für wert halten, diese Fühlung auf Grund eingehender Studien herzustellen, solange hat die Mission einen hohen weltlichen Trumpf in der Hand. Sie hat ihn mit Erfolg in den 80er Jahren im Herero- und Namalande ausgespielt, indem sie den englischen Einfluß zugunsten des deutschen lahm legte[75]).

Wie steht es nun auf geistlichem Gebiet? Darf die Mission mit den Erfolgen der Christianisierung der Hottentotten, wie sie heute vorliegt, zufrieden sein?

Ältere Missionare, die ich sprach, verneinten die Frage: Die Arbeit fast eines Jahrhunderts hätte andere Früchte zeitigen müssen. Inwieweit überhaupt ein Hottentott imstande ist, den Geist des Christentums so aufzunehmen, daß er nicht nur sein Lassen, sondern auch sein Tun bestimmt, könnte ein vorurteilsfreier Missionar am besten beurteilen. Meine eigenen,

wenig ermutigenden Erfahrungen in diesem Punkte haben sich mir immerhin zu oft bestätigt, als daß ich sie alle für zufällig ungünstig ausgefallene und deshalb das Gesamturteil einseitig bestimmende Eindrücke halten könnte. Obwohl ich vorwiegend mit solchen Hottentotten zu tun hatte, die nicht zur Missionselite gehörten, so hütete ich mich doch, jenes tiefe Niveau, aus dem sich mit Leichtigkeit jedes pessimistische Urteil begründen ließe, der Beurteilung zugrunde zu legen.

Der Durchschnitts-Hottentott sieht im Christentum nicht zum Geringsten ein Vorzugsattribut des weißen Mannes. Wie er sich in dessen Joppe und Hose oder Buntdruckrock mehr dünkt als sein Bruder oder seine Schwester im Fellschurz, so sieht er auch in seiner Zugehörigkeit zur christlichen Kirche eine standesgemäße Errungenschaft des modernen Hottentotten. Diese Anschauung ist meist mit Verachtung alter Volkssitten verbunden, auch da, wo sie mit der neuen Religion nicht in Konflikt stehen. Als Übereifer eines tatkräftigen Vorsatzes, sich auf neuer Grundlage hoch zu bringen, würde man diese Selbstverstümmelung hinnehmen. Aber der Hottentott ist zu träge und überdies zu gewitzigt, sieht im sozialen wie im Privatleben des Weißen zu klar den Gegensatz von christlicher Theorie und Praxis (s. Erzählung No. XXVIII), als daß er für gewöhnlich andere ethische Anforderungen an sich stellte als im besten Falle die, die ihm als soziale Normen des eigenen Volkslebens aus der Heidenzeit an sich noch einleuchten: Die Nächstenliebe der Hottentotten im Sinn steter gegenseitiger Hilfe, ihre Ehrfurcht vor dem Alter, Enthaltsamkeit fremdem Eigentum gegenüber (wenn auch nur gegenüber dem Eigentum der Stammesgenossen untereinander) sind solche autochthonen Gebote, die sich mit denen des nachträglich eingeführten Christentums decken.

Die Sagen und die übrigen Phantasievorstellungen der Hottentotten boten vielleicht zu wenig Berührungspunkte, um die christlichen Ideen, ähnlich wie sie in unserem Volk mit dem germanischen Heidentum verwuchsen, so auch hier organisch anzugliedern. In der Tradition der Volkssitten wurzelte, was man von guten Grundsätzen und Lebensregeln der Hottentotten kennen gelernt hat. Der Verlust dieser volkstümlichen Grundlage im Zusammenhang mit einer vollständigen Umwälzung der wirtschaftlichen Grundlage ihrer Existenz seit Überhandnehmen des weißen Einflusses hat das Hottentottenvolk auch sittlich verwahrlosen lassen. Mit Bibel, Katechismus und Gesangbuch, Kirchgang, Sonntagsschule und Abendmahl, Lese-, Schreib- und Singstunden läßt sich ein solcher Ruin nicht aufhalten.

Daß man versucht hat, auf diesem Wege zum Ziel zu kommen, wird niemand dem einzelnen Missionar, der seine Lebensarbeit an das Volk ge-

setzt hat, zum Vorwurf machen wollen. Im System liegt der Schaden: Den Namen des Stifters, dessen Leben ein einziges großes Sichselbstopfern war, darf doch nur der führen, der wenigstens des kleinsten Opfers im Dienste der Mitmenschen, der Arbeit, sei es auch nur für sich und seine Familie, fähig ist. In diesem Sinne sind wenig Hottentotten Christen geworden. Die systematische Erziehung der Eingeborenen zur Arbeit ist wirtschaftlich oft genug gefordert worden. Sie scheint mir aber auch eine unabweisliche religiöse Forderung an die christliche Mission zu sein. Arbeit stellt im Namaland, wie in jeder Kolonie, die einzige Möglichkeit für den Eingeborenen dar, in dem hereinbrechenden Kulturstrom wirtschaftlich sich über Wasser zu halten. Und die Erfahrung hat weiter gezeigt, daß ein wirtschaftlich verkommenes Naturvolk auch sittlich sinkt, weil es um des täglichen Brotes willen zu jedem Dienst der überlegenen Rasse feil wird. So mutet also die Forderung der Arbeitserziehung des Eingeborenen dem Missionar keine programmwidrige Verweltlichung seiner Aufgaben zu, weist nur auf einen Weg zur sichereren Fundierung seiner religiösen Aufgabe hin. Die weiße Bevölkerung andererseits wird der Mission für einen geschulten Arbeitschristen dankbarer sein als für 99 bibelfeste, aber arbeitsscheue Himmelskandidaten.

Ob es sich bewähren wird, nach englischem Vorbild einen eigenen Beamten für Eingeborenen-Angelegenheiten zu bestellen, ob ein solcher Beamter bei Ausübung seiner Pflicht auch in der genannten Richtung einer systematischen Arbeitserziehung der Eingeborenen, eines organisierten Arbeitsnachweises und einer Arbeiterfürsorge, mit der Mission zusammen arbeiten könnte, müßte ein Versuch lehren, womöglich ehe die englischen Arbeiterwerber uns die besten Kräfte über die Grenze gezogen haben. Dann wird sich auch zeigen, ob die protestantische oder die katholische Mission sich in diesem Punkte als die lebensfähigere erweist. Die Entscheidung darüber kann einmal weit über die Grenzen der Mission Tragweite erlangen.

d) Das Verhältnis des Hottentotten zu seinem deutschen Herrn. Der Hottentott lernt unsere Sprache schnell, wenigstens verstehen, er beobachtet den Fremden scharf und hat die Klugheit, mit seinem Ergebnis zurückzuhalten. In allen drei Punkten unterscheidet er sich vorteilhaft von der Mehrzahl unserer Landsleute. Daß der Ansiedler und Kaufmann der schwierigen Sprache kein Interesse entgegenbringt, ist ihm nicht zu verübeln. Daß der Beamte seinen Einfluß auf die Eingeborenen verdreifacht, wenn er ihre Sprache beherrscht, ist eine alte Weisheit, aus der die Lehre

zu ziehen in hottentottischem Sprachgebiet auf abnorme Schwierigkeiten gestoßen haben würde, hätte man je daran gedacht, sie zu beherzigen.

Man hat draußen für die Sprache der Hottentotten ihrer Schnalzlaute wegen gewöhnlich nur Spott. Daß mag an sich harmlos sein; aber ein großer Teil unserer Landsleute begnügt sich überhaupt damit, am Hottentotten das Lächerliche herauszufinden, und das ist bedenklicher. Kommen dazu dann die hundert kleinen Verstimmungen, die Niemandem erspart bleiben, der bei seiner Arbeit auf Eingeborene angewiesen ist, dann kombinieren sich bald diese Empfindungen unter dem äußeren Eindruck der zerlumpten, schmutzigen Gestalten zu einem Gesamturteil, dessen Ergebnis unverhohlene Verachtung ist. Mag diese Verachtung nun je nach den Erfahrungen und der Anlage des Einzelnen humoristischer oder erbitterter Natur sein, meist paart sich jedenfalls mit ihr auf unserer Seite ein Bewußtsein gewaltiger Überlegenheit, das jede nähere Beschäftigung mit dem Hottentotten als überflüssig erscheinen läßt; man glaubt eben, auch so mit ihm fertig zu werden.

Dabei treten dann die größten Gegensätze im Verkehr zutage. Demselben Kapitän, der bei Gelegenheit als „Spitze" vom Beamten ins Haus geladen wird, bietet der Händler mit den Worten „Willst Du einen Schnaps haben, altes Schwein?" auf seine Weise Gastfreundschaft an. Hier wird ein Weißer bestraft, weil er einen naseweisen Hottentotten handgreiflich vom Hofe gejagt hat, dort teilt einmal der Beamte selbst in begreiflicher Erregung blaue Striemen aus. Die Züchtigung an sich ist nicht das Verwerfliche, sondern der Widerspruch in der Behandlung. Man mag das rücksichtslose Vorgehen der Buren im einzelnen mißbilligen; die Konsequenz aber, mit der auch der milder denkende Bur, in voller Übereinstimmung mit seinesgleichen, seine strengen Grundsätze dem Hottentotten gegenüber wahrt, ist der gute Kern dessen, was man an der Fähigkeit des Buren, mit Eingeborenen umzugehen, rühmen muß.

Eine solche Einheitlichkeit in der Behandlung der Eingeborenen läßt sich nicht durch Verordnungen erreichen, sie muß der spontane Ausdruck übereinstimmender Beurteilung des Eingeborenen-Charakters und der Situation werden. Alle Kenner der Hottentotten stimmen darin überein, daß zweierlei im gedeihlichen Verkehr mit ihnen unentbehrlich ist: In ungezählten Fällen habe ich die Erfahrung gemacht, daß ein Hottentott die Strafe, die er seiner eigenen Überzeugung nach verdient hat, auch erwartet. Es ist in seinen Augen ein Zeichen von Schwäche oder Beschränktheit, wenn ihm die Strafe dann geschenkt oder irgendwie umzuckert verabfolgt wird. Er mag sich für

glimpfliche Absolution noch so gerührt bedanken und wenn er Christ ist, den Lohn des „Heere Jezus" herabwünschen, — wer hinter die Kulissen sieht, weiß, daß er sich über diese Art der Behandlung nur lustig macht (vergl. Sage Nr. XLI), er will streng angefaßt sein. Die Forderung der Gerechtigkeit ist gleichfalls schon im Interesse der Auktorität zu erheben, auch da, wo es sich nicht um empfindliche Strafen handelt. Das harte und blinde Abkanzeln einer Anzahl Hottentotten durch einen oberen Beamten, der sich nicht einmal holländisch mit ihnen verständigen konnte, hörte ich einen der Hottentotten (der nur seinesgleichen verständlich zu sein glaubte) mit der Mahnung an seine Begleiter abschneiden: *„ǂkχaui hã χuigye tã kχom"*, „er ist verrückt, darum sprecht nicht". Solche Situationen können sich selbst bei der Kürze der Gastrolle, die man bisher den einzelnen Beamten in Südwest spielen ließ (vgl. die Chronik des Bezirksamts von Keetmanshoop), öfter wiederholen als es zur Stärkung unseres Ansehens förderlich ist.

Auch der Mann, der kein Amt bekleidet, sollte sich bewußt sein, daß sein privater Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen im halbzivilisierten Lande keine reine Privatangelegenheit ist. Jeder einzelne trägt unmittelbar einen Teil der Verantwortung für die guten oder schlechten Beziehungen der beiderlei Rassen. Das Ergebnis dieser direkt verantwortlichen Konfrontierung ist die schärfste Probe auf die Reife eines Volkes im Völkerverkehr. Hier zeigen wir uns deutlich als Anfänger. Wir schwanken innerhalb zu weiter Grenzen zwischen auktoritätsloser Fraternisiererei und amtlich posierendem Herrentum. Der Mittelweg: Verständnis der fremden Eigenart bei ruhig fester Wahrung der eigenen Überlegenheit, liegt uns noch nicht. Der Vetter jenseits des Kanals ist weltmännischer.

Einstweilen müssen wir also offen bekennen, daß der Hottentott uns besser kennt als wir ihn. Schon im Bewußtsein seiner Schwäche verliert er niemals das Interesse am Studium des weißen Eindringlings. Seit Generationen und von Jugend auf geschult, mit List zu Werke zu gehen, läßt er den Weißen nur in den seltensten Fällen in die Ergebnisse seiner eigenen Menschenbeobachtungen blicken. Wir haben in der Verkennung dieser Sachlage viel preisgegeben: Was ist nicht in der kritischen Zeit nach Ausbruch der Warmbader Unruhen an der Bierbank der Verkaufsläden in Gegenwart von Hottentottenmännern für Kriegspolitik getrieben worden!, unaufhaltsam, wenn jenseits der sechsten Flasche der Patriotismus seinen Höhepunkt erreicht hatte. „Was können denn die Kerle machen?" war der Refrain auf den Hinweis, daß unberufene Zuhörer da seien. Und denen entgeht nichts;

sie kommentieren sich solche wahnwitzig unbesonnene Reden eindringlicher als jeden Erlaß des Gouverneurs. Wer glaubt, für Tabak und Fusel von einem Hottentotten jeden Dienst fordern zu können, sollte in kritischen Zeiten wenigstens so viel Familienkenntnis des „Lumpengesindels" haben, daß er den Spion gegen einen Bandenführer nicht gerade aus einer verschwägerten Familie wählt.

Aber wir wollen hier nicht weiter exemplifizieren. Es wird sich auch ohnedies die Überzeugung Bahn brechen, daß die Unterschätzung des Hottentotten in den kleinen Fragen des täglichen Lebens, wie in solchen, die seinen Lebensnerv berühren, ein Grundfehler in unserem Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen war. Wir haben diesen Fehler mit so viel teuerem Blute bezahlen müssen, daß es die Pflicht jedes Zeugen ist, auf ihn zu weisen, damit er vermieden werde.

Wer den Hottentotten als Krieger nicht ausschließlich nach Gardemaß und nach den Paragraphen der Genfer Konvention mißt, wird ihm Anerkennung in mehr als einem Punkte nicht versagen können. Es gehört freilich kein Feldherrnblick zu der Erkenntnis, daß im Kampf mit den Hottentotten nicht Hendrik Witbooi unser Hauptgegner war, sondern sein Bundesgenosse: das Land, das immer wieder zwischen den Feind und uns wasserlose Einöden, unwegsame Gebirge oder unübersehbare Flächen schiebt. Mit seinem ganzen Troß verschwindet hier der Feind. Sein Proviant ist das lebende Vieh, das die Kinder treiben und die Weiber melken. In entlegenen Revieren oder Felshöhlungen, die nur der eingeborene Hirt und Jäger kennt, finden sie Wasser, im offenen Buschkraal nächtigen sie wie sonst auch, wenn sie mit Kind und Kegel für Wochen und Monate auf die Weidesuche gehen. So fühlt sich der Oorloghottentott, mag es ihm gelegentlich noch so schlecht gehen, doch stets in seinem Element. Solchen Gegnern gegenüber sahen wir uns vor die Aufgabe gestellt, mit einem Schlag und mit der Forderung augenblicklicher Leistungsfähigkeit unsere ganze kulturelle Übermacht in ein Land zu verpflanzen, das im normalen Laufe der Dinge Jahrzehnte brauchen würde, um der Kultur gewonnen zu werden. Jetzt alle Hilfsmittel moderner Kriegführung hier mobil machen bedeutete — lange ehe es mit der blanken Waffe an den Feind ging — einen Kampf mit der Natur, der heute noch ungeheure Anforderungen an jeden einzelnen Mann stellt.

In diesem Kampfe ist uns der Hottentott überlegen, nicht deshalb allein, weil er von Fleisch und Wurzeln leben kann, — Erfahrung gibt

m das Übergewicht. Unsere Truppe ist dem Hottentotten ein Wild, auf
s er um so zuversichtlicher Jagd macht, als er seine Gewohnheiten aus
üheren Kämpfen kennt. Während unsere Soldaten immer von neuem
utiges Lehrgeld zahlen, übt jener seine alte Praxis aus: Er lauert dem
eind an der Wasserstelle auf, wie ehedem dem Zebra an der Vlej; er
uert aus seiner Felsenschanze auf eine vorbeiziehende Abteilung, wie er
ch auf ein Rudel wandernder Springböcke in den Hinterhalt legte; er
rscht sich an eine schwache Patrouille heran wie an eine Oryx-Antilope
Morgengrauen; er umzingelt einen Transport, wie er in seinen Kessel-
eiben die Hasen umstellt, um sie mit dem Kirri zu werfen.

Und wenn er selbst im Kesseltreiben saß, wie kam es, daß er immer
eder entschlüpfte? Unsere Truppe hatte während der ganzen Kämpfe
ermüdlich das Kriegsfeld nach allen Winden mit Patrouillen beschwärmt,
tte mit bewunderungswerten Opfern das Land mit einem Netz von Tele-
aphen und Heliographen übersponnen und mit drahtloser Telegraphie
ber unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten des Raumes und der Zeit bewältigt[76]).
ß uns der Hottentott trotzdem im Nachrichtendienst oft gemeistert hat, bringt
s in unliebsame Erinnerung, was wir im Stolz unserer Kulturhöhe leicht
rgessen: Die Tatsache, daß einfache Übung der nackten Sinne eines
turvolks und primitive Verstandestätigkeit, nur an alltäglichen Dingen ge-
härft, zu solcher Vollkommenheit gesteigert werden können, daß sie dem
gestrengten Aufwand modernster Technik einer numerisch und intellek-
ell unvergleichbar überlegenen Macht erfolgreich Stand halten.

Die Stärke des Hottentotten seinem Feind gegenüber, der von Haus
s in vorschriftsmäßigem Zusammenarbeiten geschult ist, liegt in der Selbst-
ndigkeit jedes Einzelnen, und da ergibt ein Vergleich mit dem deutschen
ldaten bald, wieviel uns Gehirnmenschen an primitiven Fähigkeiten im
ekten Verkehr mit der Natur verloren gegangen ist.

Dazu kommt, daß der Hottentottenkämpfer vielfach schon im reifen
nnesalter steht; das jugendliche Alter unserer Soldaten fällt ihm auf und
ngt ihm die genannte Überlegenheit auch von dieser Seite her zum Be-
ßtsein. Eine Bezeichnung für den deutschen Soldaten, die sich noch aus
r Zeit unserer früheren Hottentottenkämpfe erhalten hat, ist **!gaĕkχaosa
aū-saχarob*, d. h. „das Jüngelchen *(a·χab*, Knabe; *-ro*, Diminut.*)*, aus dem
nden Ort *(ǂgaũs)*, dessen Kleid (der fest im Kreuz anliegende Uniform-
k) am Hintern *(kχaos)* festgemacht *(!gaĕ)* ist". Aber wenn er sich auch
r über seinen Gegner etwa wie ein alter gerissener Wilderer über einen

jungen Forsteleven lustig macht, so hat er doch auch zur Genüge die starken Seiten unserer Soldaten gefühlt. Er gibt seiner Anerkennung in der Bezeichnung *ǂhuniǂoim Ausdruck: ǂoim ist ein sog. Buskop-Rind. Diese Tiere sind ihrer Hornlosigkeit wegen schwerer als gewöhnliche Ochsen zu behandeln: Sie ziehen den Kopf aus der Schlinge, wenn sie in der sonst üblichen Weise an das Joch gebunden werden; sie stecken ihren Kopf ohne Scheu durch Hindernisse, die vor einem gehörnten Tier sonst Schutz geben würden, kurzum, man ist ihrer nicht sicher. Mit dieser Anerkennung der Schlagfertigkeit verbinden sie im Namen, ohne aus dem Bilde zu fallen, unsere ihnen auffallende blonde (*ǂhuni*, gelb) Haarfarbe.

Kriegspfeife der Hottentotten.

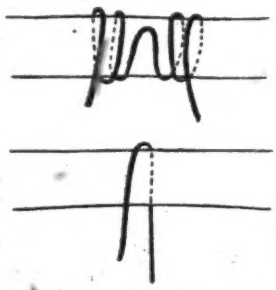
Über die Kriegsgewohnheiten der Hottentotten im Einzelnen habe ich von Hottentotten selbst nur wenig erfahren können: Um sich zu seinem blutigen Handwerk zu stählen, soll, wer noch keinen Menschen getötet hat, vor dem Aufbruch gegen den Feind das rohe Blut des Schlachtviehs trinken.

Über die Taktik werden die Gefechtsberichte der Truppen die beste Auskunft geben. Signale werden vielfach auf einer Pfeife gegeben, die aus einem weiblichen Springbockhorn geschnitten ist. Da diese Signalpfeife, *ǂgiis, wie das Tanzried angeblasen wird, heißt sie auch das Ried- oder Blashorn, χaĩnnāis oder *ǂnaĩnnāis.

Eine der Aufgaben des Unterkapitäns ist es, festzustellen, ob der Ort oder die Wasserstelle, dem sich der Trupp nähert, vom Feind besetzt ist oder nicht. Er reitet spionierend ein, während seine Leute rings versteckt liegen; erst wenn ein lang gezogener Pfiff ertönt, erscheinen sie. Auf diese Art sollen die Hottentotten im Jahre 1893 der Wasserstelle ǂAos sich genähert haben, um am folgenden Morgen Kubub zu überfallen. Kurz hintereinander ausgestoßene Pfiffe, die

von den gegenüber oder abseits Liegenden beantwortet werden müssen, sind häufig das verabredete Zeichen zu gemeinsamem Angriffe gewesen.

Auch im Kriege sucht der Hottentott in mystischen Vorstellungen Anhaltspunkte, wo ihn sein Wissen im Stich und die Ungewißheit nicht zur Ruhe kommen läßt. Da gibt ihm unter Umständen ein Orakelholz, **go-bo go-bos* genannt, Beruhigung; es ist ein etwa bleistiftlanges und -dickes Hölzchen, um das ein runder Riemenfaden so aufgerollt wird, wie die Figur *a* zeigt. Nachdem das Hölzchen auf diese Weise in der Mitte dick umwickelt worden ist, wird es wie ein Quirl in den flachen Händen gerollt und im Takt dazu die Frage gestellt, die man beantwortet haben will. Z. B.: *„go-bo go-bo a-maĕ-, kχo-egu go ǂno-aĕ?“*, d. h. „Goboholz, Goboholz, ist es wahr, haben die Männer geschossen?“ Dann wird der Faden zurückgerollt. Liegt er nun dem Hölzchen noch ebenso lose auf wie vorher, so ist der Wunsch, der in der Frage lag, nicht in Erfüllung gegangen; er ist erfüllt, wenn sich der Faden, wie die Figur *b* zeigt, über das Hölzchen gelegt hat.



Ein Hof um den Mond, **aoǂgāib*, (der Mond ist gleichsam in den Farbring hinein-, *ǂgāi*, geworfen, *ao*) gilt, wie mir ebenfalls ein Hottentottenkämpfer mitteilte, als Zeichen, daß eine Entscheidung irgendwo gefallen und das Vieh der Besiegten weggetrieben worden ist. Plötzliches Ohrenklingen oder das Hineinfliegen eines Insekts in den Mund gilt als Unglücksbotschaft.

Die Fähigkeit, im Traum zukünftige oder räumlich fern sich abspielende Ereignisse zu sehen *(ǂga-barab)*, hat wohl manchen Führer, auch wenn er weniger orakelhaft als der alte Hendrik Witbooi veranlagt war, zu einem entscheidenden Schritt angetrieben.

Capitulum V.

Geistestätigkeit.

A. Zur Sprache der Hottentotten.

Aus älteren Aufzeichnungen wissen wir, daß die Sprache der Hottentotten in viele Dialekte gespalten war. Sie sind bis auf einen, wie die

Stämme selbst, die sie redeten, untergegangen. Reste stauben in Manuskripten der Greyschen Bibliothek in Kapstadt[77]). Ob die von Lichtenstein, Burchell und Wuras veröffentlichten Bruchstücke des *!Kora*-Dialekts, ferner die eines östlichen Dialekts, den Sparrmann, Thunberg und Barrow gehört haben, ob endlich die Aufzeichnungen Herberts, Ten Rhines und Witzens aus dem Dialekt der Kapland-Hottentotten des 17. und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts sich so verarbeiten lassen, daß sie uns wenigstens ein Schattenbild der verlorenen Sprachen geben, hat noch kein Versuch gelehrt. Die Stämme des Groß-Namalandes bilden jetzt mit den Flüchtlingen aus dem Süden eine sprachlich einheitliche Gruppe. Ihre Sprache ist die der alten Naman oder Namaqua, wie ältere Autoren im Anschluß an die ehemalige Endung des pluralis mascul. schreiben.

Die Sprache der Hottentotten war mir im ersten Reisehalbjahre das schwerste Hindernis, dem Geistesleben des Volkes näher zu kommen. Im zweiten und dritten Jahre wurde sie mir die ergiebigste Quelle meiner Studien. Wo kriegerische Verwickelung oder die Ungunst der Jahreszeit meinen zoologischen Arbeiten Halt gebot, wandte ich mich dem Studium der Sprache zu. Eine kleine Schrift von Theophilus Hahn[78]), ferner eine übersichtliche, aber vielfach irrtümliche Darstellung der Sprache von A. Seidel[79]) und vor allem Kroenleins Wortschatz[57]) gaben mir den ersten Anhalt und später die Grundlage zu eingehender Kontrolle der eigenen gegen ältere Resultate.

Bei meinen Aufnahmen selbst habe ich mich streng an die Eingeborenen gehalten. Wenn ich jede Vermittelung eines sprachkundigen Weißen im Lande vermieden habe, so ist das keine Unterschätzung der Hilfe, die mir von dieser Seite hätte zuteil werden können, sondern ist nur dem Wunsch entsprungen, ausschließlich aus der Quelle zu schöpfen. Deshalb habe ich auch Eingeborene vermieden, die lesen und schreiben konnten, denn die sahen ja ihre Sprache schon durch die Brille des Weißen an, der ihren Lauten nach seiner Weise, zum Teil im engen Anschluß an das Holländische, erst Schriftzeichen gegeben hat. Mir kam es auf das gesprochene Wort des sprachlich noch originalen Hottentotten an. Die Schwierigkeiten einer Verständigung mit Analphabeten hatten den Vorteil, daß sie alle Aufmerksamkeit auf das Gehör konzentrierten und bei dem Versuch, das Gehörte phonetisch korrekt wiederzugeben, eine viel strengere Rechenschaft forderten als eine Einigung auf dem Papier auf Grund konventioneller Zeichen je angeregt hätte. Auf diese Weise habe ich zunächst für die Tiere

und dann für die Pflanzen, die ich sammelte, die einheimischen Namen festgestellt. Aus diesen Studien erwuchsen immer neue sprachliche Anregungen, auf welchem Wege, mag ein einfaches Beispiel illustrieren. Ein Hottentott, den ich fragte, ob er schon einmal den großen südafrikanischen Ameisenfresser, das schwer zum Schuß zu bekommende Erdferkel, gesehen habe, versprach mir zu meiner größten Verwunderung, ein Exemplar noch am selben Abend zu bringen. Er brachte eine Wurzel, denn ich hatte die hottentottische Bezeichnung für Erdferkel nicht mit Stärkeakzent auf der letzten Silbe und mit steigendem Worttonfall *(ǃkχubu·s)*, sondern mit stark akzentuierter erster Silbe und sinkendem Worttonfall *(ǃkχu·bus)* ausgesprochen. Solche Mißverständnisse sind mir im Laufe des ersten Jahres reichlich begegnet. Sie wiesen immer wieder auf die Notwendigkeit hin, die phonetische Seite der Sprache nie außer Acht zu lassen und jedes neu aufgenommene Wort schon in der Vorerwartung, es später von einem ähnlich lautenden unterscheiden zu müssen, von vornherein mit diakritischen Zeichen zu versehen.

Die Gegenprobe darauf, ob man zur Unterscheidung ähnlich lautender Worte genügend Zeichen angewandt und die richtigen ausgewählt hat, ist einfach: Nach einigen Tagen sprach ich die nachzuprüfenden Worte unter genauer Wiedergabe der gewählten Sprachzeichen einem Eingeborenen zu und sah alsbald, ob er den Begriff in dem Sinne, den die gewählte Schreibweise fixieren wollte, eindeutig auffaßte oder nicht. Die Resultate dieser Analysen verglich ich dann mit der bisher üblichen Schreibweise und kam bald zu der Überzeugung, daß die jetzt im Gebrauch befindlichen Zeichen nicht genügen, die Lautverhältnisse der Namasprache so wiederzugeben, wie es vom rein phonetischen Gesichtspunkt aus wünschenswert, im Interesse einer klaren Unterscheidung ähnlich lautender Begriffe notwendig ist.

Indem ich auf die später folgenden Erzählungen verweise, in deren Texterklärungen Beiträge zur Formenlehre und Syntax des Hottentottischen gegeben sind, beschränke ich mich hier darauf, die Resultate meiner Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre mitzuteilen.

1. Die Schnalzer

oder Klixe, diese auffallendsten Laute der Namasprache unterscheiden und aussprechen zu lernen, gehört zu den ersten unumgänglichen ABC-Studien; an ihnen scheitert bei vielen der gute Wille, Nama zu lernen. Hat man die vier Klixe mit dem Gehör unterscheiden gelernt, so kann man sich die

Aufgabe, sie nun selbst wiederzugeben, dadurch erleichtern, daß man einen Eingeborenen bestimmt ausgewählte Klixworte langsam sprechen läßt und ihm dabei so tief als möglich in den Mund sieht, ohne durch irgendwelche Eingriffe die Stimmgebung zu beeinflussen. Man sieht und hört dann, daß Form, Ansatz und Abzug der Zunge den Charakter jedes Klixes bestimmen.

Die Schnalzlaute der Hottentotten sind als „Inspirata" den Konsonanten oder „Exspirata" gegenübergestellt worden [78]), mit Unrecht meiner Überzeugung nach. Die Frage, ob überhaupt In- und Exspirationen an der Bildung der Schnalzer beteiligt sind, kann jeder Schnalzende an sich selbst prüfen. Man halte den Atem fest an und versuche zu schnalzen: Die Laute kommen mühelos kräftig und typisch zustande. Dasselbe gilt für alle vier Laute, gleichgültig ob sie bei einer Inspiration oder bei einer Exspiration gebildet werden. Die Atmung spielt also hierbei keine Rolle. Die Klixbildung ist vielmehr ausschließlich eine Wirkung des energischen Abzuges der Zunge von ihrer Ansatzfläche. In den dabei entstehenden leeren Raum dringt dann die Luft ohne physiologische Beihilfe mit vierfach verschiedenem Geräusch ein. Sie nimmt dabei ihren Weg auch durch die Mundöffnung, aber dieses Einströmen ist keine Inspiration: Die Unabhängigkeit von Zwerchfell und Lunge ist meiner Auffassung nach das Charakteristische der Schnalzlautbildung.

Der Gebrauch klixartiger Laute in der Sprache anderer Völker als der der Hottentotten-Buschmanns-Gruppe Südafrikas ist noch nicht systematisch untersucht worden. Der dentale und der zerebrale Schnalzlaut scheint am wenigsten modifiziert in die Sprache einiger südafrikanischen Bantustämme übergegangen zu sein; ihre Verwendung bei der Wortbildung soll aber der im Hottentottischen nicht entsprechen. Ich selbst hatte keine Gelegenheit, die schnalzartigen Laute der Zulu, Basuto etc. mit denen der Hottentotten zu vergleichen.

2. Die musikalischen Modifikationen der Namalaute

glaubt man mit drei Zeichen genügend unterscheiden zu können. Die Kroenleinschen Zeichen werden vom Autor selbst nicht präzisiert. Büttner sagt von ihnen im Vorwort zum „Wortschatz", vermutlich in Anlehnung an Th. Hahn oder ältere Autoren, daß sie den „mittleren, tiefen und hohen Ton" bezeichnen. Ein Vergleich mit der lebenden Sprache selbst ergibt aber, daß sie nur in einer Anzahl von Fällen reine Tonhöhen angeben; in der Mehrzahl der Fälle werden sie vielmehr zur Bezeichnung solcher Laut-

Übersicht des verschiedenen Verhaltens der Zunge bei der Bildung der Klixe.

Name und Zeichen des Klixes.	Form der Zunge beim Schnalz-Ansatz.	Ansatzstelle der schnalzenden Zungenteile.	Verhalten der nicht-schnalzenden Zungenteile während des Schnalz-Ansatzes.	Richtung des Abzuges der schnalzenden Zungenteile von der Ansatzstelle.
Dentalis. /	Flach und breit.	Der Vorderrand der Zunge legt sich der Innenfläche der oberen Schneide- und Eckzähne an.	Die Seitenränder der Zunge liegen, während der Vorderrand zum Schnalzen ansetzt, den Innenflächen, z. T. auch den Kauflächen der seitlichen Zähne derart an, daß ein Einblick in die Mundhöhle nicht gegeben ist.	Tief nach unten, dicht hinter die Schneidezähne.
Lateralis. //	Kegelförmig gerundet, so daß zu beiden Seiten der Zunge, auch während ihres Ansatzes zum Schnalzen, die Mundhöhle sichtbar ist.	Der größte Teil des Zungenrückens legt sich dem Gaumendach an.	Die Zungenspitze liegt ruhend dem vordersten Gaumendach, z. T. auch der Innenfläche der oberen Schneidezähne an. Die Seitenränder der Zunge legen sich an die Innenfläche der oberen Backzähne.	Senkrecht nach unten, aber nur soweit, daß der Zungenrücken beträchtlich über dem Kauflächen-Niveau der Unterkieferzähne stehen bleibt.
Cerebralis. /	Napfförmig gehöhlt und breit.	Das Vorderende der Zunge legt sich in einiger Entfernung von den Schneidezähnen dem vorderen und dem mittleren Gaumendach an.	Die Seitenränder des hinteren Zungenabschnittes liegen den Innenflächen der seitlichen Zähne an, deren Kauflächen nur berührend.	Nach unten und hinten.
Palatalis. ǂ	Flach und breit.	Die Zungenspitze legt sich dem vorderen Gaumendach dicht hinter den Schneidezähnen an.	Die Seitenränder des hinteren Zungenabschnittes liegen den Innen- und Kauflächen der seitlichen Zähne an.	Nach unten und so weit nach hinten, daß zwischen dem Vorderrand der Zunge und den Schneidezähnen das Zungenbändchen sichtbar wird.

verhältnisse verwandt, die sich als Kombinationen aus sehr verschiedenen musikalischen Elementen darstellen. Die üblichen drei Zeichen geben also in den meisten Fällen nicht einfache, sondern komplexe Lautverhältnisse wieder, geben sie unvollkommen wieder, da die Lautelemente an sich nur zum Teil, die Art ihrer Kombinierung überhaupt nicht beachtet wird — und geben sie vieldeutig wieder, da sie ohne Rücksicht auf die jeweilig verschiedenartigen Lautkomponenten ähnlich Lautendes zusammenfassen.

A. Seidel, der die Namasprache nie selbst gehört hat, also rein theoretisch vorgeht, unterscheidet zwar als „Intonationen" die üblichen drei „Tonhöhen", sieht jedoch als entscheidenden Charakter nicht verschiedene Tonhöhen an sich, sondern Steigen und Fallen der Töne an. Dieses Steigen und Fallen des Tones ist mit der Tonhöhe nun vollends dadurch auf das Unglücklichste verquickt worden, daß der Einsatz der Stimme in mittlerer Tonhöhe durchgreifend als Ausgangspunkt statuiert wird. Das steht einfach mit den Tatsachen in schroffem Widerspruch. Die Voraussetzung, daß die Stimme, wenn ihre Höhe wechselt, immer über der mittleren Tonhöhe steigt oder fällt, ist tatsächlich falsch und damit fällt das ganze darauf aufgebaute Lautsystem.

Klarheit läßt sich hier eben nicht abstrakt durch Aus- und Angleichungen alter Begriffe, sondern nur aus einem erneuten Studium der lebendigen Sprache selbst gewinnen. Ich habe deshalb, rein empirisch vorgehend, alle phonetischen Elemente, die die Tonhöhe und ihren Wechsel betreffen, neu aufgezeichnet, sobald ich sie in einem Wort konstant wiederkehren hörte. Eine besondere Berücksichtigung des Stärkeakzents erwies sich später als notwendig und forderte eine Revision der Aufzeichnungen speziell nach dieser Richtung. Die Resultate meiner Beobachtungen, die mehrfach und in gewissen Zeitabständen auf jede Einzelheit hin durchkontrolliert wurden, sind folgende: Der musikalische Charakter der Laute wird in der Namasprache nicht durch drei isoliert auftretende und mit dem Stärkeakzent zusammenfallende, sondern im ganzen durch acht Lautmodifikationen bestimmt, die untereinander sowohl als mit dem 9. Faktor, dem Stärkeakzent, in mannigfaltiger Weise sich kombinieren.

Der Umstand, daß die Zeichen Krönleins schon in zwei verschiedenen Definitionen in Umlauf sind, von denen die eine zu allgemein ist, die andere mit den Tatsachen in Widerspruch steht, bestimmt mich, nach mehrfachen und immer wieder verworfenen Anlehnungsversuchen diese Zeichen in meine Orthographie nicht aufzunehmen. Es könnte das nur geschehen, wenn sie abermals umdefiniert würden. Ihre Anwendung würde dann der in Krön-

eins Wortschatz nicht entsprechen und damit wäre nur Mißverständnissen Vorschub geleistet. Die im folgenden unterschiedenen neun musikalischen Modifikationen der Namalaute verteilen sich auf drei Gruppen*).

a) Der Ton-Einsatz. Darunter verstehe ich die Höhe, in der die Stimme regelmäßig beim Aussprechen gewisser Worte einsetzt, verglichen mit dem Einsetzen der Stimme in anderen Worten.

Es sind drei Arten des Ton-Einsatzes zu unterscheiden; die Lautzeichen, die ich dafür wähle, sind in Klammern beigefügt:

α) Der mittlere Ton-Einsatz ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß die Stimme weder tiefer noch höher als durchschnittlich einsetzt. Was unter dem „durchschnittlichen Tonniveau" eines Menschen zu verstehen ist und wie es nach Alter, Geschlecht und individueller Eigenart schwankt, braucht dabei nicht in Schwingungszahlen festgelegt zu werden. Man ist auf das Organ auch seines hottentottischen Gegenüber bald so eingestimmt, daß einem ein Abweichen der Stimme nach der Höhe oder nach der Tiefe ohne weiteres auffällt. Der mittlere Ton-Einsatz bedarf keines Lautzeichens. Er ist (wenn im Übrigen die Tonhöhe-Bezeichnungen vollständig sind) überall da gegeben, wo ein solches Zeichen fehlt.

β) Der hohe Ton-Einsatz (Zeichen: / hinter dem Laut) ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß die Stimme höher,

γ) der tiefe Ton-Einsatz (Zeichen: \ hinter dem Laut) dadurch, daß sie tiefer als normal einsetzt.

Wenn bei einem Wort Zweifel über die Art des Ton-Einsatzes bestehen, dann ist ein Vergleich des fraglichen Worts mit anderen von der gleichen Laut-Zusammensetzung entscheidend. So könnte man zweifeln, ob das Wort für „grün" *ǂam* oder *ǂa/m* zu schreiben ist, so nahe an der Grenze von mittlerem und hohem Ton-Einsatz liegt hier die Stimme. Für den Hochton (hier kombiniert mit sinkendem Ton-Ausklang) entscheidet ein Vergleich mit dem deutlich tiefer ausgesprochenen Wort *ǂam* „aneinanderfügen". Daß wiederum in diesem Wort die Stimme in der Tat mittleren und nicht etwa tiefen Toneinsatz hat, lehrt die Bezeichnung für „Glasperle", das Wort *ǂ\m*, denn erst bei dessen Aussprache tritt die Stimme in ihre tiefste Lage.

*) Die Terminologie, die ich mir zur Benennung der neun unterschiedenen Lautelemente der Namasprache gebildet hatte, hat Herr Professor Eduard Sievers in Leipzig freundlichst durchgesehen und, wo es im Interesse einer einheitlichen Nomenklatur**) nötig war, verbessert. Auch bei der Aufgabe, die phonetischen Elemente im Druck so wiederzugeben, daß sie dem Satz nicht allzusehr erschweren und in ihrer Kombination sich nicht unübersichtlich häufen, habe ich entscheidende Ratschläge erhalten. Ich wiederhole Herrn Professor Sievers an dieser Stelle meinen aufrichtigen Dank.

Die musikalischen Modifikationen der Namalaute treten in ihren Unterschieden und in ihrem Verständigungswerth in der Sprache am klarsten hervor, wo ihr Wechsel zwei sonst gleichlautende Worte begrifflich scharf voneinander trennt*. Um diese Bedeutung der drei unterschiedenen Ton-Einsatzarten zu illustrieren, seien folgende Beispiele angeführt:

1. *ǃaba-* = rot.
   ǃaǀba-s = der Norden.
   **ǃaǀba-b* = der Blutgeschmack im Munde.
2. *ǃaǁ* = prüfen.
   ǃaǁ = springen.
3. *ǃaɪm* = grün (als Verb: umherleuchten).
   ǃaɪm = aneinanderfügen.
   ǃaɪms = die Glasperle.
4. *ǃaǂ* = huren.
   ǃaǂǂ = lauschen.
   (aǂ = bespritzen.)
5. *ǃgaɪm* = warm sein.
   ǃgaɪm = zwei.
6. *ǃgǖ* = Perlenketten um den Hals hängen.
   ǃgǖ = dünn sein.
   (ǃgǖ = zum Krieg aufbrechen.)
7. *ǃgaɪru-s* = das Fellsäckchen.
   ǃgaɪru-b = das Wassersammelloch im Felsen.
8. *ǃgaɪra-b* = das Hindernis.
   **ǃgaɪra-b* = die beerenartige Frucht vom *Rhus lancea L. f. (Anacardiacee)*.
9. **ǃgaǀba-b* = Name einer *Rhizogum*-Art *(Bignoniacee)*.
   ǃgaǀba-b = der Wassersack.
10. *ǃgǖǂ* = ein Fell zum Trocknen ausgespannt auf den Boden pflöcken.
    ǃgǖǁ = etwas auf seinem Weg kreuzen.
    ǃgǖǂ = etwas durch Kappen gleich machen, beim Gehen die Knöchel aneinanderstoßen.
11. *ǃgǖǂ* = Zuckerbier bereiten, einpflanzen.

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*) Die hier und im Folgenden aufgeführten Lautzeichen fehlen noch einigen wenigen der Worte, die auch auf den vorhergehenden Bogen im Text eingeschaltet, gemacht waren. Für sie ist die Schreibweise, die in den folgenden Listen angewandt ist, die maßgebende.

ŋgŏ! = kahlköpfig sein.
12. *ŋgu!* = sich verstecken.
ŋgu! = fett werden.
13. *ŋgum* = borstenhaarig.
ŋgom = Blut saugen.
14. *ŋgau* = dem Säugling eine andere Milchmutter geben.
ŋgau! = im Dunkeln tappen.
15. *ŋgoo* = fleben.
ŋgoa- = drohen.
(ŋgo-a = hell werden.)
16. *ŋgoa-b* = der Lehm, der Bodensatz des Zuckerbiers.
ŋgoa-b = das Bettfell.
17. *ŋgoma-b* = der Bodensatz einer Flüssigkeit.
**ŋgoma-b* = die Streifenmaus (s. S. 287, No. 36).
18. *ŋgũ!* = mit der Faust von sich stoßen.
ŋgũ! = anecken, anstoßen.
19. *ŋgũb* = der Vater.
ŋgũb = der Springbock.
ŋgũb = der Zahn.
20. *ŋhai-* = fliehen.
ŋhai- = Haare von einem Fell schaben.
21. *ŋhaib* = die Knochenpfeife.
ŋhaib = das Zerschneiden einer Frucht.
22. *ŋhaĩb* = der Riemen.
**ŋhaĩb* = das Eisen am Kieselstein-Feuerzeug.
23. *ŋhom* = fettig sein.
ŋhom = vom Asche-Gebackenen das Verbrannte abklopfen.
24. *ŋhu-mi* = lügen.
ŋhu-mi = sich fertig halten.
25. *ŋhui-* = aufdecken, bloß legen.
**ŋhui-* = Luft ausblasen, fauchen (von der Hornviper).
26. *ŋhui-* = das Sichaufrichten der Schlange.
ŋhui- = etwas zum ersten Mal tun.
27. *ŋkyam* = fassen.
**ŋkyam* = sich den Stuhlgang verknoten.
28. *ŋkyã!* = schielen.
ŋkyã! = Kleinvieh sich heimlich in den Mund melken.

29. *ǀkχari·* = die Spur verfolgen.
ǀkχairi-b = das Honigbier.
30. *ǂkχaim* = jung.
ǂkχaim = totkalben.
ǂkχaim = die Ohren zurücklegen.
31. *ǂkχairi·* = ausgleiten.
ǂkχari· = klein.
32. *ǂkχai* = erwachen.
ǂkχaiǀ = blinken.
33. *ǀkχo-ǂmas* = das Flehen.
ǀkχo-mab = das Hügel- oder Gebirgsland, das Komas-Hochland im südlichen Hererogebiet.
34. *ǂkχõǁ* = begraben.
ǂkχũǁ = grob sein.
35. *nairu·* = einen Bogen machen, umgehen.
naru-s = der Klumpen.
36. *ǀnaiǂn* = umbinden.
ᵒǀnaiǂn = die Urinblase übervoll haben.
37. *ǀnaiǂs* = das Suchen.
ǀnaiǂs = die Niere.
38. *ǀnoibo·* = sich häuen.
ǀnobo· = schaben.
39. *ǀnoa·* = ergrauen.
ǀnoia· = durchgehen (scheue Tiere), erwachen.
40. *ǀnõ-ǂas* = die Schlappheit.
ǀnõ-ǂas = die Ferse.
ǀnõǂa-s = das Straucheln.
41. *ǂnoa·* = streiten.
ǂnoia· = werfen.
42. *õ-a* = suchen.
õ-ia = zunehmen.
õa· = kalben, lammen, Junge werfen.
43. *o-re* = Milch erbrechen (vom Säugling), als Substantiv *(-s)* auch: Die Milch im Magen junger erlegter Wildkälber.
o-ire = vom Raubtier: hinlaufen, um die eingescharrte Beute zu holen.
(ore· = losmachen).

44. *joim* = stoßen.
joim = hornlos sein (vom Vieh).
joim = hart werden, Dorn ausziehen.
45. *saos* = deine Mutter.
saos = die Verfolgung.
46. *sĭ* = niesen.
sĭ = senden.
47. *uru-* = Wild beschleichen.
°uru- = auf ein ungesatteltes Pferd springen.
48. *tsabi-* = die Gewohnheit die Augen lauernd umherzubewegen.
tsaibi-s = der Schwarzebenholzbaum.

b) Der Ton-Auslang. Darunter verstehe ich den Unterschied der Stimmhöhe beim Anklingen und beim Ausklingen eines und desselben Vokals oder Diphthongs eines einsilbigen Wortes.

Es sind drei Arten des Ton-Ausklangs zu unterscheiden.

α) Der ebene Ton-Ausklang ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß die Stimme in derselben Höhe ausklingt, in der sie einsetzte. Dieses Sichgleichbleiben braucht durch kein Lautzeichen markiert zu werden; es ist als gegeben anzunehmen, wo ein derartiges Zeichen fehlt.

β) Der steigende Ton-Ausklang (Zeichen: ˀ hinter dem Laut) ist durch ein Ansteigen,

γ) der sinkende Ton-Ausklang (Zeichen: ˋ hinter dem Laut) durch ein Absinken der ausklingenden Stimme gekennzeichnet.

An diese Unterschiede muß sich das Ohr des Weißen langsam gewöhnen. Dem Eingeborenen sind sie so unzweideutig wie uns das Steigen der Stimme in der Frage oder ihr Sinken am Ende eines Aussagesatzes. Beispiele:

1. *ǂî* = weinen.
ǂì = trinken.
ǂîr = ja! (wird im Tonausklang leicht durch Affekte modifiziert.)
2. *ǂû* = auswinden.
ǂûˋ = scharf sein.
3. *ǂû* = naß sein.
ǂûˋ = entwenden.
4. *ǂams* = der Mund.
ǂamˋs = der Braten.
ǂam = rechts.
5. *ǂgaiˋn* = Kuchen in der Pfanne backen.

ǂgoin = den Kopf einziehen.
(ǂgoin = verb. das Zurücklassen des Lammes an einer bestimmten Stelle von seiten des Muttertieres.)
6. *ǂgoim = den Tripper haben.
*ǂgoim = tief.
(ǂgoim = sich bücken.)
(ǂgoim = töten.)
7. ǂgē = gleichfarbiges Vieh sammeln.
*ǂgē = sein Letztes nicht weggeben wollen.
(gē = Zwillinge bekommen.)
8. ǂgōi = spitz sein.
ǂgōi = eine Tierscheuche aufstellen.
(ǂgōi = ausweichen.)
9. ǂgūis = die Schüssel die aus dem Brustbein des Straußes hergestellt ist.
ǂgūrb = der Zwang.
10. ǂgūib = die lange Binsenmatte.
ǂgūrb = das Verfolgen einer Spur.
ǂgūi = einen Hinterschurz tragen.
ǂgūi = jemand auf den Schultern reiten lassen.
11. ǂhoim = verschiedene Speisen gleichzeitig kauen.
ǂhoim = einschenken.
12. ǂhāib = die Fläche.
ǂhārb = das vor sich Herstoßen oder Schieben.
13. ǂhāib = die Not.
*ǂhāib = ein schwarzes Gestein (wie es z. B. bei Aar in der Umgebung von Kubub vorkommt).
14. ǂhōis = das Ausgießen.
ǂhōis = der Knappsack.
15. ǂhōi = auf die Ellbogen niedersinken (gesagt vom kleinen Kind, das auf Knien und Händen kriecht).
ǂhōi = verspotten.
16. ǂhu-ǂmi = der Berg.
ǂhu-ǂmi = die Robbe (s. S. 41).
17. ǂhoim = lahm sein, auch: Ochsen in den Jochen vom Trekktau loskoppeln (um sie vor einen anderen Wagen zu spannen).
ǂhoim = Heißes einschlürfen.

18. *kχũi* = etwas aufblähen.
kχũĩ = sich aufblähen, aufgeblasen sein.
19. *ǂnãi* = lassen.
ǂnãĩ = füllen.
(ǂnã = dort.)
20. **/nãib* = der weiße Bleßstreifen über Stirn- und Nasenmitte.
/nãĩb = der Unterleib.
(/nãib = eine große Land-Schildkrötenart.)
21. **ǂnaĩm* = platt und dünn.
ǂnaĩm = pfeifen.
22. */nõib* = der Stein unter dem Kochtopf.
/nõb = die Ruhe.
23. */ð* = lärmen.
/ði = aufhören Milch zu geben.
24. *sãib* = das Ausruhen.
sãĩb = der Buchupuder.
25. *saĩm* = Baumrinde abziehen.
saĩm = Honig ausnehmen.
(saĩm = einen Vogel mit einem Wurf so einschüchtern, daß er sich zu Boden duckt.)
26. */ũĩs* = die Klaue, der Huf.
/ũĩs = die Stirn.
(/ũĩs = Pflanzen).
27. *tsãib* = die Gelenkschmiere.
tsãĩb = das Lecken.
28. */nũĩb* = die Ferne.
/nũĩb = die Staubwolke.
(/nũĩb = die Buschhütte, der Buschschirm).

c) Der Wort-Tonfall. Darunter verstehe ich den Unterschied der Stimmhöhe zwischen Anfangs- und Endsilbe eines Wortes. Von dreisilbigen Wörtern können wir hier ganz absehen, da nie mehr als zwei Silben den charakteristischen Höhenunterschied zeigen, die dritte vielmehr der einen oder der anderen betonten Silbe sich angleicht. Es sind zwei Arten des Wort-Tonfalles zu unterscheiden.

1. Der steigende Wort-Tonfall ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß die Stimme in der Endsilbe höher als in der Anfangssilbe ist.

2. Der sinkende Wort-Tonfall ist umgekehrt durch die tiefere Stimmlage der Endsilbe charakterisiert.

Bei steigendem sowohl wie bei sinkendem Tonfall ist zuweilen unabhängig von individuellen Schwankungen ein großes und ein kleines Intervall zu unterscheiden. Das große beträgt eine kleine Terz bis Quart, das kleine nur einen halben Ton. Unter den folgenden Beispielen sind solche enthalten, die zeigen, daß auch schon dieses Ausmaß des Wort-Tonfalles begriffs-unterscheidende Bedeutung haben kann.

Ein besonderes Zeichen für die Unterschiede des Wort-Tonfalles habe ich, um die Buchstaben nicht weiter mit diakritischen Zeichen zu bepacken, nicht eingeführt. Das ist ohne weiteres gerechtfertigt, wo diese Unterschiede des Wort-Tonfalles Hand in Hand mit solchen in der Lage des Stärkeakzents gehen, der sein eigenes Zeichen erhält. Wo es sich aber, wie in den folgenden Beispielen, bei gleicher Lage des Stärkeakzents und bei gleichsinnigem Wort-Tonfall um eine Präzisierung reiner Intervall-Unterschiede handelt, sind folgende Abkürzungen in Klammern beigefügt:

$^1/_2$, st. bedeutet . . . um $^1/_2$ Ton steigenden Wort-Tonfall.
3, st. „ . . . „ ca. 1 Terz „ „
$^1/_2$, f. „ . . . „ $^1/_2$ Ton sinkenden (fallenden) Wort-Tonfall.
3, f. „ . . . „ ca. 1 Terz „ „ „

Beispiele:

1. *igairi-b* (3, st.), Name eines Ufergrases.
   igairi-s ($^1/_2$, st.) = das Blutgeschwür.
2. *igoia-b* (3, st.), Name einer sukkulenten eßbaren Pflanze.
   **igoia-b* ($^1/_2$, st.), der Ruf der sitzenden *ihanos*-Eule.
3. *igoiro·* (3, st.) = zurückbleiben.
   igoiro· ($^1/_2$, st.) = brüllen.
4. *iguiru-b* (3, st.) = das Gift.
   iguiru-b ($^1/_2$, st.) = der Donner.
5. *ihaina·* (3, st.) = langsam sein.
   ihaina· ($^1/_2$, st.) = nach Pisse riechen.
6. *ihaira·* (3, st.) = zusehen.
   ihaira· ($^1/_2$, st.) = schnauben, hart ausspucken.
7. *ihaira-b* (3, st.) = die Warze.
   ihaira-b ($^1/_2$, st.) = der Panseninhalt bei den Wiederkäuern.
8. *iharu-s* (3, st.), Name einer *Cyperus*-Art.
   **iharu-s* ($^1/_2$, st.), Name von *Mesembrianthemum*-Arten.

9. *ǀhaiu-b* (3, st.) = der Ziegenbart.
ǀhaiu-b ($^1/_2$, st.) = der sichtbare Atemhauch.
10. *ǀhoibo-* (3, st.) = das Gesicht bemalen.
**ǀhoibo-* ($^1/_2$, st.) = ein Neugeborenes herrichten.
11. *nairi-* (3, st.) = verdickt sein.
nairi- ($^1/_2$, st.) = heute früh.
12. *ǂnaiba-b* (3, st.) = der Flicken.
ǂnaiba-b ($^1/_2$, st.) = das Nashorn.
13. *ǂnoira-b* (3, st.) = die Tabaksrolle.
ǂnoira-s ($^1/_2$, st.) = die schwarze Mistkugel der kleinen Wiederkäuer.

d) Der Stärkeakzent (Zeichen: · hinter dem Laut) sei hier als rhytmischer Bestandteil den musikalischen Lautmodifikationen angereiht. Eine Verquickung der Akzentbezeichnung mit den Zeichen der „Tonhöhe"-bestimmenden Elemente (wie sie Kroenlein versucht hat) ist nicht durchführbar. Ein ausschließlich dem Akzent gewidmetes Zeichen halte ich für eine erschöpfende Lautanalyse des Nama für unentbehrlich.

Bei der Aussprache der einzelnen Vokabeln kann in vielen Fällen nicht zwischen betonten und unbetonten, sondern nur zwischen mehr und weniger betonten Silben unterschieden werden. Besonders wenn der sinkende Tonfall eine Terz beträgt, liegt der Akzent meist so gleichmäßig auf Anfangs- und Endsilbe, daß eine Akzentunterscheidung nicht möglich ist. In solchen und ähnlichen Fällen kann das Zeichen weggelassen werden.

Im Allgemeinen liegt in zweisilbigen Worten mit steigendem Wortonfall der Akzent auf der letzten, bei solchen mit sinkendem Tonfall auf der ersten Silbe. Wie

e) Kombinationen der vier vorhergenannten musikalischen Elemente den phonetischen Charakter und damit meist auch die Bedeutung der Worte bestimmen, sollen die folgenden Beispiele zeigen:

α) Kombination von Unterschieden in Ton-Einsatz und Ton-Ausklang. Die Kombination von hohem Ton-Einsatz und sinkendem Ton-Ausklang wird mit ˊ, die Kombination von tiefem Ton-Einsatz und steigendem Ton-Ausklang mit ˋ bezeichnet.

1. *ŧâi* = aufplatzen.
ŧâi = schlachten.
2. *ǂaiⁿ* = stöhnen.
ǂaiⁿ = rauchen (vom Feuer).
3. *ŧaiⁿm* = sich mit Kuhmist reinigen.

ǂaim = das Setzen der Steine beim Lochspiel (s. S. 314), in die Hände klatschen.
ǂaim = ausschalten.
*ǂaim = verheimlichend zudecken.
4. ǂain = wohnen.
ǂain = reifen.
ǂain = fest aneinander halten.
5. ǂain = wissen.
ǂain = einen Hieb versetzen.
6. ǂāi = jubeln, sich belustigen.
ǂāi = jemand feind sein.
7. ǂāi = verloren sein.
ǂāi = klug sein, jemand überlisten.
8. ǂgāi = bersten.
ǂgāb = das Wiederaufleben, das Wiedererscheinen der Mondsichel.
ǂgāib = das Gift.
ǂgāib = der Knecht.
*ǂgārb = Name einer *Euphorbia*, die wohl mit der auf S. 260 identisch ist.
9. ǂga-ni = das Kinn.
ǂga-ni = der Weg.
(ǂgani- = drücken).
10. ǂgāi = hereingehen.
*ǂgāi = steil sein.
11. χoim = abstäuben.
*χoim = eine Schlinge zuziehen.
12. ǂgaim = Zerbrochenes zusammenbinden.
ǂgaim = umherspringen.
13. ǂgain = zudecken.
ǂgain = fragen.
14. ǂgāi = geizen.
ǂgāi = Felle zum Lager ausbreiten.
15. ǂgēi = erwürgen.
ǂgēi = ausscheiden.
16. gōi = verweigern.
gōi = sehen.
17. ǂgoim = schwanger sein.

/goɪm = das Brummen des Straußes.
18. ǂgoɪm = eintunken.
ǂgoɪm = glauben.
19. /gūɪ = nahe.
/gūr = schmutzig.
20. /gaɪm = beugen.
/gaɪm = töten.
*/gaɪm = tief.
21. /gauɪ = übrig bleiben.
/gauɪ = hinwerfen.
22. /hāɪb = das Auswannen.
/hārb = der Luchs (s. S. 281).
/hāɪb = der Eckzahn des Pferdes.
23. ǂhaūɪ = sich mit etwas Süßem beschmieren.
*ǂhaūr = die Tsamma-Frucht (s. S. 200) stampfen.
24. /hārb = der Skorpion.
/hūɪb = die Beklemmung, Erstickung.
25. /hūɪb = der weiße Mann.
/hūrb = der Bockgestank.
26. ǁhūɪ = durchbohren.
ǁhūɪ = bellen.
27. /hūɪ = fliehen.
/hūrb = das Land.
28. /hūt = verknüpfen.
/hūɪ = gekochtes Fleisch stampfen, mit der Faust aufwärts von von sich stoßen.
*/hūɪ = Mark aus den Knochen saugen (vgl. S. 212).
29. /kχaɪm = pissen.
/kχaɪm = durchsickern.
*/kχaɪms = die eßbaren Weichteile der Meeresschnecken (s. S. 31).
30. kχoɪm = fein stampfen.
kχoɪm = sprechen.
31. ǁkχoɪm = am Topf festgebackene Reste auskratzen.
ǁkχoɪm = eine Leiche einbinden (s. S. 316).
32. /kχūɪ = zittern.
/kχūɪ = herausziehen.
33. ǂnāɪ = gießen.

ǂnăi = trocken sein.
34. ǂnaiŋ = Feuer schlagen.
ǂnaŋ = sich umdrehen.
35. ǂnoim = buckelig-verwachsen.
ǂnoim = Bienen ausräuchern (s. S. 205).
36. ǂnaui = schlagen.
ǂnaui = helfen.
37. ǂoim = atmen.
ǂoim = abwischen.
38. săi = sich wärmen.
săi = in der Nase kribbeln.
39. sĭ = hinkommen.
sĭi = pforzen.

β) Unterschiede in Ton-Einsatz und Wort-Tonfall.

1. ǂabi· (½, st.) = regnen (vgl. S. 237 Anmerkung).
ǂaibi· (3, st.) = zu Heilzwecken die Haut einritzen.
2. χore· (½, st.) = losmachen.
χoire· (3, st.) = scherzen.
3. ǂgaiǂi·b (3, st.) Name heiner Eidechse, der *Mabuia acutilabris Ptrs.*
ǂgaiǂi·b (½, st.) = das Tanzen.
4. ǂguini· (3, st.) = Wild beschleichen.
ǂguini· (½, st.) = am geschlossenen Auge oder im Ohr sich jucken.
5. ǂguru·s (½, st.) = der Quarzstein.
*ǂguiru·b (3, st.) = der Bergrücken.
6. ǂhaimi· (3, st.) = jagen.
ǂhaimi· (½, st.) = beleidigt sein.
7. ǂhuri·b (3, st.) = der Schrecken.
ǂhuiri·b (½, st.) = das Rückgrat.
8. ǂnaru· (½, st.) = rösten, an einem Knochen kauen (vom Rind gesagt).
ǂnairu· (3, st.) = in Reihen aufspießen.
9. ǂnairu·s (½, st.) = der Schwarzebenholzbaum (Synonym s. S. 144).
*ǂnairu·s (3, st.) = Name eines Rochens.
10. u·iri (½, f.) = Knochen abnagen.
u·rib (3, f.) = die Laus.

γ) Unterschiede in Wort-Tonfall und Stärkeakzent.

(Wo nichts besonderes vermerkt, beträgt der Wort-Tonfall $^1/_2$ Ton.)

1. *a·bu* = zusammenfalten.
   abu·s = das leere Straußenei.
2. */a·ob* = das Blut.
   /ao·b = die Schlange.
3. *ǂa·ru* = heimkehren.
   ǂaru· = schwarz-weiß getüpfelt.
4. *ǂaba·* = bersten.
   ǂa·ba = aufschneiden.
5. *ǂabi·* = Schmutz fegen.
   ǂa·bi = sich langweilen.
6. *ǂa·bo* = bemörteln.
   ǂabo· = jemand überrumpelnd ergreifen.
7. *go·a* = halb trocken sein.
   goa· = loben.
8. */goa·* = mit der Peitsche knallen.
   **/go·a* = tief liegen.
9. *gu·ri* = Knochen abnagen.
   guri·b = das Jahr.
10. **ǁgaba·* = scharf und weit sehen.
    **ǁga·ba* = aus Versehen auf etwas treten.
11. *ǁha·ob* = der Windschirm der Feuerstelle.
    ǁhao·b = das Aufsteigen des Gewitters.
12. */hari·* = Nähte auftrennen.
    /ha·ri = in Nachbarschaft wohnen.
13. */kχa·reb* = der Trippelgang des Pferdes (Reitart der Buren).
    /kχare·b = das Kalb der Oryx-Antilope. (Akzentuierung auf S. 275 verdruckt).
14. */kχa·rus* = Name einer Hasenart (s. S. 285).
    **/kχaru·s* = Name einer Euphorbia-Art, *E. cervicornis Boiss* (s. Taf. VI).
15. */kχa·bu* = Wasser aus dem Munde spritzen.
    /kχabu·s = die Sandale.
16. *ǁkχa·eb* = das Zurückjagen.
    ǁkχaĕ·b = der Sand des Rivierbettes.

17. *ǂkχara·* = strafen.
ǂkχa·ra = groß sein.
18. */kχa-erab* (3, f.) = Name einer Hasenart (s. S. 285).
/kχaĕra· (3, st.) = nachlässig.
19. */kχa·ru* = schnarchen.
/kχaru· = durchschießen.
20. *ǂkχoro·b* (3, st.) = die Aschenschaufel.
**ǂkχo·rob* (½, f.) = der Honigsack aus Leguanhaut (s. S. 205).
21. *ǂkχuru·b* = die Dürre, die Säure.
ǂkχu·rub = der Grassamen.
22. **ǂkχuru·b* = die heiße Erde um die Feuerstelle.
ǂkχu·rub = die Ader.
23. */naimi·* (3, st.) = ein Kind auf dem Arm tragen.
/na·imi (½, f.) = die Seite; als verb: mit einwärts gesetzten Füßen laufen.
24. *ǂnaio·b* (3, st.) = die Bienenwabe.
**ǂna·iob* (½, f.) = ebener oder schwach geneigter, am Berghang entlang führender Weg.
25. */oro·* = sich auf die Fußspitzen stellen.
/o·ro = brüllen.
26. *saru·* = Kleinvieh am Bein einfangen.
s[illegible]ru (3, f.) = verfolgen.
27. *s[illegible]res* = die Sonne.
sore·s = die Sore-Partnerin (s. S. 318/319).
28. *tara·s* = die Frau.
**tă·ras* (3, f.) = die (vom Hottentotten besonders betonte) Liebespflicht des Bruders zur Schwester und deren Kindern (s. S. 303).
29. *to·rob* = der Krieg.
toro·b = eine feinkörnige, rote, harte Bodenart.

δ) Unterschiede in Wort-Tonfall, Stärkeakzent und Ton-Einsatz (nur die Terz im Wort-Tonfall ist vermerkt, im übrigen ist ½ Ton anzunehmen).

1. *ta·rab* (3, f.) = der Ärger.
tara·b = die Rippe.
ta·trab = der Riß.
2. *ǂa·ri* = gestern, morgen.

ǂatri· = pulverisieren (in der Sprache der Namibnomaden: *ǂoitn*).

3. *ǀa·ba* = hinaufklettern.
ǀaiba· (3, st.) = kratzen.

4. *χoa·* = schaben.
χo·ia = schreiben.

5. *χuru·b* = das Kohlenpulver.
χuiru· (3, st.) = herausziehen.

6. *χu·bu* = Tabak zerreiben.
χuibu· (3, st.) = abtrinken.

7. *gara·* = kühl sein.
ga·ira = die Röteln haben.

8. *gairo·* (3, st.) = biegen, beugen.
ga·ro = ausdörren, mager werden, hart sein.

9. *ǀga·bi* = bespritzen.
ǀgaibi·s (3, st.) = der Becher.
(ǀgabi. = hoch sein*)*.

10. *ǂga·ie* = nachahmen.
ǂgač· = kauen.

11. *ǂga·mi* = das Wasser.
ǂgaimi· (3, st.) = den Kopf beugen.

12. *ǂga·nas* = die Giraffenakazie, der „Kameelboom".
ǂgaina·s = Name eines bei Kubub in den Felsen häufigen feigenbaumähnlichen Gewächses, dessen innere weiche Wurzelrinde roh gegessen wird.
ǂga·ina = das Vieh einzeln oder truppweise tränken.

13. *ǂgara·s* = die *Aloë dichotoma L.* (s. S. 112).
ǂgaira·s (3. st.) = das Schulterblatt.
ǂga·ra = Striche kritzen.

14. *ǀga·os* = das Schneiden.
ǀgaio·s (3, st.) = der Baumstamm.

15. *ǀgaira·b* = die Magerkeit.
ǀga·rab = die männliche Scham.

16. *ǀga·ro* = öde sein.
**ǀgairo·* = Herbeieilen des durstigen Viehes zum Wasser oder des Muttertiers zum Jungen.

17. *ǀga·mi* = zwei Frauen haben (vgl. S. 307).
ǀgaimi· = ein Auge zukneifen.

18. */go·e* = fluchen.
/goie· = einen Armbruch schienen.
19. */goire·b* = die Bitte.
/go·reb = der Schröpfeinschnitt in die Haut.
20. *gu!nu* = sich durch Eindrängen Platz verschaffen.
gu!nu· (3. st.) = verfaulen.
21. */gu·i* = Eins.
/gu!i· (3. st.) = jemandes überdrüssig werden.
22. *‖ga·ma* (3. f.) = Wasser holen.
**‖gai!ma·* = sich dicht an das Feuer legen.
23. *goira·b* (3. st.) = Name einer Krähenart, des *Corvus scapulatus Daud.*
**go·ra* = Feldzwiebeln aus den Hüllen pellen.
24. */gu!i·* (3. st.) = etwas umschleichen.
/gu·i = Klopfen einer Wunde.
25. */gu·ri* = jemand mit Fett einreiben.
/gu!ri· = hochmütig sein.
26. */gu!bu·* (3. st.) = klopfen.
/gu·bu = rund sein.
27. *≠gu·i* = viel sein.
≠gu!i·s (3. st.) = die Nase.
28. *hai!ra·* = weit sein.
ha·ra = schlucken.
29. */hai!mi·* (3. st.) = sich dick kleiden.
/ha·mi = sich fertig machen.
30. *‖ha·ru* = vor freudiger Rührung weinen.
‖hai!ru· (3. st.) = hineinkriechen.
31. */ha·e* = schnell sein.
/hai!e· = zu Pferd jagen (s. S. 290).
32. */ho·a* = erzählen.
/hoi!a· = krumm sein.
33. */hoi!ba·b* = die Umkehr.
/ho·bab = der Eingeweidewurm.
34. */hui!ru·* (3. st.) = Trockenkochen mageren Fleisches.
/hu·ru = spielen.
35. */hui!i·b* (3. st.) = die Trappe (s. S. 272).
/hu·ib = der frische Geruch des feuchten Holzes der Giraffenakazie.
36. */hu·nu* = naß werden.

ǂhuinu· = das Mark aus den Knochen saugen (vgl. S. 355, No. 28).

37. *ǂkχa·rab* (3, f.) = der Walfisch (s. S. 37).

ǂkχaira·b = der Hoden.

38. *ǂkχo·ab* = der Patronengurt.

**ǂkχoia·b* = das Eis.

39. *ǂkχo·a* = beschwichtigen.

ǂkχoia·b = der Elephant.

40. *ǂkχu·bi* = lärmen.

ǂkχuibi· = lallen (von kleinen Kindern).

41. *na·ǂmi* = die Zunge.

naimi· = flackern.

naimi· = um eine Ecke biegen.

naimi·b = die Fläche, die Namibwüste.

42. *na·ba* = blitzen.

naiba· (3, st.) = hinter etwas verschwinden, herunterfahren.

43. *ǂnaie·* = schlichten.

ǂna·eb = der Nabel.

44. *ǁna·e* = hinweisen.

ǁnaie· = singen.

45. *ǁnāǂi·* (3, st.) = sich mit Riemen umgürten (Herero).

ǁnā·ǂi = steif sein.

ǁnā·i = wohlan!

46. *ǂnaie·* = traben.

ǂnaē· = warm werden.

ǂna·ie = geboren werden.

47. *ǂna·rab* = die *Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.* (s. S. 146, 197.)

**ǂnaira·b* (3, st.) = Bezeichnung der Namibbuschmänner für „weißer Mann".

48. *ǂno·ro* = ein Fell gerben.

ǂnoiro· (3, st.) = fahl sein.

49. *ǂoiro·* = wenig sein.

ǂo·ro = verbraucht, alt sein.

50. *ǁo·ǂa* = nicht können.

ǁoia· (3, st.) = Quatschen des Wassers in nassen Schuhen.

(ǁo·a = küssen.*)*

51. *ǂo·a* = begegnen.

ǂoia· = traurig sein.

52. *sa·mi* (3, f.) = die Brüste, die Euter.
sa/mi· = mit der Peitsche hantieren.
sa·/mi = beim Verschlucken in die „falsche Kehle" geraten.
53. *sao·* = das Vieh zeichnen.
sa·o = folgen.
54. *so·as* = das Faß.
so/a·s = die Ritze.
55. *to·a* = aufhören.
to/a· (3, st.) = zerreißen.
56. */u/i·b* = der Schwager.
/u·ib = der Stein.
57. */u/i·* = Fett vom Fleisch schneiden.
/u·i = Abend werden.
58. */u/bu·b* = das Ei.
**/u·bu* (3, f.) = jemand abwehren.
59. */ū·i* = hüten.
**/ūi/i·* (3, st.) = nahtlos sein.
60. *tsa/o·* (3, st.) = das wütende Scharren des Bullen oder des Wildebeests.
tsa·ob = die Asche.
61. *tsa/ma·b* = der Tsamma-Kürbis (s. S. 200).
tsa·mab = der Ameisen-Vorratshaufen, „Mierkost".
62. *tso·as* = das Läuse-absuchen.
tso/a·s (3, st.) = der After.

e) Unterschied in Wort-Tonfall, Stärkeakzent, Ton-Einsatz und Ton-Ausklang.

ǂga·/ni ($^1/_2$, f.) = Fleisch.
ǂgani· ($^1/_2$, st.) = braunweiß gescheckt.

f) Aufhebung von Lautcharakteren ist zuweilen zu beobachten, wenn das Einzelwort Bestandteil eines Kompositums wird. Ich habe aber in dieser Richtung keine systematischen Aufnahmen gemacht, sondern nur einige wenige Beobachtungen verzeichnet.

Am häufigsten wird der Stärkeakzent in Kompositis aus seiner ursprünglichen Lage im Einzelwort verschoben. So lautet die allgemeine Bezeichnung für Katze */hõa·b*, in der zusammengesetzten Bezeichnung für „Feldkatze", */ga·roihõ·/ab*, rückt der Stärkeakzent deutlich auf die vorletzte Silbe. Dasselbe gilt für */ore·b*, die Schüssel, **/nu·bi/o·reb*, die Wannschüssel

(S. 201). Meist ist damit zugleich ein Wechsel des Wort-Tonfalls (s. Stärkeakzent, S. 353) verbunden.

Auch der charakteristische Ton-Ausklang des Einzelworts kann im Kompositum verschwinden: *ǂhôts*, der Sack, */na-maǂhôts*, der Sparsack (S. 238). Auffallend ist in einem zusammengesetzten Wort das Auftreten eines steigenden Ton-Ausklangs, der den Bestandteilen als Einzelworten fehlte: */naǀm*, lieben, aber */natm/naǀm*, zur Liebe bringen.

Wie weit sich die Lautcharaktere des einzelnen Wortes unter dem musikalischen Einfluß der Satzbildung und unter dem Einfluß des Affekts verändern, habe ich nicht verfolgt. Der Ton-Einsatz scheint mir bei weitem der beständigste Lautcharakter eines Wortes zu sein.

3. Die Orthographie,

deren ich mich in diesem Bericht bei Nama-Worten bediene, schließt sich eng an das allgemeine linguistische Alphabet in der Darstellung an, die Steinthal[88]) gibt. Ich kann mich daher hier auf kurze Bemerkungen zur bequemeren Orientierung des Lesers und zur Begründung einiger Abweichungen von der Schreibweise Kroenleins beschränken:

ā bezeichnet die Länge eines Vokals. Wo das Längenzeichen fehlt, ist der Vokal kurz.

ã bezeichnet die Nasalierung. Individuelle Neigung zur Nasalierung von Vokalen, die auf ein *m* folgen *(toma*, nicht, *goima-b*, Ochse, *ma*, geben, etc.*)* habe ich mehrfach beobachtet, aber in der Schrift nicht berücksichtigt.

(a) bezeichnet, daß der betreffende Vokal nur flüchtig ausgesprochen, fast unterdrückt wird.

y ist auszusprechen wie im Deutschen das „j" in Jena.

a|o und analog alle Vokale, die durch ein Lautzeichen getrennt sind, sind nicht diphthongisch, sondern getrennt zu sprechen.

aĕ, aĭ und *oĕ* etc. ist stets unter Trennung beider Vokale zu sprechen, mit Betonung des ersten, wenn kein Stärkeakzent-Zeichen gegeben ist.

ai ist auszusprechen wie im Deutschen in „Kaiser", „Eile", „einerlei" etc. Der Diphthong *ei* in der Aussprache, wie sie das linguistische Alphabet fordert, existiert im Hottentottischen nicht. Der linguistischen Schreibweise gebührt hier unbedingt der Vorzug. Wo Kroenlein *ai* schreibt, liegt in vielen Fällen eine naheliegende Verwechslung mit *aĕ* vor.

au ist auszusprechen wie im Deutschen in „Auge", „auch" etc. Der Diphthong *ou* in linguistischer Aussprache existiert im Hottentottischen

ebenso wenig wie im reinen Deutsch. Wo Kroenlein *au* schreibt, liegt in vielen Fällen eine nahe liegende Verwechslung mit *ao* vor.

ao ist mit Betonung des ersten Vokals und mit so schnellem Übergang in den zweiten zu sprechen, daß der Laut wie ein Diphthong klingt.

b wird am Anfang eines Wortes wie unser *b*, in der Mitte eines Wortes meist weich nach *w* hin, am Ende eines Wortes hart, nicht ganz so hart wie unser *p* gesprochen.

χ ist auszusprechen wie im Deutschen in „lachen", „Bach" etc.

kχ entspricht dem *kh* von Kroenlein, das „etwas härter, aber nicht viel" als *k* sein soll. Ich habe diesen Laut stets als *k* mit nachfolgendem *χ* gehört und schreibe ihn dementsprechend.

r ist das mit der Zunge gerollte, nicht das vom Zäpfchen geschnarrte *r*.

s wird am Ende des Wortes schwach wie unser deutsches *sch* in „Busch", „Bresche" etc., am Anfang des Wortes dagegen wie das *s* in „Salz", „Sonne" etc., vielfach scharf wie im Französischen in „salon" ausgesprochen.

ts ist auszusprechen wie im Deutschen das *z* in „Zahn", „Zunft" etc.

f u. *l* fehlen der Namasprache. Wo man ihnen in seltenen Fällen begegnet, sind die Wortstämme dem Holländischen entlehnt: *gurla-bigis*, Schmetterling; *ǂa-la-migob*, der Flamingo, *fi-lsib*, die *vuilziekte* der Buren (Lues).

B. Naturkenntnisse.

Was wir bei der Betrachtung der Ernährung und Medizin, des Handwerks, der Viehhaltung und der Jagd sowie bei der Schilderung des Landes und Klimas von Einzelkenntnissen des Hottentotten aus den drei Reichen der Natur kennen gelernt hatten, war mehr oder minder direkt materiellen Bedürfnissen erwachsen und dauernd mit ihnen verknüpft. Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob diese Kenntnisse auch losgelöst von den Sorgen des täglichen Lebens Bestand haben, d. h. wie weit sie als freie Äußerungen geistiger Regungen angesehen werden könnten. Es wird sich zeigen, daß trotz aller geistigen Beweglichkeit des Hottentotten die Naturkenntnisse des Volks sich nirgends zu einer wenn auch noch so einfachen Form von Naturanschauung erheben. Nur auf zwei Gebieten läßt sich wenigstens das Streben nach einer gewissen weiteren Durchführung der Anfänge oder nach Zusammenordnung des tatsächlich Gegebenen erkennen: auf biologischem Gebiet (das dem Jäger und Viehbesitzer noch heute am nächsten liegt) und — schon fast wieder in Vergessenheit versunken — auf dem Gebiet der Zeiteinteilung, dessen Daten in ihrem jahreszeitlichen Wechsel und tiefgreifenden Einfluß auf die belebte Natur gleicherweise dem Hirten zu denken geben.

1. Die Tier- und Pflanzenkenntnis

der Hottentotten soll hier nicht besprochen werden. Die zoologische und botanische Bestimmung des mitgebrachten Materials muß erst abgeschlossen sein, ehe wir eine klare Übersicht gewinnen können. Mit einer Liste einheimischer Namen allein wäre nichts gewonnen. Die guten anatomischen Kenntnisse der Hottentotten werden ebenfalls besser erst dargestellt, wenn die biologische Grundlage ausgearbeitet ist.

2. Himmelskunde.

Von Kindheit an ist der Hottentott gewohnt, draußen im Weidefeld sich selbständig zurecht zu finden. Als Kind hält er sich dabei an naheliegende Dinge, an Buschgruppen, Bäume und Felsformen. Wenn er später mit der Familie auf der Weidesuche längere Wanderungen antritt, ist er bei der Regenarmut des Landes gezwungen, von einer Wasserstelle zur andern sich weiter zu helfen. Seine Wanderungen setzen sich dementsprechend aus Trekks zusammen, deren jeder ein verhältnismäßig nahes, von lokalen Umständen bestimmtes Tagesziel hat. Deshalb hat der Wanderer nicht nötig, außer der Sonne noch Richtpunkte am Himmel für seine Reise zu suchen.

a) Der gestirnte Himmel ist dem Hottentotten daher wenig bekannt; ob es immer so war oder ob mit dem Untergange alles Volkstums auch hier Überlieferungen verblaßt sind, sei dahingestellt.

α) Die Sonne, *so-res*, gibt auch dem Hottentotten die Anhaltspunkte zur Unterscheidung der Himmelsrichtungen: Der Osten wird **soresta-ǂhai-//kχāb* genannt, d. h. „die Seite, an der die Sonne aufgeht". Der Westen ist **sorestaǂgā-//kχāb*, „die Seite, an der die Sonne untergeht".

Für Norden und Süden lernte ich eine gemeinsame Bezeichnung kennen: **soresχō-ǁnab;* denn wenn man in eine dieser Richtungen sieht, scheint die Sonne in *(ǁna)* die Wange *(χôb)*. Die Worte */kχa-bagab* und */aba-s* habe ich nur zur Bezeichnung des Süd- und des Nordwindes kennen gelernt; sie mögen in anderen Teilen[37]) des Landes auch zur Bezeichnung der abstrakten Himmelsrichtungen dienen. Doch halte ich dies für eine spätere Übertragung. Ein näherer Verkehr mit den Hottentotten zeigt, wie fern ihnen überhaupt abstrakte Begriffe liegen, wo die Sinne ausreichen. Die Sonne selbst, wie sie auf- und untergeht, der Wind, der von da oder dort her weht, der Ort, nach dem sie ehedem gewandert sind, das sind die Elemente ihres geographischen Vorstellungskreises; und sie genügen zur Verständigung.

Über den Mond soll im Zusammenhang mit der Zeitrechnung gehandelt werden.

β) Von den Sternen, *!gaimiroti*, sind ihnen zunächst die beiden Planeten bekannt, deren Sonnennähe und regelmäßig wechselnde Stellung am Morgen- und Abendhimmel eine Beobachtung von selbst nahe legt: der Merkur und die Venus.

Der Reisende im Namaland, der im Freien nächtigt, dem der Merkur von keiner langen Dämmerung wie in unseren Breiten überlichtet oder vom Morgennebel verschleiert wird, kennt die beiden Vorboten der aufgehenden Sonne und ihre Stellung zu einander. Den Fernerstehenden mag die kleine Tabelle unten orientieren, die mir Herr Professor Otto Knopf in Jena freundlichst zusammengestellt hat*). Die Erscheinungen, die hier als die

*) Anzahl der Stunden und Minuten, die unter dem 25. südl. Breitengrad

der Merkur		die Venus		Datum
vor der Sonne aufgeht	nach der Sonne untergeht	vor der Sonne aufgeht	nach der Sonne untergeht	
—	0h 53m	—	0h 35m	1. I. 1903
—	—	—	0 56	1. II.
2h 3m	—	—	1 9	1. III.
0 51	—	—	1 25	1. IV.
—	0 57	—	2 6	1. V.
—	0 19	—	2 57	1. VI.
1 40	—	—	3 27	1. VII.
—	0 29	—	3 11	1. VIII.
—	1 56	—	1 44	1. IX.
—	0 21	1h 23m	—	1. X.
*0 34	—	*2 14	—	1. XI.
—	0 27	2 33	—	1. XII.
—	1 20	2 53	—	1. I. 1904
*1 44	—	*2 53	—	1. II.
*1 30	—	*2 28	—	1. III.
—	0 18	1 54	—	1. IV.
—	0 46	1 23	—	1. V.
1 43	—	0 47	—	1. VI.
0 43	—	0 7	—	1. VII.
—	1 37	—	0 30	1. VIII.
—	1 41	—	1 7	1. IX.
0 49	—	—	1 42	1. X.
—	0 3	—	2 21	1. XI.
—	1 20	—	2 46	1. XII.
0 4	—	—	2 42	1. I. 1905
1 45	—	—	2 23	1. II.
0 33	—	—	2 5	1. III.
—	0 49	—	1 23	1. IV.
0 54	—	0 28	—	1. V.
*1 45	—	*1 58	—	1. VI.
—	0 36	2 29	—	1. VII.
—	2 3	3 —	—	1. VIII.
*0 25	—	*2 11	—	1. IX.
*0 19	—	*1 33	—	1. X.
—	0 58	1 33	—	1. XI.
—	1 38	1 3	—	1. XII.

sinnfälligsten die Bezeichnungen der Eingeborenen bestimmt haben, sind durch ein * hervorgehoben:

Die Venus, *ǂkyo-aes* genannt, geht 1½—3 Stunden vor der Sonne *auf*, sie wandelt *(/güng)* ihr voran *(ai)* und heißt daher auch **ai/güns*, die „Vorläuferin", der „Voorlooper" der Buren, unser Morgenstern. Eine andere Bezeichnung der Venus ist **nagurushâ-b*, d. h. der Stern, bei dessen Aufgang die Männer *(nagu)* davonlaufen *(shâ, -ru* Part. d. fortschreit. Handlung) d. h. ihr eigenes Lager aufsuchen, damit sie der Tag nicht im unrechtmäßigen Liebeslager überrascht. Noch deutlicher drückt das die synonyme Bezeichnung *shâ-nagu(gu/mirob* aus. *(shâ)* bedeutet den außerehelichen Geschlechtsverkehr).

Der Venus folgt, bald früher, bald später, der Merkur nach; er ist dem Tagesanbruch *(ǂgo-as)* am nächsten und wird daher der „Tagesanbruchstern", *ǂgo-aigo-mirus* genannt, der „Dagbreker" der Buren. Ein anderer Name des Merkur ist **ǂgo-aikxaâ-ris;* das würde besagen, daß dieser Planet kommt, wenn früh die Euter des Viehs (das abends und morgens gemolken wird) wieder voll sind.

Der Hottentott, der nach dem Spätnachthimmel im Osten sieht, um rechtzeitig vor Tag aufzubrechen, achtet in erster Linie auf die Venus; den kleinen Merkur, der seine Stellung zur Sonne viel häufiger wechselt und daher häufiger vermißt wird, wo man ihn erwartet, übersieht er leicht, gerade in den Zeiten, in denen er der Hauptregel entgegen vor der Venus aufgeht; um so skrupelloser übersieht er ihn, je später die Venus dann selbst erscheint und je entbehrlicher und unkontrollierbarer im hereinbrechenden Morgengrauen das Abwarten ihres vermeintlichen Nachzüglers wird. Man muß diese Verhältnisse berücksichtigen, um dem Eingeborenen astronomisch leicht herauszuklügelnde Widersprüche, und dem anständigen Weißen Unklarheiten in diesen Fragen zugute zu halten.

Daß der Merkur auch als Abendstern auftritt, beobachten die Hottentotten nicht, da er ihnen nur als Tagesbote von Bedeutung ist.

Die Venus ist auch am Abend *(/u-ǂb)* nicht zu übersehen; sie wird vom Hottentotten als dasselbe Gestirn wie der Morgenstern erkannt. Weil sie als Abendstern nie lange am Himmel steht, gleichsam davoneilt *(ikyo-e)*, hat sie den Namen **/u-i/kyo-eb*, d. h. „der Abend-Flüchtige" erhalten.

Der Jupiter ist den Hottentotten ebenfalls bekannt. Sie identifizieren ihn zuweilen mit der Venus, indem sie sagen, daß dieser Stern im Laufe

der Wochen wie der Mond durch den Himmel wandere. Wie aber die Beziehungen der beiden Planeten zu einander vom Einzelnen auch aufgefaßt werden mögen, in jedem Fall sieht der Hottentott den Jupiter, im Gegensatz zur Venus, außer im Osten und Westen auch „in der Mitte" *(ra-egub)* des Himmels und der Nacht. Dieser Vorstellung entsprechend nennt er den Jupiter den „Mittelstern", *°ra-egu-gurairob.*

γ) Im Fixsternhimmel auch der südlichen Halbkugel ist der Orion das markanteste Sternbild. Der Hottentott faßt von diesen Sternen unter Ignorierung derer erster Größe nur die sechs zusammen, die dem Gürtel und Schwert unserer Phantasie entsprechen. Er nennt diese Gruppe *gu-regu*, d. h. die „Zebras": Die Sterne *δ*, *ε* und *ζ* stellen ihm drei flüchtige Zebras vor, auf deren mittelstes der Jäger, *ι*, seinen Pfeil, *θ* und *ϵ*, abschießt.

Die Plejaden hörte ich ihrer dichtgedrängten Sterne wegen *°ihûseti (ihûi = zusammenkommen)* genannt werden; verbreiteter ist ein anderer, von ersterem mehr als nur dialektisch verschiedener Name: *ikyûseti.* Die Plejaden werden für einen Beobachter auf dem 25. südl. Breitengrade Mitte Juni, also in der ersten Hälfte der kalten Jahreszeit sichtbar. Einem Eingeborenen des oberen Auobgebietes hörte ich die Plejaden *°nu-gurûroti*, d. h. „Reifsterne", nennen, weil zur Zeit ihres Sichtbarwerdens die Nächte schon so kalt sein können, daß es frühmorgens Reif gibt. Das Erscheinen der Plejaden soll den Buschmännern des genannten Landstrichs das Zeichen zum Aufbruch in das Tsamaríb sein.

Der Schimmer der Milchstraße und der Magellanischen Wolken erinnert die Hottentotten an den schwachen Schein der verglimmenden Asche ihres Herd- oder Lagerfeuers. Die Milchstraße nennen sie daher *°hanab*, d. h. die Asche (mit der männlichen Endung, ihrer großen schlanken Gestalt entsprechend), die beiden Lichtwolken dagegen werden *°hanoa* genannt (ihrer klumpigen Form und Kleinheit entsprechend, mit der weiblichen Endung im Dual). Die Magellanischen Wolken werden auch „die beiden Löwenhoden", *gamiǂ-arukye*, genannt.

Von einzelnen Fixsternen habe ich nur den Sirius aus Hottentottenmunde nennen hören, er wurde *°ra-ra-gurairob*, zuweilen auch *°ra-ra-gurase*, d. h. „Sohnesstern" genannt. Die Bedeutung dieses Wortes konnte ich nicht mit Sicherheit ermitteln, nur eine Vermutung läßt sich vielleicht begründen: Der Hottentott nennt, wie wir früher (S. 61) gesehen haben, den Ostwind *ra-ra-ab*, weil er von „vorn" kommt. Wenn ihm somit der Osten als Sonnenaufgangspunkt die Vorderseite der Welt ist, dann würden Norden und

Süden die Seiten sein. Aus dieser Vorstellung heraus würde es verständlich werden, daß der Sirius, als der hellste Stern des Nordhimmels der Südhalbkugel, als „Seitenstern" angesehen wird. Sein Partner am Südhimmel würde der Canopus sein.

b) Die Zeiteinteilung der Hottentotten ist auf den Wechsel der Jahreszeiten, der Mondphasen und des täglichen Sonnenstandes begründet.

α) Sie kennen wohl den Begriff des Jahres, *guri-b*, als einer einmaligen Periode des Jahreszeitenwechsels, aber sie rechnen nicht in diesem Sinne nach Jahren. Das Alter ihres Viehes haben sie, wie es mir schien, nach Kalbe- und Lamm-Perioden im Gedächtnis; ihr eigenes Alter interessiert sie nicht, und wenn sie einmal etwas weiter zurückdatieren wollen, so geben ihnen landesbekannte Ereignisse (der Einbruch der Rinderpest, Feindseligkeiten mit Nachbarstämmen oder mit den Weißen, Einwanderungen etc.) genügend allgemeine Anhaltspunkte, von denen aus sie sich dann mit der Geburt oder der jeweiligen Größe der damaligen Kinder im Einzelnen über einen Zeitpunkt verständigen können.

β) Bestimmend für die Einteilung des Jahres im Großen ist der Wechsel der Jahreszeiten, *ga-magu*. Sie unterscheiden:

1. Einen Frühfrühling. Wenn mit zunehmender Wärme *(ǀo-ba*, verb., auch von der Frühsonne gesagt, die nach kalter Nacht die Ostseiten der Felsen und Büsche erwärmt*)* unabhängig vom Regenfall Bäume und Büsche ausschlagen, in guten Jahren zugleich winterliche Frühregen oder frühe Frühlingsregen (siehe Klima, S. 154 ff.) die Grasflur neu beleben, ist die Blütezeit, **ǀkχâiuaŏ*, oder der Frühling, *ǀaba-b*, gekommen. Er beginnt schon im August und endet im Oktober.

2. Die Jahreszeit, die der Hottentott *ǂkχū-nab* nennt (im Bergdamara-Dialekt **ao-reb*, d. h. die Sonnenzeit), umfaßt die erste Hälfte der heißen Periode, in die, wenn das Jahr gut ist, die sogenannte kleine Regenzeit fällt. Bleiben diese Regen aus oder sind sie, wie gewöhnlich, spärlich, dann bleibt das Land weithin öde, ohne Gras- und Krautwuchs. Diese Zeit der Dürre wird, wie die Dürre selbst, *ǂkχuru-b* genannt. Der *ǂkχū-nab* der Hottentotten reicht vom Oktober bis Dezember (einschl.), entspricht also astronomisch dem Frühling der Südhalbkugel.

3. Die Jahreszeit, von deren Ergiebigkeit in erster Linie das Wohl des Hottentotten abhängt, wird *ǂhaio-b* (3. st.) genannt; wir können sie (da das Wort auch in demselben konkreten Sinn wie *tŭb* = Weide gebraucht wird) die Weidezeit nennen. Sie umfaßt die sogenannte große

Regenperiode des Jahres und die Zeit unmittelbar nach ihr, in die noch die Vegetationsfrische der Futterpflanzen reicht. Sie fällt, reichlich gerechnet, in die Monate Januar bis April, also in den Südsommer und den Anfang des Herbstes.

4. Der Winter der Hottentotten, *soo-b*, umfaßt die kalte Jahreszeit vom Mai bis August, schließt also die letzten zwei Drittel des Herbstes und die erste Winterhälfte astronomischer Rechnung ein.

7) Eine weitergehende Gliederung des Jahres beruht auf der Beobachtung des Mondwechsels. Wenn nach dem Neumond die Sichel am Westhimmel wieder erscheint *(ǂkχani-*, verb.), lassen sie den Monat, *ǂkχôb*, beginnen. Die Mondphasen sind den Hottentotten Sinnbilder des eigenen Werdens und Vergehens (vergl. Sage No. XXX): Die eben auftauchende, noch kaum erkennbare Sichel nennen sie **ǂkχaimaǂkχôb*, *ǂkχaim* in der Bedeutung von *unreif*, wie das Wort auch zur Bezeichnung einer vorzeitig geborenen Frucht gebraucht wird.

Die schmale, leuchtende Sichel, in der der Mond gleichsam aufleht (das ist der ursprüngliche Sinn von *ǂgô*), wird **ǂgô-goaǂkχô-b* genannt.

Die beiden ersten Viertel haben zwei, für beide gemeinsame Namen. Der eine ist **gui-ǂkχôgui-ruaǂkχôb*, „der Mond, der groß oder alt *(gui)* wird". Der andere Name lautet **gûui-ruaǂkχôb*, „der Mond, der klug *(gûui)* wird".

So lassen sie ihn also zunehmen an Alter und Verstand bis zum Vollmond, **ǂgaiǂkχôb*.

In den letzten Vierteln wird nur die schmale Sichel als **ǂkχuaǂkχôb*, „der sterbende *(ǂkχu, -ra*, Part. d. fortschreit. Handlung) Mond" unterschieden.

In dem Maße als unsere 12 Monate und die Daten der christlichen Feste Eingang finden, schwindet den Hottentotten die Erinnerung an die Zeitrechnung ihrer Vorfahren. Daß sie den einzelnen Lunationen eines Jahres in engem Anschluß an den Wechsel der Jahreszeiten Namen gegeben haben, steht fest. In Kroenleins „Wortschatz"[11]) sind für neun unserer Monate hottentottische Bezeichnungen zu finden. Den September-Namen habe ich als ein Wort des Bergdamaradialektes nicht übernommen. Kroenlein's hottentottischer Februar entspricht dem Januar meiner Rechnung. Nur in der Auffassung des Juli-Namens, den ich für den Oktober in Anspruch nehmen muß, weichen unsere Rechnungen erheblicher ab.

Von den vier hier neu hinzukommenden Monatsnamen habe ich den unter VII. angeführten seines klaren astronomischen Hinweises wegen zum festen Ausgangspunkt einer Parallelisierung der hottentottischen mit unseren

Monaten genommen. Die hottentottischen Monate, denen doch sicherlich die naive Mondphasen-Beobachtung, also der Zeitraum eines synodischen Monats (29 Tage, 12 St., 44 Min.) zugrunde gelegen haben wird, lassen sich im Einzelnen natürlich mit einem Monat unseres Kalenders nur annähernd zur Deckung bringen. Die Etymologie der Namen, die Hinweise auf den meteorologischen Charakter der Jahreszeit enthalten, gibt eine wertvolle Kontrolle, ob der Versuch einer solchen Angleichung im gegebenen Fall gerechtfertigt ist.

Der Platz für die Monatsnamen ohne solche etymologische Hinweise auf ihre Stellung im Jahre gründet sich mir lediglich auf die eingeborene Tradition, d. h. in diesem Fall auf die Angaben einer alten Frau, die sich als zuverlässig erprobte. Nach vielen vergeblichen Bemühungen, den unklaren Kalender-Vorstellungen der Eingeborenen meiner Bekanntschaft irgend etwas Brauchbares zu entnehmen, gelang es mir endlich unerwartet bei einer 60—70 Jahre alten Hottentottin, die vergessenen Monatsnamen noch in frischer Erinnerung anzutreffen. Ohne zu stocken wiederholte sie mir in stets übereinstimmender Reihenfolge 12 Namen. Befragt, woher sie diese Kenntnisse habe, verwies sie auf ihre Kindheit. Daß diese 12-Zahl der damals unterschiedenen Monate und ihre Reihenfolge bereits von Vorstellungen Weißer beeinflußt gewesen ist, ist nicht von vornherein auszuschließen. Es ist also vielleicht bereits endgültig zu spät geworden, hier in die originalen Vorstellungen des Volkes einzudringen. Dann mag das folgende wenigstens als letzt-erreichbarer Rest des Verlorenen aufbewahrt werden. — Die 12 Monde der Hottentotten und die Parallelmonate unseres Kalenders sind also die folgenden:

I. *ǂkʒo-esaoskʒâb* (oder *ǂkʒo-esaos*): „Der Mond, der auf den *ǂkʒo-e*-Busch folgt." Dieser wichtige Weidebusch, eine *Salsola*-Art (s. S. 80), soll im Frühling seine Hauptblütezeit haben. Der erste Monat des südlichen Sommers folgt *(saos)* ihm also nach. . . . . Januar.

II. *°gaisa- tsâb* . . . . . Februar.

III. *°ǂkʒai tsâ/b*: „Da es anfängt *(tsâ/* = *tsoai,* intransit.*)*, kalt *(ǂkʒai)* zu werden." Der Name bezeichnet eine Lunation in der Übergangszeit vom Sommer zum Herbst. Der angenommenen Reihenfolge nach entspräche er unserem . . . . . März.

IV. *ǂgoro ǂnâ-tsab* deuteten mir übereinstimmend und unabhängig voneinander ältere Hottentotten als den

Monat zunehmender Kälte: da man sich so nahe an das Feuer setzt, daß die Beine *(ǀnūt-)* Brandblasen ziehen *(ǂgo-ro)* . . . . . April.

V. *ǂnū-ǂkχâsa*, „der schwarze Monat". Im südlichen Winter, als der Dürrezeit, gibt das schwarze Geäst der entlaubten Büsche dem Landschaftsbild den Charakter [37]). Mai.

VI. *ǀhai-ǂkχâsa* . . . . . Juni.

VII. **ǂkχū-ǂkχâsa*, d. h. der Monat des Siebengestirns. Die Plejaden werden für einen Beobachter auf dem 25. südl. Breitengrad in der zweiten Hälfte des Juni sichtbar. Das Erscheinen der Plejaden ist, wie früher bemerkt (s. S. 368), für die Wanderungen der Tsama suchenden Eingeborenen von Bedeutung. Es ist daher erklärlich, daß sie die Lunation um die Wende des Juni und Juli nach diesem Sternbild benennen . . . . . Juli.

VIII. *hôaǂri-b* . . . . . August.

IX. *ǀhoia-ǂga-eb*, der Monat, „da die Blätter *(ǂga-e-)* krumm (vom Winter verkrunkelt) *(ǀhoia-)* sind" [37]) . . . . . September.

X. *gai-ǀkχa-ni* . . . . . Oktober.

XI. **ǂgô-aǀkχa-ni* . . . . . November.

XII. *ǀhô-ǂga-eb*. Wenn nach dem ersten ergiebigen Regen aus den alten dürren Grasstümpfen das junge frische Grün sproßt, dann erscheint die Grasflur *(ǂga-eb*, Blattwerk*)* wie gescheckt *(ǀhôi*, mit schwarzweißer Schecken-zeichnung, s. S. 265,*)* . . . . . Dezember.

δ) Die Wochen-Einteilung der Zeit hat der Hottentott erst im Tagelohndienst des Weißen kennen gelernt; er mußte sich über Lohntermin und Feiertag orientieren. Sein Kalender dabei ist ein ca. 10 cm langes, 2 cm breites, dünnes Brettchen, in das sieben Löcher gebrannt werden. An dem einen Ende ist ein Riemen befestigt, dessen unteres Ende der Reihe nach durch eines der Löcher gesteckt wird, deren jedes einen bestimmten Tag der Woche bezeichnet. Mit dem oberen Ende des Riemens befestigen die Weiber das Kalenderholz an der Halskette, die Männer tragen es gern auf dem Hut neben der flatternden Straußenfeder. Der primitive Kalender wird *kê-kgye-hais* genannt, das „Wochenholz" (dem holländischen *Week* = Woche entlehnt).

e) Das kleinste Zeitmaß der Hottentotten ist der Tag, *tsẽs*, und die Nacht, *tsũ·χub*. Nach Tagen und Nächten geben sie die Länge einer Reise an. *ǂa·ri* bedeutet morgen und gestern zugleich.

Was sie sonst noch unterscheiden, sind nicht Zeitlängen, sondern nur Tageszeiten. Dabei fällt die reiche Gliederung der Tag- und Nachtgrenze auf, während am Tage selbst nur der Mittag, *tsẽǀgäːb*, hervorgehoben wird. Das wird verständlich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die Sonne mit verschwindenden Ausnahmen das ganze Jahr über von früh bis abends sichtbar ist. Der Hottentott versteht es, Zeitpunkte sowohl als eine Zeitdauer durch Hinweise auf den Sonnenstand sicher und verständlich auszudrücken.

Nur für die Zeit am Anfang und am Ende des Tages werden besondere Bezeichnungen angewandt.

1. **ǂgo-aǀa·roam* ist die Morgendämmerung.

2. **ǀu·itsũ·χubab* ist die Abenddämmerung.

3. Die Morgenhelle, d. h. die Zeit der Tageshelligkeit kurz vor Sonnenaufgang wird, da diese Zeit des Tagesanbruchs *(ǂgo-ab)* am empfindlichsten kalt *(ǀkχai)* zu sein pflegt, **ǀkχai·ǂgo-agab* genannt.

4. Die Abendhelle, d. h. die Zeit der Tageshelligkeit unmittelbar nach Sonnenuntergang, wird **ǂa·baǀho-bob*, d. h. „das rote Zwielicht", genannt.

5. Als „Kleinkinder-Zwielicht", **ǂkχa·ǀmiǂgõaǀhobob*, wird hie und da die Zeit der ersten merklichen Lichtabnahme nach Sonnenuntergang bezeichnet, dem Glauben entsprechend, daß um diese Zeit die meisten Kinder, *ǂgõ-an*, geboren werden.

6. Unserem Nachmittag entspricht der **ǀu-iab* der Hottentotten,

7. ihr *ǂgo-agab* deckt sich ungefähr mit unserem Vormittag.

8. Vom Abend, *ǀu-ib*, wird der Spätabend, der sich bis lange nach Sonnenuntergang ausdehnt, als *ǀo-es* unterschieden.

9. Die Mitternachtsstunde nennen sie **tsũ·χubǀgäːb*, den „Rücken der Nacht".

C. Kunst-Anfänge.

Wir sahen die Anfänge plastischer Kunst in Knabenspielerei stecken bleiben (s. S. 311 f.). Aber die Freude an Darstellungen, an phantasiefreier Versinnlichung nachhaltiger Erinnerungs-Eindrücke ist im jungen und alten Hottentotten gleich lebendig. Ihre Nachahmungs-Freude und -Fähigkeit findet dabei in der Pantomime, ihr musikalischer Sinn in Riedblasen und Gesang,

ihre feinere Erotik im Tanze Ausdruck. Nur in wenigen Fällen finden wir Anfänge dieser Kunstformen rein ausgeprägt; meist greifen sie noch wie die Regungen, die ihnen zugrunde liegen, vielfach ineinander. Sie lassen sich also nicht auf unsere Musen verteilen, nur in eine Reihe vom Einfachen zum Komplizierten ordnen.

Musikbogen. 1/8 nat. Gr.

1. Die Musikpantomime.

Während wir auf einer kindlichen Vorstufe (siehe Kinderspiele S. 315) schon rhythmische Geräusche bestimmte Phantasievorstellungen erwecken sahen, treten in der Musikpantomime der Hottentotten zum ersten Mal musikalische Töne auf.

Als Musikinstrument dient ihnen ein Holzbogen, *kχārib*, am liebsten aus dem Dornbaum geschnitten, mit einer Saite aus Rückensehnen der Ziege (besser aus Schafdärmen) bespannt. Die Frauen sind hier die ausübenden Künstler. Sie sitzen beim Spielen am Boden. Das obere Ende des Bogens ruht in der linken Schulter, das untere Ende wird gegen einen fellbedeckten Napf, der als Resonanzboden dient, gestemmt und mit dem rechten Fuß (der zwischen Bogen und Saite tritt) in seiner Lage festgehalten. Die rechte Hand der Spielerin schlägt — wenn es nicht die umsitzenden Frauen tun — die Saite mit einem Holzstäbchen an, die linke greift wie die eines Violinspielers. Auch das Kinn nehmen sie beim Greifen zu Hilfe, indem sie den Kopf halb nach hinten einen Moment gegen das obere Ende der Saite anlehnen. Meist schlagen mehrere der umsitzenden Frauen mit Holzstäbchen im Takt auf die Saite.

Außer dem Bogen sah ich selbst kein Saiteninstrument mehr bei den Hottentotten. Die Gora mit der Federspule[66]) traf ich nur bei Betschuanen. Wohl aber sprachen Hottentotten von einem Guitarre-artigen Instrument, das sie wohl in Anlehnung an europäische Muster herstellen; sie nennen es *ramgyib* oder */gū-itsib* [von */gūi* = zudecken, in diesem Fall: das Resonanzgefäß mit einem Fell überspannen. (Siehe auch Sage XLV, Anm.)]

F. S. phot.

Verlag Gustav Fischer, Jena.

TOPNAAR-HOTTENTOTT

1: Schultze FX13 Hottentot

[37/42]

Im Rhythmus liegt musikalisch die Hauptcharakteristik der Handlung, die in der Musik-Pantomime dargestellt werden soll. Er bringt in Jagdszenen die verschiedenen Gangarten des Pferdes und des Wildes zum Ausdruck: Das Aufspüren des Hartebeests, die erste Verfolgung im Galopp, die Flucht des krankgeschossenen Tieres und seine Überwältigung, alles gibt der Takt der Holzstäbchen wieder. Das Anspornen des hetzenden Pferdes, den Todesstoß und das Röcheln des verendenden Tieres wird mit Gebärden und inartikulierten Lauten markiert. Die eintönigen Intervalle, die auf der Saite gegriffen werden, sind nur Begleitung.

Ähnlich wird der Lauf eines Wagens dargestellt, das Einspannen der Ochsen, das Ausschalten eines lahmen oder schlappen Tieres, das Niedersausen des Vorschlags usw.

Die Gewohnheiten der Tiere der Wildnis werden mit Vorliebe nachgeahmt. Mit großer Beweglichkeit und Hingebung in ihre Rolle sah ich eine Frau einen Pavian darstellen: Wie er Insekten vom Boden aufliest, sich über das Wasserloch zum Trinken beugt, die nachdrängenden durstigen Tiere eifersüchtig abwehrt, wie er sorglos trottet, wie er schreckt beim Wittern einer Gefahr und flieht, wenn er sich überrascht sieht.

Die Musik steht in allen diesen Unterhaltungen im Hintergrund, wenn auch Saite und Holzstäbchen immer in Tätigkeit sind. Die Töne ordnen sich zu Melodien erst im

2. Riedtanz-Lied.

Hier treten die uralten Musikinstrumente der Hottentotten, die Riedpfeifen, *ǂâ-ti*, in ihr Recht. Die Pfeifen werden meist, wie ihr Name sagt, aus Ried geschnitten; wo aber in trockenen Landstrichen Schilfbestände fehlen, werden sie aus den Wurzeln der *Acacia horrida Willd.* gefertigt. Das stabförmig zugeschnittene Wurzelstück wird entweder durch Abziehen in toto entrindet *(a)*, oder wird längsgeschlitzt und die Rinde vom Holz geschält. Mit einem Rindenstück wird dann das längs geschlitzte, wie mit einem Band spiralig fest umwickelt *(c)*. Die so hergestellte Röhre wird an einem Ende verschlossen und mit Milch aufgefüllt, damit sie nicht eintrockne. Gestimmt werden die Pfeifen durch Verschieben des festen Graspfropfes, der das Röhrenende

a *b* *c*

Riedpfeifen aus Wurzelrinde, mit Stimmstäbchen *(b)*. 1/4 nat. Gr.

Ein vollständiges Riedpfeifen-Orchester setzt sich aus mindestens 9 Musikanten, jeder mit seinem eigens abgestimmten Ried oder Riedsatz, zusammen. Wie wir erste und zweite Geige etc. unterscheiden, so unterscheidet der Hottentott erste bis neunte Riedpfeife, nur, daß er sie nicht zählt, sondern einzeln benennt. Er unterscheidet:

Riedpfeifen-Satz.

1. **ǂkχa-ritā-ti*, d. h. „die Kleinriede", alle gleich gestimmt, 4—6 in jeder Hand nebeneinander gelegt.

2. **ǀnona-gu*, die Drillinge, oder kollektivisch **ǀnona-b*, der Dreier genannt, zu dritt gleich gestimmt in der Hand gehalten.

3. **ǀnani-gu*, die Sechslinge oder kollektivisch **ǀnani-b*, der Sechser, zu sechst gleich gestimmt in die Hand genommen.

4. **ǁhū-ǂirob* oder *ǁhū-ǂirokχa*, je nachdem der Bläser nur eines oder zwei in der Hand hat.

5. *ai-ās*, „die *(-s)* voran *(ai)* weint (*ā*, hier in der Bedeutung: klagend tönen)". Nur 1 Mann im ganzen Orchester hat diese eine Pfeife, während mit weiterer Ausnahme von 6. alle anderen Riedstimmen doppelt oder dreifach besetzt sein können. Dieses Ried gibt den Ton an, nach welchem alle anderen Riede abgestimmt werden. Von diesen stimmt sich zuerst

6. die Riedpfeife ein, das *ā|gāts* genannt wird, d. h. „die hinterher *(|gāts*, Rücken*)* weint". Dann erst erfolgt das Abstimmen der anderen Pfeifen:

7. **goǂma-s*, „die Kuh".

8. *ǂa-rob*, endlich

9. **ǁhūǂi-b*, das tiefst gestimmte Ried.

Der Stimmstock, **ǂkχa-ehaib*, mit dem der Gras- oder Bastpfropf im

Innern des Rohres verschoben, gleichsam „zurückgejagt" *(ǂkχaĕ)* wird, um die Tonhöhe festzulegen, vervollständigt die Instrumentalausrüstung.

Die Riede werden zwischen dem Daumen und den gestreckten übrigen vier Fingern so gehalten, daß ihre angeblasenen Enden im Niveau des oberen horizontalen Zeigefingerrandes liegen. Ein vollständiger Riedsatz umfaßt etwa zwei Oktaven. Nur in einem Fall konnte ich einen vollständigen, frisch abgestimmten Satz auf die Tonhöhe der einzelnen Riede untersuchen. Das Resultat ergab die in nebenstehender Figur dargestellte Tonverteilung.

Die Musik jedes Riedpfeifers besteht aus einzeln hervorgestoßenen Tönen, die mit einem oder mehreren gleich-rhythmischen Tönen der anderen Pfeifer zusammenklingen. Diese Riedtöne sind die Taktanhalte für die Tänzer und Sänger, die die Melodie führen. Ein Text fehlt vielen Riedliedern (ob von vornherein oder ob er vergessen ist, sei dahingestellt). Der Gegenstand wird im einfachsten Falle durch Geberden angedeutet, die Melodie auf einige wenige Laute gesungen.

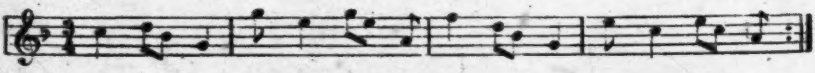
Die Tanzbewegungen der Männer sind ein niedriges, mit beiden Beinen gleichzeitig ausgeführtes Hüpfen, mit schwach gebeugten Knieen und voreinander gestellten Füßen. Der Tänzer schreitet auf diese Manier ruckweise und langsam vorwärts, vornüber gekrümmt, den Kopf auf die Brust gebeugt, die Lippen am Rohr. Die Frauen chassieren in kleinen, oft äußerst zierlich gesetzten Schritten vorwärts, das Gesäß mäßig herausgestreckt, den Rumpf in den Hüften wiegend, die Hände vor dem Gesicht leise zusammenschlagend, mit lauter Stimme, zuweilen mit dem Ausdruck höchster Erregung singend. Die Zahl der Tanzenden ist nicht bestimmt.

Die Freude der Hottentotten am Tanz kennzeichnet eine kleine Geschichte, in der sie sich selbst persiflieren: Sie hatten an einer Wasserstelle Bergdamara umzingelt; als die Kaffern sahen, daß sie in der Falle waren, fingen sie an, einen Tanz aufzuführen; tanzend entfernten sie sich immer weiter und waren, als die zuschauenden Hottentotten sich endlich auf ihren Mordplan besannen, entschlüpft.

Jedem Riedtanz-Lied liegt ein bestimmtes Thema zugrunde. So soll z. B. in dem hier folgenden Beispiel das Ankommen des Bullen zur Wasserstelle versinnbildlicht werden. Wie das bösartige, nach der Brunstzeit einsam im Weidefeld hausende, schwerfällige Tier langsam zur Wasserstelle wandert, kurz in sich hineinbrummend, den Kopf von einer Seite zur anderen wiegend, — so hat ihn der Hottentott im Sinn, wenn er, von Riedtönen (oder von der Zieh- und Mundharmonika) begleitet, zum Tanz mit einigen wenigen Lauten

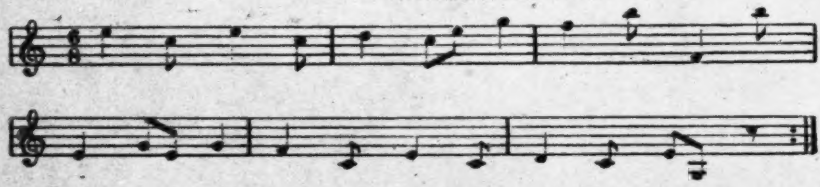
Das Lied vom Weidebull

singt:

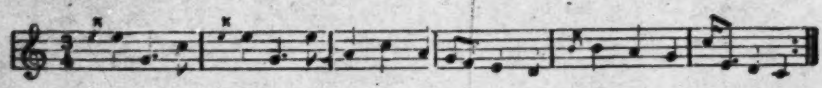


Das folgende Riedtanzlied begleitet eine lebhafte pantomimische Darstellung des Pferdebeschlagens und heißt daher das Lied vom Hufbeschlag, **ǂnaũǂais.*

Der Mann, der das Pferd markiert, hat einen Riemen im Mund und wird daran von einem vor ihm stehenden Mann wie am Zügel festgehalten. Einem anderen, hinter ihm stehenden, reicht er einen Fuß zum Beschlagen. Ein vierter spielt den Blasebalg: liegt platt auf dem Bauch, streckt die Unterschenkel in die Luft und läßt sie von einem fünften Mann, der hinter ihm steht, nach dem Takt der Musik im Kniegelenk abwechselnd nach vorn und rückwärts bewegen. Vor ihm steht der Schmied, einen Stein als Hammer in der Hand, und wartet, daß das Eisen warm wird. Alle Übrigen, mit Einschluß der Riedbläser, tanzen im Kreis um diese Gruppe und singen, ohne Worte, aber im Rhythmus unverkennbar den Takt der Hammerschläge nachahmend:

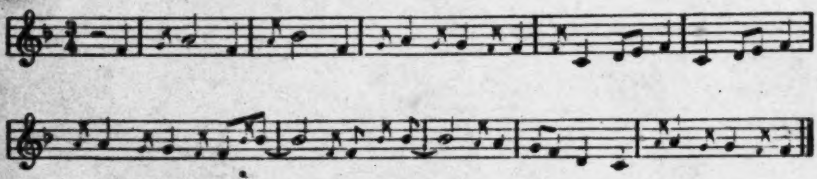


An Stelle der Pantomine finden wir in anderen Tanzliedern die Situation, die besungen wird, durch ein Stichwort angedeutet. So gab ein Hottentott, der sich ab und zu nachts in den Viehkraal einer Nachbarwerft schlich, um sich die Ziegenmilch in den Mund zu melken, seiner Freude darüber daß er noch nie erwischt worden war, in einem Liede Ausdruck, dessen einzige Worte *B(e)ridaise, b(e)ridaise,* „Du Ziegenmilch, Du Ziegenmilch" er zu einer ebenso anspruchslosen, aber von seinen Freunden gern zum Tanz geforderten Melodie sang:



B(e)ri-dai-se etc.

Auf derselben niedrigen Stufe steht ein Lied, dem folgendes Ereignis zugrunde liegt. Der Sänger hatte seinen Ochsenwächter, der ihm auf der Reise ein wertvolles Tier hatte weglaufen lassen, mit dem Schambok derart verprügelt, daß der Mißhandelte seinen Herrn beim Kapitän Paul Frederik in Bethanien anklagt. Der schickt einen seiner Leute zu Pferd hinter dem Schuldigen her und läßt ihn festnehmen. Die einzigen Worte, die refrainartig in dem sonst unartikulierten Gesang wiederkehren, beziehen sich auf die Farbe des genannten Pferdes, das einen weißen Stirnstreif und weiße Füße und daher den Burennamen Witvoet hatte. Der Freundeskreis wußte bei diesem Worte, um was es sich in dem Liede vom Weißfußpferde handelte. Die Melodie lautet:



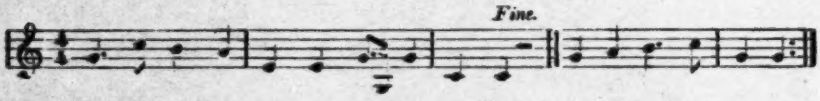
Während den vorhergenannten Tanzmelodieen ein geschlossener Text noch fehlt, ist er wenigstens als Anhalt dem folgenden Gesang lose angegliedert. Im Bruderkriege um die Herrschaft über die Bethanier-Hottentotten hatte Paulus Frederik die wichtigsten Wasserstellen des Landes besetzt und Cornelius mußte, in die Enge getrieben, schließlich seinen Bruder um Wasser bitten. Der Text*) des Liedes, das diesen Bruderstreit besingt, gleichsam ein Programm für die Musik, lautet:

„Ti ǀgätse, ǂnäti göse ǀgaĭ ēta ǂgami āre!“
›ǀabuti ätsa ǂgui ēts ǂgami ā‹
„ǂguita tite“.

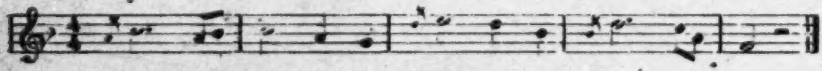
„Du mein Bruder, sei gut, sei soweit freundlich und laß mich Wasser trinken!“
›Leg deine Gewehre nieder und dann trink Wasser.‹
„Ich werde sie nicht niederlegen.“

*) In allen folgenden Texten und ihren Erläuterungen habe ich mit wenigen Ausnahmen (z. B. wo es sich um neu aufgezeichnete Worte handelt) davon abgesehen, die Zeichen für die musikalischen Modifikationen der Nama-Laute (s. S. 342 ff.) einzufügen. Bei der ausführlichen Analyse der später folgenden Sagentexte ist die rein phonetische Betrachtung für das Verständnis des Zusammenhanges entbehrlich und damit eine große Ersparnis für den Druck ermöglicht. Ein theoretischer Grund für eine vereinfachte Schreibweise der Texte ist S. 363 (oben) angegeben.

Die zugehörige Tanzmelodie lautet:



Ebenso frei wie in diesem Kriegslied verbindet sich Text und Melodie im Lied von Kaukaussib. Kaukaussib ist eine Wasserstelle in der Namib, auf der südlichsten der drei Routen gelegen, die für den Ochsenwagenverkehr zwischen Angra Pequena und dem Hinterlande in Betracht kommen. Der Weg über K. ist der beschwerlichste, die Wagen bleiben oft tagelang im Sande stecken. Ein Hottentott mit dem Beinamen *ǂnau-bas/e/n-nā-ib*, d. h. „der sich selbst zum Tanz aufspielt", hat sich als Text die einfachen Worte gewählt: *„!Gaokza-osetse, hā-ta ǂo-are!"* „Kaukaussib, laß mich doch herauskommen!" Die Melodie, mit der der Text in ewiger Wiederholung verbunden wurde, lautet:



Enger schließt sich der Text an die Melodie im Hyänen-Lied. Die Hyäne ist dabei gedacht, wie sie nachts um den Viehkraal schleicht und entdeckt wird. Die pantomimische Darstellung dieses Themas mit seiner Riedmusik, seinem Gesang und Tanz ist sehr ergötzlich: Die Männer gruppieren sich in einem Halbkreis, ebenso ihnen gegenüber die Mädchen. Der so gebildete Kreis mit den zwei gegenüberliegenden Öffnungen (da, wo die Männerreihe an die Mädchenreihe stößt) stellt einen Viehkraal dar, die Mädchen das Vieh. Unter dem Gesang und den Tönen der Riedmusik aller im Kreise Stehenden tritt einer der Männer aus der Reihe und schleicht mit tief gebeugten Knieen, in Kauerhaltung, in das Innere des Kraals, mit den Gebärden einer blutdürstigen Hyäne an der Mädchenreihe entlang. Nach einer Weile begeben sich drei andere aus der Männerreihe wie reitend an dieselbe Öffnung des Kraals, wo die Hyäne hereingekommen war. Sie binden in Haltung und Gebärden ihre Pferde fest, entdecken die Spuren der Hyäne und folgen ihnen, bis sie das Tier plötzlich bemerken. Dann eilen sie zurück zu den Pferden und nehmen die Verfolgung auf. Die Hyäne hat inzwischen das Weite gesucht, wird aber außerhalb des Kraals eingeholt und getötet. Während dieser Pantomime wird nach dem Takt

der Riedbläser ununterbrochen als Warnung an das viehlüsterne Raubtier gesungen:

ǂHĭ - ra - se, kχoĭn χũn gye, ǂgo - be - se, kχoĭn χũn gye.

„Hyäne (Beiname siehe später), das (scil. Vieh dieses Kraals) ist des Menschen Gut!"

3. Das Lied allein.

Die Freude der Hottentotten an der Musik an sich (losgelöst von Tanz und Pantomime) lernte ich frühzeitig kennen. Es war am Abend eines schweren Arbeitstages für unsere Hottentotten; sie hatten von früh ab Spieren zum Bau der Seezeichen auf die Felshügel der Steilküste geschleppt und hockten nun nach längst beendetem Nachtmahl noch um ihr Feuer. In den Zelten der Weißen war es schon still geworden und auch die Kameruner Matrosen schliefen in ihren warmen Segeltuch-Kojen. Da ertönt aus der elenden Gestrüppumfriedigung des Hottentottenlagers, in das der kalte Winterhimmel sternklar scheint, rein und ernst vielstimmiger Gesang. Ein junger Bursche steht aufrecht inmitten der zerlumpten sitzenden älteren Gestalten und führt, unbekümmert um den Rauch des flackernden Feuers, der ihm die Augen beizt, mit lauter Stimme den Chor. Der Text wurde immer in kurzem, schnellem Satz von einem älteren Mann den Singenden vorgesprochen; es war ein holländischer Choral, vom Missionar in ihre Sprache übersetzt. Ich habe lange dem Gesang des „verkommenen Gesindels" gelauscht, bis sie fröstelnd unter ihre Decken krochen, eng aneinander gedrückt, die nackten Füße bis dicht an die glimmende Asche vorgestreckt.

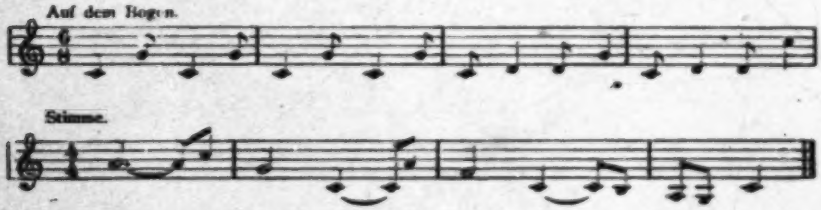
In ihren eigenen Liedern hat der Text nicht immer streng fixierten Wortlaut und die Singenden führen im Chorgesang oft eigene Motive weiter, die sie nach beliebig langen oder kurzen Pausen mit geringen Variationen immer von neuem wiederholen bis der Text zu Ende ist. Dabei wissen sie aber ohne Dissonanz ihr Motiv in das Stimmengewoge der anderen einzuflechten.

Den meisten (vielleicht allen) Liedern liegt ein bestimmtes Ereignis zugrunde. So hatte vor Jahren ein weißer Frachtfahrer bei dem Bruder

der alten *!E·ris* ausgespannt und sich zur Ruhe begeben. Eine Menge Hottentotten fanden sich, wie üblich, ein, um zu betteln und zu handeln. Sie vergriffen sich dabei an den Vorräten des schlafenden Händlers. Der Witbooi-Hottentott, der zum Schutze des fremden Eigentums einschritt, wurde von dem Weißen in der irrtümlichen Annahme, daß er der Anstifter sei, im Jähzorn niedergeschossen. Das Schicksal des Getöteten lebt in der Familientradition fort und die Frauen singen: *„!Uri lendetse, ǂhai daos ai go ǂgabi ǂoatse, gai χūē ditsī, ǂaoba ditsī! tariē kχa nī nē kχoī ǂaoba ǂeream?“*

„Du Weißtuch (Anspielung wohl auf den Hutschleier oder das Halstuch des Reisenden), der du auf frevlem (wörtl. fahlfarbenem, nichtigem) Wege ausgeritten bist, Untat verübt hast (i. particip praeter., wörtl. ein großes Ding getan hast), Blut vergossen hast! Ach wer wird das Blut jenes Mannes rächen? (wörtl. beantworten).“

Nach einem kurzen Vorspiel auf dem Bogen setzten die Stimmen mit folgendem Motiv ein:



Ein Liebeslied denkbar einfachster Art lautet:

Hō-ta ti-te se, hō-ta ti-te se, hō-ta ti-te se. etc.

Der klagende Text besagt: „Ich werde dich niemals bekommen!“

Halbwüchsige Jungen und junge Männer sangen in Lüderitzbucht und um Keetmanshoop, wenn sie Mädchen foppen wollten:

Ti χō - se he, ti χo - se, ti χō - se he, ti χō - se.

Die Neckerei liegt in der Zweideutigkeit des Textes. Die Worte an sich: „Du meine Wange *(χōse)*“ sind unverfänglich. Aber gemeint ist nicht

χõs, sondern χũs, d. i. ein Gut, ein „Ding" (irgendwelcher Art), hier: das am sorgfältigsten gehütete Gut des jungfräulichen Körpers, das jene dreist ihr Eigentum nennen.

4. Tanz allein,

d. h. ohne Musikbegleitung ist mir nur einmal begegnet. Es war ein nächtlicher Tanz mit Namen **tsũ·χu tsa·ıbe — da·ıba tsa·ıbe.* Das sind zugleich die Worte, die die Tanzenden immer zum Takt der Füße wiederholen. Der Tanz wird von Jungen und Alten, selbst Ältesten beiderlei Geschlechts getanzt. Drei Personen gehören dazu: zwei, die gegeneinander feindlich anrücken, und eine dritte, die die Streitenden zu trennen sucht, indem sie immer zwischen sie hineintanzt, sobald sie einander nahe kommen.

Die Tanzbewegung selbst ist einfach: Der rechte Fuß wird in kurzen Schrittchen vor- und wieder halb rückwärts geschlürft. Unmittelbar nach jeder solchen Tändelbewegung wird der linke Fuß, mit der ganzen Sohle aufstampfend, nachgesetzt; dabei sinkt der Körper in schwache Kniebeuge. Die Bewegung schreitet langsam ruckweise fort, ist aber nicht schwerfällig, ist sogar anmutig, wenn sie ein junger Körper geschmeidig ausführt. Die Bewegung des rechten Fußes begleitet die Worte *tsũ·χu-* und *da·ıba-*, auf die erste Silbe des dazwischen liegenden *tsaıbe* fällt das Stampfen des linken Fußes.

D. Keime einer Literatur.

1. Ausgang.

Außerhalb des engen Kreises seiner alltäglichen Lebensbedürfnisse ist nächst dem Interesse an seinesgleichen die Tierwelt der beliebteste Tummelplatz der Phantasie des Hottentotten. Mit den Tieren des Feldes kommt er vom Tag seiner Verwendung als Hirtenjunge ab in nächste Berührung. Tagaus tagein, von früh bis abends sich selbst überlassen, in seinen Wächterpflichten und zu seiner Unterhaltung ausschließlich auf die Beobachtung der Natur angewiesen, lernt er bald jeden Vogelruf, lernt die Gewohnheiten des Wildes und Raubzeugs so gut wie die Verstecke aller der kleinen Lebewesen kennen, die sein kärgliches Mahl würzen. Das alles tritt in einem Alter an ihn heran, wo kindlicher Wissenstrieb und Spielereilust ihn für alles um ihn her empfänglich hält. Später ist die Jagd seine Lehrmeisterin in Naturgeschichte. An Muße, die Eindrücke nachwirken zu lassen, fehlt es dem Hottentotten nie, und so spinnt er das Geschene und

Gehörte weiter und legt es sich menschlich aus. In der bescheidensten Form geschieht das dadurch, daß er in

a) Tierstimmen

Worte*) hört: So ruft eine wilde Taube *(Stictoenas phaeonotus Gray,* h: *ǂnabu-s)* wohl noch aus der Zeit, da ihr mit dornbespitzten Pfeilen nachgestellt wurde, dem Menschen zu: *„ǀHai- ᵏχoētse͡, ǂhai- ǂhuru-, ǂgaba ǂkχūb gom ǂkχaī χūba o!"* „Du nichtswürdiger (wörtl. fahler) Mensch, ein nichtswürdiges Spiel treibst du, der Gabadorn ist gar ein giftiges (verbotenes) Ding!"

Eine Lerche, *ǂhurīd-b* genannt (ich kann nicht mehr entscheiden, ob es sich um *Calandrella cinerea (Gm.)* oder um *Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.* handelt), hat einen auf- und absteigenden Zickzackflug, knattert auf der Höhe ihres Zickzackwegs mit den Flügeln und läßt einen langgezogenen ansteigenden Ton hören. In diesem Ruf hört der Hottentott die Worte *„Om͡ dire!"*, d. h. „Macht die Hütte zurecht!", eine Mahnung an die Frauen, die Binsenmatten der Hütte dicht zu machen, denn dieser Vogelruf soll besonders beim Anzug eines Gewitters zu hören sein: ich hörte ihn bei jedem Wetter.

Eine Mahnung an säumige Eltern legt der Hottentott in den Ruf des *ǂkχu-ririseb*-Vogels (wie es scheint einer *Pycnonotus*-Art angehörig): *„ǀGu-rub ǂkχa-rib, ǂgu-ri ǂgoē-, hī-diros ǂgu-ri ǂgoē-!"* „Der Gurub liegt allein, die Hudiros liegt allein!"

Die schwarze Kornlandkrähe, den *Corvus capensis Licht.*, nennen die Hottentotten *ǂhō-rab*, von *ǂhō-ra* = den Boden durchstöbern, um Abfälle aufzulesen. In ihrer lärmenden Stimme hört der Hottentott zuweilen das Frohlocken eines glücklichen Waidmanns: *„Xu-rigye go ǂa-os gye, hō-gye go ǂhā-eī gye!"* „Wir *(gye,* Suff. d. 1. pers. plur. masc.*)* haben Blut *(ǂaos)* geschöpft *(χuri)***), wir haben einen Springbock *(ǂhāeī,* comm. sing.*)* gekriegt! *(hō)*."

Auch Zwiegespräche der Vögel hört der Hottentott. So läßt er die weißbrüstige Krähe, h: *goira-b* (3. st.), den *Corvus scapulatus Daud.*, der in der Wahl seines Futters sehr wenig wählerisch ist, der eben genannten Kornlandkrähe zurufen: *„ǂHō-rab, ǂhō-rab, ǂkχī- ē-kχ(u)m χau-sa ǂkχū- ǂū-gu!"*

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*) Die lang auszuziehenden Silben sind mit einem Fermate-Zeichen versehen. Wo bei der Nachahmung der Tierstimme der Rhythmus besonders markiert ist, ist das Stärkeakzent-Zeichen gesetzt.

**) Der eingeborene Jäger pflegt das Blut aus der Leibeshöhle des frisch erlegten Wildes in den ausgeweideten Magen zu füllen und nach Hause zu tragen.

', Rab', komm und laß uns beide miteinander Scheiße zerpicken!" (wörtl. en, *ǂkχā*, und auseinanderlegen, *ǂā*.)

Aber die Angeredete bleibt bei ihrem Geschmack und antwortet: *ra-b, goira-b, kχī- ĕ-kχ(u)m ǂha-nsa ǂkχā- ǂā-gu!*" „Komm, laß uns mit- der Feldgerwiebel zerpicken!"

Eine eigene Bewandnis hat es mit dem Girren der Turteltaube *nari-s*). Die Hottentotten erzählen sich, daß die Turteltaube einst eine chtigte Viehdiebin war. Vom Sandhuhn, *Pterocturus namaqua (Gmel.)*, *aus*, mit dem sie zusammenlebte, wollte sie sich ein Beil borgen, um Knochen eines gestohlenen Kalbes zu zerlegen. Aber das ehrliche schlug es ihr ab. Seitdem flucht ihm die Taube mit den Worten*): *„ǂhau-s ǂga-rrrase, ǂhau-s ǂga-rrrase, ǂôba ǂkχu-bi te, ǂ-ta tsaû-ba ǂna-n a-naba ǂhû-i si!*" „Du Schmutzvieh (*ǂgarab* ist die männliche Scham, fluchwort gebraucht), borg *(ǂkχubi)* mir *(te)* das Beil *(ǂôba)*, laß *(ǂ)* *(-ta)* das Kalb *(tsaûba)* zerlegen *(ǂnanǂâ)*!" „Den Kopf *(tanaba)* spalte ich dir *(si)*!"

Es liegt nahe, daß wer die Sprache der Tiere versteht, auch seinerseits

b) Zurufe

an der Unterhaltung beteiligt.

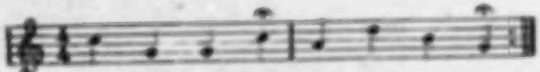
Der Name eines Spechtes (wahrscheinlich des *Dendropicus cardinalis l.)*), h: *ǂī-ǂī-ses*, ahmt den gedehnten Ruf des Vogels nach. Die Hotten- meiner Begleitung hörten darin stets eine erotische Lockung und sie spöttisch an einen fingierten Buschmann weiter, indem sie riefen: *askχum gaitse, nē gye ǂǂises si ǂaiba ra ûba!*" „Du alter Nurukum nname), dieser Specht ruft darnach, daß du ihn vögeln mögest!"

*) Hier tritt besonders klar hervor, wie die Wahl der Worte, ihre Folge und Akzentuierung Nachahmung der Tierstimme abzielen.

In der Frage, wie der Mensch einst dazu kam, seinen Worten bestimmte Rhythmen zu wenn er sie von drückender Alltäglichkeit loslösen und zu freierer Phantasieschöpfungen ver- will, scheinen mir Beobachtungen aus den primitiven Stadien einer aufkeimenden Literatur, die Hottentotten vergegenwärtigen, nicht gleichgültig zu sein. Es ist keine Hypothese sondern eine Feststellung des Tatbestandes, daß in der Naturgeräusche die sinnliche Freude, gemeinsam mit Worten nachzuahmen, einen Weg zur Rhythmik darstellt.

Ein anderer Weg ist aus der Freude abzuleiten, die, wie wohl jedes Volk, so auch den empfindet, wenn er die Bewegungen seines Körpers verfeinert zum Ausdruck seiner dungen macht. So sind die natürlichen, an sich schon rhythmischen Ortsbewegungen der zu Tanzbewegungen geworden. Und da wir Tanz und Musik und begleitenden Liedertext Hottentotten in engem Zusammenhang finden, so tritt hier ungezwungen eine zweite Quelle r Rhythmik der Sprache zutage.

Kinder besprechen wie bei uns die Tiere, mit denen sie spielen. So suchen sie die *!kyaobus*-Eidechse dadurch zum Stillliegen zu bewegen, daß sie ihr zusingen:



han - sib snao - se, sib t(u)mi xgoi re.

„Du Hansib's (fingierter Eigenname) Großmutter, duck dich doch nieder!" (wörtl.: leg dich doch hin wie ein Pfeil.)

Ein Mistkäfer, den die Kinder spielen, um sich am Gesumm der schwirrenden Flügel zu freuen, wird mit den Worten gelockt:

snao - ba, snao - ba o xgru ai sib - re.

„Nachtkäfer, ach setze dich doch auf den Mist!"

Das Chamaeleon suchen die Kinder mit den Worten zu bannen: *„no-mtsi /no-mebe, o-ma /nu-rubus ŏ-ab!"* „Buckeliger Buckelmann, Kind der Großmutter (*"amas)* Nurubus!"

Einer besonders ausführlichen Anrede erfreut sich der Pavian. In einem tiefen Rivier in der Nähe des Oranje hörten wir die Affen auf den umgebenden Höhen bellen. Dem ersten, der sichtbar wurde, rief einer meiner Hottentotten folgende im Volksmund*) verbreitete Begrüßung zu:

„her!-tse, hi-retse!
tku-mi tka-rutse,
so-retse, so-re !kyŏ-hoitse,
/no-ohe gye xgu-ns s(e)i tno-os/e)n!
enabo- /nani-b ai gye mŏ-tse
enabo- o-multse!
tsoo-ba gye xgui-s!"

„Ei Potztausend**)! Du Fettglänzender***)! Du Linkser, Links-

*) Vgl. Bleek's Übersetzungen von Widdysamen aus den Handschriften der Grey'schen Bibliothek in Kapstadt.

**) Eigentlich etwa: „ach du lieber Gott!" heißt, die holländische Bezeichnung für Herr, mit der hottentottischen Vokativendung des masc. sing.

***) Das Haben der *tku-/nukkara o-Biene* (s. S. 109) glänzen heißt; ein glänzendes Fell gilt als Zierde des jungen Pavians. Die vorgeschlagene Anrede, die ich ebenfalls hörte, lautet: *„tsoo-ro !kyo-nikotse"*; *!kyo-nikoŏ* ist eine offene unterirdische Kanäle mit hohen Uferlöcher.

iger*)! Der du aufgeladen wirst, dein Fleisch selbst stückweise auf-
st**)! Der du auf dem Taubenrande stehst***), du Taubenmündiger†)!
r du dein Hinterloch nachschleppst!"

2. Sagen der Hottentotten.

**Albe-gum-oa-ǂgûs-gûm.*

Wie sie dem Horizont des offenen Meeres den „Rücken des Wassers", ǂamigdû, nennen, so nennen sie die Urvergangenheit, die fern wie jener erscint ist, den „Rücken der Zeit", *ǂaǂgdû. Damals gab es noch keine nschen, aber Sonne und Mond waren Erdbewohner und das Feuer lebte, Tiere hatten menschenähnliche Gestalt und fühlten und handelten wie n. Im Rahmen dieser allgemeinen Vorstellung verarbeitet die Phantasie Hottentotten alle Beobachtungen aus der Tierwelt und die Erfahrungen eigenen Lebens zu Sagen, die sich ohne Aufzeichnung durch Genenen erhalten. Da hocken sie abends im Kreis um das Feuer der Hütte r des Lagers im Feld, die Reihe geht herum, Jeder erzählt seine Gechte. Nicht aus Aberglauben wohl, sondern aus der Stimmung jener cklichen Stunden selbst hat sich ihnen das Gebot ergeben, nur am Nachter die Sagen-Gestalten aufleben zu lassen. Wer bei Tageslicht von ihnen ählt, könnte die Dinge *(ǂû-as)* von ehedem *(albe-gum)*††) heraufchwören und damit heillose Verwirrung anrichten; erst nach Sonnenergang heißt es „*ǂo-as*", „erzähle!"

Obwohl schon die Reisenden des 18. Jahrhunderts die Vorliebe der ttentotten für Sagen kannten, sind bis jetzt doch nur vier Erzählungen der Sprache der Hottentotten selbst bekannt; sie sind nach Aufzeichngen G. Kroeseleins und des Bastards J. de Vries von Theophilus hn[28]) mitgeteilt worden. Was sonst über diesen Gegenstand veröffentt ist, sind Übersetzungen und Inhaltsangaben in europäischen Sprachen. r Gouverneur der Kapkolonie, George Grey, veranlaßte den Kurator ner Bibliothek, W. H. J. Bleek, zu einem Rundschreiben an die Missionare südafrikas mit der Bitte, ihm alles, was als Anfang einer Literatur der

*) Der Gebrauch der linken Hand gilt als Zeichen von Geringschätzung.

**) Zur Charakteristik des schleppend vorwärts rückenden Ganges des Perlsim.

***) Der Stolzheit der Taubenbrust ist eine Lieblingsvergleichung dieser wilden Tauben (s. S. 384).

†) Vorgestellt der langen Schnauze des Perlsim, die in den Augen der Hottentotten wie Schmutz vorspringt.

††) Die Etymologie des Wortes *gum* habe ich nicht ermitteln können. Es wird vor *albe* *ǂgûbe* — ebenso im Sinn einer Demonstrativpartikel gebraucht.

Eingeborenen gelten könnte, zuzusenden. Das Ergebnis hat Bleek veröffentlicht — leider ausschließlich Übersetzungen, obwohl sich unter den 40 Erzählungen seiner Sammlungen 24 im Urtext von Kroenlein aufgenommene (auch später leider nicht veröffentlichte) befanden. Nur in der Erzählung des Mond-Mythus ist durch Th. Hahn's Mitteilung des Originals eine direkte Kontrolle der Übersetzungen Bleek's mit dem Urtext Kroenlein's ermöglicht worden: An Stelle der Überschrift, die worttreu lautet „Der Mond und die Laus und der Hase", setzt Bleek „Der Ursprung des Todes", und die unanständige Laus, die auch den folgenden Text verunreinigt, knickt er, indem er statt ihrer nur von einem „Tierchen" spricht. Man würde solche Kleinigkeiten unbeachtet lassen, wenn hier nicht eine Prüderie die andere nach sich zöge und schließlich ein Endresultat zustande käme, das auf die Art und Weise der Hottentotten, sich zu geben, wie die Faust aufs Auge paßt. Wie mag die Zensur, die so früh einsetzt, vorgehen, wo sich das Volk einmal wirklich ohne Feigenblatt zeigt? Da ich das Kroenlein'sche Manuskript nicht kenne, kann ich mich nur an einen Vergleich des Stils und Inhalts meiner Texte mit denen Bleek's halten. Der Übersetzer hat „Auslassungen und Veränderungen, ohne welche die Fabeln in europäischen Augen zu nackt erschienen wären", für notwendig gehalten, „um diese Hottentotten-Fabeln dem größeren Publikum zugängig zu machen", und glaubt damit den Geist der Fabeln nicht anzutasten. Die hier mitzuteilenden Texte mögen selbst antworten: Ihr Ausdruck zeigt die Urwüchsigkeit eines Naturvolkes, in der kein Sinn zu kurz kommt, kein Körperteil ist hier, wo alles eine Freistatt hat, anstößig. Und gerade kleine psychologische Züge, in denen die treibenden Motive für Urteile und Handlungen der Sagenfiguren enthalten sind, sind oft an die kräftigsten Ausdrücke gebunden. Die gemeine Wendung der alten Elephantin (s. Sage No. LVIII) charakterisiert mit einem Wort die rohe Auffassung des Familienlebens, dem die junge Frau (in Gestalt einer Fliege) entfliehen will. Die Anrede des Löwen an die Tiere (Sage No. LVII) und sein Ansinnen illustrieren in bezeichnender Form die Widersinnigkeit einer würdelosen Scheinautorität.

Bei der Beurteilung der geistigen Höhe eines Volkes scheint mir gerade in den Anfangsstadien einer ungeschriebenen Literatur die Form der Darstellung ebenso viel wie der Inhalt zu wiegen. Man wird sehen, daß der Hottentott nie vorgreifend mit einem alles enthaltenden abstrakten Eigenschaftswort einen Charakter oder eine Situation in seiner Erzählung von vornherein festlegt. Nie sprach einer der Hottentotten, der mir erzählte,

von „einer einfältigen, alten Hyäne", wie Bleek es tut, nie handelt ein Tier „aus Boswilligkeit" etc. — Der Hottentott entwickelt vielmehr die Situation, läßt uns die Tiere im Zwiegespräch belauschen und vor unseren Augen handeln, daß sie selbst zeigen, was Geistes Kinder sie sind.

Daß in den Erzählungen eines Hirten- und Jägervolkes Tiere eine Hauptrolle spielen, ist nicht wunderbar. Aber man darf darum noch nicht von „Fabeln" reden. Was man in den Tiersagen der Hottentotten nach Analogie äußerlich verwandter einheimischer Dichtungen als moralische Lehre gesucht hat und gefunden zu haben glaubte, ist in der Mehrzahl der Fälle nichts anderes als der Ausdruck einer reflexionslosen, nichts weniger als moralisierenden Empfindung: Haß gegen den Unterdrücker — nicht Lob der Nächstenliebe (Sage LIX), Spott über schwächliche Anmaßung — nicht Lob der Selbsterkenntnis und Bescheidenheit (Sage LVII), Schadenfreude über das Mißgeschick eines alten Betrügers (Sage XLII) — nicht Abscheu vor Lügen. List und Betrug feiern ja in anderem Zusammenhang Triumphe! Wo zartere Empfindungen mitspielen, wie Geschwisterliebe (Sage LVIII), Mutterschmerz (Sage LI), Freundestreue (Sage XXVI), steht die Schilderung in ihrer Naivität hoch über jedem dozierenden Hintergedanken. Auf erotischem Gebiet läßt die Phantasie mit ihren zuweilen bizarren Ausschweifungen (Sage XLIX) vollends keinen Platz für den Sittenrichter.

Wenn daher Bleek von den Tier-Erzählungen der Hottentotten sagt: „Kinder sowohl als auch Erwachsene, die schlichten Sinnes geblieben sind und deren Geschmack nicht durch das Gift überreizender Lektüre verdorben ist, werden sich stets an den artig ausgedrückten moralischen Lehren erfreuen, die sie durch eine jede gute Fabel erhalten; und der tiefer gehende Literaturfreund wird sich gleichfalls an diesen ersten unschuldigen Spielen der erwachenden menschlichen Phantasie ergötzen. Allen solchen werden die hier gebotenen Hottentotten-Fabeln wohl nicht unwillkommen sein" etc. etc., so sehe ich nur drei Möglichkeiten der Erklärung: Entweder die Übersetzung ist unrein. Oder die Manuskripte enthalten nur eine Auswahl solcher Erzählungen, die bestimmten Anforderungen christlicher Moral genügen. Oder der Hottentott, dieser raffinierte Menschenkenner, hat seine Fabeln, wohlwissend, wem er sie erzählte, von vornherein in diesem Sinne stilisiert. Wie dem auch sei, die Sagenreferate Bleeks zeigen mir den Hottentotten nicht, wie ich ihn kennen gelernt habe; ich nehme deshalb und weil ich aus der Quelle schöpfen konnte, im Einzelnen nicht weiter Bezug auf

sie. Dagegen lassen die Übersetzungen des Missionars J. Olpp[88]) überall Naturtreue und ein Verständnis erkennen, wie es nun einmal ausschließlich der intime Verkehr mit dem Volk selbst zeitigen kann.

An dem autochthonen Ursprung der im folgenden mitzuteilenden Erzählungen ist in zwei Fällen sicher zu zweifeln: Die Erzählung XLVIII erinnert im Gang der Handlung an eine Wolofische Sage, die Bollat mitgeteilt und Bleek übersetzt hat. Der Schakal der Hottentotten ist hier durch den Elephanten, die Schlange durch die Hyäne, das Stachelschwein durch einen Ochsen, der Stein durch eine Grube vertreten; aber die Rollen jeder einzelnen Person sind ihrem Sinne nach in beiden Fällen die gleichen. Ferner stimmt die Erzählung der kleinen Tauschhändler (No. XII) in mehreren Einzelheiten mit einem Märchen der Herero überein, das J. Rath in der Ursprache aufgezeichnet und wiederum Bleek aus dem Manuskript übersetzt hat. Welchem Volk hier die Priorität gebührt, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden.

Im übrigen kann ich hier nur was ich dem Munde der Hottentotten abgelauscht habe, wortgetreu wiedergeben und muß die Frage, ob und welche Anklänge die hier mitgeteilten Sagen an die Sagenkreise anderer Völker erkennen lassen, Andere beantworten lassen. Der exakte Nachweis von Entlehnungen scheint mir gegebenenfalls als ein Lichtblick in die dunkle Vorgeschichte der hottentottischen Rasse nicht minder interessant als eine Bestätigung der Originalität der Sagen zu sein.

Von der Überzeugung ausgehend, daß für das Verständnis der Geistestätigkeit gerade eines tiefstehenden Volkes die Art seiner Begriffsbildung und die Regeln, nach denen es die Begriffe zu Vorstellungen und Urteilen kombiniert, grundlegend sind, habe ich jedem Text eine vokabular-grammatische Erläuterung beigegeben; sie soll den Leser gleichzeitig in den Stand setzen, die Übersetzung Wort für Wort zu kontrollieren. Denn diese Texte sollen Urkunden des Hottentottengeistes sein, die entziffert werden wollen. Wer zur ersten Übersicht eine Erzählung in zusammenhängendem Deutsch lesen will, wird sich bald daran gewöhnen, über die kursiv gesetzten und eingeklammerten Erklärungen hinweg dem deutschen Text im Zusammenhang zu folgen.

In rein sprachlicher Beziehung sind den Texten noch folgende Bemerkungen vorauszuschicken:

Der Schakal wie der Pavian figurieren in den Erzählungen vielfach als mit einem Sprachfehler behaftet und erzielen allein damit schon einen Lacherfolg beim hottentottischen Zuhörer. Entweder läßt man diese Tiere (wenn

man sie zu komischen Figuren stempeln will) überhaupt keine Schnalzlaute zustande bringen, sondern mit regellos unartikulierten Lauten die betreffenden Worte radebrechen, oder läßt in ganzen Sätzen einen und denselben Schnalzer, gleichgültig ob an rechter oder unrechter Stelle, wiederholen. Solche absichtlich verkehrten Stellen habe ich mir stets in korrektem Nama wiederholen lassen und gebe sie hier in dieser Form wieder.

Um in den Text-Analysen Wiederholungen, wo es ohne der Deutlichkeit zu schaden, angeht, zu vermeiden, seien folgende Punkte hier ein für allemal im voraus erledigt:

a) Das Subjekt wird im Hottentottischen häufig (siehe z. B. die Sage XVI) nur durch die Personalsuffixe der 3. Person angedeutet. Wo sich ein entsprechender Behelf mit Fürwörtern als unklar oder umständlich erwies, wurde in der Übersetzung meist ohne weiteres das Hauptwort des vorhergehenden Satzes wiederholt. Die Personalsuffixe der 3. Person lauten im Nominativ:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Masculinum	*-b, -l* (hinter *m* u. *n*)	*-kχâ*	*-gu*
euphonisch	*-bâ, -â*		*-gu*
Femininum	*-s*	*-ra*	*-ti*
euphonisch	*-sa*		*-te*
Commune	*-l*	*-ra* (♂ u. ♀)	*-n*
euphonisch	*-le*		*-na*

b) Die häufigsten Hilfszeitworte, auch Verbalpartikel genannt, sind:

i in allgemeinster Anwendung.

a und *gye*, alleinstehend, bezeichnen die Gegenwart.

go und *gye gye* bezeichnen die nähere und die weiter zurückliegende Vergangenheit.

ni bezeichnet die Zukunft.

ra (euphonisch *ta*) kennzeichnet eine fortschreitende Handlung.

hâ einen Zustand.

c) Eine Einführung der direkten Rede wird im Hottentottischen vielfach nur durch *tsi* mit angehängtem Personalsuffix des Redenden gegeben. Am Ende der Rede stehen dann die Worte *ti go mi*, d. h. „so sagte er" (sie, es etc.). In der Übersetzung werden diese Worte meist besser voran gestellt, oft mit dem Hauptwort, nicht bloß dem Fürwort, als Subjekt.

d) Die alltäglichen Konjunktionen *o* und *tsi* habe ich je nach dem Zusammenhang mit: und, nun, dann, darauf etc. übersetzt.

Wo der Hottentott eine Anzahl Gegenstände oder Personen aufzählt (und seien es nur zwei), so fügt er stets am Schluß, zusammenfassend, die Konjunktion *tsĭ* mit dem Personalsuffix der aufgezählten Personen im Dual oder Plural und im mascul., fem. oder commune an. Also: *ǂgîrib tsĭ ǂami tsĭ thîras tsĭna*, d. h.: Der Schakal und der Löwe und die Hyäne und sie. Diese Zusammenfassungsfloskel habe ich in der Übersetzung nicht wiedergegeben.

e) Eine Eigentümlichkeit des hottentottischen Erzählungsstils schlage ich vor als Passivum narrativum zu bezeichnen. Statt zu sagen *tsĭs gye go ǂnā*, d. h. „und sie tanzte", sagt der Hottentott im Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern: *tsĭ gye go ǂnāhe (-he*, Passivendung*)*, d. h. „und es wurde getanzt", wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivsatz selbst durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimmtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird.

Stellt das Subjekt des Satzes ein Hauptwort dar, so folgt ihm in passivisch-narrativer Konstruktion häufig (aber nicht immer!) das Wort *ǂa*. Man kann in diesem Fall *ǂa* als das Verhältniswort „von" ansehen und würde demnach den Satz: *ǂgôati ǂa i gye gye sarihe* wörtlich übersetzen: „Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen". Wo aber dieses *ǂa* wegfallen kann und durch ein demonstratives Personalsuffix ersetzt wird, da ist auch diese notdürftig-formale Angleichung des Deutschen und Hottentottischen nicht möglich.

Ich habe alle Konstruktionen des Passivum narrativum in aktivischer Ausdrucksweise mit bestimmtem Subjekt übersetzt.

f) In eckige Klammern [] sind die Worte der Übersetzung geschlossen, die zu besserem Verständnis oder zur Vermeidung unnötiger Härten in die Übersetzung eingefügt wurden, ohne daß ihnen ein eigenes Wort im hottentottischen Text entspräche.

Die Sagen der Hottentotten lassen sich in fünf Gruppen ordnen:

a) Abenteuer in der Wildnis.

Weit im Innern des Landes lebt in der Sagenwelt ein Fabelwesen, das die Hottentotten **tsi(gd/mārǂab* nennen, weil es seine Augen *(mārti)* nicht im Gesicht, sondern auf dem Rücken *(/gd/b)* der Füße *(satti)* hat. Das Wesen wird in menschenähnlicher Gestalt, aufrecht gehend, also mit himmelwärts gerichteten Augen, gedacht. Will es sehen, was auf der Erde vorgeht, muß es sich vierfüßig, vorn auf die gestreckten Arme, hinten auf

die Kniee niederlegen; dann hebt es das eine Knie hoch und beugt es so weit es kann, bis der Fußrücken mit dem Auge horizontal rückwärts sieht. Diese Fabelwesen leben gesellig beisammen und machen auf Menschen, die sie für Zebras halten, Jagd, um sie mit ihren fingerlangen, spitzen, raubtiergebißartig ineinandergreifenden Zähnen zu zerfleischen. Sie werden daher auch **kχoĕ-oren* genannt (*kχoëb* Mensch, **o-re* hinlaufen um den eingescharrten Raub zu fressen). Das Menschenfresser-Weib führt noch besonders den Eigennamen **ǂgaũ-ǂbes*. In den Abenteuern mit dem Aigamucha-Volk (Sage I bis VI) hält sich der Hottentott im Einzelnen nicht streng an die oben genannten Charaktere, die er diesen Menschenfressern gibt; er läßt sie meist so menschenähnlich auftreten, daß sie ihre Opfer über ihre wahre Natur so lange täuschen können bis ein Entrinnen unmöglich scheint. Die Entdeckung der Fußaugen des *Aigamuchab* ist des Schakals Verdienst (Sage VI).

Die mannigfachen Erlebnisse auf der Wanderschaft (Sage VII bis XII) sind ohne Kommentar verständlich.

Jagdabenteuer (Sage XIII und XIV), die als volkstümliche Sagen beachtet zu werden verdienten, sind mir nur wenige zu Ohren gekommen. Das eine Jagdabenteuer (Sage XIV) knüpft an den Namen des *ǂgu-rikχoĕseb* an, jenes „Einzig-Menschen“[**], der als Erster seinesgleichen die Erde bewohnte.

Ich begegnete unter Hottentotten einer anderen, vielleicht erst später entstandenen Auffassung des *ǂgu-rikχoĕseb:* Er wurde mir als Jäger bezeichnet, der allein mit seiner Frau und seinen Hunden in der Wildnis hause; man würde ihn dann als einen, der sich allein abseits angesiedelt hat, kurzweg den „Einsiedler“ nennen. Das Wort *ǂgu-rikχoĕseb* wäre dann analog dem Worte *ǂgu-riseb* gebildet, einer Bezeichnung für den einzeln lebenden, aus der Herde ausgestoßenen Springbock-Ramm.

I.

ǂAiǂgãmũχas ŋguũs ŋga gye sari ǂgõate.

ǂGõati χa i gye gye ǂaiǂgãmũχas ŋguũs ŋga gye sarihe; tsi gye siti gye o ǂgui kχoũs gye a ǂgoen; o i gye ǂaiǂgãmũχas χa: „ikχi ẽta ǂguri si“ ti go mĩhe. tsi go ǂgurihe. tsi ǂguĕb ãsa ũ(e)ĩs ǂgaĕb ikχa go ǂgai sarehe, siti gye go sara.

Os gye nau kχoĕsa ǃkχō maĭhe hā tsī go ǁgoĕ gaihe tsīs gye go ǁgoĕ. o i gye ǂareǂams âsa ǃgao ǁnāhe tsī go airahe tsī ǃgabiti ǃna ǃguiǃguibe gauroti go ǂnūihe tsī ǁnuina go ǂnā aihe tsī ǃkχīgu nī daob amǃna go maī saoguhe. tsī gye go ǂnāhe tsī: „ǃhaĭs ai ra hāba χabe ǂūba hŏs!" : tumı go ǂnāı bēhe. os gye kχoĕsa bēhe i go o ǃuiba ū tsī go ǁgui ǁgoĕs go hā iba tsī go bē.

Ogu gye go ǃkχī ǃgabiti māba tsī habu tsī go ǃkχoĕ. os gye tarasa ais ai gye ǃkχī. os gye ǃuiba kχoĕs ti ǂaī hā tsī mū ǃgoaχagus go o ǃgū ǃgă. tsigu gye go ǃkχī. os gye ǃguib ǁga: „ǃōsa ū ĕts ǁnā ǂnamte ǃhui, ĕts ǁnāba ǁgoĕ χūĕ ǁhā!" ti go mī. ob gye go ǁhā o i gye ǃŏs amǃnaba go kχŏıa. ob gye: „matisa ais?" ti go mī. os gye: „ǃnaū ti nī mī χū tomaī" ti go mī. on gye go ǃhui ǃkχā tsī go mū ǃuiba ǃkχaiĕ. tsīgu gye go ıāse tarasa go ǃgam tsī go ŏ.

Übersetzung von I.

Die Mädchen, die zur Werft der Aigamucha-Frau spazieren gehen.

Mädchen *(ǃgōati Töchter)* gingen zur *(ǁga)* Werft der Aigamucha-Frau spazieren *(sari, i. pass. narrativ.)*; und als sie hinkamen *(sī, m. d. Pers. suff. d. Subj.)*, ist eines *(ǃgui)* von ihnen *(ein Mensch kχoĭs, fem.)* schwanger *(ǃgom)*; das wird von *(χa)* der Aigamucha-Frau so angeredet *(mī sagen)*: „Komm *(ǃkχī)*, laß dich *(wörtl.: und ĕ [imperativisch], ich -ta, knete dich -si)* kneten!" *(ǃguri, s. Hautpflege, S. 207, 215)*. Und sie wird geknetet. Dann wurde ihr *(ū, Stamm d. pron. poss., -sa Pers. suff. d. Besitzerin)* Vorschurz *(ǃgaĕb)* mit *(ǃkχa)* dem Vorschurz jener *(ǁ(e)ĭs, pron. pers.)* zusammengebunden *(ǃgai binden, ǁare vereinigen)*, und die anderen *(hier nur durch d. Pers. suff. ausgedr.)* gingen heim *(ǂaru, verb.)*.

Das eine *(nau, wörtl.: andere)* Mädchen aber wurde festgehalten *(ǃkχō fangen, maī hinstellen)* und ihr geheißen *(gai)*, sich zu legen *(ǁgoĕ)*, und sie legte sich. Da wird [ihr] das Steißbein *(Spitze ǂams, des Gesäßes ǂare-)* abgeschnitten *(ǃgao ǁnā)* und das Fett ausgebraten *(aira)**). Dann setzte *(ǂnūl)* die Frau die Fettstückchen *(gaub Fett, -ro,*

*) Das Folgende ist alles in der Form des passiv. narrativum ausgedrückt. Man könnte das echte Passivum hier eingewandt sehen, wenn nicht die Formen *ǂnūlhe* und *bēhe* für das erstere entschieden. In der Übersetzung werden diese Perioden hier wieder aktivisch, mit bestimmtem Subjekt wiedergegeben.

Dimin.) einzeln *(ǃgui ǃguibe)* in *(ǃna)* Schildkrötenschalen *(ǃgabiti)* und goß *(ǂnā)* den Schmalz *(ǂnuina, comm. plur.)* darüber *(ai)* und stellte *(mal)* sie hintereinander *(saogu)* in *(am ǃna)* den Weg *(daob)*, den ihre Söhne *(angedeutet durch das Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. -gu)* kommen mußten *(nī, Verb. part. d. Fut.)*. Dann tanzte *(ǂnā)* sie und [sang]: „Wer *(-ba Suff. d. 3. pers. sing. masc.)* zu Haus *(ǃhaĩs Werft, ai in)* bleibt *(hā)* [macht] trotzdem *(χabe)* einen Speise-Fund!“ *(ǂūba hōs)*. So *(tumi)* tanzte sie davon *(bē)*. Als aber die Frau davongegangen war, nimmt *(ǁī)* [das Mädchen] einen Stein *(ǃuiba)* und legt *(ǁgui)* ihn hin, wo *(-ba)* sie gelegen hatte, und läuft weg.

Da kamen [die Söhne] herzu wo die Schildkrötenschalen standen *(mā)*, leerten *(abu)* sie und eilten *(ǃkχoē)* heran. Und die Frau kommt [ihnen] entgegen *(ais ai)*. Der Stein aber, so *(ti)* denkt *(ǂaī)* sie, ist das Mädchen, und als sie die Söhne*) herankommen *(ǃgoaχa)* sah *(mū)*, deckt *(ǃgū ǃgā)* sie [ihn noch mehr] zu. Und sie kamen. Da sagte sie zu dem einen: „Nimm das Beil *(ǃōsa)* und *(ē, mit d. Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc., -ts)* lüfte *(ǃhui)* die Decken *(ǂnamte)* da *(ǁnā)* und zerhau *(ǁhā)* das Ding *(χūē, comm. sing.)*, das da *(ǁnāba)* liegt!“ Und er haute zu, doch die Schärfe *(am ǃnaba Mundteil)* des Beils zerbrach *(*kχōia)*. Da sagte er: „Wie *(matisa)* ist das, Mutter?“ *(ais)*. Und sie erwiderte: „Das [ist] kein *(toma nicht, I, Suff. d. 3. pers. sing. comm.)* Ding, das so *(ti)* klingen *(*ǃnaū)* soll *(nī, verb. part. d. futur.)* [wenn es] redet“ *(mī)*. Da entblößten sie es und sahen, daß *(ǃkχaiē)* es ein Stein war. Dann töteten *(ǃgam)* sie die Frau *(tarasa)* sogleich *(ǂūse)* und fraßen *(ō)* sie auf.

II.

ǂAǃgāmūχab χa gye ǃgung ǂhe kχoēra.

O gye gye hīhe: ǂgam kχoēra χa i gye gye ǃkχoē ǂarihe. tsī gye ǂaiǃgāmūχab ta ūna ǂhā ǃkχaib ai gye ǂkχīhe. tsī i gye: „nēba ra ǃgōǃgōē kχoē ǂgaūs ǂga ǁī!“

Ob gye ǂaiǃgāmūχaba gye gō tsī: „haĩ ǂgaūs ǂgau si“ ti gye mī. tsīn gye gye ǃgūng. os gye gausa kχoīsa kχaus ai ra hā; ǂnā tumira gye go bē ora go bē, os gye nau kχoēsa ra oa.

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*) Durch das Suffix -gu ausgedrückt. Diesem Pers.-Suff. des Objekts ist das des Subjekts. -s, angehängt. Ohne diese Suffixhäufung würde es sagen sein: ǃgoaχa go kχoēgu.

ǂNā tumi gye aoba ra gō kχau ǀgū ob gye ǀgui kχoïs, ǀguisa ra mū. ob gye ra tī, os gye: „ǀūta a, kχaus ai go hā i". ob gye: „ǂ hāsa ǀhai ǀgarab gaib ǒas, ǀgēǀgōab gom saogu ra χūba o".

Ora gye gye sī ǂgaûs ǂaiǀgāmūχab dis doba. Ob gye ǂaiǀgāmūχab sī ra gye o gye mī: „huga nī, tareē, ǂkχoa χū toma ī gye! ǀgaoχa tom! ēgye surosa ǀhum!", ti go mī.

Ogu gye gye ǀkχū si, ǀgaoχa tomsi. Os gye χaus(e)n ogu gye: „tsoaǂnūiba χaba!" ti gye mī. tsīgu gye ō toa.

Ob gye ǂaib ai gye mā; tsī sī, kχois daoba gye hō tsī gye ǀkχō daoba tsī kχoēsa sī gye sao ǂare. os gye kχoīsa gye ǀō tsau ǀkχōb ta o ra noras(e)n. ob gye: „ǂkχun ǀō hā, ti sūs ǀguis ǀna nī ǂgū, kχ(o)ma tsā" ti gye mī.

Tsī sūsa gye ǀkχoē ǒa. os gye kχoēsa kχaī tsī gye ǀkχoē nī ǂaru. os gye kχoēsa gye kχaī hā hīa sūs ǀkχaira ǂkχī. tsī hā tsī mū ǂkχui. ob gye gye ǂgai: „ǂkχun-ǀō-hā, mabas go ī?" tumi.

Übersetzung von II.

Die beiden Frauen, die von Aigamuchab mitgenommen wurden.

Und es begab sich so (*wurde gemacht hīhe*): Zwei (*ǀgam*) Frauen (*kχoēra*) hatten sich verirrt (*ǀkχoē eilen, ǂari verlieren*). Und sie kamen (*ǀkχī*) an (*ai*) die Stelle (*ǀkχaib*), wo Aigamuchab Rindenkost (*ǂūna, comm. plur.*)*) abschlug (*ǂhā, ta = ra*). Da [riefen] sie: „[Du] Mensch, der (*-ē Suff. 3. pers. sing. comm.*) da (*nēba*) hämmert (*ǀgōǀgō*), nimm (*ū*) uns**) zur (*ǂga*) Werft!" (*ǂgaûs, S. 232*).

Da sah (*gō*) Aigamuchab auf und sagt: „Laß (*ha*) mich (*-te*) dir (*si*) die Werft zeigen!" (*ǂgau*). Und sie gingen. Aber die fette (*gausa*) Frau bleibt (*hā*) zurück (*kχaus ai*); derart (*ǂnā tumi*) gehen die beiden hin (*bē*), gehen [immer weiter], doch die eine (*nau*) Frau kehrt um (*oa*).

So sieht (*mū*) der Mann [Aigamuchab], als (*o-*) er zurückschaut, nur eine (*ǀgui*) einzige (*ǀguisa*) Frau. Da fragt (*tī*) er, und die

*) Die glatte, glänzende, gelbliche, innerste Faserschicht der Rinde des Dornbaumes, die südlich schmeckt, ausgezogen und dann zu Seick gedreht wird.

**) Wörtlich: „einer", *kχoēē* — Rasch im comm. sing., unserem „man" entsprechend. Diese unbestimmte Ausdrucksweise wird dem persönlichen Fürwort der 1. pers. vorgezogen, wenn die Bitte, wie einem Fremden gegenüber, ehrerbietig sein will. In dieser Form bittet ich Fremde Hottentotten um Tabak bitten.

Frau [antwortet]: „Ich weiß nicht *(ūta)*, sie ist zurückgeblieben." Er aber [fluchte]: „Komm vorbei, *(hā ī)* du *(-sa)* Kind *(ōas)* der großen *(gaib)* Schmutzkrustenscham! *(ǃgarab männl. Scham, vgl. S. 320).* Zwillings-Pack *(ǃgēǃgōab Zwilling. χūba Ding, verächtlich)* soll doch wohl *(gom---o)* miteinander gehen!" *(sao folgen, -gu Reciprocalpartikel).*

Dann kamen *(sī)* sie zur *(doba)* Werft des*) Aigamuchab. Und als *(o)* er ankam, sagte er: „Was? *(tareč)* Niemals *(huga von jeher, toma nicht)* wird das Ding schmecken! *(ūkχoa).* Schneidet [ihr] *(ǃgao)* die Kehle *(tomi)* ab! *(-χa).* Laß *(ē und, imperat.)* uns *(-gye)* [wenigstens] die Suppe *(surosa)* [davon] schlürfen!" *(ǃhum)* so rief er:

Da ergriffen *(ǃkχŏ)* sie *(-gu)* sie *(si)*, schnitten ihr die Kehle ab. Und als sie sich *(s(e)n)* bescheißt *(χau)*, rufen sie: „Fangt auf *(χaba)* das Hinterloch-Fett!" *(tsoaunuiba, euphem. Bezeichnung für Kot.)* Und sie fressen *(ŏ)* sie auf *(toa beenden).*

Er aber suchte die Spur; *(stand mā, auf ai, ihrem Fuß taib)* und er kommt dahin, findet die Fährte *(daoba)*, nimmt sie auf *(ǃkχŏ)* und holt die Frau ein *(sao folgen, sī hinkommen, ūare zusammenkommen).* Da gab die Frau einen fauligen *(tsau weich)* Gestank *(ūŏ, verb.)* von sich, [als ob] sie von selbst in Verwesung zerfiele *(°nora)* wenn *(?)* er sie finge. Er aber sagt: „[Du] stinkst süß, *(ǂkχun)* du *(-s in ǂguis)* wirst gerade in *(ǃna)* meinen *(ti)* Topf *(sūs)* hineingehen, *(ǂgū)* so *(kχoma)* riecht *(tsā schmecken)* es!"

Und er sucht *(ōa)* eilig *(ǃkχoĕ, verb.)* den Topf. Da steht die Frau auf *(kχaī)* und entflieht**) nach Hause *(ūaru heimkehren).* Und während die Frau enteilte, kommt *(ǃkχī)* er [mit] dem Topf angeschleppt *(ǃkχara)*, kommt herzu *(hā)* und sieht enttäuscht *(ǂkχui vermissen)* drein und rief: „Süßstinkchen, wo *(maba)* bist du hingegangen?" *(ī).* So *(tumi)* [trug es sich zu].

III.

ǃGōasa gye ū hā ī kχoĕ-oresa.

Kχoĕ-oresi ī gye ǃgōasa gye ūhe hā ī, ǃgoan tsina tsūs gye ǃgoana ra ǃūi. ogu gye kχoĕga ǃgōasagu ni ǃgame ga ra ikχī. os gye somgu ra o hā tsī ra shā ǃanga.

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*) Die Genitivpartikel *di* erhält hier das weibliche Personalsuffix, weil sie dem regierten Substantiv vorhängt.

**) Die Personendung *ni* in *ǂkχoĕ-ni* drückt die Erwartung der Verfolgung aus.

Ob gye ǂgui tsē kχoēba go ǂgūng χamarira ūtsī tsī ǂuiba go ū tsī go ǂgui ǂ(e)īb nī ǂgoē ǂkχais ai. tsīs gye hāb hīa go ǂkχī tsīs gye go ǂāba bi tsīn gye go ǂom. os gye tsūχuba ǂōba ūtsī ra ǂkχī. ora gye arira ra ǂkχai si tsīra ǂnāti arira ra ǂkχai si hīa kχoēba go ǂkχai tsī ǂuiba ū tsī ǂ(e)īb go ǂgoē i ǂkχais ai go ǂgui tsī go bē.

Tsīs gye go ǂkχī tsī hā go ǂhā ǂuiba. os gye ǂkχoē ǂgon bi tsīs gye go ǂao ǂare bi. ob gye hais ai go ǂaba. os gye ǂnaūgu ǂōs ǂkχa ra ǂhāǂnā. ob gye ǂgui ǂnaūb ǂguib go ǂgau o arira ǂnabes ǂkχa go ǂgai tsīra gye arira go hā tsī go ǂkχō si.

Ob gye kχoēba go ǂkχoē-nī tsī ǂgaūs ai go sī o ǂnona gomate go ǂā. tsīra gye arira ō ǂnona ǂ(e)īs doba ra go sī o go ǂnoaǂan.

Übersetzung von III.

Die Menschenfresserin, die eine Tochter hatte.

Die Menschenfresserin *(kχoē-oresi)**) hatte (*passivisch und genetisch ausgedrückt: Übernehmen od. bekommen, hā bleiben, i drückt mit hā einen Zustand i. d. Verg. aus*) eine Tochter, [hatte auch] Vieh *(ǂgoan)* und sie hütete *(ǂūi)* das Vieh. Und Männer stellen sich ein *(ǂkχī)* um *(nī drückt die Absicht, ga die Möglichkeit aus)* die Tochter (*dem Pers. suff. des Obj. ist das des Subj., -ga, angehängt*) zu heiraten *(ǂgame)*. Sie aber kommt *(hā)*, wenn *(o)* die Männer schlafen *(ǂom)*, und erschlägt sie *(ǂhāǂan, m. d. Pers. suff. d. Obj.)*.

Da brach eines Tags *(ǂgui tsē)* ein Mann auf *(ǂgūng verb.)*, der (*wörtl.: nachdem er, -tsī part. d. partic. praeter.*) zwei Löwenhündinnen *(χam-arira)* mit sich genommen hatte, auch einen Stein *(ǂuiba)* nahm er und legte *(ǂgui)* ihn an *(ai)* die Stelle *(ǂkχais)*, wo er *(ǂ(e)īb)* sich selbst hinlegen wollte. Und während *(hā)* er wartete, kam sie und schlachtete *(ǂō)* ihm *(bi, Suff.)* zu Liebe *(-ba)*. Dann gingen sie schlafen. Sie aber kommt Nachts *(tsūχuba)* mit (*wörtl.: genommen habend*) dem Beil *(ǂōba)*. Doch die Hündinnen wehren *(ǂkχai)* sie ab. Und während die Hunde sie so *(ǂnāti)* zurückjagen, erwachte *(ǂkχai)* der Mann, nahm den Stein, legte ihn an die Stelle, wo er selbst gelegen hatte, und entfloh *(bē)*.

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*) Das *-i* in *oresi* ist Determ.-Wurzel, die gelegentlich auch dem Suff. der 3. pers. sing. masc. *-b*, angehängt wird. Dieses *-i* wird in der Erzählung häufig durch die Wurzel *gē* ersetzt.

Nun kam sie und ging daran *(ǂhā herkommen)*, den Stein zu zerhacken. Dann eilte *(ǀkχoĕ)* sie hinter *(ǀgon)* ihm her und holte ihn ein *(sao folgen, ǂare zusammenkommen)*. Er aber kletterte *(ǀaba)* auf einen Baum *(hais)*. Da kappte sie *(ǂhą̄ ǂnā)* die Äste *(ǂnaūga)* mit *(ǀkχa)* dem Beil. Als *(o)* aber nur noch ein einziger *(ǂgui/guib)* Ast übrig war *(ǀgau)*, winkte *(ǂgui rufen)* er den beiden Hunden mit dem Schweißfeger *(ǀnabes-s. Hautpflege S. 211)*, und die Hunde kamen herzu und fingen *(*/kχō)* sie.

Da entfloh der Mann, und als er in seine Werft *(ǂgaūs)* kam *(sī)*, schlachtete er drei *(ǀnona)* Kühe *(gomate)*. Als aber die Hunde daran gingen, an *(doba)* der dritten *(ǀnona ǂ(e)ĭs)* Kuh zu fressen *(ō)*, schlug er sie tot*) *(ǂnoaǀan)*.

IV.

ǂAi/gāmūχan tsī naman tsīn.

ǂAi/gāmūχab ǂgaūs ai i gye kχoīn χa gye ǀkχīhe. tsī gye ǂai/gāmūχasa gye ǂābahe tsīn gye ǂgaihe nī ǂaēba gye ǂoa o ǂ(e)īn di ǂgana gye ǂ tsīn ǂgaihe gye o ǂ(e)īn di ǂgan ǀkχa gye sī. tsīn gye gye horabahe on gye ǂ(e)īn di ǂgana gye ǂū tsī ǂai/gāmūχas ǂgana ǂnamti ǀna gye ǂ. tsīn gye gye ǀoreti ǂkχai ǂnā tsī gye ǂaru.

Oī gye nau ǂgoas gye ǂgoa o baiba gye ǀkχōhe tsī āb ǀna gye ǂkχōhe. gūba ǂkχō toahe tsī ariba gye ǀgai maīhe tsīn gye ǀgūnghe. on gye nau kχoīna gūba gye kχao ǂui, ob gye ariba ǀhaūba ǂgai ǀgao tsī gye ǀkχoĕ tsī: „ǀgom/noroba ǂū----he!" ogu gye ǂai/gāmūχaga gye oa gōagu ǀkχa. ogu gye naugu kχoĕga ǀabuti gye ǂ. ogu gye gye ǀao tsī gye oa.

Übersetzung von IV.

Die Aigamucha-Leute und die Hottentotten.

Zu *(ai)* Aigamuchab's Werft *(ǂgaūs)* waren Menschen *(kχoīn)* gekommen *(ǀkχī)*, und *(tsī)* ein Aigamucha-Mädchen *(-sa, Pers. suff. fem. sing.)* wurde ihnen zu Ehren *(-ba, Verb. part., die Beziehung hier zum indir. Obj. betonend)* geschlachtet *(tāhe)*. Als *(o)* aber die Zeit *(ǂaēba)*, da sie [zum Essen] gerufen werden *(ǂgaihe)* sollten, erfüllt

*) Denn er fürchtete sich vor der Blutgier der Hunde, nachdem sie Menschenfleisch (das der anthropomorph vorgestellten Menschenfresserin) gekostet hatten.

(ǂoa) war, nehmen *(ǁī)* sie ihr [selbst mitgebrachtes] eigenes*) *(ǁ(e)ī, Stamm d. pron. pers., -n Pers. suff. d. 3. pers. plur. comm., di Genitivpartikel)* Fleisch *(ǁgana)*, und als sie gerufen wurden, gehen *(sī)* sie mit *(ǃkχa)* ihrem eigenen Fleisch dorthin. Als ihnen (*durch die objektivische Verb. part. -ba ausgedrückt*) nun ausgeschöpft *(hora-he)* worden war, aßen *(ǂū)* sie auch *(tsī)* ihr eigenes Fleisch und steckten *(ǁī)* das Fleisch vom Aigamucha-Mädchen in *(ǃna)* die Decken *(ǂnamti)*. Dann gaben sie die Schüsseln *(ǃoreti)* ab *(ǁkχai wenden, kehren. ǁnā lassen)* und kehren heim *(ǁaru)*.

Und als der andere *(nau = ǂnī)* Morgen *(ǁgoas)* anbrach *(ǁgʊa)*, wird [von Aigamuchab] ein Widder *(baiba)* gefangen *(*ǃkχōhe)* und in ein Loch *(āb)* eingegraben**) *(ǁkχōhe)*. Nachdem *(tsī, Verb. part. d. particip. praeter.)* das Schaf *(gūba)* nun fertig *(toa aufhören)* eingegraben war, wird ein Hund *(ariba)* festgemacht (*Doppelverb.: ǂgai binden, maī hinstellen*), und dann gehen sie fort *(ǂgūng mit Passivwendung)*. Die anderen (die Menschen) jedoch gruben *(kχao)* das Schaf aus *(ǂui)*. Da zerreißt (*Doppelverb.: ǂgai ziehen, ǂgao schneiden*) der Hund den Riemen *(ǂhaūba)* und enteilt *(ǃkχoĕ)* und [heult]: „Der *(-ba, volles Pers. suff. d. 3. pers. sing. masc.)* mit dem buschhaarigen *(ǂgom)* Hinterkopf *(ǃnoros)* wird genommen!“ *(ǁū----he, lang ausgezogen, das Heulen des Hundes nachahmend)*. Da kamen die Aigamucha-Männer *(-gu = ga, masc. plur.)* wieder *(oa, verb.)* mit *(ǃkχa)* Assagai's *(gōagu)*. Die anderen aber ergreifen die Gewehre *(ǃabuti)*. Da fürchteten *(ǃao)* jene sich und kehren um *(oa)*.

V.

Ariba gye ǁguibahe kχoĕsa.

Kχoĕs χa i gye ǂgōaba gye orahe oti gye tarate kχoĕsa ǂaĭba toma hā tsī ǂgōaba go ǁ tsī ǁgami am ǂgā sī go ǁgui tsī kχoĕsa ariba go ǁguiba. tsīs gye ǂaiǂgāmūχasa go hō bi tsī go ǁ bi tsī go ǁaru sī ǁ bi. tsīb gye ǁ(e)is ǃkχab hā hīa go gai.

Tsīb gye ǂgūngs go o būrgu ǁgaūs ǁga go ǂgūng tsī go ǂabe ōa. ob gye būrgu χa ǁgami tsī ǃkχĕnab tsī ǃhumi tsīna go māhe tsī ǂgam hākχa tsīna. tsīb gye go ǂgabi. tsīs gye ǂui a go ǃkχī tsī hā go ǂgai bi o i gye a

*) Weil sie der Gastfreundschaft nicht trauen.

**) Als Köder für die Menschen, die der Menschenfresser fangen will.

ǀnōsa. os gye ǂaib ai go mā tsī sī go sao ǁare bi tsī go ǂgai bi: „kafferki ti ōa!" ob gye: „mama!" tumi go oĕ tsī ǁgama go ǁnā χu. tsīs gye go tsā tsīs gye go tsā ǂoa, bĕb hā hīa, tsī go ǁkχaba sī sao ǁare bi tsī go: „kafferki ti ōa!" tumi go ǂgai bi ob gye: „mama!" tumi go oĕ tsī ǀhuma go ǁnā χu. tsī ǁnā ǀhumi ais mā hīa go bĕ. tsīs gye ǁkχaba sī go sao ǁare bi ǁgaūsab ta ǀgū hīa tsīs gye: „kafferki ti ōa!" tumi go ǂgai ob gye: „mama!" tumi go oĕ tsī ǁkχēnaba go χū. tsī ǁnābas ta mā ǀoras(e)n hīa go bĕ tsī go ǁgaūs doba sī.

Tsīgu gye ǁnā ǁnaĕb ai kχoĕga go ǀgūng tsī hā go ǁgoĕam si daob am ǀna. tsīs go ǁkχī tsīgu gye go ǂnoa ǀan si.

Übersetzung von V.

Die Frau, der ein Hund untergeschoben wird.

Ein Weib *(kχoĕs)* gebar *(ora, i. pass. narrat.)* einen Sohn *(ǀgŏaba)*, aber die Frauen *(tarate)* gönnten *(*ǂaĭba)* [ihn] dem Weibe nicht *(ǂoma)* und nahmen *(ū)* den Sohn, gingen hin *(sī)* und legten *(ǁgui)* [ihn] an das Wasserufer *(längs am ǀgā, des Wassers ǁgami)*, dem Weib aber legten sie einen Hund *(ariba)* hin *(-ba, objectivir. Verb. part.)*. Da fand *(hŏ)* den [Ausgesetzten] *(bi ihn)* eine Aigamucha-Frau und nahm ihn und kommt *(sī)* mit*) ihm nach Haus *(ǁaru, verb.)*. Und in der Zeit, da *(hīa)* er bei *(ǁkχa)* ihr *(ǁe(ī)s, pron. pers.)* bleibt *(hā)*, wird er groß *(gai)*.

Da, als *(o)* sie [eines Tages] fortgegangen *(ǀgūng)* war, ging er nach *(ǁga)* einem Burenplatz *(ǁgaūs Werft)* und sucht *(ōa)* Rat**) *(ǂabe)*. Da wurden ihm von *(χa)* den Buren Wasser und Chena-Dornen***) und ein Bergstein *(ǀhumi)*, alles das *(tsī und, -na Pers. suff. comm. plur.)* gegeben und auch zwei *(ǀgam)* Pferde *(hākχa, dxal. masc.)*. Dann ritt *(ǀgabi)* er fort. Und gegen Abend *(ǂui a)* kommt *(ǁkχī)* sie und als sie hergekommen *(hā go, abgekürzte Particip-constr.)*, ihn ruft *(ǂgai)*, ist *(i gye a)* es still *(ǀnōsa)*. Da verfolgte sie die Spur *(stand mā, auf ai, dem Fuß ǂai scilic. des Fliehenden)* und war daran *(sī kommen)* ihn einzuholen *(sao hinterhergehen, ǁare zusammenkommen)* und rief ihn: „Kafferchen *(kafferki, dem Kapholländ. ent-*

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*) Die verbale Verwandtschaft gewisser Post- resp. Präpositionen zeigt sich deutlich hier, wo das Wort ǁ als Präposition verwandt wird und nur eine copula braucht, um Verbum zu sein.

**) Wie er sich von seiner Pflegemutter befreien könnte.

***) Die kleinen stacheligen Früchte von *Tribulus terrester L. (Zygophylleae)*.

nommen), mein *(ti)* Kind *(ōa)*!" Darauf antwortete *(oē)* er: „Mama!" und ließ das Wasser ausfließen *(ũnā und χū preisgeben)*. [— Das Wasser wird zum See. —] Da schwamm *(tsā)* sie und schwamm durch *(ǂoa herausgehen)*, während *(hīa)* er *(-b)* davoneilte *(bē)*, und wieder *(ǂkχaba)* war sie daran ihn einzuholen und rief ihn: „Kafferchen, mein Kind!" Und er antwortete: „Mama!" und ließ den Stein *(ǂhuma, euph. für -mi)* fallen. [— Der Stein wird zum Berg. —] Und während sie da *(ũnā)* auf *(ai, mit d. Pers. suff. d. Subj.)* dem Berg steht, eilte er weg. Dann war sie wieder daran ihn einzuholen, während er *(-b, in ũgaũsab)* der Werft [der Menschen] sich nähert *(ǂgũ, ta = ra)*. Und sie rief ihn: „Kafferchen, mein Kind!" und er antwortete: „Mama!" und ließ die Chena-Dornen fallen. Und während sie *(-s, hinter ũnãba dort)* dort steht, die Dornen sich *(-s(e)n, Reflex.-part.)* auszuziehen *(ǂora)*, eilte er fort und kam zur Werft.

Da gingen die Männer *(durch d. Pers. suff. masc. plur. -gu ausgedrückt)* sogleich *(zur ai, Zeit ũaēb, da ũnã)* los und kommen herzu *(hã, verb.)*, zur Seite *(am ǂna)* des Weges *(daob)* ihr *(si, Suff.)* aufzulauern *(ũgoē am)*. Da kam sie und sie schossen *(ǂnoa ǂan)* sie tot.

VI.

ǂAiǂgãmũχab tsĭ ǂgĭrib tsĭkχa.

ǂAiǂgãmũχab tsĭ ǂgĭrib tsĭkχa χa i gye gye ǂgũng ǂhao ũgaũs ũga tsĭkχa gye go ũom ũaigu tsĭ nau tsē go sĭ.

Okχã gye go ǂgoaē ãramãhe tsĭ go ǂũbahe tsĭkχã gye go horabahe ǂgui ǂores ǂna. ob gye ǂgĭriba gauē ra ǂgao tsĭ ǂkχuni ǂna ai ra ǂnũi. ob gye ra ǂgao ǂaiǂgãmũχaba. tsĭb gye ǂgĭriba ra gõ ais ai χabeb gye mũē mũ toma hã. tsĭ ǂkχaba ǂgao tsĭ ǂkχuni ǂna ai go ǂnũi. ob gye go ǂgao ǂaiǂgãmũχaba. ob gye gõ ais ai χabeb gye mũē mũ toma hã.

Tsĭb gye ũũ toakχa go o ǂhũb ai haiēb ni ũ tsĭ ǂkχoran ũgũn ga go gõ ǂhũb ai. ob gye go mũ mũte tsĭ: „ǂhãba tetse!" ti mĭ. tsĭ ǂhãbaheb go o tabogaba mũti ãb ai tsoro tsĭ go ǂkχoē-nĭ.

Übersetzung von VI.

Aigamuchab und der Schakal.

Aigamuchab und der Schakal, die beiden *(-kχa, Suff.)* gingen *(ǂgũng)* nach *(ũga)* einer fremden *(ǂhao)* Werft *(ũgaũs)* und mittelwegs

(naigu) schliefen *(nom)* sie und kamen *(sī)* am anderen *(*nau)* Tage *(tsē)* hin.

Da wurde den beiden *(-kχā, Suff. i. Dat.-Acc.)* ein Stück Vieh *(ǂgoaē, comm. sing.)* geschlachtet (*doppelt ausgedrückt: tā schärfen, -ra Part. d. fortschr. Handlg., mā geben; und: tā schlachten, -ba objectivir. Part., he Pass.-Edg.*) und in *(ǂna)* eine einzige *(ǂgui)* Schüssel *(ǂores)* wurde ihnen ausgeteilt *(hora)*. Der Schakal aber schneidet *(ǂgao)* Fett *(gauē, comm. sing.)* ab und legt *(ǂnūi setzen)* es umgekehrt *(ǂkχuni ǂna ai)* hin*). Aber [gerade von diesen Stücken] schneidet [sich] Aigamuchab ab. Da betrachtet *(gō)* ihn der Schakal im *(ai)* Gesicht *(ais)*, sieht *(mā)* aber *(χabe)* kein *(toma nicht)* Auge *(mūē, comm. sing.)*. Und wieder *(ākχaba)* schneidet er [Fett] ab und legt es umgekehrt hin, aber [gerade von diesen Stücken] schneidet [sich] Aigamuchab ab. Da sieht ihm der Schakal ins Gesicht und kann doch kein Auge sehen.

Als *(o)* dann die beiden fertig *(toa aufhören, mit d. Pers. Suff. d. Subj.)* gespeist *(tā)* hatten, suchte *(gō sah zu, daß er nehmen ū, sollte nī)* der Schakal (*Suff. -b, hinter hālē Holz, comm. sing.*) auf dem Boden *(ǂhūb)* ein Stückchen Holz zum *(ga daß)* Zahnstochern *(ākχora etw. weil d. Hand unerreichbares fassen, -n abgekürzt aus -s(e)n Reflexivpart., ūgūn Zähne, comm. plur.)*. Da sah er die Augen und sagte: „Stopfe *(hā, -ba objectiv. Part.)* du *(-tse, Suff.)* mir *(te, Suff.)* [eine Pfeife]!" Und als ihm die Pfeife gestopft worden war, streute *(tsoro)* er Tabak in jenes *(ā, Wurzel d. pron. possess., -b, Pers. Suff. d. Besitzers)* Augen und entfloh.

VII.

Hai-uri ǂna gye ǂgame ǂgōas.

ǂGōas χa i gye hai-uri ǂhaos ǂna gye ǂgameha tsī gye nūha tsīra gye go sī kχoēb ūgaūs ai. tsīs tsēti hā tsīti gye go ūgama ǂgui tsē: oti gye haiti ra uri tsīti gye si go χuri. tsīti gye oati go χuri toatsī o ra uri ǂgoaχa ākχaba tsīti gye go uri hā oti gye kχoēba go mība: „se taras gye oatsa ǂgum hāse s(e)is ǂama tsī sō" ti go mī.

Tsīb gye go ākχō si tsī ǂhai ākχōkχa āsa oē oui tsī ǂnaī kχōra tsī ākχūnab tsīna go mā si. tsīs gye ǂgōas āsa kχōra go ǂoni tsīs gye s(e)ha

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*) Die Fleischstücke nach einem, damit sie sein Genosse nicht als Fett (sowie ein Leckerbissen) verbrauchen und so ihm denkbarerweise wenig lassen sollen.

ǂkχẽnaba go tani. tsīra gye go ǂgũng. tsī go ǂgũng soreǂgã. tsīra gye go sī tsīs go ǂom. ǂgoasa ǂgoa o ra gye mũ ǂgoaχa χama tsīra gye ǂnaĩ kχ!sa go ǂnãχu tsī go ǂgũng. tsīb gye χama ò toa go o go ǂgõa ǂgon ǂkχaba tsīra gye go mũ ǂgoaχa bi tsī ǂgui kχũsa ǂkχaba go ǂnãχu tsī go ǂgũng. tsīra gye go bẽ ob gye ǂkχaba ò toatsī ǂgoaχa. ora gye go mũ ǂgoaχa bi ǂkχaba tsī ǂkχẽnaba go ǂnãχu tsī go ǂgũng. tsī ǂnãbab mã ra ǂoras(e)n hĩa ǂuib doba gye sī tsī: „ti ǂnaoχan ǂuitse, gai ǂgũs ǂgoaχa ǂgũ te, χuigye ǂnamǂnamχa ãba te re!" ti gye mī. ob gye ǂuiba-gye ǂkχoba ams(e)n tsīra gye gye ǂ. tsīb gye kχaos ai gye ǂkχǂ tsī: „ti naoχan ǂuitse, gai ǂgũs ǂgoaχa ǂgũ te, χuigye ǂnamǂnamχa ãba te re!" ti gye mī. ob gye ǂuiba ǂkχarirose ǂgui gye ǂkχoba ams(e)n tsī ǂaos ǂkχa i nī ǂgui ti gõ tumis ai gye ǂgan ams(e)n. tsīs gye tanas ãba ǂgũri gye ǂai tsīb gye ǂnãba gye toã.

Tsīs gye kχoẽsa gye ǂaru sī tsī tsaũba gye ǂãbahe tsī ǂhai ǂkχõkχa gye ǂgãhe ǂkχaba. tsīs gye gye ǂnũ tsīs gye ǂurus gye o tsaũn ǂga gye ǂkχoẽ gaihe. os gye ǂgui ǂnũb ǂna gye tson os gye ǂkχaba gye ǂnũ gaihe tsīs gye gye ǂnũ. tsī ǂkχaba gye ǂkχoẽ gaihe. os gye tson toma gye i tsī gye ǂgau.

Übersetzung von VII.

Das Mädchen, das in die Busch-Springer heiratet.

Ein Mädchen *(ǂgõas Tochter)* hatte in *(ǂna)* das Volk *(ǂhaos)* der Busch- *(hai)* Springer*) *(uri, verb.)* geheiratet *(ǂgame, i. pass. narr.)* und zog fort *(ǂã Übersiedeln d. Mädchens aus dem Elternhaus i. d. Wohnort des Mannes);* und die beiden *(-ra, Suff. d. 3. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)* kamen *(sī)* zur *(ai)* Werft *(ǂgaĩs)* des Mannes *(kχoĩb).*

Und als *(tsī in hãtsĩti, Participialconstr.)* sie *(-s in tsīs)* einige Tage *(tsẽĩ)* [dort] ist *(hã bleiben),* holten die Buschspringer-Frauen *(angedeutet durch -ti in hãtsĩti)* Wasser *(ǂgama, verb.)* eines Tages *(ǂgui tsẽ):* Da sprangen sie [über] die Büsche und kamen zu schöpfen *(ǂuri).* Dann, als *(o)* sie fertig *(toa aufhören)* geschöpft hatten *(tsĩ, Part. d. partic. praeteriti)* und umkehrten *(oa),* springen sie wieder *(ǂkχaba)* heran *(ǂgoaχa, verb.)* und kommen *(hã)* hergesprungen und sagen *(mĩ, mit objectivir. part. -ba)* dem Manne: „Um deiner *(tsa, Stamm d. pron. person. 2. pers., unter Weglassung der Genitivpartikel di als pron. possess. gebraucht)* Frau *(ǂaras)* willen, mit der du *(sãtsa, volle Form d. pron.*

*) Ein Volk von Sagenwesen, die nicht zwischen den Büschen gehen, sondern in hohen Sprüngen mühelos über sie hinwegsetzen.

pers. 2. pers. masc.) verheiratet bist, um *(ǀama)* ihretwillen *(ū(e)ts, prou. pers. 3. pers. sing. fem.)* wirst du *(-ts, Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc., nī verb. part. d. fut., beide zu tsī verschmolzen)* noch umkommen!"*) *(ūb)*. So sagten sie.

Da fing *(ǂkχō)* er sie *(si)* und ihre *(ū, Wurzel d. pron. possess. wird mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers zum vollen pronom. possess.)* beiden *(-kχa, Suff. dual. masc.)* Unterschenkelknochen *(ǀhai sich eilen, ǂkχōb Knochen)* schlachtete *(sū)* er aus *(tui)* und zwei Giraffen- *(ǀnaīb)* Felle *(kχūra, dual. fem.)* und Chena-Dornen (*collectivisch m. d. Suff. d. masc. sing.*), all die Sachen *(tsī und, -na Suff. comm. plur.)* gab *(mā)* er ihr. Dann trug *(tani)* ihre Tochter die beiden Felle und sie trug die Dornen. Und sie gingen und gingen bis Sonnenuntergang *(soresgū)*. Dann machten sie Halt *(tsī kinkommen)* und schliefen *(som)*. Als der Morgen *(ǂgoasa)* anbricht *(ǂgoa)* sehen sie einen Löwen *(χama)* herankommen *(ǀgoaχa)*. Da ließen *(ūnā)* sie ein Giraffenfell fallen *(χu liegen lassen)* und gingen. Und als [es] der Löwe fertig gefressen *(ō)* hatte, setzte er [ihnen] wieder nach *(ǀgōa ǀgūng)*. Und sie sahen ihn *(-bi Suff.)* ankommen und ließen wieder ein Giraffenfell fallen und gingen. Dann liefen sie fort, aber als er [es] fertig verschlungen hatte *(tsī, part. d. particip. praeter.)*, kam er heran. Sie aber sahen ihn wieder ankommen und ließen die Chena-Dornen fallen und gingen. Und während *(hīa)* er dort *(ūnāba, mit Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* steht *(mā)*, die Dornen sich auszuziehen *(ǀora, mit reflexiv. part. s(e)n)*, kommen sie zu einem Fels *(ǂuib)* und sagen: „Du *(-tse)* Stein *(ǂui-)* meiner *(ti)* Ahnen *(ǂnoaχan)*, eine große *(gai)* Rotte *(ǂgūs)* ist hinter mir *(ǂgū te)* im Anmarsch *(ǀgoaχa)*, darum *(χuigye)* öffne *(ǂū)* mir *(te, -ba)* deine Flanken *(?)* doch!" *(re)*. Da öffnete sich *(ǂkχoba ams(e)n)* der Fels und sie gingen *(ī)* [hindurch]. Dann kam der Löwe hintennach *(kχaos ai)* und sagte: „Du Stein meiner Ahnen, eine große Rotte ist hinter mir im Anmarsch, darum öffne mir doch deine Flanken!"

Da öffnete sich der Fels nur *(ǂgui einzig)* ein ganz klein wenig *(ǂkχari klein, -ro Diminutiv-, -si Adverbialendung)* und sobald *(°ǂnuin ai)* [der Löwe] mit *(ǂkχa)* dem Nacken *(ǀaos)* eben hereintritt *(wörtl.:*

*) Weil sie nicht springen kann und es, als sie für gebärig, im Falle einer Verfolgung leicht stranchelnd wäre.

nî im Begriff ist, °igui ti gô wie eins zu sehen, d. h. in gleicher Flucht zu sein scil. mit der Felsöffnung), schließt er sich *(igan ama(e)n)*. Da hüpfte *(jai)* sein *(ûba)* Kopf *(tanas)* allein *(iguri)* und dort verendete er.

Und die Frau kam nach Haus *(saru, verb.)*. Da wurde ihr *(durch d. objectivir. Part. -ba ausgedr.)* ein Kalb *(tsaûba)* geschlachtet *(sâ)* und [dessen] beide Unterschenkelknochen [ihr] eingesetzt *(igû)*. Dann setzte *(snâ)* sie sich [ruhig] hin und als sie geheilt *(saru)* war, wurde sie zu *(iga)* den Kälbern laufen *(ikxoê)* gelassen *(gai)*. Da aber brach *(°tson)* sie in einem Bein *(insê)* zusammen. Da ließ man sie wieder ruhig sitzen und sie setzte sich. Darauf wurde sie wieder laufen gelassen. Da brach sie nicht zusammen und war gesund *(igau)*.

VIII.

!Garore gye igôati.

!Gôati ça i gye gye igaran iga igûnghe tsîti gye go si tsi go hare. oti gye nauti hoate ikxuru igaroba hare hâ os gye igui igôosa igui igaroba hare hâ. oti gye jui go o go saru oti gye soris ta igû ǂhia: „hâse tsâ tsâ igaragu o" ti go mi, oti gye go tsâ tsâ igaragu. on gye hoati di igaraga o ikxuru. oti gye snâ ikxon igarosa ô hîsa: „sa igarab gye igui tomaba, çuigye oa ês hare si sise goro hareba!" ti go mi.

Os gye go oa tsi si go hare. on gye çausa go çaubahe tsîs gye hâs gye o hâti gye ! hau go hâ o go igui. oi gye çausa go oê: „Nî!" tsumi gye oê. on gye gaba kxoêê mâ toma hâ tsîs gye go igûng !. tsî ǂhas ta enba çuri hîa go si tsî: „ikxôba te!" ti go mi. os gye ǂhasa: „ti enaob tsî tita tsîm iguim igubis" ti go mi." os gye go ô ǂhana si igubisa tsî go ô.

Os gye ǂhasa go ikxoê gui igôb aga tsî: „ti enaob, tita go mâ çûî ta ga mîba tsî o aguam igoab tsî aguam igôs tsîba garoba te tsî?" ti go mi. oê gye: „garoba si ta si" ti go mi. os gye: „·ti enaob tsî tita tsîm iguim igubis· tita ra mî hîata gye igubisa go ô ǂhanaba" ti go mi. oê gye go ikxoê tsî hâ go sao sare si. tsîba go haiba ikxoê ǂhama. oê gye gui igôba go snâ os gye go snâ oi hi oê gye: „kxui oi te re!" ti go mi. os gye go kxui oi hi tsîba gye ekxuba go ikxoê ǂhama. os gye go snâ kxuba oê gye go snâ oi si os gye: „kxui oi"te re!" ti go mi. oê gye: „kxui oigaba igua

tomas" ti go mi tsi go ŋgom si. tsib gye kxôba go shau ma tsib kxôb ma go ŋgâ tsi kxoâsa go-ô tsi ô toa tsi go ŋgûng.

Tsi go si kxoâs ŋgûâs ai tsi saoheti gomati ra hâa go si. tsi mailhe ra dait hoeî ra ô ŋkxabe. on gye kxoâsa: „kxa hugu ti ô toma kxoâs gomas" ti go mi. tsib gye nom saiba go hâ on gye ekxam ŋgûarosa, ŋgoâb go o, mâba ŋgûse ŋ(e)îb doba go ŋgoî. ob gye ŋgûaros di saoisa ra tsâ. os gye ŋgûarosa ŋîab âhe ra shâ hî on gye kxa go kxoî. mâ tsi ŋgûs doba go ŋî: „tsarî ǂoma ausi tomas gum ntsa o?" ti go mi. on gye ŋgûsa: „ǂari ta si mâ, kîgye nâba ŋgoî" ti go mi.

Tsi gye soris go shai ŋgabi ŋgoasi tombe ŋgoî. on gye kxoâsa shai ŋkxô tsi go gô ob gye ǂom. on gye saisa go ŋgaba ŋgâ hi tsi go ŋkxô shabi. oi gye kxoâs di ŋgoasa go uri soe on gye go ô si tsi ahas ǂna go ŋgâ si tsi ekxam ekxao gomas daiba go sai. os gye go ekxaba sna kxoâsa go ŋîtsabi.

Übersetzung von VIII.

Die Mädchen, die in die Garabeeren gingen.

Mädchen gingen *(ŋgûng, 3. pass. narr.)* nach *(ŋga)* Garabeeren *(comm. plur.)*, und sie kamen *(ti)* hin und pflückten *(hare)*. Doch alle *(hoaîs = -ti)* anderen *(°saoti)* pflückten saure *(ekxara)* Beeren *(-hâ, collectivischer Suff. masc. sing.)* und nur eines *(ŋgoî)* der Mädchen pflückte gute *(ŋgoî)* Beeren. Und als *(o)* es Abend wurde *(mî)*, gingen sie heim und während *(hâa)* die Sonne *(sares)* untergeht *(ŋgâ, lit hinter ? ausgeh. für ris)*, sagen sie: „Laßt *(hî)* uns *(-si, Suff. 1. pers. plur. fem. im Dat.-Acc.)* doch *(o)* die Beeren kosten" *(hâ tsâ)*, und kosteten die Beeren. Und aller *(di, Genitivpart.)* Beeren sind *(ŋa Praesenspart.)* sauer. Da sagen sie zu der *(-sa, Pers. suff. im Akk.)*, die da *(mâ)* süße *(ekxam)* Beeren hatte *(ŋ nehmen, hâ, Part., einen Zustand ausdr.)*: „Deine *(ta, Stamm der pron. pers. 2. pers., unter Weglassung der Genitivpartikel di als pron. possess. gebraucht)* Beeren sind nicht gut, darum *(gnigye)* kehr um *(oa)* und *(ŋ, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* geh *(ti)* pflücken, wo *(-ha im harotha)* wir *(tsîs, pron. pers. 1. pers. fem. plur. exclusiv)* gepflückt haben!"

Da kehrte sie um und ging pflücken. Und Kot *(gumma)* war für *(-ha, objectiver Verh. part.)* sie geschissen worden[*], und als

[*] Um für den Zwischenkiefer zu schützen.

sie*) herzukam (hā), wo jene stehen geblieben waren (ī gehen, hā hinüber), rief (ŋui) sie. Da antwortete (aē) der Kot: „Hier!“ (°ha, allgemeine Antwort eines Angerufenen); so (ham) antwortet er, aber sie sieht (mā) bei alledem (ǂabe) Niemand (ǂkoē Mensch, sing. comm., tama nicht) und geht vorbei (ŋūŋ ī). Da kam sie hin, wo (adverb.: während hin) der Hase (ǂhm) saß (°mba) um Wasser zu schöpfen (ǂuri), und sagte: „Schöpfe (ǂkā) mir!“ (ha, verstärkt durch d. objectivir. -ha). Darauf der Hase: „Meines (hi) Großvaters (maob) und mein eigener (hīa, pron. pers., ich. Das Genitivverhältnis wird hier durch schlichte Anfügung des Besitzes an den Besitzer ausgedrückt), einzig (ŋui, mit dem Suff. d. 3. pers. dual. masc.-fem. -ŋ) unser beider (hī und, mit dem genannten Suff.) Schildkrötenbecher (ŋuhi der Rückenschild der Schildkröte) [ist das]“, so sagte er Da entriß (ā nehmen, ihama rauben) sie ihm (-si, Suff. fem., auf ihn bez.) den Becher und trank (ā).

Der Hase aber eilte (ǂkoē) zum Löwen**) und sagte: „Mein Großvater, wenn (a) ich (-ha, Suff.) dir (-ti, Suff. 2. pers. masc. sing. i. Dat.-Acc.) wohl (ga, Concessivpart.) melde (mība), was (ǂhī) ich (hīa pron. pers.) gesehen habe, wirst du (-ti Suff. 2. pers. masc. sing., al Verb. part. d. fut., beides kontrahiert zu ti) mir (-ti Suff.) einen Vorschurz (ŋum ŋuiti) und einen Hinterschurz (ŋum ŋūi), die beiden, anfertigen?“ (ŋuru, mit obj. Part. -hu). Darauf sagte jener: „Ich werde [sie] dir anfertigen.“ Darauf [der Hase]: „Während ich sage, daß der Schildkrötenbecher der meines Großvaters und mein eigener, einzig der von uns beiden ist, ist [mir] der Becher entrissen worden.“ Da eilte [der Löwe] fort und holte das Mädchen (durch d. Pers.-Suff. -si ausgedr.) ein (hā kommen, nun hinübergehen, nun zusammenkommen). Und die beiden jagten sich im Kreis (ǂkoē und ihama) um einen Baum (ǂuiŋ). Da fiel (ǂnā) der Löwe und sie warf sich (adverb.: setzte sich auf) auf (ai) ihn (-hi, Suff.). Er aber rief: „Steh (ǂkui) mir auf, bitte!“ (-ro). Und sie stand ihm auf, und wieder jagten sich die beiden im Kreis. Da fiel das Mädchen (ǂkoēsa Mensch, fem.) und er warf sich auf sie. Sie aber rief: „Steh mir auf, bitte!“ Doch er sagte: „Kein Tag heute (ŋuna der Morgen) zum gegenseitig (-ga Reciprocal-, -he Adverbial-Part.) sich zu Liebe Auf-

*) Durch das vorhin. Pron.-Suff. -a in hā und hā eingeklammert. Das -a in ham (= ma) stammt aus hāhi = ma und entspricht der Wiederholung des Prädikats im Vordersatz.

**) „Kuib-Rücken“, gui ǂgūi, ander Sagenname der Tiere.

stehen!" und tötete sie. Dann zog er [ihr] die Haut *(kχôba)* ab *(thau ena)*, kroch *(tgû hineingehen)* in *(ina)* die Haut hinein und fraß *(ô)* das Mädchen und fraß fertig *(toa aufhören)* und ging.

Und er kam zur Werft *(tgaûs)* des Mädchens, zur Zeit als *(hâa)* die Kühe *(gomati)* gemolken *(tao)* wurden *(Passivendung he mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, kam er hin. Und alle Milch *(daû, comm. sing.)*, die hingestellt *(mai)* wurde, trinkt er aus *(tkχabe)*. Da sagen die Leute: „Ei *(kχa)*, nie *(huga von jeher, toma nicht)* trinkt doch *(gomo)* das Mädchen so!" *(ti)*. Dann kam die Schlafen- *(nom)* Zeit *(taiba, nicht taiba wie auf S. 407)*. Und als *(ô)* er *(-b hinter tgû sich legen)* sich hinlegte, legte sich das jüngere Schwesterchen (*wörtl.: das junge tkχam, Töchterchen tgôaros*) dort *(anâba)* nahe *(tgûse, adv.)* zu *(doba)* ihm *ti(e)b, pron. pers.)* hin. Da tastet *(tsâ)* er nach dem Nabel *(tsuntsa)* der Kleinen [um hier die Kralle tödlich einzustechen], aber die Kleine stößt *(shâ)* seinen *(ã Wurzel des pron. poss., -ba Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers)* Arm *(tôab)* fort *(bê)* und nachher *(tχga)* steht sie auf *(kχûi mâ)* und fragt *(ti)* bei der Mutter *(tgûs)* an: „Warum *(tarî tama)* ist denn *(gum - - - o)* diese nicht meine Schwester?" *(°ausi, Pers.-Suff. an die Negat.-Part. angehängt; s. übr. z. S. 301)*, so fragte sie. Darauf die Mutter: „Morgen *(tsri)* werde ich nachsehen, aber *(°hũ gye)* lege dich hierhin *(nîba)* [zu mir]."

Und die Sonne stieg hoch *(tgabi)* auf *(thai aufgehen)*, dann *(tgoasi)* lag er aber noch im Schlaf *(passivisch ausgedr.)*. Da entblößten *(thui aufdecken, tkχûb Leib)* [ihn] die Menschen, und als *(o mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. s. Nachsatz)* sie hinsahen *(gû)*, ist es ein Löwe. Da häuften *(tgubo)* sie Feuerholz *(taêna, comm. plur., nicht taina)* auf *(°tgû)* ihn und steckten [es] in Brand *(tkχû und thubi)*. Und das Herz *(tgoasa)* des [getöteten] Mädchens sprang *(uri)* hoch heraus *(noa)*. Da nahmen sie es und setzten *(tgû)* es in eine Kalabas *(obas)*. Dann gossen *(tai)* sie die Milch einer Jung-Mutterkuh*) hinein. Da wurde sie wieder jenes *(tnî, pron. dem.)* Mädchen, wurde lebendig *(tîtsaba)*.

IX.

ǂGôoagu ǂa gye re thaobe ǂgôas.

Axoagu ǂa ǂ gye ǂgôasa ǂhaûgu tkχa gye re thaobe. os gye gye ǂgûng bê tsî ŋgurus ǂna sî gye ŋgû tsî ǂaôsa gye ǂgû dî. tsîgu gye axoagu

*) *tkχaub* Schafkamm, nicht Kalb oder Zicklein, aber mit nachfolgendem Beiwort (Kuh, Ziege) zur Bezeichnung jedes Mutterviehes verwandt, solange das Junge kennlos ist.

hoa tsîti tsu tgurus tgue tsî mûhe hâ ru enau mai ǂabegu gye ra kyoî! ruûhe tgana hî ǂkyaî.

Oh gye tgui ayobe ngûs di damas ǂoh ǂkya go ǂâi tsîb gye hûkya go tgurus tgue go tgoê. tsî tgoan go tgûng o damarobe go ǂkyai tgûng gui. tsîb gye tûgu ǂkyai tsîb ou tgoaya hîa gye tai tama tsîb gye hûb go: „hoekyoêtse, si tgurasa ya ra ona tsaet mûtsû?" îi go mî. oh gye go gê oh gye: „shamitsa?" îi go mî. oh gye damarobe: „aná ra ona tsaet" îi go mî. oh gye: „shamitsa, tâse ta si enau tsî?" okya gye enau tgoaya ǂkyobe go ǂkyî. okya gye go mâ tama tsî go si tsî: „âse ta si shâ tgûe hain gye, ǂkyobe am!" îi go mî. ora gye go ǂkyobe am tsîkya gye go ngâ. tsîb gye nuabe kyoêsa gye tgume.

Tsîs gye gye tgûng tsî ǂhomi ǂoêsa gye si o ǂnâs tgu: „ǂkyî ǂîs ǂ ǂabe sî!" îi gye mî. tsî gye ǂ ǂabe si ǂnîb ai tsîs gye gye tgûng yu si. tsîs gye ǂnâs ǂnîb ai hâse.

Übersetzung von IX.

Das Mädchen, das von den Brüdern immer mit der Schlinge gefangen wurde.

Von *(ya)* den Knaben *(ǂyaqa)* wurde die Schwester *(tgûsa)* immer mit *(ǂkya)* Riemen *(ǂnâǂya)* am Bein eingefangen *(shoa, die Partikeln gye und re zeigen eine Gewohnheit u. zugleich die Vergangenheit an)*. Da lief sie weg *(Doppelverb.: tgûng und hî)* und in *(na)* einen Kokerbaum *(tgurus, Aloë dichotoma L., s. S. 112)* ging sie hinein *(ngâ ova)* und machte *(îî)* den Klippdachs *(ǂnâsa)* zur Dienstmagd *(ngê)*. Und die Knaben [kommen] alle *(hoa)* Tage *(tsîs)* da *(nâ)* unter *(°gue)* den Kokerbaum, ja da *(ǂnâbe)* kommen *(hâ)* sie herzu [das Vieh] hinzutreiben *(Doppelverb.: enau schlagen, mit stellen)*, und doch *(ǂabe, mit d. Pers.-Suff. der Subj.)* wissen sie nicht *(îâ)*, daß *(ǂkyaî)* da jemand *(ǂkyaî Mensch, sing. comm.)* drinnen versteckt ist *(tgurus, ova)*.

Da hütete *(îâî)* einer *(tgui)* der Knaben mit dem Sohn *(ǂhâb)* der Klippkafferfrau *(damas)* seiner Mutter *(ngûs, di Genitivpartikel)* [das Vieh]. Und die beiden *(-kya, Pers.-Suff. dual. masc.)* kamen unter den Kokerbaum, sich zu legen *(tgoê)*. Und als *(o)* das Vieh *(tgua, comm. plur.)* wegließ *(tgûng, für die heißen Mittagsstunden wird es zu den Schatten eines Baumes zusammengetrieben)*, schickte er *(îaqê gui, gehen)* den kleinen Klippkaffern *(damarobe)* aus, [es] zurückzujagen *(ǂkyai)*. Und er ging bis es zu kehren, und während *(hîa)* er zu-

rückkommt *(ne umkehren, tgoaga ankommen)*, wird Feuer- *(tsîb)* Rauch *(tama)* [sichtbar], und im-Kommen sagt er: „Herr *(°tkhoe-kxoîbe, Vocat.)*, siehst *(mî)* du [nicht] *(-tse, Suff. v. pers. sing. masc.)* aus *(gu)* diesem *(hî)* Kokerbaum Rauch *(comm. sing., i. Signe d. unbest. Art.)* aufsteigen?" *(tam)*. Da sah er hin *(gê, verb.)* und sagte: „Du lügst!" *(tkhami)*. Aber der kleine Klippkaffer sagte: „Da steigt der Rauch in die Höhe." Darauf jener: „Du lügst, gleich *(tkhe)* werde ich dich *(tsi, Pers.-Suff.)* schlagen!" *(tmaa)*.

Und am anderen *(haa)* Morgen *(tgoaga früh bei Sonnenaufgang, im Gegensatz zu tgoab früh vor Sonnenaufg.)* kommen *(tkx'i)* die beiden wieder *(tkxuha)*. Da sahen sie beide den Rauch, kommen hin, und [der Knabe] sagte: „Gleich werde ich uns den Baum *(!hais)* fällen! *(Doppelwrk.: thê haum, tgun schneiden)*, öffnet!" *(tkxobe am)*. Da öffneten sie [ihnen] und die beiden gingen hinein. Und der eine *(d. junge Hottentott i. Gegensatz zum Klippkaffern)* heiratete *(tgame)* das Mädchen.

Dann gingen sie weg. Und als *(o)* sie an *(doba)* einen Berg *(!homi)* kamen, sagten sie zum *(tgu)* Klippdachs [um ihn los zu werden]: „Komm, laß *(ti, imperat.)* mich *(ti)* dich *(si)* hinaufheben!" *(Doppelwrk.: ti fassen, zahn hinaufklettern)*. Dann hoben sie ihn auf *(ai)* einen Fels *(!aib)* und ließen ihn im Stich *(gehen und verlassen)*. Seit dem Tag *(!hîb)* leben *(wörtl.: ist ein Bleiben; hî, verb., durch d. Pers.-Suff. -ta substantiviert)* die Klippdachse auf Felsen.

X.

Kxoina gyere tgun tgunna.

°Gamai i gye kxoina gyere tgunhe. okxo gye kxoikxo go tgubi tsi onâbe ti go ere tgê. tsîb gye tgui kxoîba go nam tsîb gye tgoiba okxui guri hî tsîb gye tgôa nama tgoâtsi ra gê. on gye °tgunnasa ra-gun. ob gye okxâba ti tsi go âxê tgunnasa on gye go tgê. ob gye âxoasa tgê mai hî tgunna ai; ob gye âxoasa go ti nna on gye go âxê hi âxoas ai tsi âxoasa go ti.

Tsikxo gye tgui tgê tsi go tgubi. on gye, bikxo go !obe, tgunnasa tgôse hî tsi onâbe ta gui hîa ramgnab âxo ai go hî tsi go tgoê aikxo. tsi tgoîb inâ mâ goiba go tgun hîb îb âxo, tsîb gye naaba go âxoê îb ai. tsîb gye go na.

Tsîba gye okxoba gunira go âxi tsigu gye onâbe go shê gun. tsigu gye, shê gun tsaa tgoiba hîbi, tgunê go shê tgunna ai. ngu gye naaba go

mā ti ŋgoā ǂnāŋa ti: „ǂkγi, ā gomagu ǂgye ŋgoā ǂoa!" ti go mi. tsigu gye ge ŋgoā ǂao ti go ǂnari.

Os gye ŋgoanse ge gui ti ǂamǂnaā ǂgu ais go ŋgui ti gē o go nā. aigu. ti guaiu ti gomagu ti kγoāgu tsiāo go ŋgam ǂoa.

Übersetzung von X.

Der Giraffenbaum, der die Menschen getötet hat.

Ein Giraffenbaum *(ŋgoaas, mit d. alten Demonst.-Part. -i)* hatte [schon manche] Menschen *(kγoāha, comm. plur.)* getötet *(ŋgam, i. pass. narr.)*. Da ritten *(ŋgaāi)* zwei Männer *(-kγa, Pers. suff. dual. masc.)* daher und sattelten dort *(naāha)* ab *(kamen zi, absolicia °are ŋgā)*. Und der eine *(ŋgui)* Mann schlief *(tam)*, der andere *(ŋgui, m. Pers.-Suff.)* aber blieb *(hā)* wach *(ikγai guri dabei sein etwa zu tun)*, und auf *(nama)* dem Rücken *(ŋgā)* liegend *(ŋgoē, mit d. Endg. d. particip. praet.)* betrachtete *(gi)* er [die Äste]. Da rührte sich *(gum)* der Giraffenbaum. Und der Mann *(durch d. Pers.-Suff. -b ausgedrückt)* nahm *(ā)* einen Dorn *(ikγāba)* und stach *(ikγā)* ihn. Da zuckte der Baum zusammen *(ŋgā auszudrücken)*. Der Mann aber hatte seinen Patronengurt *(ikγoasa)* in *(ai an)* den Giraffenbaum gehängt°). Nun nimmt er den Gurt herunter *(ā nau)*, der Baum aber ergreift *(°ikγi)* ihn *(hi, Pers.-Suff.)* am Patronengurt und faßt den Gurt.

Da sattelten die beiden auf *(°ŋgui ŋgā)* und ritten ab. Aber obschon *(ŋgabe)* sie davonritten *(hi, m. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, blieb der Giraffenbaum nahe *(ŋgāse)*, und während *(hāi)* er so *(ināā, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj., der Erzähler hebt den Arm so hoch er kann)* groß *(gui)* wird, kommt *(hā)* er über ihre *(ā, Wurzel d. pron. poss., mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzer)* Scheitel *(namǂnaā, masc. sing.)* und stürzt sich *(ŋgoē)* auf sie. Und den einen, der ihn dort *(ināā)* betrachtet hatte *(mā, ge Part. d. Praet. mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, tötete der Baum samt *(ikγa)* seinem Pferd, der andere aber entkam *(ikγoē eilen, dā jem. sich rühren, eilig schnell sein, ai ist Objekt. d. Doppelwerbs, Pers.-Suff. auf ŋgoanse bezogen)*. Da ging der Baum zurück *(ao, verb.)*.

Dann kamen *(ikγi)* wiederum *(ikγaiha)* zwei Wagen *(ŋgaŋiru, dual. fem.)* und die Männer *(-ga, Pers.-Suff.)* spannten dort aus *(hāā nai)*.

°) *ŋgā* transcendere, *mail* agitare. *Mā* dando den heutigen Instrumentalis an, im Unterschiede wie *ŋgā* der Gen., *mā* den Indigitativ bezeichnend, nur mit dem Pluralgenetiv wiedergegeben.

Sobald *(igui, wörtl.: eins mit)* nun einer [der Wagen] fertig *(loo aufhören, m. Pers.-Suff.)* ausgespannt hatte *(-ti, Part. d. particip. praet. hinter M tun)*, zerteilten *(thi)* die Männer Fleisch *(igunî, comm. sing.)* beim Giraffenbaum. Da sahen sie Blut *(tsoba)* und ließen das Fleisch im Stich *(tsidzu)* und riefen: „Kommt, treibt die Ochsen *(gomagu)* heran *(ti nekmen)* und *(ti, imper.)* laßt uns *(-gye)* einspannen!" *(igui tsi)*. Dann spannten sie ein und fuhren ab *(tsari)*.

Doch der Giraffenbaum wurde groß, und als er genau *(°igui ti gû, wie eins zu sehen)* über ihren Scheiteln war, fiel *(tsi)* er auf sie. Und Wagen und Ochsen und Menschen, sie samt und sonders *(loo fertig machen)* tötete er.

XI.

Kxoê-igigukxu enomsa gye hôkxu.

Kxoê-igigukxu ga i gye gye igûnghe. okxu gye enomsa go hî, oê gye gutka tsuhub ikxu go enau ji enomsa tikxu gye go igûng.

Os gye sores go xgû o go kxou. ti igubise go saba ti xgû kxûs go o: „Ma sat saus ha sat tsuta igui aob ûakxu igoma ekaru!" ti go si. oê gye ekxoma gkaba ti ti go si tsi tiku gye ikxi tiku gye gu°ikxam. tsib gye dâhob go o xgusi tsa si go xgû tiku gye go ikxam. ti xgous go xgou o enomsi go sori.

Oê gye sorts go o kxoêb daba go ikxi sou xgoêb hî ka tsîb gye: „Sarei ramats hai te toma hî?" ti go si. oê gye gûî kxam toma hî. tikxu gye go saru ti go si.

Os gye saba, saru ukxu go o, tûkxaba kxou ti gu xgudau ebabi.

Übersetzung zum XI.

Die beiden Brüder, die ein Stück Kohle fanden.

Zwei Brüder *(kxoêb Mensch, igêb Bruder, „gu ist hier nicht Reziprok. part., -kxu Suff. dual. masc.)* waren ausgegangen *(igûng, i. pass. narr.)*. Da fanden *(hî)* sie ein Stück Kohle *(verkohltes Holz enomsa)*, und der ältere *(gutka groß)* verschlug *(eben niedergew. ist ausbrennen)* die Kohle mit *(tikxu)* dem Tomahok *(tsuhub)*. Dann gingen die beiden.

Als *(o)* aber die Sonne *(saru)* unterging *(xgû)*, brannte *(kxou)* die Kohle *(durch d. Fem.-Suff. -o in'm ausgedrückt)* und stieg *(tsiba)* hoch

(ŋgubise) auf, und als sie den beiden *(kχũ, Suff. i. Dat.-Acc., mit d. Suff. d. Subj.)* nahe *(ŋgũ, verb.)* war, rief sie: „Ich *(tita)* Feurige *(ǂaẽs Feuer, ǂna im. -ẽa Suff. i. pers. sing.)*, Feuer-Geborene *(ǂoas Kind, ǂaẽ ǂnas kennzeichnet d. Mutter)*, mache einen Doppelfang *(°igama ǂharu zwei Stück Wild auf einen Schuß erlegen)* an den beiden Kindern des einen *(ŋgui)* Mannes!" *(aoba)*. Da griff *(ũ)* der Jüngere *(ǂkχama jung)* nach dem Messer *(gôaba)* und stand *(mã)*, und die Kohle kam *(ikχi)*, und die beiden *(-ra, Suff. d. dual. masc./fem.)* kämpften *(ǂkχam)*. Als er aber überwunden *(dã treten)* wurde, sprang *(ging ũi, heruntergehen ŋgũ)* er ins Wasser *(ŋgumi)*, und sie kämpften weiter. Doch als der Morgen *(ŋgoas)* anbrach *(ŋgoa)*, verlöschte *(ŋari)* die Kohle.

Jener kam nun, als sie verlöscht war, zu *(doba)* seinem Bruder *(khîr kurzweg: Mensch, der (hã während)* voll Angst *(ǂao, verb.)* dalag *(ŋgũi, m. Pers.-Suff.)*, und fragte ihn: „Warum *(tcrei ǂama = tarẽ ǂaroma, m. d. Suff. d. angered. p. Pers. masc. sing.)* hilfst *(hai)* du mir *(ĩe, Suff.)* nicht?" *(ǂama)*. Doch der erwiderte *(kχam sprechen)* nichts *(nicht reden)*. Dann gingen sie nach Haus *(ǂaru, verb.)* und kamen dahin.

Das Feuer aber loderte, als jene zu Haus angekommen waren, nachts *(hãŋuba)* auf und stechte die Werft *(ŋgaisa)* in Brand *(ǂhabi, verb.)*.

XII.

Ťsaûna gye ǂkχaî aχa-ŋgâgukχa.

ǂGam aχa-ŋgâgukχa ga i gye tsaûna gye ǂkχaîtse. tsî ŋgoasa gye hôbe tsî!χa tsî ŋgoas ǂkχa hã hîtkχa gye tarasa gye hã. os gye tarasa sarasa gye mã kχã tsî ŋgoasa gye ũ. tsî!χa gye gye ŋgûag.

Tsî aob doba gye tsî aob ǂkχa rî ǂama/e/n aob doba. tsî!χa gye: „sîkχ(u)m sarasa ã hã hîtsb aobaba ǂna ǂkχa ra ǂama/e/n." tsî!χa gye aoba sarasa gye mã tsî!b gye aoba ǂkχaîbara/e/n haiba gye mã kχã.

Tsî!χa gye gye daoba ra ǂhaoa aχaqa doba gye tsî. aqa gye aχaqa haiba gye aqua kχã. akχa gye aχaqa gye mã haiba tsî!χa gye daoba gye aôbe. tsî!χa gye gye ŋgûag.

Tsî!χa gye ǂkχaîŋgâ ra ǂhaoa ≠îba gye tsî. tsî!χa gye: „sîkχ(u)m daoba ã hã hîaoa ǂhaoa'a ≠î". ôti gye: „mâse saaire!" ũ gye mî. akχa gye gye mã ũ tsî!χa gye gye ŋgûag. ôti gye ǂomga gye mã kχã.

Tsíkχa gye gũ ǂûb ikχa ra ŋguiri aχagu doba gye sí. tsí: „sikχ(u)m ǂamga ũ hã χabe go gũ ǂûb ikχa ra ŋguiri?" ogu gye: „mã gye ŋnaĩre!" ti gye mí. okχa gye gye ǂgũng. ogu gye aχaga daina gye mã kχã.

Tsíkχa gye sora aris doba gye sí χauba ra +ûs doba. tsíkχa gye: „sikχ(u)m daiba ũ hã hîas χauba ra +ũ", ti gye mí. os gye: „mã te ŋnai re!" ti gye mí. okχa gye go mã si. tsí gye ǂgũngkχa ní ŋnêba go ǂoa okχa gye: χûĩ kχã ní mãhe? ti ŋnaí hã. okχa gye: „sikχ(u)m go aχagu χa mãhe daiĩ, mã kχam re!"

Übersetzung von XII.

Die beiden Brüder, die Kälber ins Feld jagen.

Zwei *(ǂgum)* Knaben-Brüder *(aχa-ǂgũgukχa)* jagen *(ikχaĩ)* Kälber ins Feld. Da finden *(hã)* sie die Goas-Pflanze, und während sie da *(tsã)* mit *(ikχa)* der Goas-Pflanze sind *(hã bleiben u. Hilfszeitwort, einen Zustand ausdr.)*, trafen *(hã)* sie eine Frau *(ŋnaosa)*. Und die Frau gab *(mã)* ihnen *(kχã, Dat.-Acc. 3. pers. masc. dual.)* einen Pfriemen *(torosa, altmodische Bezeichnung für ŋamnaos, d. h. Nähspitze)* und nimmt *(ã)* die Goas-Pflanze. Dann gingen die beiden.

Und sie kommen *(tí)* zu *(doba)* einem Mann *(aob)*, dem Mann, der sich *(-s(e)m, Reflexiv-Verbalpartikel)* mit dem Glied *(ǂoab, eigentlich: was man verbirgt, ǂoa, d. h. penis)* einen Dorn auszieht *(ǂam)*. Da sagen *(hier nur durch das Hilfszeitwort gye angedeutet)* die beiden: „Wir *(sikχ(u)m, Exklusivform d. 1. pers. dual. masc.)* haben da *(Doppelverb.: ũ nehmen, hã bleiben)* einen Pfriemen, während Vater*) sich mit dem Glied einen Dorn auszieht." Und sie gaben dem Mann den Pfriemen, und der Mann gab ihnen einen Spazierstock *(tkχuibas(e)n haib, altmodische Aussprache des jetzt üblichen tgaibas(e)n haib)*.

Da kamen die beiden zu Knaben, die Honig *(daniba)* [aus einem Baumstumpf] mit einem Stein losschlugen *(tkam)*. Und die Knaben baten *(ŋgan)* die beiden um den Stock. Und sie gaben den Stock und bekamen *(mã gaben, ke Passivendung)* Honig. Dann gingen sie.

Da kamen sie zu Perlhühnern *(ikχinaĩ)*, die da *(°ha, Demonstrativpartikel d. Orts)* Feldzwiebeln *(ǂhoma)* aßen *(tã)*, und sagten:

*) Aus dem Hottentotischen und — ob. und dem Namaquanischen dadaĩ — Vater gebildet.

„Wir haben Honig, während ihr *(-so, Suff. d. 2. pers. fem. plur.)* Feldzwiebeln eßt." Darauf sagen jene: „Nun gib uns *(-se, Dat.-Acc. d. 2. pers. fem. plur.)* denn *(ǂnai)* doch!" *(-re)*. Da gaben ihnen *(ǁi)* die beiden und gingen fort. Jene aber hatten ihnen Federn *(ǁamga)* gegeben.

Da kamen die beiden zu Knaben, die mit Schaf- *(gǁ)* Haar *(ǂâb)* Pfeile befiederten *(°aguiri)* und [sagten]: „Wir haben Federn, und dennoch *(ǂabe)* befiedert ihr *(-go)* die Pfeile mit Schafhaar?" Darauf sagen jene: „Nun gib uns *(gye, Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. masc.)* denn doch!" Dann gingen die beiden, die Knaben aber hatten ihnen Milch *(ǂaina, comm. plur.)* gegeben.

Da kamen sie zu einer Mutterhündin *(tora gebären, aris Hündin)*, zu einer, die da Kot *(ǂaub)* frißt. Und sie sagten: „Wir haben Milch, während du Kot frißt." Darauf die Hündin: „So gebt mir *(-ke)* denn doch!" Da gaben ihr *(ki)* die beiden. Als *(o ra okya)* aber die Zeit *(saiba)*, da sie fortzugehen hatten *(ni, Verb.-Part. d. Fut.)*, gekommen war *(roll war, ros)*, da denken *(sai)* sie: Was *(ǂâi)* wird [uns] beiden gegeben werden? und [sagen]: „Wir hatten von *(ǂa)* den Knaben Milch bekommen [und haben sie dir gegeben, nun] gib uns beiden gefälligst *(re)* [etwas dafür]!" °)

XIII.

‚Nanabi gye enanhe kxoëba.

Kxoëb ge i gye gye ǂanhe kxûsa khetsi; tsîb gye ǂgurub ǂnab ǂâi kha ǂnanhe go shao tsi go tabi. tsîb gye ǂgunas ǂgao ti go mâ tsîb gye go enanhe ǂnanabi.

O i gye nau tsi ǂgirib ge gye ekxîhe tsi: „ǂnâ ǂnaihe ta°gye ti ni shaun" ti go mi tsi go ekxoëhe tsi ti go shambe tsi go ekxi khe tsi: „o gaosa! sao gaos! kha gaosa sao gaos! ts'e'ib ekxûsa sao gaos! ts'e'ib eksa sao gaos!" khâti gye ǂnaihe ge i hoa.

„Sakxe'ajm ǂgûsara ao ta ni ni ǂnâa ǂgaisa si ekxoi!" ti mi tsi go ekxoë tsi ti go shaun tsi go ekxi ǂ ǂnaihe: „o gaosa! sao gaos! kha gaosa sao gaos! ts'e'ib ekxûsa sao gaos! ts'e'ib eksa sao gaos!" ti go mi. khâti gye ǂnaihe ge i hoa.

O i gye gaxa naiba go ǂgaoba tsi: „kaîts ekxoaiba ǂgao tama ǂnaihe!" ti naiba tsi go enanhe. ob gye kaiba kxoëb tsi ǂgunas tsiba ǂgaba ǂ i tsi

°) Hier schließt die Erzählung. Daß die Knaben hier umgehen, wird als bekannt angenommen.

ɛ̃ɓab ai go ɛnau ɓi: „ti ǂgûrotse ŝkχoba tu ɗi tite" ti go mîhe tsî go ŝkχoŝ-mîhe. tsî ǂgûab ǂgûb ai. i. go ŋgûche o ɛnûhe tsî haib go ŋgoî daoba gûhe tsî: „khaî ɛnûis ûoba go ɛnau tsû tsû tsû!" gye mîhe. tsî ǂgûb ûba ɗ ihetsî ŋgoîhe tsî go gûhe.

Ob gun toma o i gye go mûhe nûb hâ ŝkχoîî. tsî go ŝkχîhe tsî kχûsab ŝkχê hâ, ǂomi ɗi uniaoîte go ŝkχai ǂgaohe tsî kχûsa go îhe tsî go ǂgûnghe.

Übersetzung von XIII.

Der Mann, der vom Blitz erschlagen wird.

Ein Mann *(kχoêb)* ging auf die Jagd *(ton, i. pass. narr.)*, nachdem *(tsî, Part. d. partic. praet. hinter ll nehmen, i. pass. narr.)* er den Bogen *(kχûsa)* genommen hatte; und während er im *(ma, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* Feld *(ǂgureb)* war, zog ein Gewitter *(ǂnaunba)* auf *(thao, verb.)* und es regnete. Da stellte *(tî gokon, mit stehen)* er sich unter *(°ǂgao)* einen Giraffenbaum *(ǂgunas)*, und das Gewitter erschlug *(ɛnan... i. pass. narr.)* [ihn].

Da kam *(ŝkχî, i. pass. narr.)* am anderen *(°nau)* Tage *(tsî)* der Schakal und sagte: „Dort *(ma)* die Giraffen *(mâîe, fem. plur.)* werde ich [dir] zutreiben!" *(gokon kakren °khaun)*, und eilte *(ŝkχoê)* davon und kehrte [die Giraffen] und kommt mit *(ŋ)* [ihnen] an und [ruft]: „[Schieß] die voran! *(o Infinitiv, ei! d. Schakal weist dabei auf die voranlaufende, ganz mit Pers.-Suff. Giraffe)*, die hinterher *(nao, verb.)* laufende [schieß!] die dann folgende! die dieser *(ŋ'oîs, pron. pers. 3. pers.)* selbigen°) *(ŝkχûas)* folgende! die [jetzt] dieser selbst *(tsî, m. Pers.-Suff.)* hinterher folgende!" Inzwischen *(tsî, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* liefen die Giraffen alle *(tsî kerudigen)* vorbei *(l, verb.)*.

„So wahr *(ao = mail, hier den Schwur einführend, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz)* unsere *(tsâkχ'ûm, pron. pers., 1. pers. masc. dual. inclusiv, unter Weglassung d. Genitivpartikel i. Sinne d. pron. possess. gebraucht)* beiden *(-ra, Suff. dual. fem.)* Schwestern *(ǂgû-)* [leben], ich werde [nur noch] dieses *(tsî)* einzige Mal *(tsîs)* [die Giraffen] zurückjagen *(ŝkχai)* gehen *(îî)*" So sagte er und eilte fort und kehrte die Giraffen, und als er mit ihnen ankam, rief er: „Schieß die voranlaufende! die hinterher laufende! schieß die dann folgende! die derselbigen

°) Der Schakal kann nicht sehen, seine heutige, verschiedene entsprechende Ausdrucksweise ist durchschlagender Beweis.

folgende! die jetzt dieser selbst nachfolgende schieß!" Inzwischen liefen die Giraffen alle vorbei.

Da schnitt *(gao, i. pass. narr.)* der Schakal eine lange *(gaza)* Rute *(war durch d. Suff. -ba angedeutet)* vom Au-Busch (*Grewia flava D. C.*) ab und sagte: „Warum (*°tâ, verkürzt aus tarel aus?*) willst *(sgao)* du *(-ti)* nicht *(toma)* die Giraffen schießen?" *(tkzaâ, -ba objectiv. Verb.-Part.)*, und schlug *(tsaa, i. pass. narr.)* ihn. Aber die Rute *(haiba)* schwippte *(l vorbeigehen)* hinter *(gâba)* dem Mann und dem Giraffenbaum entlang *(ti)* und schlug ihn [selbst] in *(ai)* die Weichen *(sûub)*.*) „Mein *(ti)* Brüderchen *(gûb; -ro Dimin.; -ta Suff. 3. pers. sing. masc. vocativ)*, ich will es nicht *(tâta, Verb.-Part. d. fut. negat.)* wieder *(tkzaba)* tun *(di)*!" So sagte er und entfloh (*°tkzaê-si, i. pass. narr.*). Und als *(a)* er hinter einen Berghang (*°gûab*) herabgestiegen *(tgâa, i. pass. narr.)* war, setzte *(tsâ)* er sich und betrachtete *(gû, i. pass. narr.)* den Rutenstriemen *(wörtl.: den Weg dazhu, den die Rute gelegen tgaê, hatte)* und sagte: „Du Schmutzkrusten- *(thûti)* Scham- *(tsûti tsuhu)* Kind *(tsuha)*, hast mich *(ti, Pers.-Suff. mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* wohl *(ga)* wehe *(tûi tûi, verb.)* geschlagen?" Dann ging er hinter dem Mann vorbei *(wörtl.: an seinem, ihm, Rücken gûb)* und legte sich nieder und beobachtete [ihn].

Als aber jener sich nicht rührte *(gun)*, sah *(tsâ, i. pass. narr.)* er, daß *(tkzaâ)* er tot *(ti, verb. mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* war. Nun kam *(tkzi, i. pass. narr.)* er heran und faßte (*°tkzi*) den Bogen *(mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, zerschnitt *(tkzai und gun)* die Gelenke *(wo die Sträng. — °mit abbrechen —, der Knochen zusammenkommen tsi)* der Hand *(tsmi)* und nahm *(ti, i. pass. narr.)* den Bogen und ging *(tgâng, i. pass. narr.)*.

XIV.

!Gurikzuhuâ ti tsmi tsîkzo.

!Gurikzuhuâ tsi i gye tkhuiga ra sam hia tarea tgu: „ntsuâ ga tkzi on gye ni tsamsama(n)a!" ti go nâba.

On gye ntsuâ ga tkzi o ga tsamsama(n)a; oâ gye nuba aare ariga tûi go tgâng. oâ gye arîli tareveti tsi go nâba ti tkzuhuâ ga on gye tarasa

*) Der Schakal glaubte von dem Mann schlau, den er treulos wollte, geschlagen zu sein; er bemerkte schnell Rute und sagte: b. streif.

go kxui tsi go ǂxuiba ki. oб gye daiǂ ttsi go ŋũng oagu. shisa ra nam ti.

Oб gye: „kare guro di tsi?" oб gye: „aiǂi guro ni ke." Ti go mi. oб gye gama: „aarikxuim gye ni ǂxuiki ogu ni ti-ǂxoe!" Ti go mi.

Oб gye gama ǂxui ai ǂkhi go ǂxoe; tsi oguma ma mi kais ai hi go yaha khab gye oguriǂxoheba go ǂxi. ogu gye origu ti ŋũngu go o oguma ma uma go mi tsi ogũxu ra arib hoaba tsixa tsi ra mi.

Oб gye ti/ib oguriǂxoheba go ti. oб gye go uri oguma; oб gye go ogo tũgu gye origu go ni yan ki.

Übersetzung von XIV.

Der Einsiedler und der Löwe.

Der Einsiedler sagte zu *(ŋgu)* seiner Frau *(tarun)*, während *(khi)* sie miteinander *(-gu, reziпr.)* das Grubenspiel *(ǂkhaa, s. S. 314)* spielten *(nam)*: „Wenn *(ti, mit d. Pers.-Suff. der Subj. d. Nachsatz, -i, 2. pers. fem. sing.)* der Pavian kommen *(ǂxui)* sollte *(gu, Präsentialpart.)*, dann mußt *(ki, fut. part.)* du dich schlafen stellen" *(*xommm(e)ya)*.

Und als *(ti)* der Pavian kam, stellte sie sich schlafen; der Mann *(daiba)* aber nahm *(ti, i. partic. prael.)* die männlichen *(aore)* Hunde und ging *(ŋũng)*. Da wurde der Pavian *(durch d. Suff. -b ausgedr.)* von *(ŋu)* den weiblichen *(tarusti)* Hunden gebissen *(ki)*, und [erst] als *(ti, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. d. Nachsatz)* ihm flau wurde *(ǂkxaba, vorh.)*, stand die Frau auf *(kxui, vorh.)* und wehrte die Hunde ab *(wörtl.: vorbei ǂkxui, für -ba, cha ki)*. Als er dann Milch *(daiti)* bekommen hatte *(partic. praeti.*, ging er dahin *(ti)*, wo die Männer das Grubenspiel spielten.

Da [sagte der Löwe]: „Was ist dir *(ki)* geschehen *(ti)*?" Und er antwortete: „Die Hündinnen haben mich *(ke, Suff.)* gebissen." Darauf der Löwe: „Morgen *(kari, mit d. Suff. der dual. masc.)* wollen *(ki, fut.)* wir beide nach der Vley *(ǂkxaiti)* lustwandeln gehen!"[1])

Und als es noch dunkel *(ǂkxui)* über *(ti)* dem Land *(ǂâãã)* war, ging der Löwe weg; und während er auf einen Baum *(haiti)* kletterte *(tsiba, kā herumkommen)*, der im *(ma)* Wasser *(ŋgumu)* stand *(mi)*, kam

[1]) **ti-ǂxui*, wörtl.: zur Weide laufen. Auch das Forttreiben der Kinder zum Spielen und Toben kann ǂxui so bezeichnet werden. Der Löwe bildet in dieser möglichen humorvollen Weise die Absicht der Hunde.

der Einsiedler. Die Hunde aber sahen *(mā)*, als sie saufen *(ā)* gingen, den Schatten *(somsa)* im Wasser, und ein jeder *(hoaba)* Hund, der herabkommt *(ŋgōaŋa)*, knurrt *(wörtl.: wird bös, xaiŋa)* und steht.

Er *(ŋ/eiīb)* aber, der Einsiedler, trank. Da sprang *(uri)* [der Löwe] herunter *(ŋgonaŋa, verb.)*, doch jener wich aus *(ŋgō)*, und die Hunde bissen [den Löwen] zu Tode *(nāŋa)*.

b) Von den Bergdamara oder Klippkaffern

hat der Hottentott, wie wir früher sahen (S. 323), keine hohe Meinung. Das spricht sich auch in der kurzen Sage aus, in der er sich über die Paviane-Ähnlichkeit seiner schwarzen Hörigen lustig macht (Sage XV).

Nur eine Eigenschaft erkennt er rückhaltlos an ihnen an: die frühreife Selbständigkeit und Furchtlosigkeit des Bergdamara-Kindes, die im Kriegsbilde der XVI. Sage und in den Löwen-Begegnungen der Sage XVII und XVIII gefeiert wird.

Auf der anderen Seite fällt dem Hottentotten mit seinem starken Sinn für Familienzucht der Mangel an Eltern-Autorität und kindlichem Respekt bei den Bergdamara auf. Wer die Erzählungen XIX und XX aus dem Munde eines Hottentotten hört, sieht klar, daß hier nur eine Verspottung der degenerierten Familienverhältnisse beabsichtigt ist. Auch die gemeine Zote in XXII läuft da hinaus.

XV.

ǂNtragu gye ǂhao ŋgui damaba.

ǂNtragu ra ǂâna ē hâa i gye ŋaudamab tsi ŋgui kŋoîb tsîkŋa ge go ǂkŋîhe ogu gye ǂntragu ge ǂkŋoê-si. ob gye kŋoîba: „axū ǂntragu ra ǂhao kŋumi ǂhao tsi o!" ti ge mi. ob gye ge ǂhaŋ tsîn ge ntru gui.

Übersetzung von XV.

Der Klippkaffer, der das Bellen der Paviane nachäfft *(ŋgui)*.

Als *(hâa)* die Paviane *(ǂntragu)* Riedgräser *(ǂâna, comm. plur.)* fraßen *(ē)*, kamen *(kŋî, 3. pers. masc.)* ein Dreckkaffer *(Bergdamara, S. 323)* und ein *(ŋgui)* Mann *(kŋoîb Mensch, masc.)*, die beiden *(tsîkŋa)* daher, und die Paviane flohen *(*ǂkŋoê-si)*. Da sagte der Mann [zum Klippkaffern]: „Versuch *(tsi)* doch *(re, Opt.-Part.)* einmal, so wie

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(kxumi) die Paviane da *(tnā)* zu bellen!" *(hoa)*. Und jener bellte. Da wurden *(gui)* die Klippkaffern *(ausgedr. durch d. Suff. d. 3. pers. comm. plur. -a hinter tā)* Paviane.

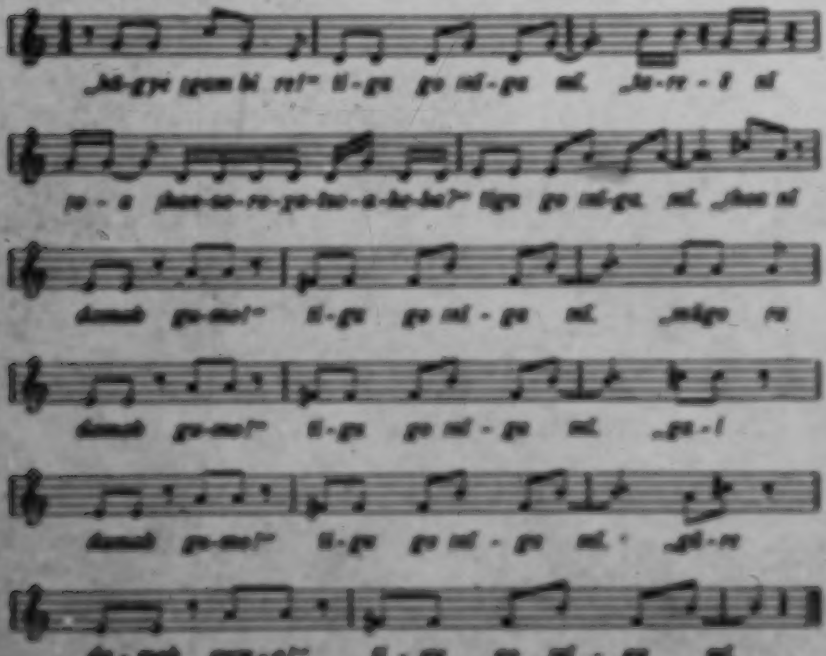
XVI.

Daman tā namaga.

Daman ge i gye tgui tsuhe hā. aqu gye namaga daman tgui aqu daman gye tgun tgūg. on gye k(e)ūgu ni ti tūs ai damaroba gye tgoro tā gye ‡hare. tūgu gye damaroh tgui hā hā gye ākx.

Ogu gye nūgu: „hūgye tgun damaha!" ti ra nī. aqu gye nūgu: „tarā si ge ‡han-saraxa-tsuhe-damaī ao?" ti gye nī. aqu gye nūgu: „hūgye, ‡han si damah gye, damaha tgun!" aqu gye nūgu: „ākxun damaroh, ‡han tūr" ti ra nī. aqu gye go ū tā si ge tgui ākxuna di tā si ge tgui.

Tūgu tgui hāa gye damaxa ge ākx tsunga tgui hā. ob gye damaroba ra naba ‡hana:



os gye ŋâŋa. „Ináŋ ti ra mí daoroba?“ ob gye ra naba. os gye ŋâŋa go naba bi ǂhoma ob gye go ǂhoa. os gye ŋâŋa naa damama ge ǂhaaba. tóa gye ma naab ai go bé mí aoregu hâ kâa. ogu gye maiga ai tsí ai go ǂkyâ ǂhaâi. taiga gye ǂaba hâ, ǂhâ kâna go ǂhaâi tóa gye go ǂhai. ogu gye go ob ina.

Übersetzung von XVI.

Die Klippkaffern und die Hottentotten.

Die Klippkaffern *(-s, explos. -as, Pers.-Suff. d. 3. Pers. plur. comm., hier Männer, Weiber u. Kinder einschließend)* wohnen *(hâb, m. Passivendung)* einsam *(igurî)*. Da *(o mit d. Pers.-Suff. der plur. masc. gu = gu, da es sich nur um streitbare Männer handelt)* gingen *(igûŋ)* die Hottentotten *(namagu)* zu *(igu)* der Kaffern-Werft *(igudi)*, die Kaffern zu töten *(igum)*. Und an *(ai)* dem Tag *(hâi)* [an dem] sie *(hi/igu)* dahinkommen *(ti)* wollen *(ti, verb. Part. d. fut.)*, lassen jene den kleinen Klippkaffern [als Wächter] zurück *(igura)* und *(hî)* suchen Feldzwiebeln *(ǂnami Feldzwiebel, -re gibt dem Wort verb. Char.)*. Und während *(hâa)* der kleine Klippkaffer als einziger *(igaiti)* da bleibt *(hî)*, kommen *(ǂkyî)* die Hottentotten *(durch das -gu in hâgu ausgedrückt)*.

Da sagen die einen *(mîga)*: „Laßt *(hî)* uns *(-gye)* den Kaffern töten!“ So sagen sie. Darauf die anderen *(mîga)*: „Ach *(ao)*, was *(tare)* wird *(ti)* so ein *(-i, Pers.-Suff. d. comm. sing., im Sinne d. unbest. Art.)* Kaffer ausrichten *(tsi)* mit dem Hinterloch in Zwiebelschalen?“ *) Darauf die anderen: „Laßt uns — [denn] ausplaudern *(ǂna)* wird der Kaffer — den Kaffern töten!“ Darauf sagen wieder die einen: „Jung *(ǂkyam)* [ist] der kleine Kaffer, [er] wird nichts *(tîte, Verb.-Part. d. fut. negat.)* erzählen.“ Dann ließen sie ab *(ǂâ, ga Verb.-Part. d. prät.)* und gingen daran, eine Schanze zu *(ǂkyaiti, Lauerhütte auf Wild, tgnû hagen)* machen *(ǂâ)* und legten sich hin.

Während aber jene liegen, kamen die Kaffern, kamen als jene schliefen *(tsim)* liegen. Und der kleine Klippkaffer liest *(tsiba)* weiter *(ti, Verb.-Suff. d. fortsetz. Handlung)* Zwiebeln auf und [singt]:

„Laßt uns ihn doch stechen“ so sagen die einen,
„Was wird der machen, der mit dem Hinterloch in Zwiebelschalen?“
so sagen die anderen.

*) gewöhnl. Schelte, -gye Adjekt.-Endung, ǂnamîb Adam, für Passivendung. Die anderen Worte des Streitlieds sind zum Teil unverständlich.

»Ausplündern wird ja der Kaffer!« so sagen die einen.
»Er tötet doch den Kaffern nur!« so sagen die anderen.
»Groß ist ja doch der Kaffer!« so sagen die einen.
»Dumm ist ja doch der Kaffer!« so sagen die anderen."

Da [fragt] die Mutter *(tgûsa)*: „Was *(tsî, Abkürzung von tarî)* sagt da so *(ti)* der Kleine?" *(daorubi: i. Klippkaffernialekt statt damaroba).* Aber der liest weiter auf. Da warf *(tsi, –hi hebt die Beziehung zum Objekt hervor)* ihm *(hi)* die Mutter Zwiebeln zu; nun erzählte er, und die Mutter erzählte es den anderen *(°nuu)* Kaffern. Und die einen *(Frauen, Kinder; Genus: -a, comm.)* gingen alsbald *(zur Zeit da)* weg *(hî),* während die anderen *(tsî)* Männer *(°aoregu junge Männer, im Gegensatz zu aigu)* da bleiben *(hî).* Diese aber *(tsûgu)* gehen [dann zur Schanze] und stecken einen Brand an *(Doppelverb. ikxû und shubi).* Und alle *(hî, s. Anmerkung S. 424)* Gewehre *(von ||aba pafen)* und alle Patronen *(von khî stoffen)* brannten sie an, und die schossen los *(thui).* Da kamen alle Hottentotten um *(tû vergehen, tso zu Ende gehen).*

XVII.

Gaigûb ||naosa gye ekaigû damarob.

Damarob gye tgûs ikxa gye sahe tûra gye gaigûb ||naosa gye hî. ob gye damaroba gye soa hais ai tûb gye tgûsa gye ao snaba tgaurosa gye ao snaba.

Tûb gye igûng ra ai saiba go soa oa gye go tgûaxa gui hi; ob gye tgûaxa ogao toma hî. oa gye: „ikxi tgû ra gaigûb, tgûaxa!" ti ra mi; ob gye damaroba tgûaxa ogao toma hî. oa gye: „ikxi, îts saob ||aiga ||nari hî!" ti gye mi. ob gye gye ikxû. oa gye gye igûng.

Damarob hî hîs gaigûbi gye ikxi tî: „tgûa-||naob?" ti gye mi. tî ehîra hî, tgîri hî, ikxoma hî, oi hûga ogui ihao tî gye ||aba gui hais ai. oa gye ||aba soa.

Ob gye tgûriba saiba go kxau ehîra go soa o. tûb gye ehîraa ts'i go damarob doba hî: „tsoa tsoa, gîgim hî!" ti go mi. ob gye damaroba gye ai si. oa gye saib ||na tgaoaxa gye mî. oa gye gye ikxui-si.

Übersetzung von XVII.

Der kleine Klippkaffer, der zur Wildladung des Löwen klettert.

Der kleine Klippkaffer suchte Brennholz *(tsẫĥ. Suffix -re tritt an Stelle der Geschlechtsendung und gibt dem Wort Verhältnischarakter)* mit *(ikya)* der Mutter *(tgûa)*, und die beiden *(-re, dual. masc. fem.)* trafen *(hâ)* auf die Wildladung*) des Löwen *(guigûĥ, „Großdrücker", Sagename d. Löwen)*. Da kletterte**) der kleine Klippkaffer auf *(ui)* den Baum *(hain)* und warf *(oa)* der Mutter [von der Beute] herunter *(tsa)*, kleine *(-re Diminutiv-Part.)* Fleischstückchen *(tgum Fleisch. -ai Endg. d. comm. plur.)* warf er herab.

Als aber die Zeit *(tsûba)*, da sie gehen *(tgâg)* sollten *(ui Verb.-Part. d. fut.)*, erfüllt *(tsa)* war, hieß *(gui)* sie ihm *(hi)*, herunterzusteigen *(tgûaga, die ältere Form ist tgomaga, S. 400 oben)*. Er aber will *(tgue)* nicht *(!kama)* heruntersteigen. Da sagt sie: „Gleich***) kommt *(ikyi)* der Löwe, steig herunter!" Doch der kleine Klippkaffer will nicht herunterklettern. Da [lockt sie ihn so]: „Geh her *(ikyi)*, komm *(hâ)* stiehl *(mari)* deinem Vater *(tsoĥ)* etwas Schönes†)!" Aber er weigerte sich *(ikya)*. Da ging sie.

Während nun der kleine Klippkaffer dableibt *(hâ)*, kommt der Löwe und sagt: „Ist das *(ĥ, Fragepart.)* eine Jagdbeute für Kinder *(tgûa-)*?" und ruft *(tgui)* alle Hyänen *(ikûru)*, alle Schakale *(tgûi-)*, alle Silberschakale *(ikyama-)*, alle Löffelhunde *(hâ-)* zusammen††) *(ihm)* und hetzt sie auf den Baum hinauf *(gui kerâre, zahn aufsteigen)*. Aber die können nicht *(tsa)* aufsteigen.

Da brannte *(kyau)* der Schakal, als *(a)* die Hyäne aufkletterte, ein Feuer *(tsâna)* an†††). Und die Hyäne kam hin *(ui, mit Pers.-Suff.)*

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*) *gumui*, von *gûi* aufladen. Um den ganzen Wild von Hyänen- und Schakalfell zu schützen, bringt er der Jäger, wie er in diesem Fall der Löwe getan hat, einstweilen auf einen Baum.

**) *ûka*. Die Verbal-Partikel *°gû* weist auf ein besonderes Tief der Handlung hin, z. B. *ĥakwigû* — schleichen (auf dem Wagen, etwa um einen Wildgegenstand herumschleichen) im Gegensatz zu *ĥaka* — schleichen, wenn der Wagen bereit ist abzufahren.

***) *kgû* kam, kommen, gleich; z. B. *ûnâkhe kgûte ge*: du bist bestimmt gleichgeben worden.

†) *°gûga* ist offenbar die alte Form für das heutige *°kya* — reich. Vergleiche Ähnlichkeit und Schlichtheit. Der Hottentotte macht sich auch hier über die herumgeschwenzte Moral der Buschmänner lustig.

††) *hâ-*, Partikel zum Ausdruck der Zusammengehörigkeit mehrer; z. B. *Hûnâkwenâ* (David Christian) und seine Leute: *Hûnâkwenâ hâkya*.

†††) Sie darf sie nicht verlieh kommen, sondern bestrafen mußte.

zum kleinen Klippkaffern [und] bekam *(hõ)* [ihn] und sagte: „Fängt an *(tkoe tkoe. gum ju)*. [hübsch fett zu werden!"]. Da biß *(nã)* sie *(ti)* der kleine Klippkaffer, und sie fiel *(ma)* herunter *(tgumaga)* in *(ma)* das Feuer. Da entflohen sie *(kxuẽ gokxu, tã Fut. part., drückt die Erwartung der Verfolgung aus)*.

XVIII.

gami tsi gau-damarõ tsikga.

Damarõ ga i gye kxuin gye dat o doõa gye ãxgõõe, tgũa ta ã hi gõõe. oõ gye gye dat gõõe.

Tsĩb gye saxen gye tgũ o saxa kxõna sã tsi gye maa mai tsi gye saõa ãxgã. tsĩb ta kxõna am khãb gye gaigõõa ãxgi tsi xa tgũ hi. oõ gye damarõõa: „hm'm, tsõõe ai ti gye saõe hã?" tsi gye ãxgõõa kxurai ga aa tgõõe. oõ gye ãxgõõa gaigõõa ga tgũga o i gye: „hãtã tãe! tarĩ gare ũõhaõe o ãĩã tãe."

Oõ gye gaigõõa gye gara hi tsĩb gye saõa gye xoaga oõ gye gye tsĩ sũã saõa. oõ gye damarõõa saõama ã tsi gye ekaĩ hi tsĩb gye gye ekaõe aa. oõ gye damarõõa n(e)ĩõa gye ã tsĩb n(e)ĩõa xa ã kõa gye ãxgara. oa gye kxuin õõa gye dat ãxgi. oõ gye tgũa õõa gye ãĩ.

Übersetzung von XVIII.

Der Löwe *(gami)* und der kleine Dreck- *(gau-)* Kaffer.

Als *(o)* die Menschen *(kxuin)* auf die Wanderschaft zogen *(dat)*, weigerte sich *(ãxgõ, i. pass. narr.)* der kleine Klippkaffer, [mit] fortzuziehen, obschon *(gõõe)* die Mutter *(tgũa)* ihn *(hi)* faßte *(ã, ta hinter dem t emphas. für tã)*. Da *(o mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* ließen sie ihn stehen *(wörtl.: wurde er abgelassen, gõõe, zu sitzen)*.

Und als die Sonne *(saxen)* untergegangen *(tgũ)* war, sucht *(tã)* er alte *(saxa)* Felle *(kxõna, comm. plur.)* zusammen und schichtet sie auf *(Doppelwort.: maa packen, maĩ stellen)* und steckt *(ãxgã)* ein Feuer *(saõa)* an. Und während *(hã mit Pers.-Suff.)* er die Felle brät *(am; ta — ra)*, kommt *(ãxgi)* der Löwe *(gaigõõa)* und fletscht *(*xgã)* ihn *(hi)* an. Da [sagte] der kleine Klippkaffer*): „Nein, nein! *(hm'm,*

*) Der in seiner fortlaufenden Kenntnis des Flamdens des Löwen für einheimischeliches Gehören hält.

unartikuliert ausgesprochen, abwehrende Interjektion), kosten *(ttā)* wollen *(tā, 1'verb.-Part. d. fut.)*, so *(ti)* denkst du?" *(tsâ!ke, wird gedacht)*, und warf *(aa)* wieder *(ikyuba)* ein Fellstückchen *(-ro dimin., ī — 1 Pers.-Suff. der comm. sing.)* [ins Feuer] hinein *(tgū)*. Und als der Löwe wieder fletschte *(onomatopoetisch ausgedrückt)*, sagte er: „Du *(-ti, masc.)* wirst nicht *(tīte, Verb.-Part. d. fut. negat.)* kosten! Wer *(tarū)* Ihr *(hier durch d. s. pers. pluv., -gu, mit d. diminut. -ro ausgedrückt; der Hottentott würde sagen tarūtse sic.)* auch seid, der *(durch die Konjunktion o ersetzt)* mich da anlacht *(ai lachen; -ka hebt die Beziehung zum Objekt hervor)*, ich *(-ki)* werde nicht lachen."

Da kratzte *(gwra)* ihn der Löwe, und Blut *(tsuā)* kam heraus *(tsuāga)*, und er leckte *(tkā)* das Blut da *(tsā)*. Da faßte *(ā)* der kleine Klippkaffer ein glühendes Scheit *(adverb.: Feuerwund, Holzstück, das an einem Ende glimmt)* und brannte *(tkuā)* den Löwen an. Der aber kam um *(ai)* im Feuerbrand. Da aß *(i)* ihn *(kyikha)* der kleine Klippkaffer auf. Und während er ihn ißt, wächst er heran *(ikyare)*. Da kamen *(ikyī)* seine *(ā Wurzel d. pron. possess., mit dem Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers -ka, masc. sing.)* Leute gezogen und er geht zur *(daka)* Mutter hin.

XIX.

ǂGâb ikye gye ŋgûng damarab.

Damarab ge i gye ŋgâb ikye gye ŋgûngke. tsikye gye ikyanna gye ka. tsâb gye ŋgûna ra jana jana tsâb ta jana jana on gye ikyanna: „fff———!", ti re mi. tsâb ge tsana jna ka ganna a ā nai on gye ganna ari ge kyai tsâb ge onā ai ka.

Ob gye damarabe ge ikyai nawa tsi ge ti ŋgoka ai tsâb ŋgûna ge mika: „ikyambka tsi abab tsîra ge ŋgaiga ob ge ababa ŋgaiga dâke", ti ŋgûna ra mika. on gye ŋgûna mana jā tsana ka. ob gye damarabe ge naiga tsi: „atse, ai, gaisi ka tîte dâb gye!"

Übersetzung von XIX.

Der kleine Klippkaffer, der mit dem Vater ausgeht.

Der kleine Klippkaffer ging *(ŋgûng, 3m pass. masc.)* mit dem Vater *(ŋgâb)* aus, und die beiden fanden *(ka)* ein Eland *(ikyanna, ǂ)*. Da ekelert *(ganna ganna)* der Vater [den Platz vom Mist, um das Tier

ausgeschlachteten], und als (*o*) er säubert (*ša = ra*), da sagt das Eland: „!ii! — — —!“*). Der Vater aber räumte (*ā nehmen*) im (*ma*) Hinterleib (*tsaa*) den Mist (*gaama, comm. plur.*) heraus (*sa*); da sprang (*ari und kyā*) das Ding (*gāa*) in die Höhe und warf sich (*eigentl. mhin nich sā*) über (*ai*) ihn (*hi*).

Dann eilte (*ikyā*) der kleine Klippkaffer nach Hause (*tara kaindokoa*) und kam zur Werft (*igoā*) und sagte zur Mutter: „Sogaatbis (*vulgäre Benennung für Eland, das Schnauben des Tieres nachahmend*) und der Vater (*!aboā, altmodischer Ausdruck, fürwahr jetzt ältlicher Mann*), die beiden haben miteinander (*-ga reciproc.*) gestritten (*ŋui*) und der Vater ist im Streit überwunden worden“ (*hā*), so sprach er zur Mutter. Aber die Mutter versteht (*mañ ā*) nicht (*tama*). Da wurde der kleine Klippkaffer böse (*haiya*) und [sagt]: „Du**), Mutter (*? ai- ahne Silbe*), der Vater wird nicht (*!ūte, fut. negat.*) kommen (*hā*), dich zu beschlafen!“ (*yai, gemeiner Ausdruck*).

XX.

Damarab tsi ǂgaua.

Damarab ya i gye ŋgā ikya gye ŋgāŋgha, kyao ŋgāŋgha. ora gye ǂkhraua gye hā. oa gye taraa ǂkhā tsa ga ikyam tsam ŋgui ǂkhraua tsi ga tsaa.

Ob gye damarabe ŋgāŋ ra ga: „ǂae, tsaoa ga !kua?“ »aarjan dī.« ob gye: „ǂāi ga !kā?“ oa gye »aarjan dī« ǂī ga mī. ob gye: „ǂae ta ai ai haiba ŋgao tsi hi tsaru yā tsaa yā!“ ǂī ga mī, tsi ga: „ǂae, ǂkua ga !kua?“ ǂī ga mī; oa gye: »aarjan dī« ǂī ga mī.

Ob gye damarabe haiba-ga ŋgao tsi ga yāa tsaru tsaa. oa gye ga ikyai tsi damaa ga ai ǂka tsis ai. oa gye damaa: „hā, tsam ta ǂāi ai ra!“

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*) Der Erzähler ahmt hier das knackende Schnauben des Tieres nach. Der Alte knackte nicht das Schnauben des Tieres, hält es für ein. Der Kleine schnaubt die Gefahr, schwebig aber, um dem Vater damit einen Streich zu spielen.

**) Hier in ungehörlicher Form mit dem Demonstrativpronomen *tsī* und dem weiblichen Vokativsuffix gegeben, um auch damit die Respektwidrigkeit der verwandten Silben gegen den Eltern (die in dieser Erzählung grundsätzlich vermieden wird) zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Übersetzung von XX.

Der kleine Klippkaffer und seine Mutter.

(ǂâa gebären, gu Verb. part. reciproc., ra dual. masc.-fem.)

Der kleine Klippkaffer war mit *(ǃkŋa)* der Mutter *(ǂgûs)* gegangen *(ǂgûng, im pass. narr.)*, [Feldzwiebeln] zu graben *(kŋao)*. Da trafen *(hâ)* sie auf eine Hyäne *(shirasa)* und die Frau *(tarasa)* steckte die Hyäne, die schlafen *(tom)* lag *(ŋgoë)*, fest ein *(ŋkŋam)* in *(ma)* das Netz *(ǂûib, s. Beschreibung S. 243, Schnalzer daselbst verdruckt)* und trug *(tani)* [sie] fort.

Während sie nun gingen *(ǂgângra go)* [fragte] der kleine Klippkaffer: „Mutter! *(aise)* mag *(ga, Verbalpart. hier des Potentialis)* das Hinterloch*) mein *(ti, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* sein?“ »[Das] fällt [nicht Kindern] zu *(di, Genit.-Part.)* [sondern] Vätern«**) [antwortet die Mutter]. Darauf er *(-b)*: „Mögen wohl die Füße *(ǂâ'i)* [der Hyäne] mein *(tite = titi)* sein?“ Und sie antwortete: »[Die] gebühren Vätern.« Darauf er: „Gleich *(tâse)* werde *(ni)* ich *(-ta)* diesen *(n²)* Stock *(haiba)* da abschneiden *(ǂgao)* und [der Hyäne] das Hinterloch ausputzen!“***) und fuhr fort: „Mutter, mag die Leber *(aisa)* wohl mein sein?“ Sie aber entgegnete: »Die gebührt Vätern.«

Da schnitt der kleine Klippkaffer einen Stock ab und putzte [der Hyäne] das Ding, das Hinterloch aus. Da wurde sie wach *(ŋkŋal)* und biß *(nâ)* die Kaffernfrau *(damasa)* zwischen die Schultern *(ai in, shu Loch, Vertiefung, sai zusammenkommen: Vertiefung wo, scil. die Schultern, zusammenkommen)*. Und die Kaffernfrau [rief der Hyäne in ihrer Angst zu]: „Du da *(h², hier absichtlich verstümmelt aus ni pron. dem., ǃ Suff. d. comm. sing. 3. pers.)* warte *(tnam)* doch *(re)*, daß ich *(-ta)* dich *(si)* losmache *(shi)*!“

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*) *tsoma:* Der After und das Endstück des Mastdarmes eines frisch erlegten Tieres wird ausgekneipelt und in der Asche gebraten.

**) *aaob* Vater. Das Suffix *ŋan* drückt nicht wie die Pluralendungen die Mehrzahl Gleichartiger, sondern die Gleichartigkeit einer Mehrzahl aus: *aaoŋan* sind alle, die die Stellung eines Vaters haben. *ǂnaoŋan* alle Ahnen etc.

***) *kaara.* Der Junge weiß, daß die Hyäne nicht tot ist, wie die Mutter irrtümlich glaubt, und sucht nun durch Drohungen etwas zu erreichen. Die Worte *hî, ǂî* und *ǂîs*, die letzteren unserem „Dingsda“ entsprechend, werden dem Klippkaffern als Unbeholfenheit des Ausdrucks in den Mund gelegt. Ein Hottentott würde sie so sprechen.

XXI.

Gora gui gye damaga.

Damagu ge i gye gye gora guike tsi ‡uri ‡kxoiga tgûhetti gye ‡kxîhe xgûi tsin ‡kxa.

Os gye tgûarona: „‡arehe gorun ao sida ‡hîb gorun kxoma i tamana?“ i ra mi. os gye tgûsa: „aë xabe hoa tsîte ra ‡kxi gorun gum xabe o.“ i ra mi.

Tsîb gye sudgu hi hîa soresa go tgû tsin gye kxoina go som. agu gye ‡kxi tsi kxoina go gum.

Übersetzung von XXI.

Die Klippkaffern, die sich in Krähen verwandeln.

Die Klippkaffern waren zu Krähen geworden (*gui, pass.*), und nachdem (*-ti, Part. d. partic. praet., hinter tgû, umbinden*) sie weiße (*‡uri*) Tücher (*‡kxoiga*) umgelegt hatten (*der weißen Halsbinde des Vogels entsprechend*), kamen (*‡kxi, i. pass. narr.*) sie mit (*‡kxa*) Bogen (*kxûti*) und allem (*-n, Pers.-Suff. comm. plur.*) an.

Da sagt das kleine Hottentotten-Mädchen (*tgôas Kind, -ro Diminut.*): „Ach (*ao*), was für (*‡arehe*) Krähen sind das, die den Krähen unseres (*sida, pron. 1. pers. comm. plur. exclusivi, unter Weglassung d. Genitivpart. im Sinne des pron. poss. gebraucht*) Landes (*‡hîb*) so gar nicht (*toma, mit d. Suff. d. Subj., comm. plur.*) ähnlich sind?“ (*kxoma wie, scheinen*). Doch die Mutter (*tgûsa*) sagt: „Aber (*xabe*) hier (*ni, Dem.-Wurzel*) kommen ja (*gum ... o*) doch alle (*hoa*) Tage (*tsîte*) Krähen an.“

Und während (*hîa*) die Kaffern (*durch das Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. masc. -gu ausgedr.*) dasaßen (*sudî*), ging die Sonne (*soresa*) unter (*tgû, verb.*), und die Menschen (*kxoina, comm. plur., gemeint sind die Hottentotten*) schliefen (*som*). Die Kaffern aber kamen und töteten (*gum*) sie.

XXII.

Daman tgaûs ai gye sari ‡kxi kxoîba.

Kxoîb ge i gye xau- daman tgaûs ai gye ‡kxîhe tsîb gye daruna ûhe, ‡hana ûhe, ti go hîhe. xabeb gye kxoên go som toa xabe oba, os

gye: „ñûtsi, ka=ûtsi=oaba ǂkani ao'ai, daraê aotsi tîka ge hî o?" ǁî ge mî. oh gye: „aotsi re ekkhoê i yata gum ogoassi hî o." ǁî ge mî.

Oa gye ûgûsiba ge ogui tî: „aê aoba ǂî, ǂîs îî hoaqua ǂîê ǂî ogê, ekgam damarun gye." ǁî ge mî. oh gye hoaqua ǂîê ge ǂî ogê. oa gye damarun ge ǂî oa gye damun geiba: „ñûtsiba gum yaie: ‹ekgam damarun gye, îî hoaqua ǂîê oa ogê.› ǁî ge mî o." ǁî mîtsi damarun ge ǂî.

Übersetzung von XXII.

Der Mann, der in die Kafferwerft spazieren (tsari) ging.

Ein Mann kam (ûgê, *i. pass. narr.*) in (oi) die Werft (ogaûs) der Dreck-Kaffern (gau- damun, *comm. plur.*), und er bekam (°aa ekkemken, *passivisch*) ein Gericht Mäuse (damun, *comm. plur., leichte Speise der Bergdamara*) und bekam Hani-Zwiebeln, so wurde er bewirtet (*wurde ihm gemacht, lit.*). Aber obschon (yaba) die Leute schlafbereit (*tum tin*) waren, blieb er dennoch sitzen (°eaba).

Da fragte die Kaffernfrau (*durch d. Suff. -s ausgedrückt*): „He du (hî, *Demonstr., -ta, bez. Form d. Suff. d. pers. masc. sing.*), was (tarê, *m. d. Suff. d. angered. Pers.*) sitzest du noch, nachdem (-hî, *Endung d. partic. praet.*) ich (îha) dir doch (o) Feldzwiebeln gegeben, Mäuse (*comm. sing.*) gegeben, dich so bewirtet habe?" Und er antwortete: „Ei (gum . . . o), mich gelüstet (*wörtl.: ich bin lauernd tguna, -si Adj.-Edg.*) nach (ge, *mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.*) dem, was im Sitzen (eaba, *adj.*) flach wird" (ekkhe, *pass., -i Suff. comm. sing.*).

Da rief (ogui) sie ihre Tochter und sagte: „Nimm (ǂî) diesen Mann (aoba), und (ǂ-) du (-ǂî, *an den Mann gerichtet*) steck (ûgê und ǂî) nicht (îî) das ganze (°hoaqua — hoaraqua) Ding (yaê, *comm. sing.*) hinein, es ist ein junges (ekgam) kleines (-ro, *Dim.*) Kaffernmädchen." Aber er steckte das ganze Ding hinein. Da weinte (ǂî) das Mädchen und das alte (*gui graf. m. d. Suff. d. ungehör. Subst., weil diesem nachgestellt*) Kaffernweib sagte: „Ich (-ta) habe dir (ûtsa) ja (gum . . . o) doch gesagt: Jung ist das Kaffernmädchen, fahr (ao merfen) nicht mit dem ganzen Ding hinein!" Sprachs (*i. Part. praet.*) und nahm das Mädchen.

c) Aus dem Familien- und Hirtenleben.

Die Sage XXIII ist ein Lob der Gastfreiheit, Sage XXIV gibt, anscheinend in streng moralisierender Form, einen Einblick in die Pflichten der Kinder im Hause. Die Sage XXV ist vielleicht nur ein Fragment.

Die Sage vom verwünschten Kraben, denen sich hier der Stolle (Sage XXVI), dort die Kuh (XXVII) anschließt, und die beiden Sagen vom dummen Michel (XXVIII und XXIX) sind dem Hirtenleben entnommen.

XXIII.

Hierwe gye kyoba.

Kyoŏb ge i gye kyoba gye igumeba. tsîs gye kyoŏ igûgukye tsî kyoŏ tsîs ge, kyoŏro ni re oomba ge, re igurukye îkye tharuna re daba. tsîs gye go tgoma daba hâ ore igû. tsîkye gye kyoŏkye tharuna ge igao igûng oa gye kyoba tgomŏ tge ge igûng sîsaa si ge. tsîs gye ti ge sîsaa oa gye tgûtsiqûbesa joaye tsî kyoŏ di tarama ge ona. oa gye: „tgûtsiqûbis, oadi tarama!" ti ge mî. oa gye tgûtsiqûbesa: „hm'm oasis, ona tsîs igoisa ta re hî!" ti ge mî. oa ge kyoba sîsaa taetsî: „tarama mâ te tgûtsiqûbis!" ti ge mî. oa gye ge îkyoŏ- si tsî ge ti kyoba ge ore igûba. oa gye kyoba ge tao tsî hais ma ge tgû. tsîb gye tgûtsiqûbesa ge igumba xoŏb tarao di oattsî.

Tsîs gye tharao tgao ta igûng o re îkyî tsî omao yama yama, gobasa igao yama tsî sâî yon tsî obasa tsaba tsî tarama daiî oaba tsî re igûng. oa gye-igui.tsî tarama igûab goib tge: „si tharaŏ ma tgû îts tgaoa tgoŏ îts oaba re hâ kyoeî oan," ti ge mî. tsîb tgoŏ hîas gye ge îkyî. tsîs gye hâ ge oaî tsî oba ge ŧ tsîs ta tsaba hîaŏ gye ge oare ai si. oa gye ge thaisî oŏ gye ge îkyŏ si oa gye: „tgûtsiqûbis tge igûng aats gye tgûtsiqûbesa igumetsî a ona ya ir!" tsîb gye ge îkyŏ si tsî oms daba ge si ŧ si tsîb gye ge si ŧ si..

Tsîs hâ hîara gye tgûtsiqûbis tsîra ge îkyî. oa gye: „ŧ ona ir!" ti ge mî. yaba gye kyoeî jhaa ŧ si toma hâ. tsîb gye jaababa ŧ tsî ge oaaya tsî ge oaas si. oa gye ge uri tgoma igurasa ya tsî: tgûtsiqûbesa, tgoas jaa gaithaabaiq!" ti ge mî tsîs gye si tgoma jaa ge igûa. oŏ gye kyoŏba tarao ŧba ge hŏ o tarao ŧba ge igoma.

Übersetzung von XXIII.

Die Leute, die Binsen suchen.

Ein Mann (ǂgaub) hatte eine Frau genommen (ǂgama, c. pass. corr.). Und der Mann nebst seinem Bruder (ǂgaub ǂgiǂgaǂgu) und die Frau, die drei (tãĩ und, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. plur. comm.) suchten (ha c. pass. narr.), damit (ga) das Paar (ǂgaǂgoã Menschen, dual. mascul.) sich (-ha objectiv. Part.) [Hausmatten] nähen (tama) sollte (ni). Binsen (haruma), mit (ǂgu) zwei (-ǂgu suff. dual. masc.) Tragochsen (ǂgaro-) [ausstehend]. Und bei (daba) dem Wasser (ǂgoma) sattelten sie ab ("vor hinten, gabl d. Rückens). Dann gingen (ǂgãĩ) die beiden Männer fort, Binsen zu schneiden (ǂgua), aber die Frau ging zum Wasser, um sich (ba, Reflexivpart.) zu waschen (ni). Und als sie daran ging (ki), sich zu waschen, da kam ein Froschweib (ǂgãĩaǂgãĩsa) hervor (ǂgaaǂa, verä.) und zog die Kleider (haruma, comm. plur.) der (di Genitivpart.) Frau an (ǂama, verä.). Da sagte sie: „Frosch, leg hin (mãĩ, verä.) die Kleider!" Aber der Frosch sagte: „Nein (kam'm) Schwester ("amis s. Familie S. pos), ich (ha Suff.) tue (ki) [sie ja] nur (ǂgaiba) ausprobieren!" (ǂama amaisa, bã schmecken). Und als (bã Part. d. part. praet. hinter ihn anfügen) die Frau sich fertig gewaschen hatte, sagte sie: „Gib (mã) mir (ha Suff.) die Kleider, Frosch!" Aber der entfloh (ǂgaǂ- ni) und geht hin (ti), wo (-ha) die Menschen abgesattelt haben. Die Frau aber schämte (ha) sich und ging in (ma) das Gebüsch (hai) hinein (ǂgã, verä.). Und der Mann (durch d. Suff. -b ausgedrückt) nahm das Froschweib zur Frau im Glauben (tai denken im Partizip. praeter.), es sei sein (b'ã'ãĩ, pron. poss. 3. pers. sing. masc., di Genitivpart.) Weib (haruma).

Doch wenn (o) die Leute (durch d. Suff. der comm. plur. -a ausgedr.) nach den Binsen gingen (ha euphon. für ta), kommt (ǂgã) jene (-a in hã, die rechtmäßige Frau) und säubert (ǂama ǂama) die Hütte (ǂamma), säubert das Geschirr (ǂgahama, comm. plur.) und zermahlt (ǂgoa) Buchu (hãĩ, comm. sing.) und macht Butter (ǂnaba, verä.) [in der] Kalabas (ǂkhoma) und schenkt der [alten] Frau (der Mutter ihres Mannes, die blind gedacht ist) Milch (ǂkaiĩ, comm. sing.) ein (tsã, -ha objectiv. Part.) und geht. Da sagte eines (ǂgui) Tages (hã) die Alte zu ihrem großen (ǂgaĩ) Sohn (ǂgǂoh): „Versteck dich (ǂgoã kincia) in dieser (ni)

Biesenmatte (*!kharuß*) und (*ll. mit dem Suff. d. 3. pers. sing. masc.*) lieg (*tgui*) darin (*°tgoma*) und sieht zu (*tam saiseng*), welcher Mensch (*kgoe*) hier (*mßa*) umgeht" (*hã sain, khaiheng*). Und während (*hã ñkeri, wie die Konjunktion a, zumal dem Vorder- als dem Nachsatz ein und hat hier d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz*) er dalag, kam sie. Und sie ging (*hã*) daran, sich hinzusetzen (*mã*), und nimmt die Kalebas, und während sie buttert (*ña = mã*), spuckte (*sara*) er auf (*ni*) sie (*ti, Suff.*), [um sich bemerkbar zu machen]. Da entfloh (*thai- ni*) sie und er fing (*!Kyi*) sie, sie aber sagte: „Geh zum Frauchweib, der du (*tsã, pron. pers. masc.*) das Frauchweib geheiratet (*s. Partic. praeteriti*) hast und mich im Stich ließ!" (*tsã yã*). Doch er fing sie und will (*ti daran gehen*) sie zur Hütte hineinnehmen und will sie fassen.

Indessen kamen das Frauchweib [und der Bruder des Mannes], die beiden an. Da sagte das Frauchweib: „Nimm mich herunter!"*) (*ã ama*). Jedoch niemand spricht (*ihna*) mit (*ã*) ihr. Dann nahm er die Nilpferdpeitsche (*mañuhu*) und kam hervor (*sarya, verb.*) und schlug (*ttama*) sie. Da sprang (*tari*) sie herunter (*ngama*) vom (*ya*) Reitochsen und [rief]: „Ich (*-ka*) bin ein Frosch! Im Wasser rudere (*°mãttuhu*) ich!" So rief sie und sprang zum Wasser hinab (*ngka, verb.*). Als aber der Mann seine (*ã Stamm d. pron. possess., -ka Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzes*) Frau gefunden (*hã*) hatte, heiratete er seine Frau [wieder].

XXIV.

Damaha gye ngui ngkoan.

!Gkam i gye damaß ge ona ana ai hã a mã o: „ais oni ais ai mã tsaßß kyama ttama yõhe ti!" ti ge mi tsi tsaaha i ra ã sui, tsaaß !kya ra tsarake.

Oni gye ngkoti gaiti: „gui kyaßß gye si naa!" ti ra mi. ob gye: „mã!ya si, gõß yama ra mi, yaigye."

Tsãi gye ana ngnaga ge tsã ngkang. ob gye ngui saisexti ge o tsi ngoma yaa a ngka o sarxa ãke ge ã. tsãi gye saexati ge o damaß ngaiha ge mã. tsãi gye ge hã tsi: „ã maaß, ti ngoa ngãs tsi ti°ngaiß tsina mã te!" ti ge mi. ob gye ge mãti tsi n!eiha gyare ngaßa: „ngkang aibe ãs mã ona ngoaß daba si !kyãga yarake te!" ti ge mi. as gye ge ngkang tsi si

*) Sie dient auf dem Rückzuken und verlangt den Rücken, heruntergeholen zu werden.

go ǂoro tsî go ǂkχî ŧ. oè gye go ǂkχè si tsî go ǂkχom si ǂkχûgχ ǂkχa. tsî ŋgoaob oi go oa ǂaba si tsî go ŋgûŋ.

Tsîn gye kχoin ôna go daê ! hê tsîra gye aibe moosara go l. os gye: „moorî ŧî moaro, ŋgona ǂoomaŧ ge ta gum tan-tan-tan mailke hê o!ⁿ ŧî go mî. ora gye moosara: „sa ŋgôasa ta gum: ‹ŋgomî ǂuriba te re›, ŧî go mî oⁿ tsî go ŋgûŋ.

Tsîra gye ŋgâs di ŋgôra hê go l. os gye: „noa goruro ŧî moaos ŋgôre, ŋgona ǂoomaŧi ta gum tan-tan-tan mailke hê o!ⁿ ŧî go mî. ora gye: „sa ŋgôasa ta gum: ‹ŋgaŧiba te, ŧîa ŋgoasa oaî ǂoa›, ŧî gyere mî o?ⁿ ŧî mîtsî go ŋgûŋ.

Ora gye ŋgôra go l hê. os gye: „noa goruro aboŋoro, ŋgona ǂoomaŧi ta gum tan-tan-tan mailke hê o!ⁿ ŧî go mî. ora gye: „sa ŋgôasa ta gum: ‹omaa ǂkaŧîeba te re›, ŧî gyere mî o?ⁿ ŧî mîtsî go ŋgûŋ.

Otî gye ŋgôaŧe hê go l. os gye: „noa goruro dôdab ôaxo, ŋgona ǂoomaŧi ta gum tan-tan-tan mailke hê o!ⁿ ŧî go mî. otî gye: „sa ŋgôasa saŋiojm: ‹goi kχoêŧ ocn re›, ŧî gyere mî oⁿ ŧî mîtsî go ŋgûŋ.

Okχo gye ŋgôaŋkχo go ǂkχî. os gye: „noa goruŋkχo ŧî ŋgûkχo, ŋgona ǂoomaŧi ta gum tan-tan-tan mailke hê o!ⁿ ŧî go mî. okχo gye go ǂkχoê tsî go si tsî s(e)ŧi di tsaûba go oa ǂaba tsîb gye go ŧî maû si. tsîkχo gye hais ŋgûb oi sraîtsî arisa go ǂoro si. tsî ǂoro tsaûsa go os gye go ŋgûŋ.

Übersetzung von XXIV.

Das Mädchen, das dem Klippkaffern flucht.

Ein Mädchen *(ŋgôas, mit dem alten Demonstr.-Suff. -i)* sagte zu einem Klippkaffern *(damab)*, als *(o)* er kąm *(hê)*, sich vor *(oi)* die Tür *(oms)* der Hütte *(oms, fem.)* zu setzen *(saŧ)*: „Wie *(kχoma)* das Kalb *(tsaûb)*, das vor *(ais Gesicht)* der Hütte *(omi, masc.)* meiner Mutter *(aix)* steht *(mî)*, so unförmig lang *(°snoma)* ist dein Schamglied!ⁿ *(χôba)* (°ŧ, *Flickpartikel*). Und nimmt *(ŧî)* Asche *(ŧsaoba)* aus *(sui)* [der Feuerstelle] und bewirft *(ŧsoro, i. poss. norr.)* ihn mit *(ikχa)* Asche.

Da sagen die älteren *(gui groß, Adj. m. Pers.-Suff., weil dem Subst. nachgesetzt)* Mädchen: „Bedenke *(saa wissen, ni Fut. part.)*, daß das ein Erwachsener ist!ⁿ *(großer Mensch kχoêŧ, comm. sing., m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. angered. Person, -s fem.)*. Der aber erwiderte: „Laß gut sein *(saîkχa,*

oiâuuru), aus *(uma)* Torheit *(gûû = gûuruk)* redet sie so, darum *(ǂuigye)* [daß sie laufen]."

Und am anderen *(°nau)* Morgen früh *(tgumga)* gingen *(tgûng)* die Mädchen *(durch d. Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. fem. -îi ausgedr.)* schwimmen *(tûi)*. Als sie sich *(sen, Reflex.-Part.)* aber ausgezogen *(tgui sui)* hatten und ins *(ma)* Wasser *(tgumu)* heruntergegangen *(tgûa)* waren, nahm *(ti)* der Klippkaffer *(durch d. Pers.-Suff. -ti, in ob am Anf. d. Satzes ausgedrückt)* ihre *(ti Wurzel d. pron. poss. mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzerinnen -ti)* Kleider *(tarusa)* weg. Und erst *(tgui, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Obj.)* als sie herauskamen *(tuatga)*, sahen *(mâ)* sie den Kaffern. Da kamen *(hâ)* sie heran und sagten: „Mein Großvater *(ti ǂnaub, respektvolle Anrede)*, gieb *(mâ)* mir *(ti, Suff.)* meinen beschnittenen *)* *(tgum, Attribut d. Hinterschurzes, der mit Perlketten versiert ist, vgl. S. 408)* Hinterschurz *(tgâi)* und meinen Vorschurz *(tgaib)*, das alles!" Und er gab es ihnen *(-ti, Suff.)*, aber zu der *(-se, Pers.-Suff.)*, die ihm *(ti'ǂîbe, pron.)* geflucht *(tgui m. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* hatte, sagte er: „Lauf erst *(ûibe)* und *(i, mit Pers.-Suff.)* pflücke *(gei ti, pflücken sie, m. d. objektiv. Part. -ha)* mir Dornen *(ti'kxûga)* bei dem Giraffenbaum *(tgumub)*, der dort *(mâ)* steht *(mâ)*!" Da lief sie und pflückte und kam *(ikxi)* damit *(ti)* an. Der Kaffer aber ergriff *(ikxi)* sie *(ti, Suff.)* und stach *(tikxum)* ihr mit den Dornen [die Glieder so fest aneinander, daß sie sich nicht rühren konnte]. Dann hob *(ao werfen, rühr aufstrigen)* er sie in den Giraffenbaum auf und ging fort.

Da kamen die Übrigen *(tsa kyoin)* vorbei *(i)* gezogen *(dui)*, und erst kommen die beiden Großeltern *(tnaose- = tnao-, m. Pers. Suff.)* vorbei. Da rief das Mädchen: „Meine Großeltern da *(°nau Demonstr.-Wurzel, -ro Suff. d. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)*, seht *(gum - - - o, Interj.)*, die Wurzel *(°ǂnomub)* des Giraffenbaums hält mich fest gefangen!-**)" Doch die Großeltern antworteten: „Ich hatte dir *(ta, Suff.)* Mädchen doch gesagt: „Schenke *(gui, m. objektiv. Part. -ha)* mir bitte *(ti, Optat.-Part.)* Wasser *(tsumm. sing.)* ein, [und du hast nicht gehört]. So sagten sie und gingen weg.

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*) Der Hinterschurz ist manchmal mit Perlketten versiert.

**) *mail* hinzufügen, °*tam-tam-tam* = wider Willen jemand festhalten. Dieses schwere Wort setze ich auch in folgendem Zusammenhang: Ein Boss, der lange auf sich warten läßt, wurde mit den Worten empfangen: „*darref tam-tam-tam mail tai hâ 17*" Dasselbe Wort wurde auf ein Handelspfer angewandt, das ungerufen in capsula verblieb war.

Da kommen die beiden Bediensteten *(ǂgûsu)* ihrer *(ǂâ, Genitiv-pers.)* Mutter *(ǂgâi)* vorbei, und das Mädchen rief: „Ihr Dienstleute meiner Mutter, die ihr da ankommt *(gusu)*, seht, die Wurzel des Giraffenbaums hält mich fest gefangen!" Doch die antworteten: „Hatte ich dir Mädchen nicht gesagt: Melk mir die Nachmilch *(ǂgubi, verb., mit objektiv. Pronomen)*, laß *(t und. imper.)* mich *(-hi, Suff.)* Wasser hineingießen *(tsui, s. S. 258)*, [und du hast es nicht getan]!" Sagten es *(-hî, Part. d. participl. praeter.)* und gingen.

Da kamen die Eltern *(ǂgûsu)* vorbei, und das Mädchen rief: „Ehrwürdige Eltern *(ǂhoǂgusu, dual. masc. fem.)*, die ihr da ankommt, seht, die Wurzel des Giraffenbaums hält mich fest gefangen!" Doch die antworteten: „Hatte ich dir Mädchen nicht gesagt: Mach mir doch die Hütte zurecht *(ǂ'hoiba, verb.)*, [und du hast nicht gefolgt]!" Sagten es und gingen weg.

Da kamen die Schwestern vorbei, und das Mädchen rief: „Ihr *(-ǂâ, Suff. d. 2. pers. plur. fem.)* Kinder meines Vaters *(ǂâǂâb)*, die ihr da ankommt, seht, die Wurzel des Giraffenbaumes hält mich fest gefangen!" Doch die antworteten: „Wir *(ŋg(o)m = ŋg(o)m, pron. 1. pers. fem. plur. exclusiv)* hatten dir Mädchen doch gesagt: Wisse, daß es ein Erwachsener ist!" Sagten es und gingen.

Dann kamen ihre beiden *(-ǂgu, Suff. 3. pers. dual. masc.)* Brüder, und sie rief: „Meine Brüder *(-ǂgu, Suff. 3. pers. dual. masc., ǂg- = ǂgu-)*, die ihr da ankommt, seht, die Wurzel des Giraffenbaumes hält mich fest gefangen!" Da eilten *(ǂgoê)* sie herzu und kamen hin und hoben ihr *(ti'ǂi, pron. 3. pers. sing. fem., ǂî, Gen.-Part.)* Kalb*) *(ǂnaûba)* hinauf, und das Kalb *(durch d. Pers.-Suff. -b in ǂâb umgedr.)* holte das Mädchen herunter *(ǂ mit, verb.)*. Die Brüder aber setzten sich *(i. partic. praet.)* hinter *(in ai, den Rücken (gâb))* den Baum *(ǂaiǂ)*, und eine Mündin *(arisa)* zog ihr die Dornen aus *(isru)*. Und als *(a, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subjekts im Nachsatz, -a, comm. plur.)* ihr die Dornen fertig *(ǂan aufhören, i. pass., auf d. Mädchen bezogen, wie d. Suff. -s zeigt)* ausgezogen waren, gingen sie fort.

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*) Die Brüder holten ihre Schwester nicht selbst, aus Schamgefühl, weil sie nackt ist. Daher auch die Mithilfe des Affenkalbs.

XXV.

ǂGûnǂkʒe gʏe ŋgʏm kʒoû.

ǂkhî ge gʏe ʒoma gʏe ŋgomâke tsî gʏe gʏe xûke. ekʒe gʏe ŋgûnǂkʒe gʏe ŋgûŋg ʏ'ûsi ŋge gʏe ŋgûŋg tsîkʒe gʏe gʏe si. se gʏe ama ŋgûb oi gʏe ŋgoê gaiǂkʒê. tsîkʒe nûbe ŋgoê-tâe gʏe ʒoma gʏe ǂkʒî tsî gʏe ŋgomǂkʒê. se gʏe ǂkʒimse gʏe ê: „Ŋgomamâ ŋgûb ŋgûb, nûbe mari mamasa ʏ'ûsi ŋgûkʒe ŋgom!"

Übersetzung von XXV.

Das Weib, das ihre beiden Brüder tötet.

Das Feuer *(ǂâb)* hatte *(gʏe gʏe, Verb.-Part. d. praet.)* den Löwen *(ʒama = ʒami, ê)* geheiratet *(ŋgome, passivisch)* und war mit ihm zu seiner Werft gezogen *(ǂê, verb.: Übernächtigen der jüngern Frau vom Elternhause zum Manne; minder passivisch)*. Da *(o mit d. Pers.-Suff. der Subjekts i. dual. masc. -kʒe)* gingen *(ŋgûŋg)* die beiden Brüder *(ŋgûmkʒe)* [des Feuers] zu *(ŋgoê)* ihr *(ʏ'ûsi)* und kamen dahin *(ǂî)*. Da ließ *(ŋgoi)* es *(-a Pers.-Suff. fem. sing., an o angehängt, weist auf das i. Hottent. weibliche Subjekt d. Satzes)* die beiden *-kʒê (Acc.)* hinter *(ai mark. ŋgûb Rücken)* der Hütte *(oms)* liegen *(ŋgoê)*. Und während *(ǂâi)* sie da *(nûbe)* liegen, kam *(ǂkʒî)* der Löwe und tötet *(ŋgom)* sie. Da weinte *(ê)* das Perlhuhn *(ǂkʒimse)*: „Ŋgomamâ ŋgûb ŋgûb (Nachahmung des Rufes), die feurige *(nûbe)* Wolkentochter*) tötet ihre *(ʏ'ûsi, prom. pers. 3. pers. sing. fem., hier unter Weglassung der Genitivpartikel di im Sinne des prom. poss.)* Brüder!"

XXVI.

ǂGûsas ǂkʒe gʏe hâ i ŋgoba.

Ŋgoâ ge i gʏe ŋgûsas ǂkʒe gʏe hâke i. tsîb gʏe gomatsa ra tee o mâ tsaûsara ra eesa joe ǂ hais ǂkʒe ra eesa hi tsîb gʏe daiǂs ta mâ hi o ekʒari dairoê nûhake tsî ŋgoma ra mâ toorabake tsîb gʏe ʒonga ra ŋgoê tsasa ai.

Oê gʏe ŋgoôa ŋgui tsî: „ǂîsa daoats gʏe ai, tsaûnaits ge ǂâi o, ǂkʒî, ǂîa tîsa nâ mâ tsî!" ǂî ge mî. tsîb gʏe tsaûnab ge ǂâi o ge si ŋgoê daoa tsîb

*) Wörtlich: bewölkitzere Jungmaus, Mickes Maria (p. 8. post. Anderung des Sinnes. — einer der schönen Fälle von Perlhuhn im Hottentottischen.

gye ŋgûbe ŋa ma ge ŋgû gui ki. tûb gye ge ŋgû tûl nâma ge ŋ tûl nâs tûbe. tûl ge uûl nuŋge; tûl uûl tuub ge o ŋama ŋama nâma tûl ge ŋgû ŋ tûl ge nuŋge tûl tuubma tûbû ge nare.

Ge gye ŋgûnama ŋgui tûl ŋgûnaine: „ŋgûŋge gye ni ui ozub ôŋge ŋ gû kaoûb ka nâ ŋkyuil?" tûbe gye ge ŋgûŋg tûl ge ni ŋgûb ŋgamma ŋgue ŋkuâ mûl kâe. tûb gye ni ra ge o ruâne ge kyau tûb ge ŋgû tûl nâma ge ŋ tûl ge uûl nuŋge; tûl uûl tuub ge o ŋama ŋama tûl ge ŋgû ŋ nâma tûl gye ge nuŋge. tûbe gye ge nare. tûb gye ni ra ge o ŋgûnaa ge ŋgûna gû mîba: „ŋgûb ŋaa ŋgû tûl ra nâ kû nâ kâma ŋ nui tûl uûl tûl nâ," ŋ ge uû.

Ge gye ŋgûne, ôŋge ge gumuŋa o, ama kyau ŋgû nâ. tûb gye, ouuâb ka ŋgûna kâe: „ui ŋgûnaib gye ni ruaa ŋaa?" ŋ nâb kâa ŋaa ge mîba. ôb gye ŋgûba ozuba ge mîba: „ui ŋgûe gye: kâta tîka ruaa ŋauka, ŋ ge nâ," ŋ ozuba ge ŋkuaba, „kûgyokyaa gye ni ui ŋaâ kî" ŋ ge uû. ukya gye kûŋuba ge ki.

Tûl gye ŋgûba ŋgûge ra ôŋâ ŋaa. tûb gye nâb ôkâe ra ŋ tûb gye nâb ôkâb ôŋge ge gugûba nama, gumuŋa nama, ŋ ge ki. tûl ŋgûba ge ruaaŋge tûl ŋgûb ôl ŋâa ôŋge nauuŋab ni ŋâaa ge ŋ. tûb gye ŋgûba ôŋguba ge ôŋge ouŋb daba tûl gye ge ŋgûŋg tûl nauuŋa kyaba daba.

Ge gye ŋgûnaa kû ge nama. ôb gye guâne ŋgûkâe ra ŋgua. ge gye: „kaoûl ŋauuâb tîka ge nama o nuâbi gûae ra ŋgua?" ŋ ge uû. ôb gye: „aaa gyaee tîka ôl ŋâaa ka gaaa ŋaa nama o?" ŋ ge uû. ge gye ge ruaa ŋgûaab a ôŋgail.

Übersetzung von XXVI.

Der Knabe, der bei seiner Schwester wohnt.

Ein Knabe *(ôŋgab)* wohnte *(kâ kâeba, ‹ pass. narr.)* bei *(ôŋge mil)* seiner Schwester *(ŋgûnama)*. Und wenn *(-)* sie *(-ra, Suff. 3. pers. dual. masc.-fem., dem Objekt angehängt)* die Kühe *(gumuŋa)* melken *(ge)*, schlägt *(nama)* sie *(-a, Pers.-Suff. hinter tûl am Anfang des Satzes)* ihn *(kî, Pers.-Suff.)* da *(tûl)* mit dem Stock *(kaûŋ)*, mit *(ŋ)* dem sie die Kälber *(tuûbma)* [von den Kühen] wegjagen *(nama ŋa)*. Und wenn sie ihm Milch *(ôuâŋ)* gibt *(nâ, ka = ra)*, bekommt er *(-b in kûb)* nur ein kleines *(ŋkyaŋ)* Schlöckchen Milch *(-ra, Diminu.)* eingeschenkt *(ruâ, -ka objektiver. Partikel)*, und Wasser *(ŋgama)* wird aufgefüllt *(oa)*, und draußen *(ŋauŋa)* liegt *(ŋgul)* er auf *(ui)* der Asche *(kaoa)*.

Da sagte eines (ŋui) Tages (ǂhâ) der Bulle (ŋǂôba): „Zu (ǂkhe, mit d. Suff. z. pers. masc. sing.) mir (ǂîa, pron.) mußt (tî, Fut. part.) du kommen (ǂkŋî), wenn du die Kälber hütest (ǂâi, zu Part. d. potent.), laß (î und, imper.) mich (durch Suff. und pron. latent ausgedr.) dir (ǂîi, Suff.) Kost (tâ) geben!“ Und der Knabe ging (ki), als er die Kälber hütete, zum Bullen. Und der Bulle hieß (gui) ihn, in (ma) einen seiner Füße (ǂîi, sing.) hineinzugehen (ŋgâ). Da ging er hinein und fand (î nakaun) Kost (tâna, comm. plur.) und einen Topf (ǂâi), alles das (îi und, -ma Suff. d. comm. plur.). Dann kam er heraus (°ŋuŋa, nicht ŋuŋa), um zu kochen (tui); und als er fertig (ma koradigen, m. Pers.-Suff.) gekocht hatte, reinigte (ŋana ŋana) er den Topf und ging mit ihm hinein [in den Fuß des Bullen] und kam heraus (ŋuŋa, verk.) und ging nach Hause (ŋuŋa, verk.), nachdem (-îi. Part. d. partic. praet. hinter ǂ) er die Kälber zusammengetrieben (intrl.: genommen) hatte.

Aber die Schwester sagte eines Tages zu ihrer Tochter (°ŋǂaisa = ŋǂai): „Du (-i, Suff. z. pers. sing. fem., hinter ŋǂâg gehen) mußt einmal mit diesem (ti) Ochsen gehen, dann (ǂî, m. Pers.-Suff.) sieh zu (gî), was (kaiti, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.) er ißt!“ (ti, ta = ta, ǂkgaiti, Part. d. indir. Frage). Und die beiden gingen und kamen hin, als gerade (ǂâi) der Bulle unter (°ŋgu) einem Giraffenbaum (ŋgumaŋ) im Schatten stand (ǂhaiti, der Schattenwuchs des Viehes in den heißen Tagesstunden, mit strken). Da zündete (kyau) der Knabe ein Feuer (taba) an und ging [in den Fuß des Bullen], und nahm Kost und kam heraus, um zu kochen; und als er fertig gekocht hatte, reinigte er den Topf und ging mit ihm hinein und kam wieder heraus. Dann gingen die beiden heim. Und als die Tochter ankam, erzählte (ǂîba) sie ihrer Mutter (ŋǂâa): „Er geht in den Bullen hinein und Topf und Kost; das alles (îi, °Copula bei Aufzählungen, s. S. 424 Anm.) nimmt er heraus (tui), und wenn er gekocht hat (Partizip.-Konstr.), ißt er.“

Als dann das Vieh (gomana, comm. plur.) [vom Feld] gekommen war, stand der Bulle hinter (kyao ŋgâ) der Hütte. Da sagte die Schwester, während der Bulle es hörte (ǂnaiti, m. Pers.-Suff.): „Diesen Bullen mußt du (-ti, Suff. d. angeredeten z. pers. masc.) totschießen (ǂnoa ŋan)!“ So sagte sie zu (ŋgu) ihrem (i Wurzel d. pron. possess., -i Pers.-Suff. der Besitzerin) Mann (aob). Da sagte der Bulle dem Knaben: „Deine (ti, Stamm d. 2. pers. d. pron. personale, unter Weg-

Instrumg der Genitivpart. i. Sinne des prom. poss. gebraucht) Schwester hat gesagt: ich soll *(hã hasara)* totgeschossen werden", erzählte *(ãsa)* er dem Knaben, „darum *(hãgye)* wollen *(ti, ∫ui.)* wir *(-kyum, Suff. 1. pers. masc. dual.)* heute Abend *(ti ∫ui)* fliehen *(hã)*." Und des Nachts *(hãkyuba)* flohen die beiden *(-kya, Suff. dual. masc.)*.

Der Bulle aber sticht *(ãkyã)* Bullen tot. Und der Knabe nimmt dann die Ochsenschwänze *(ãhãte, fem.)* da *(ma)*, und mit den Ochsenschwänzen kaufte *(numa)* er einen Wagen *(gimina)*, kaufte Ochsen, so tat *(hi)* er. Dann verkaufte *(numaya)* er den Bullen, und mit dem Erlös *(wörtl.: mit den Sachen, Waren, gũna, des di, Bullen)* erwarb *(ã)* er Waren zum Verkauf. Dann kam der Bulle wieder *(ãkyuba)* zu ihm *(trotzdem, prom.)*, und sie gingen fort und verkauften bei den Leuten.

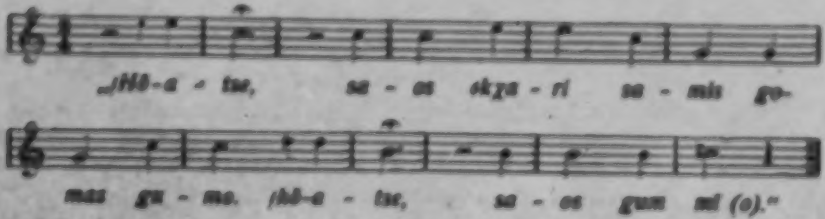
Da kam *(hã)* noch die Schwester, um zu kaufen. Doch er forderte *(igun)* sehr *(-gui groß, -se Adv.-Edg.)* hoch *(igubise)*. Darauf fragte sie: „Warum *(tarel ∫anse)* forderst du, wenn ich kaufe bis zu *(gũse)* solcher *(mãti)* Höhe?" Er aber antwortete: „Was *(gũna)* du *(tsin, prom.)* mir angetan *(di)* hattest, habe ich ja *(gun - - - o)* nicht *(tsima)* vergessen *(!aru)*!" Da wußte *(sau)* sie, daß *(ãkyoã)* es der Bruder war *(wörtl.: ist, a)*.

XXVII.

Kyain doba gye igoruhe ayab.

Taras ya i gye, doõhe i gye o, ayaba kyain doba gye igoruhe tsi gomasa gye tsãyuhe ayab ni ã daisi ga.

On gye ayaba ãb ∫ne go shan igõ tsi igoonan ta ≠õ o sharuba tanab ãb ai ru tsoro. os gye gomasa:



tsmi ra ã.

On gye go doõ ya bi gomasa ãtsi. os gye gomasa go ikyoõ oa tsi hã go yoro tui bi tsin gye go igũng.

Tûn gye ozob di ŋǂâkya ŋoona ǂhi hâkya. ob gye ekyoma go ekyoê ŋǂâng. ‘tsî go mâ hi tsî ob go o ŋǂûaba go mîha: „Ŋǂûaba gye go hî!“ ti go mî. ob gye: „Ayi, ekyam mai ŋǂâng, tha gî mâ ŋǂûaba!“ ti go mî.

Tâkya gye go ŋǂâng tsîgo ti. os gye gomaa: „ǂhâaba, saan ekyari namis gomaa goma. ǂhâaba, saan gam mî o!“ ti go mai. ekyo gye go nan tsî gomaa go mâ ‡ǂ tsî go ǂ hi tsî daiî go mâ hi tsî b(ŋ)ib oi go mâi hi tsî go nora ǂ hi.

Übersetzung von XXVII.

Der Knabe, der bei fremden Leuten zurückgelassen wird.

Eine Frau *(tsaxa)* ließ, als *(o)* sie fortzog *(ǂhâ, i. pass. masc.)*, den Knaben *(ŋǂaba)* bei [fremden] Leuten *(ŋǂaîn, comm. plur.)* zurück *(ŋgora, i. pass. masc.)* und hinterließ *(mâŋa, i. pass. masc.)* eine Kuh *(gomaa)*, daß *(ga)* sie den Knaben mit Milch tränken *(ǂ trinken, dai saugen, -si gibt d. Doppelverb. kausativen Sinn)* sollte *(mî, Fut.-Part.)*.

Die Leute aber gruben *(ǂhaa, Leder zum Aufbewahren in nassen Boden legen. ŋǂâ, auf, scil. ihn Erde werfen)* den Knaben in *(ma)* ein Loch *(ǂâb)*, und wenn *(o)* sie Vieh *(ŋgoana, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subjekts -a, comm. plur.)* schlachten *(ǂâ)*, werfen *(tsaro xhaîse)* sie den Mist der Därme *(tharuba)* auf *(ai)* seinen *(ǂâb)* Kopf *(kamab)*. Da brüllt *(ǂ)* die Kuh: „Mein Hoab *(ǂhâab, Name d. Kindes. -tsa, Suff. z. pers. masc. sing., einer Vokativendung entsprechend)*, ich bin ja *(gama)* die Kuh deiner Mutter *(xaos)* mit der kleinen *(ekyari)* Brust *(xami)*. Mein Hoab, deine Mutter sagt *(mî)* mir ja, [ich soll dich tränken]!“ So brüllt sie.

Dann zogen die Leute fort und ließen *(ga)* ihn da, nachdem *(-tsî, Part. d. partic. praet., hinter ǂ nehmen)* sie die Kuh weggenommen hatten. Die Kuh aber eilte *(ekyoê)* zurück *(os umkehren)* und kam herzu *(hâ, verk.)*, grub *(gora)* ihn aus *(tsi)* und sie gingen fort.

Und die beiden Brüder *(ŋǂâkya, dual.)* des *(di, Genitivpart.)* Knaben waren gerade dabei *(hâ, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, das Vieh *(ŋgoana)* zu hüten *(ǂâi)*, und der Jüngere war gegangen [die Ziegen] zurückzutreiben *(ekyoê)*. Da sah *(mâ)* er den Knaben *(hi, Pers.-Suff.-ihn)*, und als er zurückkam, erzählte *(mî sagen, -ba Obj.-Part.)* er dem Bruder: „Ich bin einem Gespenst *(ŋgaûaba)*, begegnet *(hâ finden)*!“

Da sagte jener: „Komm *(ǂâ§)*, laß *(ǂî)* uns *(-âkxum, Suff. 2. pers. masc. dual.)* doch *(tmâ)* gehen, laß mich das Gespenst dort *(tmâ)* sehen *(gè)*!"

Und die beiden gingen und kamen hin. Da sang *(tmâ)* die Kuh: „Mein Hoab, siehe ich bin die Kuh deiner Mutter mit der kleinen Brust! Mein Hoab, deine Mutter sagt mir ja, ich soll dich tränken!" Nun wußten *(hâe)* sie Bescheid und erkannten *(mâ sakun, mâ ofire darâgun)* die Kuh und nahmen den Knaben und gaben ihm Milch *(ǂâû, comm. sing.)* und setzten *(tmâ)* ihn auf einen Ziegenbock *(ha|rûb)* und gingen mit *(ǂî)* ihm nach Haus *(tara, cord.)*.

XXVIII.

Kxoê ŋâŋakxa.

Kxoê ŋâŋakxa ge i gye ŋuan gyere ǂâba. ob gye gaiba ŋuan hâ ekxomi ekxa hâa ŋâŋa gye ha. ob gye sores ma oân ekxa ŋoaxa hâab gye soma âba ge mâ tsî: „Jaêba ha?" îi ge mî tsî ŋui ŋuaê ge mâ tsî ge ŋâŋ.

Tsî ekxaba ge gun kxoaŋgê, ob gye ge mâ ekxaba tsî: „aêba, îi toma oân gye?" îi ge mî tsî ekxaba ŋuaê ge mâ hî tsî ge gâŋ.

Tsî ekxaba ge gun kxoaŋgê tsî: „îi toma oân aêba uae mâba ta?" îi mî tsî: „ǂ sores haas ekxa êta oa?", îi ge mî tsî ge mâ hî tsî ge ŋâŋ.

Tsî gye ge îi tsîb gye: „mahan oâna hâ?" îi ge mî. ob gye: „aî oaba kxoêhaia ge mâ tae" îi ge mî. ob gye: „ae gâreba, ae soma gum gaba o?" îi mî tsî ge ŋâŋ. —

Ob gye kxoêb ekxoi hâa ŋuanâ ŋoaxa dom tae. tsîb gye kxoêba ge ekxî tsî îî: „kaeri ŋuati ge ŋoaxa dom ŋuana?" îi ge mî. ob gye: „aâ ŋuae tomae hâ ota ge ŋoaxa dom, tsaata hâ o?" îi ge mî. ob gye: „gui gûêta di hâ, haigye kxoê êkxum ekxoê hê?" îi ge mî. —

Tsîkxa gye ge ŋâŋ tsî bârga ŋoâsi ai ge îî.

Ob gye tmaîî gaba ma mâî ge mâ tsî ǂoma ge ŋgâ. tsîb gye ǂoaxa ŋuae toma ge i gaba. ob gye ras ai ge ǂnau ǂâ îî tsîkxa gye ge ŋâŋ. —

O i gye haisa ge khe ǂhabasa. okxa gye kxoêba ŋum tsî kxoêa di marisa ra îî kxoêga ge mâ ŋoaxa, tsî hais ai ge ǂaba. tsîga gye ge ekxî tsî hais di soni ma go ekxî, ŋâsiga ra sô hîa, tsî hâ ge ŋuê.

Oh gye ge ǂgum ǂâge. ogu gye: „ǂgûb ge ogumi mâ gye?“ ti mîsi ge ǂ. oh gye ǂgubu ge gun. ogu gye: „ǂgûb ge tûi a mâ gye?“ ti mîsi ge tû.

Tûge gye marîbe ǂ mi tûi ogumi ai mâti tûi re ûgûe. oh gye ǂnanna ge ao mâ. ogu gye: „ǂgûb ge ǂgum ai gye?“ ti mîsi marîbe ge tûi ge ǂgubi-ai. oh ge ûgûge tûi marîbe ǂ tûi ge ûgûng. —

Oh gye gaiba hûri ge ebasa ge ûgûng ǂ gaiba: „ǂnanna marîbeba ai mâ tûi?“ ti mîbe tûi ge ûgûng ǂ.

Oh gye ûgûngb[*]) ge a: „ûgûnge ke ge hî aba ai ûgaiba -ugûbe ogumi- hâmi gui tûi ogui marîbe mâ, tûi ogum ǂnyîbe ogum ǂnyîb marîbe mâ, tûi ǂnanna ǂnyîbe ǂnanna ǂnyîb marîbe mâ, tûi hugu ǂnyîb ge ǂkyi a ogu hâmi mî abas ǂkya ai ǂnan?“ hâmi, tûi abasa gye kyâsi. oh gye hûngu ge gye ǂgâbe.

Übersetzung von XXVIII.

Die beiden Brüder.

Zwei Brüder *(ǂgûb Mensch, ûgûb Bruder, -gu Reziprok.-Part., die Zusammengehörigkeit ausdr., -ǂkya dual. masc.)* hüteten *(ûbi, 3. pass. masc.)* einst *(gyare)* das Vieh *(ogunna, comm. plur.)*. Da [ging] der Ältere *(gaiba, d. grosse)*, während *(hâi)* das Vieh bei *(ǂkya mâi)* dem Jüngeren *(ǂkyami, der junge)* blieb *(hâ)*, Kost *(tâma, comm. plur.)* zu suchen *(ha)*. Und während er mit der Schüssel *(jare)* voll *(ina)* Speise auf dem Wege war *(ûgungu)*, sah *(mâ)* er seinen *(â Wurzel d. pron. poss., -ba Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers)* Schatten *(tsama)* und sagte: „Was *(°tûi, objekt. acc. tûre)* suchst du *(-tûi, Suff.)*?“ und gab *(mâ)* [dem Schatten] ein *(ogui)* Stück Fleisch *(ûgumi, comm. sing.)* und ging *(ûgûng)*.

Und abermals *(ǂkyaba)* drehte er sich um *(bumgûe er sich gum, hinterwärts kyungâ)*. Da sah er wieder [seinen Schatten] und sagte: „He du! *(tûi Demonstr.-Part., -tûi Suff. 2. pers. masc. sing. vocat.)* das ist nicht *(hama)* meine *(ti)* Kost!“ Sprach's, gab ihm wieder ein Stück Fleisch und ging.

Und abermals drehte er sich um und rief: „Um einer Kost willen *(°mâ)*, die nicht mein ist, läufst du mir *(ki, Suff.)* beharrlich nach *(tsâo folgen, mâ stehen)*! Nimm hin *(ti)* die Schüssel samt und

*) mâ. „Kann dir also eigentlich nichts davon abgehen.“

**) Das ng in ûgûng ist aussprachlich wie im Deutschen in „sing“, „Ding“ etc.

sondern *(hoas gue:)* und kehr um *(oa)!"* So sagte er, gab ihm *(hi, Suff.)* die Schüssel hin und ging.

Dann kam *(si)* er an und [der Bruder] sagte: „Wo *(maiba)* ist die Kost?" Und er antwortete: „Diesem Menschen da *(wörtl.: der da nitt, enda)* habe ich *(-ki Suff.)* Alles *(hui hoendigem)* gegeben". Da sagte der andere: „Du *(ki ... hui, Pron.)* Dummkopf *(gûre, adj.)*, es ist ja *(gum ... o)* doch *(gube)* dein *(ui)* Schatten!" Sprache und ging. —

Und während er fort war *(ikgui)*, schnitt *(gue)* der andere allem Vieh die Kehlen *(domi)* ab *(-gu)*. Dann kam *(ikgi)* jener an und frug *(hi)*: „Weshalb *(kuri °gue)* hast du dem Vieh die Kehlen abgeschnitten?" Der aber antwortete: „Da *(o, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. d. Nachsatz)* sie nicht stehen bleiben *(wörtl.: nitum)* wollten *(ague)*, habe ich ihnen die Kehlen abgeschnitten; ei *(o)*, ich war müde *(hum)* [und wollte nicht weiterlaufen]!" Darauf der andere: „Da hast du etwas Schönes angerichtet *(wörtl.: ein großes Ding tust du da)*! Darum *(°huigye)* steh auf *(kgui)* und *(ti, imperat.)* laß uns beide *(-kgum)* davonlaufen!" *(ikgoë und hi, verba)*.

So gingen sie und kamen zur Werft *(tgudu)* der Buren. Da sah er Fett *(tmuiti, comm. sing.)* in *(tna)* einem Gefäß *(tgubes)* stehen und steckte *(tgû)* die Hand *(tama, euphon. Masc.-Endg.)* hinein; doch das Gefäß wollte es nicht geschehen *(ti)* lassen, daß sie wieder herauskam *(toatya)*. Da schlug *(tnau)* er es *(ti, Suff. 3. pers. sing. fem.)* auf *(ai)* einem Stein *(tuis)* entzwei *(ti, verb.)*. Dann gingen die beiden. —

Und sie kamen an einen Baum *(haisc, wörtl.: ein Baum wurde gefaßt)*, an einen breiten *(shabcua)*. Da sahen sie Männer ankommen *(tguatya)*, die da Menschen töten *(tgum)* und das Geld *(marina, comm. plur.)* der Menschen nehmen. Da kletterten *(tsha)* sie auf den Baum. Jene aber kamen herzu, kamen in den Schatten *(hier masc.)* des *(di, Genitivpart.)* Baums, zum Sterben *(ti, verb.)* durstig *(°tgû, verb., -si Ad.-Edg.)*, und legten sich hin *(hamen her hû, sich legen tgui)*.

Da pißte *(ikgum)* der Junge *(durch den Suff. -b ausgel.)* auf sie; die aber sagten: „Der Herr*) *(ikgûb)* hat uns *(gye, Suff. 1. pers. plur. masc.)* Wasser *(tgumi, comm. sing.)* gegeben!", und tranken *(ti)*. Dann

*) d. h. Gott. Der Ausdruck ist mit dem Christentum in Berührung gekommen. Es handelt sich hier um eine Verquickung der Auffassung, daß alles Geschehen, auch das Widerwärtige, die Schickung eines gütigen Gottes sei. Auch der Zug, daß man die frommen Worte Raubmördern in den Mund legt, und endlich deren tückische Furcht unter der Maske der Frömmigkeit ist eine scharfe Satire.

wiederum schiß *(ɣuu)* er; die aber sagten: „Der Herr hat uns Speise gegeben!", und aßen *(ná)*.

Darnach zieben sie das Geld hervor *(nai)*, schütten *(naki ncûra)* es auf Felle *(ŋgoati)* aus und zählen *(ŋgûa)* es. Da warf *(aa)* der Junge den Holzstumpf *(ŋaana)* herunter *(tsâ fallen)*; die aber riefen: „Der Herr stürzt *(ikyam)* auf uns!", ließen das Geld in Stich *(ya, ncrâ)* und entflohen *(ikyaî-ai)*. Nun stiegen die beiden herunter *(ŋgûkya, ncrâ)*, nahmen das Geld und gingen. —

Nun wurde dem Älteren von *(ya)* einem Buren geheißen *(gui kassen)*, zu gehen und eine Kalabas *(ûbuba)* fortzubringen. „Drei *(ŋana)* Geldstücke *(fem. plur.)* werde ich *(-ka)* dir *(ti)* geben" wurde ihm gesagt, und er ging damit *(ŋ)* ab.

Und als er ging, sagte er [zu sich selbst]: „Wenn *(a)* ich einmal *(gu, Präteritalis)* Söhnchen *(ŋkûû, -ro Diminut.)* bekomme *(hâ)*, will ich den einen *(ŋguiba)* den „Erstgeborenen" *(ŋgûro d. erste)* nennen *(kuru se)* und ihm ein Geldstück geben, und dem Zweiten *(gum ŋ(e)iba)* das zweite Geldstück geben, und dem Dritten das dritte Geldstück geben; und sollte ein Vierter *(haga ŋ(e)îb)* kommen, dann werde ich ihn so — *der Erzähler macht eine heftige Abwehrbewegung* — mit dieser Kalabas zum Teufel jagen *(nuna wegschleudern, ŋgû scheuchen)*!" So [sprach er].

Da zerbrach *(°kyûa)* die Kalabas, er aber wurde von den Buren gefangen *(ikyû)*.

XXIX.

ŋGoana gyere ŋâi kyoî ŋgûgukya.

Kyoî ŋgûgukya ya i gye ihân ŋgoana gyere ŋâhe. oô gye guiba ŋgui tsî birîti ra ŋguî o: „kita ra ŋgoa" ti mîtsi ra ŋgaoya dom. oô gye skyama: „ŋâ sâti ra o yabe ti ra mî birîti gum yabe o!" tib ta mî kâa go ŋgaoya dom taahe. tsikya gye ŋgana ŋ tsi go ŋgûng.

Tsî bîrgu doba go sî. ogu gye raisiba tsoro ya tsi go :ŋ kyai gaikyâ. tsikya gye ra sâ hîati gye ŋuri gorate go ikyi tsi go sâ kyai haikyâ, tsîs gye go toa shôsa.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Oô gye ŋaob gye ŋgame kyoh îba: „ŋgûng îts ŋaob ŋgaûs ai si ti ôasa îba te!" ti go mî.

Tsĭb gye go sĭ ǂaob ǂkχai hĭu tsĭ go tĕ. os gye: „ǂāse nĭ·ǂkχĭ" ti go mĭ. ob gye: „mabas ŋ(e)lb di ǂgaisa ǂnū?" ti go mĭ. os gye: „ǂūs ai ǂnôa ǂgaisaĭ" ti go mĭ.

Ob gye hāb go ǂaoba o go ǂgoberu-gai tsĭ ǂūs ai go doĕ ǂaba tsĭ ǂgais dba go ǂgom ǂai tsĭ kχoĕsa ūtsĭ go ǂaru.

Übersetzung von XXIX.

Die beiden Brüder, die das Vieh hüteten.

Zwei Brüder hüteten *(ǂūi, i. pass. narr.)* das Vieh *(ǂgoana)* weißer Menschen *(ihûn, comm. plur.)*. Und eines Tages *(ǂgui tsĕ)*, als *(o)* die Ziegen *(biriti, fem.)* stöhnten *(ǂgaĕ)*, sagte *(im Particip. praet.)* der Ältere *(gaiba, groß)*: „Sie verkünden mir *(tita)* Tod" *(*ǂgola, verb.)*, und schnitt *(ǂgaoχa)* ihnen die Kehle *(domi)* ab. Doch der Jüngere *(ǂkχama)* sagte: „Ach *(o)*, sie *(-ti, Pers.-Suff.)* sind dickvoll *(sū)* gefressen *(ǂū grasen)*, darum sagen ja *(gum---o)* doch die Ziegen so!"; aber während *(hĭa)* er so *(ti, m. d. Per.-Suff. d. Subj.)* sprach, war jener schon fertig *(ǂoa, i. pass. narr.)* mit dem Kehleabschneiden. Da nahmen *(ū)* sie das Fleisch *(ǂgana)* und gingen davon *(ǂgûng)*.

Und sie kamen *(sĭ)* zu *(doba)* Buren. Die aber schütteten *(tsoro)* Reis aus *(χu)* und hießen *(gai)* den beiden *(-kχū, Suff., Dat.-Acc.)* ihn auflesen *(sū kχaĭ)*. Doch während *(hĭa hat d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz)* sie auflasen, kamen *(ǂkχĭ)* weiße *(ǂuri)* Krähen *(gorate)* und halfen *(ǂui)* ihnen auflesen, und der Sack *(ǂhôsa)* wurde voll *(ǂoa fertig werden)*. —

Hier brach der Erzähler ab und fuhr ohne ersichtlichen Zusammenhang mit dem Vorhergehenden fort:

Da sagte der Vater *(ǂba)* des Mädchens *(kχoĭs)*, das die Schlange *(ǂaob)* zur Frau genommen *(ǂgame)* hatte: „Lauf und *(ĕ, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* geh zur Werft *(ǂgaŭs)* der Schlange, mein *(ti)* Kind *(ǂôasa)* mir *(te, Suff.)* zu holen!" *(ǂûba)*.

Und der kam hin zur Zeit, als die Schlange fort war *(ǂkχaĭ)*, und befragte *(lĕ)* [das Mädchen]. Das sagte: „Gleich *(ǂāse)* wird *(aĭ)* sie kommen!" Dann fragte er: „Wo *(maba, m. Pers.-Suff.)* sitzt *(ǂnû)* ihre *(ŋ(e)lb, pron. pers., dl, Genitivpart.)* Stärke *(ǂgaisa)*?" „In *(ai)* der Stirn *(ǂūs)* sitzt *(ǂnôa)* ihre *(l, urspr. verb.: gehören, jetzt Possessivendung)* Stärke", antwortete das Mädchen.

Und als die Schlange kam *(hã, m.-Pers.-Suff.)*, verwandelte er sich *(gai, verb.)* in eine Ameise *(ŋgoberu-b)* und kletterte *(doĕ wandern, ǂaba aufsteigen)* auf ihre Stirn und sog *(ŋgom)* ihre *(ã, Wurzel d. pron. poss., -ba Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers)* Kraft aus *(tui)*, nahm *(im part. praet.)* das Mädchen und ging heim *(ǂaru)*.

d) Haitsiaibeb-Mythen.

Hai-tsiai-bena wird von den Hottentotten der Sagenkreis des Helden der Vorzeit genannt, dem sie noch vor wenigen Jahrzehnten[66]) in entlegenen Gebieten Grabhügel errichteten (vgl. Totenbräuche, S. 317) in Gestalt von Steinhaufen, auf denen der Vorbeiwandernde einen Stein oder Zweig niederlegte, in der Hoffnung, daß er dafür guten Weg und Wasser fände.

Wenn die Annahme sich bestätigen sollte, daß die Hottentotten später den Haitsiaibeb als Mond an den Himmel versetzten[75]), dann wäre auch der Mond-Mythus (Sage XXX) diesem Sagenkreis einzufügen. Der Wortlaut, in dem ich ihn erzählen hörte, weicht von dem, den Th. Hahn mitteilt, darin ab, daß die Laus, die dort vom Hasen abgefangen wird, fehlt.

Man hat versucht, eine Sagenfigur, die der Hottentott *tsũǂgoab* nennt, als Ausdruck einer Gottesahnung zu deuten: Mit „Der mühsam *(tsũi)* zu Bittende *(ǂgoa)*" übersetzt Kroenlein[81]) diesen vermeintlichen hottentottischen Gottesbegriff. Eine solche Ableitung ist meiner Überzeugung nach sprachlich unzulässig. Denn der erste Wortstamm lautet, wie ich mich immer wieder überzeugt habe, nicht *tsũi*, sondern *tsũi*, wie er in *tsui-* = verwunden wiederkehrt. Ältere Autoren haben in der Tat nicht *tsũǂgoab*, sondern *tsuiǂgoab* gehört und aufgezeichnet. Da bei der Bildung zusammengesetzter Wörter der Stärkeakzent, der dem isolierten Einzelwort eigen war, zu Gunsten des neuen Wortakzents häufig verloren geht (s. S. 362), so ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob der zweite Stamm unseres Wortes *ǂgoa-* = „bitten" oder *ǂgo-as* = „Knie" lautet. Die letztere Auffassung ist aber nach dem, was über die Bedeutung von *tsũi* feststeht, bei weitem die wahrscheinlichste. Ich glaube, daß in diesem Punkte dem Sprachforscher Kroenlein der Missionar Kroenlein in den Nacken geschlagen hat, und schließe mich auf Grund meiner Aufnahmen der Ableitung Th. Hahn's an, dem *tsũǂgoab* so viel wie „Wundknie" bedeutet: Bezeichnung eines Helden, der im Kampf am Knie verwundet wurde. Ob dieser Held, wie vermutet wird, mit dem oben genannten Haitsiaibeb identisch ist, ist eine andere Frage.

Bei der hohen Verehrung, die den Ahnen gezollt wird, ist es erklärlich, daß der Hottentott beim Namen des „Wundknies" schwört: „*tsũ-ǂgoa-aob*"

Auch den Ausruf des Erstaunens, unserem „ach Gott!" entsprechend, *„tsũ-ǂgoatse!"* habe ich oft gehört.

Als Feind der Menschen figuriert in der Sage XXXI eine Gestalt, die mir die Hottentotten als **ǂgã-ǂgori-b* bezeichneten, weil er einst die Menschen steil *(*ǂgã!, verb.)* herab in eine Grube kopfüber gestürzt *(ǂgori-)* habe, bis ihm der Schakal das Handwerk legte. Der Unhold ersteht dann vom Tode und rühmt sich seiner Unsterblichkeit. Ich vermute aber, daß die von Bleek mitgeteilte Lesart (in der Haitsiaibeb als der Retter und der Unsterbliche figuriert) die ursprünglichere ist, daß mir also nur noch verschwommene Erinnerungen an den fast schon vergessenen Sagenkreis des Haitsiaibeb zu Ohren gekommen sind.

Den „Herabstürzer" selbst hörte ich in der Sage nur *„ǁU-ǂriseb's* Vater" genannt werden. Sein eigener Name begegnete mir aber einmal in einer Redensart, mit der sich ein Hottentott gegen eine harte Anrempelung verwahrte: *„ǂgãǂgoribits ga goma a ǂhaimrihe!"* „Möchtest du doch vom Herabstürzer umgestoßen werden!" (das Schluß-*i* in *ǂgoribits* ist = *χa* = von, *-ts* = du, *ga* ist Potentialpart., *goma* gibt dem Fluch den Charakter eines Auftrags an den Unhold, *a* ist Präsenspartikel, **ǂhaim* = umstoßen, *-ri* soviel wie „an" in anstoßen, *he* Passivpartikel).

XXX.

ǂKχãb tsĭ ǁõas tsĭra.

ǂKχãb χa i gye ǁõasa gye sĭhe: „kχoĭna mĭba ẽn tita ra hĭ kχomi sõ ǂgã" tumi ǁõasa gye sĭhe.

Os gye ǁõasa: „ti ǂnaob ta hĭ kχ(o)mi goma sõ ǂgã!" tsĭs gye mĭ o aχagu χa: „tareẽ tis ta mĭ?" os gye: „tita ra hĭ kχomi goma sõ ǂgõro-a-mũ" gye mĭ.

Tsĭ gye ǂaru tsĭ gye sĭ. ob gye ǂkχãba gye tẽ si; os gye kχom ǁoma hã, ǂhumis go ǁkχaĭẽ ǂantsi. ob gye ǂkχãba gye ǂnau ǂari am si.

Übersetzung von XXX.

Der Mond und der Hase.

Der Mond *(ǂkχãb)* schickte *(sĭ, wohl im pass. narr., s. S. 392, χa Demonstr.-Part., i Hilfszeitwort, gye gye Verbalpart. d. praeter.)* den Hasen *(ǁõasa, fem.)* fort: „Melde *(mĭ sprechen, -ba hebt eine Beziehung zum*

Objekt hervor: melden) den Menschen *(kχoĩna, comm. plur.)*, sie sollen *(ĩ und, imperativisch, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. -n, comm. plur.)*, gleich wie *(kχomi)* ich *(tĩia)* tue *(hĩ, -ra Verbalpart. d. fortschr. Handlung)*, vergehen *(ũũ)* [und] wiedererscheinen *(ǃgũ)*!" So *(tumi)* wurde dem Hasen aufgetragen *(sĩhe, hier wohl echtes pass.)*.

Und *(o, mit dem weibl. Pers.-Suff.)* der Hase [sagte]: „Wie mein *(ti)* Großvater *(tnaob, respektvolle Bezeichnung des Mondes)* tut *(ta euphon. für ra)*, so vergeht [und] erscheint [auch Ihr] wieder *(Imperativ)*! Das ist mein Auftrag *(goma, Interjektion)*." Als *(o)* er aber *(tsĩ mit Pers.-Suff.)* [so] sprach *(mĩ)*, da [riefen] die Knaben: „**Was** *(tarẽ)* redest *(ta euphon. für ra)* du *(-s in tis)* da *(ĩi so)*?" Da sagte der Hase *(durch das s in as angedeutet)*: „Wie ich tue — so lautet mein Auftrag — so sollt [auch Ihr] glotzäugig sterben!"*)

Dann geht er nach Hause *(saru, verb.)* und kommt *(sĩ)* [zum Mond]. Und der Mond fragte *(tĩ)* ihn *(si, Pers.-Suff.)*; er aber schweigt *(spricht kχom, nicht toma)*, wohl wissend *(tan, tsĩ Verb.-Part. des Particip. praeteriti)*, daß *(ǃkχaĩ)* er gelogen *(thumi, mit Pers.-Suff. des Subj.)* hatte *(go, Verb.-Part. des praet.)*. Da zerschlug *(tnau schlagen, tari bersten)* ihm der Mond den Mund *(ams)*"*).

XXXI.

ǃUriseb ǃba.

ǃUriseb ǃb χa ǃ gye ũba kχaohe tsĩ kχoĩna taĩba taĩre gaihe tsĩ ãb ǃna aoenãhe tsĩ ra ǃkχã thubihe, tsĩ kχoĩĩ ra ikχĩ o ũba ra ǃkχoĩ tnamibe ũĩ tsĩ ra thã ǂgãĩ ãb ǃna.

Ob gye ǂgui tsĩ ǂgiriba tnaiba tkχau tã tãsentsĩ go ikχĩ, tsĩkχa gye go ǃkχoĩ tnamibe, tsĩb gye go thã ǂgiriba tsĩ tkχanu tsĩ go tnã ŋgona tsĩ go kχau. tsĩb gye ǂgĩriba go saru.

Ob gye sõ tsĩ gye ǂgã tsĩb gye tnaina ra tũ tsĩ: „juriseb ǃ tkχõ te re! tnaigu gaigu ǃna tkχõ te re!" ĩi ra mĩ tsĩ: „juriseb ǃĩa sõ gyeta, sõtsĩ gye ǂgãĩa!", ĩi ra mĩ.

*) Der Hase richtet also, von den Knaben, die auf ihn einreden, verschüchtert, das Gegenteil dessen aus, was ihm der Mond aufgetragen hatte: Wie der Mond untergeht, so sollten auch die Menschen sterben.

ǂgõõ — Seier, *ra* ist Dimensivpart., *a* Hilfszeitwort, *mũ* — sehen. *ǂgõro-a-mũ* bezeichnet den einen Blick des Toten. Analoge Wortbildungen sind: *tsũ-a-mũ* — schlaggig, *thoe-a-mũ* — blindäugig, *ǂgoro-a-mũ* mit eingeschlossen Augen usw.

**) Seitdem haben die Hasen ihre „Hasenscharte" in der Oberlippe.

Übersetzung von XXXI.

Uriseb's Vater.

Uriseb's Vater *(īb)* gräbt *(kχao. i. pass. narr.)* eine Grube *(āba)* und läßt *(gai, i. pass. narr.)* die Leute *(kχoēna)* Feuerholz *(ıaēba)* suchen *(-re ergänzt den Stamm zum Verb.)* und wirft *(ao)* sie in *(ına)* die Grube herunter *(ınā)* und steckt *(ıkχā)* sie in Brand *(ǂhubi anzünden, i. pass. narr.)*. Und wenn *(ō)* ein Mensch kommt *(ıkχī)*, jagt *(ıkχoē)* er mit *(ū)* ihm *(durch d. Pers.-Suff. d. 3. pers. comm. sing. -ī ausgedrückt)* rund um *(ınamibe, verb.)* die Grube und stößt *(ǂhā)* ihn in die Grube hinein *(ǂgā hineinstecken)*.

Aber eines Tages *(gui tsē)* kam der Schakal, nachdem *(tsī, Part. d. partic. praet.)* er sich *(-sen, Reflexiv-Part.)* mit Schmalz *(ınuiba)* beschmiert *(ǂkχau)* und naß gemacht *(iā iā)* hatte; und die beiden *(-kχa, Suff. dual. masc.)* jagten im Kreise umher. Da stieß jener den Schakal, glitt aber ab *(ǂkχanu)* und fiel *(ınā)* [selbst] herunter *(ıgona)* und verbrannte *(kχau)*. Dann ging der Schakal nach Haus *(ıaru, verb.)*.

Jener aber kommt um *(ıō)* und lebt wieder auf *(ıgā)* und ißt *(tū)* vom Nais-Busch und [singt]: „Begrabt *(ıkχō)* mich *(te, Suff.)* doch *(re)*, mich, Uriseb's Vater *(hier ohne Pers.-Suff.)*! Begrabt mich in großen *(gai, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. zugehörigen Subst., weil nachgestellt)* Nais-Büschen!" „Ich *(-ta, Suff.)*, Uriseb's Vater, bin umgekommen, [aber obschon] umgekommen, bin ich lebendig!"

e) Tiersagen.

Der Glaube, daß gewisse Menschen die Fähigkeit haben, im Schlafe sich in Tiere zu verwandeln, als solche unerkannt herumzuschweifen und ihnen sonst Verborgenes zu beobachten, ist nicht selten anzutreffen.

Die Fähigkeit, beliebige Tier- und Menschengestalt anzunehmen, besitzt auch das Fabelwesen, das die Hottentotten *ıgaũa-b* nennen. Sie stellen es sich in Menschengestalt vor, als hautüberzogenes Gerippe mit armlangen Füßen. „So schnell wie eine Flamme aus der glimmenden Asche aufflackert und erlischt", so schnell tritt, wie mir ein Knabe sagte, das Wesen des Nachts in eine Hütte und raubt ein Kind. Es eilt mit ihm in eine Höhle, die es in lockeren Boden gegraben hat, und reitet auf seiner Beute, bis sie im Staub erstickt ist. Tagsüber kann der *ıgaũa-b* auch Tiergestalt an-

nehmen. Ein solcher Klippbock, Schakal oder was es sonst sein mag, flieht nicht, denn er ist unverletzlich. In Menschengestalt erscheint das Wesen dem Menschen nur von fern, da er trotz aller Verkappung an seinen Gesichtszügen erkannt werden würde.

Der Schwerpunkt der hottentottischen Tiersagen liegt aber nicht in diesen willkürlichen, mit dem Tierreich nur lose verknüpften Phantasien, sondern liegt in der individuell scharf durchgeführten Charakteristik der Tiere und in der Übertragung der hier gezeichneten Züge auf menschliche Typen. Weil sich der Hottentott in diesen Tierbildern als feiner Beobachter seiner selbst zu erkennen gibt —, weil er in der Art, wie er die Erzählung auslaufen läßt, seiner moralischen Wertschätzung der einzelnen Typen klaren Ausdruck gibt —, weil er sich endlich hier aus keinerlei ängstlichen oder utilitarischen Rücksichten zu verkappen braucht —, deshalb sehe ich in diesen Sagen den reinsten Spiegel seines innersten Wesens.

Unter den Tieren, hinter deren Worten und Handlungen der Hottentott sich selbst versteckt, nimmt der Schakal eine hervorragende Stellung ein. Allen anderen an Klugheit überlegen, treibt er mit dem Stärksten wie mit dem Schwächsten sein überlegenes Spiel. Als Sinnbild der Dummheit wird ihm die Hyäne gegenübergestellt, mit ihr darf er sich jeden schlechten Witz (Sage XXXII und XXXIII), auch Betrug (XXXIV) erlauben, soweit der Übergriff nicht gegen Pietätsgefühle, die auch dem Blöden zugebilligt werden, verstößt (XXXV).

Die Hinterlist des Schakals wird besonders da mit Erfolg gekrönt, wo sie mit persönlichem Mut verknüpft ist (XXXVI) oder mit der Feigheit des Gegners (XXXVII und XXXVIII), hier des verhaßten Leoparden oder des harmloseren Pavians, geschickt rechnet. Wo die Beschränktheit des Gegners mit Habsucht gepaart ist, wie in dem Abenteuer des Schakals mit den Buren (XXXIX), läßt man den schlauen Fuchs im letzten Moment noch glücklich sich aus der Schlinge ziehen. Wo in Unentschlossenheit (XL) oder in schlecht angebrachter Milde halbe Maßregeln angewandt werden (wie es vom Missionar in Sage XLI erzählt wird), schenkt man dem Schakal die Strafe selbst für Betrug, Mord und Diebstahl. Aber man gönnt dem alten Spitzbuben auch einmal eine Tracht Prügel, wenn er in Vorwitz und Eitelkeit sich an das Erdmännchen heranmacht (XLII) oder wenn er der Flamingofamilie gegenüber allzu selbstherrlich auftritt (XLIII).

Der Schakal hat uneingeschränkt die Sympathie des Hottentotten, wo er als der Verfolgte der Übermacht des Stärkeren (des Löwen) sich zu ent-

zieben weiß (XLIV u. XLV); noch mehr da, wo er sich für persönlich erlittene Unbill rächt (XLVI); am meisten da, wo er gleichzeitig als Rächer und Wohltäter aller Schwachen die Gewaltherrschaft des Stärkeren bricht (XLVII).

Von der humorvollen Seite wird die Schlauheit des Schakals angesehen, wo er als Schiedsrichter und Befreier zugleich der Schlange und dem Stachelschwein eine Lehre gibt (XLVIII).

Als Don Juan tritt der Schakal mit wechselndem Glück auf: mit Erfolg in der schlüpfrigen Sage XLIX, als der Hereingefallene in der Sage L, wo er sich in die Sonne verliebt.

Nächst dem Schakal ist der Löwe in den Sagen am schärfsten charakterisiert und vermenschlicht. Er wird überall mit Haß oder Spott überschüttet. Verhaßt ist er seiner Roheit wegen, die ihn zum Mörder seiner eigenen Kinder aus der Straußenehe macht (LI), und seiner Gewalttätigkeit wegen, die selbst dem friedlichen Pavian die Nachbarschaft verleidet (LII). Seine Strafe ereilt ihn dafür um so leichter, je mehr er sich über die anderen erhaben dünkt: selbst die kleine Aró-Eidechse führt ihn an der Nase herum (LIII). Dabei ist er so lüstern, daß er sich nicht scheut, Krankheit zu simulieren, um die Masseuse zu vergewaltigen (LIV).

Auf seine Macht ist er lächerlich eingebildet, hält sich für unüberwindbar. Vom Straußen (LV) und selbst von der kleinen Steenbock-Antilope (LVI) muß er sich eines Besseren belehren lassen. Seine Anmaßung zahlt ihm der Silberschakal so gründlich heim, daß seiner Scheinauktorität schließlich aller Nimbus genommen wird (LVII).

Das Thema vom Triumph der List und Geschicklichkeit des Schwachen über die plumpe Übermacht des Stärkeren wiederholt sich in den Hottentotten-Sagen in immer neuen Variationen und Tierbildern. Eine der besten Sagen, die uns nach den verschiedensten Richtungen hin tiefe Einblicke in das Gemütsleben der Hottentotten gibt, ist die Sage LVIII, die von der Fliege und dem Elefanten handelt. Wie ferner sich das Erdmännchen der Tyrannei des Dickhäuters entledigt, wird bei aller Vermenschlichung der Verhältnisse doch eng im Anschluß an die Lebensweise des Tierchens erzählt (LIX).

Wie im Vorhergehenden die Fliege und das Erdmännchen, so spielt in den beiden folgenden Sagen ein etwa amselgroßer Vogel, *gā-ītsi/ha-mabes* genannt, die Rolle der schwachen, aber ihrer Klugheit wegen im Kampfe überlegenen Partei. Hier befreit das Tierchen, das in der Gestalt eines jungen geweckten Mädchens auftritt, sich und die Seinen von der Plage

der Riesenschlange (LX), dort rettet ihre Aufmerksamkeit und List die Mädchen vor den Mordplänen des Honigdachses und seiner Kumpane, die nach der brummenden Riedmusik des Mistkäfers mit jenen zu Tanze gehen (LXI).

So hilft auch der Schildkröte eine einfache (ähnlich ja auch von unserem Swinegel dem Hasen gegenüber angewandte) List zum Sieg im Wettlauf über den Strauß (LXII). Selbst die Riesen-Antilope, das Eland, muß seinen Hochmut der Schildkröte mit dem Leben bezahlen (LXIII). Daß in die Hände des Schwachen oft eine wichtige Entscheidung oder Wendung gelegt ist, kehrt, wie in den Bergdamara-Abenteuern, so auch in der LXIV. Sage wieder.

Den Schluß mögen vier Sagen bilden, die teils plump-naiv, teils mit etwas mehr Auftietung von Phantasie, lediglich als Illustration gewisser Eigentümlichkeiten im Äußeren oder in der Naturgeschichte einiger Tiere (Zebra, Leguan, Payian etc.) aufzufassen sind (Sage LXV bis LXVIII).

Um Erklärungen in den Übersetzungen zu sparen, seien hier die Tiere, die in den Sagen figurieren (die nur beiläufig erwähnten, selbst nicht handelnden, eingeklammert) kurz und meist in vereinfachter Schreibweise zusammengestellt. Im Register am Schluß des Buches ist zu finden, in welchen Sagen die einzelnen Tiere auftreten.

1. *Elephas africanus (Blumenb.)*, der Elefant, *ǂkχoab.*
2. *Giraffa capensis (Lesson)*, die Giraffe, *ǂnaib.*
(3.) *Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.)*, der Klippdachs, *ǂaûb.*
4. *Taurotragus oryx (Pall.)*, die Eland-Antilope, *ǂkχans.*
(5.) *Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm.*, der Springbock, *ǂgûb.* Sagenname: *ǂhāēb.*
6. *Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg)*, der Steenbock, *ǂaris.*
(7.) *Ovis aries L. platyura*, das Fettschwanzschaf, *gub.*
8. *Bos taurus L.*, das Hausrind, *gomab.*
9. *Equus zebra L.*, das Zebra, *ǂgoreb.*
(10.) *Equus caballus L.*, das Pferd, *hāb.*
11. *Felis leo L.*, der Löwe, *χami.* Sagenname: *gaiǂgāba* d. h. „Großrücken".
12. *Felis pardus L.*, der Leopard, *ǂgarub.*
13. *Canis mesomelas Schrbr.*, der Schakal, *ǂgîrib.* Von der Hyäne der Sage seines gelben Pelzes wegen „mein Bruder Fahl", *ti ǂgâ ǂhaisetse*, angeredet. Das Schakal-Kind hat in der Sage den Eigennamen *ûsgyeb.*

14. *Hyaena brunnea Thunberg*, die braune Hyäne, *ǂhīras* (speziell **ǂnūbe ǂhīras*), vom Schakal der Sage ihrer Haltung beim Laufen wegen „meine Schwester Spitzlauf", *ti ǀgū ǂgōbese*, genannt.

15. *Vulpes chama (A. Smith.)*, der Silberschakal, *ǂkχamab*, Jägername: **ǂgaihetoma-b* (s. S. 283), rätselhafter Sagenname: **hoagye-ǀgū-hākχoisōab*, d. h. der Sohn *(ōab)* der Schwester *(ǀgūs, kχois* Weib*)* aller *(hoa)* [Menschen] *(gye* und *hā* Verbalpartikel*)*

16. *Felis caffra Desm.*, die Wildkatze, *ǂhōab*.

17. *Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.)*, der Honigdachs, *ǂharebab*.

18. *Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.)*, die Mierkatze, das Erdmännchen, *ǂēb* (speziell: **ǂuriǂēb.)*

(19.) *Canis familiaris L.*, der Haushund, *arib*.

20. *Hystrix africae-australis (Peters)*, das Stachelschwein, *ǀnoab*.

21. *Lepus*, der Hase (s. S. 285), *ǀōas*.

22. *Papio porcarius (Boddaert)*, der Pavian, *inīrab*.

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23. *Struthio australis L.*, der Strauß, *ǂamīb*. Rätselhafte Sagennamen: *hubais* und *hingatu-bus*. Eigenname des Straußenkindes der Sage: *batsibab*.

24. *Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, *gūcsinǂhamabes*.

(25.) *Numida spec.*, das Perlhuhn, *ǂkχīnas*.

26. *Phoenicopterus*, der Flamingo, *fala-migob* (entlehnter Name, wie es scheint auch auf einen Reiher des Binnenlandes angewandt).

27. *Gallus domesticus Boiss*, das Haushuhn, *hūnors* (entlehnt).

28. *Corvus scapulatus Daud.*, Weißkrähe, *gorab* oder *ǀuri gorab*.

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29. *Python sebae*, die Riesenschlange, **gaiǂaob*. Die Rudimente der hinteren Extremitäten dieses Tieres sehen die Hottentotten für Hoden an und nennen daher die Riesenschlange auch **goǂma-ǂkχo-raseb*, d. h. „der mit den Ochsenhoden". Alte Leute hörte ich die Riesenschlange **ǀga-ǂnigyen/gūǂb* nennen, weil das Tier sein Opfer erdrückt *(ǀgaǂni)* und weil ihm die „Hoden" hinten wie ein Schurz *(ǀgūǂb)* anhängen.

30. *Psammophis notostictus Peters*, die Schippschlange, *sanugyeb-aseb*.

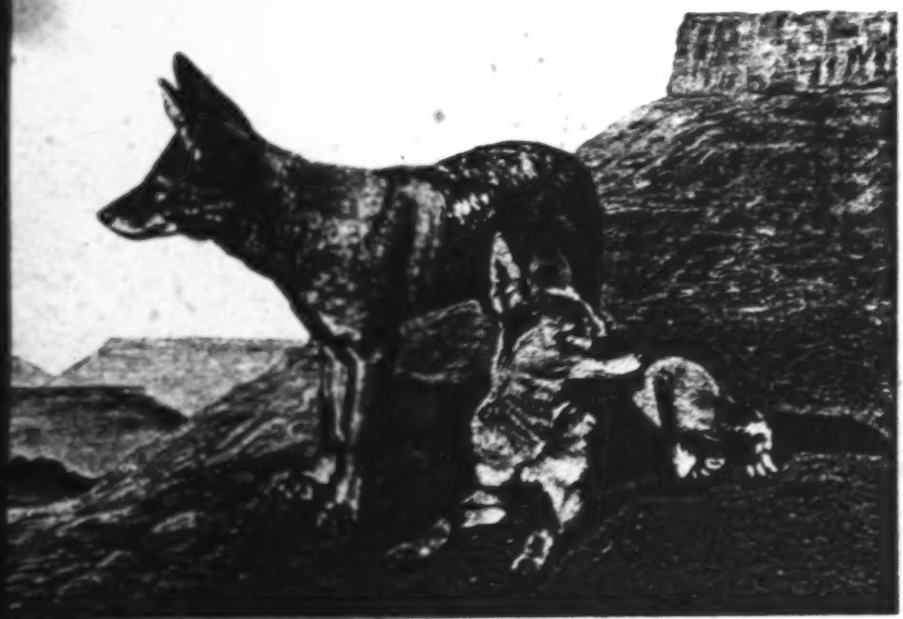
31. *Varanus spec.*, der Leguan, *ǀnoǂnā-b*, **ǂnareb* im Bergdamaradialekt.

32. *Agama spec. (A. atra Daud.* oder *A. planiceps Peters)*, Aro-Eidechse, *ǂaro-b.*

33. Eine der Gattung *Scapteira* verwandte Lacertide, *ǂgabestau-b.*

34. *Pelomedusa galeata (Schoepff)*, eine in schlammigem Wasser lebende und wohl daher übelriechende Schildkröte. Allgemeine Bezeichnung für Schildkröte ist *ǂkχuri-b.*

35. *Batrachia anura* verschiedener Gattungen, soweit sie unter den Sammelbegriff Frosch, *ǂgũ-/tsiǂgũ-ǂbes*, fallen.



Canis mesomelas Schrbr., der *ǂgĭ-rib* genannte Schakal.

36. *Muscidae* verschiedener Gattungen, soweit sie unter den Sammelbegriff Fliege, *ǂgĭna-s*, fallen.

37. *Orthoptera* verschiedener Gattungen, soweit sie unter den Sammelbegriff Heuschrecke, **ǂnâ/ǂaus*, fallen; ihrer Hüpfbewegungen wegen werden die Heuschrecken mit einem Mädchen verglichen, das tanzt *(ǂnâ)* und rast *(*ǂaus)*.

38. *Orthoptera* aus den Familien der *Hetrodidae* und *Stenopelmatidae;* zu letzteren gehört die *ǂkχu-nitsiǁkχu-meb*, d. h. „Völlerbauch", genannte *Maxentius*-Art.

39. *Coprophage Lamellicornier* aus der Gruppe der *Scarabaeinae,* Arten von „Mistkäfern". Der Mistkäfer wird *χau-tsiǁga-ǂmabeb* genannt, nach seinen Wühlbewegungen im Mist: Er schmiegt sich dem Mist *(χaub)* so an, wie man sich nachts dicht an das Feuer legt *(°ǁgaǂma-)*. Sein brummender Flügelton wird in der Sage dem Baß der Riedpfeifen verglichen. In der Sage figuriert der Mistkäfer unter dem Namen *ǂanagyeǂgaieb.*

(40.) *Formicidae,* Ameisen, *ǂgoberu-gu.*

XXXII.

ǂGoberugu gomara gye ǂî ǂgîrib tsî ǂhîras tsîra.

ǂHîras tsî ǂgîrib tsîra χa i gye ǂgoana ra ǂûihe tsîra gye ǁkχûti doba go sî tsî hairana go hare.

Os gye: „ti ǂgâ ǂhaisetse, ǂgoana gô re!" ti ra mî. ob gye ra gê tsî: „ǂhaû ǁgoë" ti ra mî, bên hâ ǂgoana χabe. tsîb gye: „ti ǂgâ ǂgôbese, tita go ǂaî χûë ǂaîs go?" ti go mî. os gye: „ǂaîta go", ti go mî. ob gye: „hâm goman χa ôa ê ǂgûng ǂâgu!" ti go mî.

Tsîra gye go ǂgûng tsî ǂuri gomas tsî ǂnû gomas ra tsîra go hô. ob gye ǂgîriba: „ǂuris gye tisa", ti go mî, os gye ǂhîrasa: „ǂnûs gye tisa", ti go mî, tsîra gye go ǂâ. tsî ǂhîrasa îâ kχôra ǂna a ǂgû ǂnûihe tsî a saîhe tsî gauga ûba χorohetsî ûb ǂna ra tsorohe. tsî ǂhîrasa ǂhai ǁganrora tsî ǁûb tsîna ra mâhe. os gye: „ti ǂgâ ǂhaisetse, taêî χa ǁnâti tsâ ǁnûiê?" ti go mî. ob gye: „kχa ti ǂgâse, ǁnaû ǂâ tomata hâ ǁnûi i gye" ti go mî.

Tsî gye ǂgoberuga go mû ǂgoaχa tsî ûb ǂna sî go ǂgâ. tsîgu gye go ǂkχî tsî go mû gomara di kχôkχa tsî haiti ǂkχa go ǂnau si. os gye: „ti ǂgâ ǂhaisetse, ǂnaa-ǂkχâ ǂgaî te toma i tsîts ga χaë-ǂkχâ ǂgaî te o!" tsîs gye ǁhûsa go nâ ǁhû tsî go mû ǂgoberugu a ǂkχaiê, tsî go ǁhai-nî.

Tsîb gye ǂgîriba ǂaros ǂna ǂharisen tsî ǂkχoë-nî îs go hâ o go ǂgai si tsîs gye go ǂkχî. ob gye: „tita tsîn gum goro ǂnauhe o!" ti go mî ǂûba ǂχoro mûtsî.

Tsî gye ǁ(e)îra gye go ǂgûng tsî hâna go hô. ob gye ǂkχam hâba ǁommi ǁgoë hîa go ǂnûi ǂao ǂhaûb ǂkχa tsî ǂhîrasa go ǂgai ǂnûi tsî ǁ(e)îba gai hâba go ǂkχô tsî ǂhîrasa: „sasa kχoîn ǂkχaiba î ǂgabi!" ti go mî, „êta

tita kχoēn hāba ǂ |gabi!" ti go mī tsĭ go bē. tsĭs gye ǂhīrasa ǂkχam hāb χa hān di |harab |na sĭ go uri ūhe. tsĭs gye go |kχōhe tsĭ ǂnauhe tsĭ go |gūng gaihe.

Übersetzung von XXXII.

Der Schakal und die Hyäne, die zwei Kühe der Ameisen wegnehmen.

Die Hyäne und der Schakal hüteten *(|ūĭ, i. pass. narr.)* das Vieh *(|goana, comm. plur.)*. Und sie kamen *(sĭ)* an *(doba)* Dornbäume *(ǂkχūti)* und suchten sich *(hare)* Hairaharz. Da sagte die Hyäne: „Mein Bruder Fahl, sieh *(gō)* doch *(re)* nach dem Vieh!" Da sieht der Schakal zu und sagt: „Es liegt *(ǂgoĕ)* im Schatten beisammen" *(|haū, verb.: Zusammenkommen des Schatten suchenden Viehs in den heißen Tagesstunden)*. So sagte er, obwohl *(χabe)* das Vieh fortgelaufen *(bē, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. comm. plur.)* war, und fuhr fort*): „Meine Schwester Spitzlauf, hattest du *(-s weibl. Pers.-Suff. hinter tăĭ denken)* im Sinne, was ich im Sinne hatte?" Und die Hyäne antwortete: „Ich hatte es im Sinn". Darauf der Schakal: „Laßt *(hā)* uns *(-m, entstanden aus im, Suff. 1. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)* denn das Vieh suchen *(ōa)* und *(ĕ)* weggehen, miteinander *(-gu)* zu schlachten *(ǂā)***)!"

Dann gingen die beiden und fanden eine weiße *(|uri)* und eine schwarze *(ǂnū)* Kuh. Da sagte der Schakal: „Die weiße ist mein' *(ti, Stamm d. 1. pers. d. pron. pers., -sa Adj.-Endg.)*, und die Hyäne sagte: „Die schwarze ist mein"; dann schlachteten die beiden. Nun legte *(ǂnūi, i. pass. narr.)* der Schakal die Hyäne unter *(|gū zudecken)* die nassen *(ūā)* Felle***) *(kχōra, dual. fem.)*, kochte *(saĭ, i. pass. narr.)* [das Fleisch aus] und schüttete *(tsoro, pass. narr.)*, nachdem *(tsĭ Verb.-Part. des particip. practeriti hinter χorohe)* er ein Loch *(ūb)* gegraben *(χoro, i. pass. narr.)* hatte, die Fettstücken *(gauga, masc. plur.)* in *(|na)* das

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*) Diesen Zwiegespräch (vgl. Sage XXXV), in welchem zwei Hallunken, jeder mit derselben Schlechtigkeit im Sinn, gegenseitig sich vorsichtig sondieren, ohne sich doch zunächst etwas vergeben zu wollen, ist charakteristisch für den verschlagenen Charakter des Hottentotten.

**) *ǂagu* hat auch die Bedeutung „einen Hochzeitsbraten schlachten". In diesem Sinne ist das Wort auch hier zu verstehen; die später folgende Aufforderung der Hyäne zum Coitus knüpft daran an. Der Schakal tritt in den Sagen stets als Mann, die Hyäne mit wenigen Ausnahmen (z. B. in Sage XXXIV, wo sie als dummer Bräutigam figuriert) als Weib auf.

***) Nachdem er ihr eingeredet hatte, sie sei krank und müsse sich deshalb der üblichen Fettentwickelung (s. Kapitel Medizin, S. 223) unterziehen.

Loch [um sie zu unterschlagen]. Dann gibt *(mā, i. pass. ǂnarr.)* er der Hyäne zwei kleine magere *(ǂhai ǂhai, saftlos)* Fleischstückchen *(ǂgani Fleisch, -ro Dimin., -ra dual. fem.)* und Pisse *(ǂūb)*. Da sagte sie: „Mein Bruder Fahl, nach *(ǂa von)* was *(*ǂaēī = tareē)* schmeckt *(tsā)* denn das Schmalzzeug *(ǂnūiē, comm. sing.)* so?" *(ǂnāti)*. Darauf der Schakal: „Ach *(ǂkχa)* meine Schwester, ich *(-ta)* verstehe *(ǂnūū hören, ǂū offen darlegen)* nicht *(ǂoma)*, was es mit dem Schmalz ist!"

Jetzt sah der Schakal die Ameisen *(ǂgoberugu)* herankommen*) und schlüpfte *(sī gehen, ǂgū hineingehen)* in das Loch. Da kamen sie und sahen die Häute der beiden Kühe und schlugen *(ǂnaa)* die Hyäne *(sī, Suff.)* mit *(ǂkχa)* Stöcken *(ǂaiti)*. Da rief sie: „Bruder Fahl, meinen Leib *(ǂkχā)* schlagen, tut mir *(ǂe Suff.)* nicht gut! *(ǂgaī,*

*) Mit dem Viehraub des Schakals und der Hyäne bringen die Hottentotten die Gestalt eines Gerstäugiers, den sie *ǂkχu-nitsiikχa-meb* nennen, in Zusammenhang: Als die Ameisen den Diebstahl bemerkten, riefen sie alle streitbaren Männer zur Verfolgung zusammen. Die Heuschrecke aber

Maxentius Stal spec., aff. pinguis Wlk. ♀ (Stenopelmatide) $^{9}/_{10}$ nat. Gr.

erwiderte: *„nēta ra hā tsī ǂgōan doba ǂhao dain ǂa ra ā!"* „Ich bleibe hier und trinke bei den Kindern von der Milch der Blumenzeit!" (Zeit der besten Weide). Zur Strafe dafür ist sie so unmäßig dick geworden, daß sie als „Völlerbauch" (*'ǂkχani* — im Übermaß trinken, *ǂkχams* — Bauch) bis zum heutigen Tage nur mühsam im Sande kriechen (s. Figur) oder auf den Dornbaum klettern kann.

verb.), aber vögeln *(χoē, Coitus vollziehen)* magst *(go, Part. de potent., -ts Suff. masc.)* du meinen Leib, ja *(o, Interj.)* das ist mir angenehm!" Dann biß *(nā)* sie ein Loch *(ǂhūsa)* durch *(ǂhū durchlochen)* [die Häute] und sah nun, daß *(ǂkχaiē)* es die Ameisen waren *(wörtl.: sind a)*, und entfloh *(ǂhai-nī)*.

Der Schakal aber ritzte sich selbst *(ǂhari etw. auftrennen, -sen Refl.-part.)* im Rasenkibusch *(*taros)*, und als *(o)* die Hyäne vorbei- *(l, verb., mit Pers.-Suff.)* eilte, rief *(ǂgai)* er sie, und sie kam. Darauf der Schakal: „Ja *(gum---o)*, ich *(tita, pron.)* bin auch *(tsī und, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. comm. plur.)* geschlagen worden!" So sagte er, nachdem *(-tsī, Part. d. partic. praet., hinter mū, Augen)* er die Augen mit Speichel *(ǂāba)* eingeschmiert *(ǂχoro)* hatte*).

Dann gingen die beiden *(ū(e)īra, Pron. 3. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)* und trafen *(hō)* auf Pferde *(hāna, comm. plur.)*. Und das junge *(ǂkχam)* Pferd machte der Schakal mit dem Riemen *(ǂhaūb)* fest *(*ǂnūi ǂao, den Nacken setzen)*, während es dalag *(ǂgoē)* und schlief *(ǂom, mit d. seltenen Suff. d. 3. pers. masc. sing. -mi)*, und packte *(ǂgai binden, ǂnūi setzen)* die Hyäne darauf. Er selbst *(ū(e)ība, Pron. pers.)* aber fing *(ǂkχō)* das große *(gai)* Pferd und sagte zur Hyäne: „Du *(sasa, Pron.)* reitest *(ǂgabi)* dahin *(ū längs)*, wo keine Menschen *(kχoīn, comm. plur.)* sind *(der Relativsatz ist im Hott. substantivisch ausgedr. durch ǂkχaia = nichts, mit angehängtem Suff. d. 3. pers. masc. sing. -ba)*. Laß *(ē)* mich *(-ta Suff. und tita pron.)* dahin reiten, wo Menschen sind!" *(ebenfalls substantiv. ausgedrückt durch Anhängen d. Pers.-Suff. an das Verb. hā = sein)*. Sprach's und lief weg. Die Hyäne aber wurde von *(χe)* dem jungen Pferd in den Pferde-Kraal *(ǂharab)* abgesetzt *(wörtl.: kam sī, mit ī, gesprungen uri, worden -he pass.)*. Da wurde sie gefangen und geprügelt und fortgejagt *(geheißen gaihe, zu gehen)*.

XXXIII.

ǂHiras tsī igirib tsira inanuga gye uri ǂgāra.

ǂHiras tsī igirib tsira χa i gye ǂaub ǂna ra hā hia inanuga go ǂhao. ob gye: „ti ǂgā ǂgōbese, snāgu gye gauga go ǂkχi, hūgyem uri ǂgā!" ti go mī. tsīb gye: „tita gye aibe nī uri ēs ēχase ǂhē te, tita tsīn nī ēχase ǂhē si χūigye!" ti go mī.

*) Um Tränen vorzutäuschen.

Tsîb gye go uri os gye go ǂǂaxase ǂhē bi. tsîs gye ǂhīrasa go uri. ob gye hās go ŋgoasi: „ǂî, ŋnam, ǂkxūī go ǂkxā te hūgye!“ ti go mī. tsîs gye go ŋnā ǂhīrasa tsî ŋgobus ŋna go ŋoē.

Tsîs gye ǂhīrasa ŋgarusa ŋnūsa.

Übersetzung von XXXIII.

Die Hyäne und der Schakal springen hinter den Wolken her.

Als einst *(hîa)* die Hyäne und der Schakal, die beiden *(tsîra)* im *(ŋna)* Feld *(ŋaub)* waren, kamen Wolken *(ŋnanuga)* auf *(ǂhao, verb.)*. Da sagte der Schakal: „Meine Schwester Spitzlauf (*s. S. 454*), dort *(ŋnā, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. masc. plur.)* sind Fettballen *(gauga, masc. plur.)* erschienen *(ǂkxī)*, darum *(°hūgye, mit d. Pers.-Suff. -m, 1. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)* laß uns hinterher *(ŋgā)* springen *(uri)*!“ So sagte er und fuhr fort: „Ich *(tîta, Pron.)* werde *(mī)* zuerst *(aibe)* springen, und *(ē, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. angered. Person)* du fängst *(°ǂhē)* mich *(le, Suff.)* hübsch *(ǂǂxase, Adv.)* auf, denn *(ǂūigye)* dann will ich dich hübsch auffangen!“

Dann sprang er, und sie fing ihn gut auf. Dann sprang die Hyäne. Als *(ŋgoasi)* sie aber herunterkam *(hā)*, rief der Schakal: „O weh! *(ǂî, Interj.)* warte: *(ŋnam)* ein Dorn *(ǂkxūī, comm. sing.)* hat mich gestochen *(ǂkxā)*, darum [warte]!“ Da fiel *(ŋnā)* die Hyäne zu Boden und verrenkte *(ŋoē)* sich im Hüftgelenk *(ŋgobus)*.

Seit dem Tag *(tsîs)* ist die Hyäne stummelbeinig*) *(ŋgarusa, adj., ŋnūsa Bein)*.

XXXIV.

ǂHîrab hîa gye ŋgameba.

ǂHîrab ǂa i gye gye ŋgôasa ŋganhe tsî ŋgan toahe i gye o gomate go ôahe ŋgûsā ǂhe nîte. tsî gye gomate ǂkxa ŋgoaxa hîakxa gye go ǂhao ŋgtrîb tsîkxa. „maîts garu ū gomana?“ — „ŋgameb ātab ŋgaota garu ū gomati gumo!“ ti go mî. ob gye: „tsî hoa ŋnanite ra ǂâhe?“ tumi go tē, ob gye: „a“ tumi go ŋeream. ob gye ŋgtriba: „ŋgüngta nî tsî ŋnā ŋgûtāb goman ǂa si nî ô!“ ti go mî, tsîkxa gye go ŋgüng.

*) Verfolgt man die Spur einer flüchtigen Hyäne, so sieht man erwolfen, daß das Tier mit dem linken Hinterfuß den Boden kaum berührt hat; statt einer Fährte ist nur eine leichte Schramme im Sand zu sehen. An diese Beobachtung knüpft die Sage an.

Tsĭ ǂgaûs ǃgûse sĭ go ǂnom tsĭb gye ǂgoas go ǂgoa o ǃgiriba ǂgoro ra ǂnaĕgu haisa go maĭ tsĭ: „nē sirisata gum ǃgûng ǂoa o!“ ti go mĭ tsĭ: „uĭtsaba i gye ǂō hāĕ nĭ aba!“ ti go mĭ. ob gye: „abasen hā!“ ti go mĭ ǂhĭraba.

Tsĭb gye: „o kχa dāǂnûin χata dĭ re!“ ti go mĭ, ob gye: „dĭ ǂnaĭ!“ ti go mĭ. o i gye: „o kχa ǃhaûn χata dĭ re!“ ti go mĭ, ob gye: „dĭ ǂnaĭ“ ti go mĭ. o i gye: „o kχa ǃnabaĭ χata dĭ re!“ ti go mĭ, tsĭb gye: „dĭ ǂnaĭ!“ ti go mĭ, tsĭkχa gye go ǃgûng.

Tsĭ go sĭ. ob gye sĭkχa go o hoa ǃkχûkχa ai go ǃham bi. ob gye go ǃkχoĕ bĕ ǂhĭraba tsĭb gye ǃgiriba ǃkχoĕb garu hĭa go uri tsĭ: „mûs go dâdab di hâb hĭa gye ǂhaob ǃna a ǃkχoĕba sasa ra ǃgame?“ ti go mĭ.

Tsĭb gye ǃgiriba gye kχoĕsa ǃgame.

Übersetzung von XXXIV.

Als die Hyäne Hochzeit machte.

Die Hyäne hatte um ein Mädchen *(ǃgōasa)* geworben *(ǂgan, wie d. folgenden Prädikat. pass. narr.)*, und als *(o)* sie die Werbung zustande gebracht hatte *(ǂoa)*, suchte *(ōa)* sie Kühe *(gomate)*, um *(nĭ; fut. part., m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Obj.)* sie zur Hochzeit zu schlachten *(wörtl.: Kühe, die sie zum Hochzeitsschlachten, ǃgûtā, nehmen, û, würde)*. Und während *(hĭa, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz -kχa, dual. masc.)* sie mit *(ǃkχa)* den Kühen ankam, traf sie mit dem Schakal zusammen *(wörtl.: trafen die beiden ... zusammen, ǃhao)*. „Wohin *(maĭ, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. angered. 2. pers. masc.)* wanderst *(garu)* du *(-ts)* mit *(û)* den Rindern?“ *(comm. plur.)* [fragte der Schakal]. „Für *(*ǃgao, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. -ta, ich)* meine *(ā Wurzel d. pron. possess., -ta Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers, -b Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzes)* Hochzeit *(ǃgameb)* [Alles herzurichten], ja *(gumo)* darum wandere ich mit den Kühen!“ erwiderte sie. Dann fragte *(tĕ)* der Schakal so *(tumi)*: „Und werden sie alle *(hoa)* sechs *(ǃnani, m. Pers.-Suff.)* geschlachtet?“ Und sie antwortete *(ǃeream)*: „Ja!“ *(a)*. Darauf der Schakal: „Ich will [mit-] gehen *(ǃgûng)* und von *(χa)* dem Hochzeitsschlacht-Vieh essen!“ *(kommen zĭ, zu essen ô)*. Dann gingen die beiden.

Und nahe *(ǃgûse)* bei der Werft *(ǂgaûs)* gingen sie schlafen *(ǂom)*, und als der Morgen *(ǂgoas)* anbrach *(ǂgoa)*, steckte *(maĭ)* [sich] der Schakal ein Holz[-pflöckchen] *(haisa)* mitten zwischen *(ǂnaĕgu)* die

Zehennägel*) *(ǂgoro, Suff. fehlt)* und sagte: „Ja *(gum---o)*, nun *(*nē sirisa)* kann ich nicht *(ǂoa, verb.)* gehen!" und fuhr fort: „Der Lebendige *(ǂǂtsaba)* soll *(nī)* aufhucken *(aba)*, was *(-ē, Pers.-Suff. comm. sing.)* tot *(ǂǂō)* ist!" *(hā)*. Da sagte die Hyäne: „Komm *(hā)*, huck dich auf"**).

Darauf der Schakal: „Ach *(o)*, dürfte *(re, Optativpart.)* ich [mir] doch *(kχa)* Steigbügel (*dā treten, tnūi setzen, durch d. Pers.-Suff., hier comm. plur. -n, zum Substantiv verbunden. χa, Demonstr.-Part. mit Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.*) machen!" *(dī)*. Und jene erwiderte: „Nun so mache sie [dir] denn!" *(ǂnaī)*. Und [nach einer Weile] sagte der Schakal: „Ach dürfte ich mir doch Zügel *(ǃhaūn)* machen!" — „Ei, so mache sie dir!" erwiderte jene. Und weiter bat der Schakal: „Ach, könnte ich mir doch eine Peitsche *(ǃnabaī, comm. sing.)* machen!" — „So mach sie dir!" erwiderte jene. Dann gingen die beiden.

Und sie kamen an. Als *(o)* sie aber ankamen, schlug *(ǃham)* der Schakal die Hyäne (*durch d. Pers.-Suff. -bi ausgedr.*) auf alle beiden Seiten *(ǃkχākχa, dual.)*. Da entfloh *(ǃkχoē bē)* sie, und während sie davoneilte, sprang *(uri)* der Schakal ab und sagte [zur Braut der Hyäne]: „Hast du *(-s, Suff. 2. pers. sing.)* gesehen *(mū)*, daß du *(sasa, pron.)* auf dem besten Wege warst *(ra, Part. d. fortschr. Handlg.)*, meines Vaters *(dābab, di Genitivpart.)* Pferd *(hāb)*, das *(zeitlich durch hīa gegeben)* im *(ǃna)* Weidefeld *(ǂhaob)* fortgelaufen war, zu heiraten?"

Und der Schakal heiratete das Mädchen.

XXXV.

ǃGirib tsī ǂhīras tsīra ǂgūra gye ǃgamra.

ǃGirib tsī ǂhīras tsīra χa i gye ǂgūra' ikχa hāhe, tsīra gye ǂgūra gomara go ǃnari. tsīn gye go ǂā ora gye ǂkχarisera ra hō ti ǂaī hā tsī ǂgūra go naus ǂhīrasa ǂaēre, ǂgīrisa ǂgama ti ra go hī o go ǂabe: „ti ǂgā ǂgōbese, tita go ǂaīī ga ǂais go?" ti go mī. os gye: „ǂaīta go, ti ǂgā ǃhaisetse!" ti go mī. o i gye: „sasa saos ikχa ǂgūng ēs ǃgam si ēta tita ais ikχa ǂgūng tsī ǃgam si ēm ǃguri ō ǂgana." ti go mī. tsīra gye go ǂgūng ū ǂgūra.

Os gye ǂhīrasa ǂgūsa' sī go ǃgam ob gye ǃgīriba ǂgūsa sī go saū tsī ǂgamab ta gōse gauga hā ra mā. os gye ǃgui ǂsē ǂhīrasa go ǂgama, os gye ǂ(e)īs ōab ti ǂaītsī go ǃkχoē ǂoaχa. os gye go ǂhīrasa ǃgam si tsī go ǂaru.

*) Um vorzutäuschen, er habe sich einen Dorn eingetreten und sei nun lahm.

**) Der Schakal läßt sich von der Hyäne Hucke-Pack tragen.

Tsîs ǂhîrasa sî hã hîab gye go ǃkχ'i ŋgîriba tsî ŋkχaba go ŋgama tsî go sî ŋõs ŋgoĕ ǃkχaib aî. „ais!" tumi go ŋgai, ob gye ǂhîras go hã hã i χuiao: „ǂhîras!" ti mîtsî χabaga χu tsî go ŋarn ǂora.

Tsîb gye ra[a] iã ã. os gye: „îi ǁgũ ǂhaisetse, tareĕtsa ãba?" ti mîtsî ra aî. ǒb gye ǂuiba ũtsî oms ǁgãb ai go i tsî go ǂgabe ǁûris si tsî go ǃkχoĕ-nî.

Übersetzung von XXXV.

Der Schakal und die Hyäne, die ihre Mütter töten.

Der Schakal und die Hyäne wohnten *(hã, i. pass. narr.)* beide *(ra, Pers.-Suff. dual. masc.-fem.)* mit *(ǃkχũ)* ihren Müttern *(ŋgũra, dual. fem.)* zusammen. Und die Mütter stahlen *(ǁnari)* zwei Kühe *(gomara)*. Als *(o, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachs., -ra)* sie dann zusammen (*so besagt das -n, Pers.-Suff. d. comm. plur.*) schlachteten *(tã)*, dachten *(ǂaî, ti so)* [die Jungen], sie würden nur wenig *(ǂkχari, -se Adv.-Endg., -ra dual.)* bekommen *(hõ)*, und als die Mütter fortgingen (*ausgedr. durch d. nachgestellte ti ra go hî o, d. h. als sie so getan hatten*), — die Hyäne (**naus die andere*), um Feuerholz zu suchen *(ǂaĕre)*, die Schakalin, um Wasser zu holen *(ŋgama)*, — machten sie einen Plan *(ǂabe, verb.)*: „Schwester Spitzlauf, hattest du *(-s, Suff. 2. pers. sing. fem. in ǂaîs)* etwa *(ga)* im Sinn, was *(-î, comm. sing.)* ich *(ǂîta)* im Sinn hatte?" So fragte der Schakal, und die Hyäne antwortete: „Ich hatte es im Sinn, mein Bruder Fahl." Darauf der Schakal: „Gehe *(ǃgũng)* du *(sasa, fem.)* mit deiner Mutter *(saos)* und *(ĕ, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. angeredeten 2. pers.)* töte *(ǃgam)* sie *(si, Pers.-Suff.)*, und *(m. d. Suff. d. redenden Pers.)* ich gehe mit meiner Mutter *(ais)* und töte sie, und *(m. d. Suff. d. 1. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)* wir essen *(õ)* das Fleisch *(ŋgana)* allein *(ŋguri)*". Dann gingen sie mit *(ũ)* ihren Müttern fort.

Und die Hyäne ging hin und tötete ihre Mutter, aber der Schakal ging und brachte seine Mutter in Sicherheit *(saũ, verb.)*, und jedesmal wenn *(gõse)* er Wasser holte *(ǂa euph. für ra)*, kam *(hã)* er und brachte *(mã)* ihr Fett *(gauga, masc. plur.)*. Aber eines Tages *(ǃgui tsî)* holte die Hyäne Wasser, und die Schakalin kam, weil *(tsî, Part. d. poetic. praeter.)* sie dachte, es sei ihr *(ŋ(e)îs, pron. pers., als possess. gebraucht unter Ergänzung d. Genitivpart.)* Kind *(ũab)*, eilig *(ǃkχoĕ, verb.)* hervor *(ŋoaχa, verb.)*. Da tötete die Hyäne die Schakalin und ging nach Haus *(ŋaru, verb.)*.

Und während *(hîa, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachs.)* die Hyäne kam, erschien *(ǂkχî)* der Schakal und ging ebenfalls *(ǂkχaba wieder)* zum Wasser und kam an *(ai)* den Platz *(ǂkχaib)*, wo sie tot *(tŏ, mit Pers.-Suff.)* dalag *(ǂgoĕ)*. Und er rief *(ǂgai)* „Mutter!", und weil *(χuiao)* die Hyäne dagewesen war, sagte *(i. part. praet.)* er sich: „[Das tat] die Hyäne!", ließ *(χu)* die Schüsseln *(χabaga)* stehen und eilte auf und davon *(ǂora)* nach Haus.

Und er weinte *(ā)* verstohlen *(ǂā entwenden)*. Die Hyäne aber sagte: „Mein Bruder Fahl, warum *(tarĕ was, -ba für)* weinst du?" *(-tsa, Suff. masc.)*, und lachte *(aî)*. Da nahm *(ǂî, i. part. praet.)* er einen Stein *(ǂuiba)*, ging *(ǂî)* hinter *(*ǂgāb ai)* die Hütte *(oms)* und schleuderte *(*ǂgabe)* ihr den Stein gegen die Stirn*) *(*ǂîris = ǂîs)* und entfloh *(*ǂkχoĕ-nî)*.

XXXVI.

Guni daob am ǂna ǂgoĕ ǂgîrib.

ǂHîras tsî ǂgîrib tsîra χa i gyĕ ǂguri ǂanhe hā. tsî gye ǂgam gunira go hā i o ǂgîrib χa ais ai go ǂkχoĕhe tsî sî go ǂgoĕhe guni daob χŏ ǂna. tsîra gye gunira go ǂkχî os gye ais ai hā gunisa go ǂgûng i tsîs gye kχaos ai hā gunisa go mū. tsî: „ǂabusa mā te!" ti go mî, „samiba mā te! hamersa mā te!" ti go mî tsî go ǂî kχaî tsî go ǂnao. ob gye ǂnui swasa go ǂnā ǂna tsî suiker ǂhûs tsîra tsî gŏ oa.

Tsî ǂom ǂna ǂkχari χûrona ǂî tsî ǂhîrasa sî go mā. os gye: „ti ǂgā ǂhaisetse, mabats go hŏ χûĕ?" ti go mî. ob gye: „ǂnā garu gunira ǂkχoĕ ǂgûng ĕs ai ǂî daob χŏ ǂna sî ĕs hamers ga ǂganhe χabe ǂgoĕ! samib ga ǂganhe χabe ǂgoĕ! ǂabus ga ǂganhe χabe ǂgoĕ! ĕs ǂnaohes ga ra o suiker ǂhûsa ǂnā ǂna tita go hî kχomi!" tsîs gye ǂkχoĕ tsî sî go ǂgoĕ. tsîgu kχoĕga: „samiba mā te! hamersa mā te! ǂabusa mā te!" ti go mî. os gye go ǂkχoĕ-nî tsî go sî. ob gye: „ǂnā ǂnas go?" tumi go tĕ. os gye: „ǂabus ga ǂganhe ota go ǂhai-nî," ti go mî. ob gye: „ǂôso nî gās gumo!"

Übersetzung von XXXVI.

Der Schakal, der sich neben den Wagenweg legt.

Die Hyäne und der Schakal, die beiden *(tsî wnd. -ra Pers.-Suff. dual. masc.-fem.)* wohnen *(ǂan, i. pass. nasr.)* allein *(ǂguri)*. Und als *(o)*

*) Seitdem hat die Hyäne eine platte breite Stirn.

zwei *(ǃgam)* Wagen *(gunira, dual. fem.)* daherkamen *(hã)*, eilte *(ǃkχoë, i. pass. narr.)* der Schakal voraus *(ais ai)* und geht *(si)* zur Seite *(von χõb Backe)* des Wagen-Weges *(dãob)* sich hinlegen *(ǃgoë, i. pass. narr.)*. Da kamen *(ǃkχi)* die beiden Wagen; und der Wagen, der vorn war, ging vorbei *(güng i)*, der Wagen aber, der hinten *(ǃkχaos ai)* war, sah *(mã)* [ihn]. „Da rief [der Herr des Wagens]: „Gib *(mã)* mir *(ke, Suff.)* das Gewehr *(ǃabusa)*! die Peitsche *(samiba)* gib mir! den Hammer *(aus d. Kapholländ. entnommen)* gib mir!" So rief er und nahm *(ǂi)* [den Schakal] hoch *(kχai)* und lud *(ǃnao)* ihn auf. Der aber stieß *(mit dem Hinterbein scharrend, ens ma)* das Fett- *(muib)* Faß *(swasa, a. d. Kapholl. verstümmelt)* aus und den Zucker- *(suiker, aus d. Kapholl.)* Sack *(thõs)*, die beiden, und kehrte zurück *(oa)*.

Dann nahm er kleine *(ǂkχari)* Brockchen *(χũb Ding, -ro Dimin.)* in *(ǃna)* die Hand *(ǃomi)* und ging hin, es der Hyäne zu geben. Da sagte die: „Mein *(ti)* Bruder *(ǃgũb)* Fahl *(ǃhaiseb der Fahle)*, wo *(moba)* hast du *(-ti, Suff.)* das Zeug *(χũi, comm. sing.)* gefunden *(hõ)*?" Darauf jener: „Da *(ens)* wo die Wagen gehen *(guru)*, lauf schnell hin *(ǃkχoë eilen, ǃgüng gehen)* und *(i, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* geh voraus *(ai ǂõ)* neben den Weg! und mag *(ga, Part. d. potentialis)* auch der Hammer verlangt *(ǃgun)* werden, lieg trotzdem *(χabe)* [still]! mag auch die Peitsche verlangt werden, lieg trotzdem still! mag auch das Gewehr verlangt werden, lieg trotzdem still! Und wenn *(o)* du aufgeladen worden bist, stoß den Zuckersack leer, so wie *(kχomi)* ich *(tita, Pron.)* es tat *(hi)*!" Darauf eilte die Hyäne weg und ging, sich hinlegen. Da riefen die Männer *(kχoëga, Menschen masc. plur.)*: „Die Peitsche her! den Hammer her! das Gewehr her!" Da entfloh *(ǃkχoë-ai)* sie und kommt [zurück]. Darauf der Schakal: „Hast du [den Sack] leer gestoßen?" So *(tumi)* fragte *(ti)* er, doch jene sagte: „Als das Gewehr verlangt wurde, rannte *(thai. Das ai drückt hier wie oben eine Erwartung aus, die der Verfolgung)* ich fort". Darauf jener: „Verrecken *(ti)* werdet Ihr *(-se, Suff. d. 2. pers. plur. fem.)* vor Dummheit *(gũ)*, wahrhaftig *(gomo)*!"

XXXVII.

ǃGarub ãana gyere skχãskχã ǂgũriba.

ǃGũrib χa i gye ǂgarub ãana gyere skχãskχãhe. tsĩ i gye hã ãhen ge o ǂgairoë ge ǂgaoχa dõmbe.

Ob gye ǂgaruba go ǂkχī tsī go tē: „matitsa ǂkχāǂkχā ǂgōana?" tumi go tē. o i gye: „ne ohm, gaise ǂgaise ra ǂkχāǂkχāsen ǂgōaron!" ti go mīhe. ob gye go ǂaru tsī i gye ǂarub go o ǂkχaba ǂguiē go ǂgaoχa domhe.

Tsīb gye go ǂkχī ǂkχaba ǂgaruba tsī go mī: „ǂgōarona ta gum gō ǂgūng hā o!" ti go mī. o i gye ǂgirib χa: „hm'm, nē sirisa ǂoaχa tite!" ti go mīhe. ob gye ǂgaruba: „tareī ǂama nī ǂoaχa tite?" ti go mī. o i gye: „gaise ǂgaise ra ǂkχāǂkχāsen ǂgōarona, tā ǂhani!"

Ob gye ǂgom tsī go ǂaru. Tsīb gye ǂkχabab go ǂkχī o hoaron habuhe hā hīa go ǂkχī, ǂguiroē ǂgui i hā hīa. tsīb gye: „ǂgōana ta gō!" ti go mī. ob gye ǂguiroī ǂguiē ra ǂgauhe ob gye hoan ti ǂaī hā tsī go ǂaru. tsī i gye ǂarub go o ǂgau hā ǂguiroē go ǂabuhe.

Tsīb gye ǂkχaba go ǂkχī ǂgaruba. o i gye mā ǂgoaχaheb go o: „ǂkχīb ga ǂgaruba os gye nī ǂgōaē ǂkχī" ti go mīhe „ēta: ›taeē ra āba ǂgōaē?‹ tumi tē, eīs: ›ǂgaru ǂganē ra āba‹ ti mī!" ti go mīhe. tsīb gye go ǂkχī ǂgaruba, os gye ǂgōaē go ǂkχī o i gye ā ǂgōaē. ob gye: „tareē ra āba ǂgōaē?" ti go mī. os gye: „ǂgaru ǂganē ra āba!" ti go mī.

Ob gye ǂgaruba go ǂhai-nī tsī ǂnēraba sī go ǂkχau tsīkχa gye go ǂkχī. o i gye ǂgoa somi dī soma. „ǂnā mā ǂnani ǂgaru kχōgu ga mū tomakχo hā?" ti go mīhe. ob gye ǂgaruba go ǂhai-nī, „ǂnam! ǂnam!" tib ǂnēraba ra mī hīa, go bē.

Übersetzung von XXXVII.

Der Schakal, der die Kinder des Leoparden unterrichtete.

Der Schakal unterrichtete *(ǂkχā ǂkχā, im pass. narr. Will man hier das echte Passivum annehmen, ist χa als Postposition, von, aufzufassen)* die Kinder *(ǂōana, comm. plur.)* des Leoparden. Doch als *(o)* sie *(-n in ǂhen)* [ihm] gebracht *(ǂhā kommen, ǂhe genommen werden)* worden waren, schnitt er einem *(ǂgui-)* der Kleinen *(ro Dimin., -ē Pers.-Suff. comm. sing.)* die Kehle ab. *(Zu einem Verbum m. d. Endung des pass. narr. sind verschmolzen: ǂgao schneiden, χa durch, domi Kehle).*

Dann kam *(ǂkχī)* der Leopard und fragte *(tē)*: „Wie *(mati)* unterweist du *(-tsa, Suff.)* die Kinder *(ǂgōana)*?" So *(tumi)* fragte er. Aber der Schakal sagte: „Nein Ohm*), sehr *(gaise)* gut *(ǂgaise)* lernen *(lehren, mit der Reflexivpartikel -sen)* die Kinderchen!" Da ging jener

*) Dem Kapholländischen entlehnt. Der Schakal sieht in der Frage des Leoparden ein Mißtrauen und weist es zurück.

nach Haus *(saru, verb.)*, und als er nach Haus gegangen war, schnitt der Schakal wieder *(ŧkχaba)* einem die Kehle ab.

Und abermals kam der Leopard und sagte: „Ich bin ja gekommen, die Kinderchen zu sehen!" So sagte er. Der Schakal aber erwiderte: „Nein *(hm'm)*, jetzt *(°nē siriŧa)* werden sie nicht *(tite, Verb.-Part. d. fut. negat.)* herauskommen *(ŧoaχa)*!" Da fragte der Leopard: „Warum *(lareĭ ǂama)* sollen sie nicht herauskommen?" Jener aber [antwortet]: „Gar gut lernen die Kinderchen, störe *(ŧkani)* [sie] nicht *(tā = toma)*!"

Da glaubte *(ŧgom)* er [es] und ging nach Haus. Als er dann wieder ankam, waren indessen *(hīa)* alle *(hoa, -ro Dim., -n Pers.-Suff. d. comm. plur.)* Kleinen aufgefressen, nur ein einziges Kleines *(ŧguiroĕ ŧguĭ)* war übrig geblieben *(hā)*. Und [wieder] sagte der Leopard: „Ich [will] die Kinder sehen *(gō)*!" Da zeigte *(ŧgau, i. pass. narr.)* der Schakal das eine einzige; jener aber denkt *(taĭ, ti so)*, [es seien] alle, und ging nach Haus. Und als er nach Haus gegangen war, fraß der Schakal das einzig übrig gebliebene *(ŧgau hā)* auf.

Und abermals kam der Leopard. Aber als [der Schakal] ihn ankommen *(ŧgoaχa)* sah, sagte er [zur Schakalin]: „Wenn *(o, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz -s)* der Leopard wohl *(ga, Verb.-Part. d. potentialis)* kommt, mußt *(nĭ)* du ein Kind kneifen *(ŧkχĭ)*." „Laß mich *(laß I, daß ich -ta)* dann so fragen: ›Wonach *(taeĕ = tareĕ Was?, -ba objektiv. Verb.-Part.)* schreit *(ā)* das Kind?‹ Und *(ĕ, m. Suff.)* sage du dann: ›es schreit nach Leopardenfleisch‹ *(ŧganĕ, comm. sing.)*!" Und der Leopard kam, und als sie das Kind kniff, schrie das Kind. Da fragte der Schakal: „Wonach schreit das Kind?" Und sie antwortete: „Es schreit nach Leopardenfleisch!"

Da entfloh *(ŧhai-nĭ)* der Leopard und ging *(sĭ)* den Pavian *(inǂraba)* auffordern *(ŧkχau)* [mitzugehen], und die beiden *(-kχa, Suff. dual. masc.)* kamen an. Doch die Morgensonne wirft dunkle Schatten (*wörtl.: der Frühschatten ŧgoa somi, macht dĭ, Schatten*). „Seht *(mā)* Ihr *(-kχo, Suff. d. 2. pers. dual. masc.)* nicht dort *(ŧnā)* die sechs *(ǂnani)* Leopardenfelle *(kχōgu)* liegen?" [sagte da der Schakal]. Da entfloh der Leopard, enteilte *(bē)*, während der Pavian ruft *(mĭ, ti so, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*: „Warte! warte!" *(ŧnam)*.

XXXVIII.

ǃGīrib tsī ǂnēraḃ tsīkχa.

ǃGīrib tsī ǂnēraḃ tsīkχa χa i gye gye sur(u)teguhe. ob gye ǂnēraba sur(u)teba go ōa ǂkχī o i gye oms ams ai ǂnūhe tsī gai gōaba ra ǂātsiamhe. hīaḃ gye go ǂkχī tsī hā go ǂgan sur(u)teba. ob gye: „ǂūgukχum a!" ti go mī.

Ob gye go ǁao ǂnōraba tsī go ǁgūng tsī ǂhōaḃ doba go sī tsī: „nē ǁgīrib sur(u)teba ta ra ōa o ra gōa ǂātsiama" ti go mī. ob gye ǂhōaba: „ǂhumi ra ǂau χaus ǁguisa, īb, χūigye ǂkχī, ēkχum ǁgūng!" ti go mī, tsīkχa gye go sī. ob gye ǂnēraba ǂkχaba mūbasen toma i tsī go ǂhai-nī.

Ob gye ǂhōaba ǂkχaba go ǂgai bi: „ǂhumi ra ǁgīrib, χūē dī tsi tite! hūgye ǂkχī, ēkχum ǂarekχa ǁgai ǂare!" ti go mī, tsīkχa gye go sī. ob gye gōaḃ ǂkχa go ǂham kχū.

Ob gye go ǂhai ǂnēraba, „ǂnam!" tīb ta ǂhōaba mī hīa. tsī ǁkχōbasen nī ra haiti ai o haiti ǂkχa ra ǁhum ǂui bi. tsīb gye go ǂnēraba ǂhai-nī ǂī ob gye ǂhōaba: „ǂkχī, ēkχum oa, ǁgīrib ta ǂhumi, otsa ǂgum!" ti gǝ mī. ob gye ǂkχū ǂnēraba tsī sī toma go i.

Übersetzung von XXXVIII.

Der Schakal und der Pavian.

Der Schakal und der Pavian waren Schuldner und Gläubiger. *(*sur(u)tegu, i. pass. narr., in einem Schuldverhältnis zueinander stehen. Der Zusammenhang ergibt, wie das im Einzelfall aufzufassen ist.)* Als *(o)* aber der Pavian kam *(ǂkχī)*, den Schuldner *(sur(u)teba)* aufzusuchen *(ōa)*, setzte sich *(ǂnū, i. pass. narr.)* der Schakal *(ausgedr. durch d. -b hinter o am Anf. d. Satzes)* vor *(ams ai)* die Hütte *(oms)* und machte ein großes *(gai)* Messer *(gōaba)* scharf *(*ǂātsiama, verb., i. pass. narr., īā scharf sein, -tsi adjektivierende Endung, am Mund, Schärfe des Beils, Messers etc.)*. Indessen erschien der Pavian und kam *(hā)* heran, den Schuldner zu mahnen *(ǂgan)*. Da sagte der Schakal: „Wir *(-kχum, Suff. 1. pers. masc. dual.)* kennen einander nicht!" *(īā nicht wissen, -gu Reflex.-Part.)*.

Da fürchtete sich *(ǁao)* der Pavian *(ǂnōraba hörte ich nur von alten Leuten, die jüngeren sagen alle ǂnēraba)* und ging *(ǁgūng)* weg und kam *(sī)* zur *(doba)* Wildkatze *(ǂhōaḃ)* und sagte: „Der Schakal da *(nē, Demonstr.-Wurzel)* wetzt, wenn *(o)* ich nach der Schuld frage.

ein Messer!" Darauf die Katze: „Er stellt sich *(ǂhumi ǂugen)* nur so *(ǂau)* der Ober-Dreckfink! *(wörtl.: die einzige Scheiße, χaus ǂguisa)* das sieht ihm ähnlich! *(I gleichen, -b Pers.-Suff.)*. Darum *(χũigye)* komm, laß *(ĩ)* uns gehen!" So sagte sie, und die beiden gingen und kamen hin. Der Pavian aber war wieder *(ǂkχaba)* nicht auf den Anblick gefaßt *(hatte sich -sen, Reflex.-Part., dessen nicht toma, versehen mũ mit objektivir. Part. -ba)* und entfloh *(ǂhai-aĩ)*.

Da rief *(ǂgai)* ihm die Katze abermals zu: „Der Schakal lügt, er wird dir *(tsi, Suff.)* nichts *(χũĩ etwas, tite Part. d. fut. nzgat.)* tun *(di)*, darum komm, laß uns unsere Schwänze *(ǂarekχa, dual. masc.)* zusammenbinden!" *(ǂare vereinigen, ǂgai binden)*. So sagte sie und sie kamen hin. Der Schakal aber sprang *(ǂham)* die beiden *(kχã, Suff., i. Dat.-Accus.)* mit dem Messer an.

Da floh der Pavian, während *(hĩa)* die Katze „Warte!" *(ũnam)* rief *(mĩ, ta = ra, ti so, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*. Und wenn *(o)* sie sich in *(aĩ)* den Büschen *(haiti)* festklammern *(*ǂkχõbasen)* wollte, zog *(ǂhum)* er sie mit samt den Büschen heraus *(tui)*. Da endlich hörte der Pavian auf *(ĩã, verb.)* zu fliehen, und die Katze sagte: „Komm, laß uns umkehren *(ũã)*, der Schakal verstellt sich, glaube *(ǂgum)* mir doch!" *(o, m. d. Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* Der Pavian aber weigerte sich *(ǂkχã)* und ging nicht hin*).

XXXIX.

Bũrgu doba gye hãba ǂamaχu ǂgĩriba.

ǂGĩrib χa i gye gye hãba bũrgu doba gye ǂamaχuhe tsĩ aibe marina hãb di tsoas ǂna go ǂgãhe tsĩ go sĩ ũhe tsĩ: „nẽ sirisa ta nĩ marina hõ ǂnã hãba χu!" ti mĩhe. tsĩ hãb go χau o go χabahe tsĩ gye hãba marĩba go χau.

Okχa gye go ǂhoa hãb ǂgausa o i gye: „ǂgauẽ ta ǂnũi toma, ǂamaχu toma ta hã hãb ao. o ga ǂama aoĩ hoaĩ nĩ ǂ(e)ĩs gomagu ǂkχa hã gunisa mã te," ti go mĩ ǂgĩriba.

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*) Auch hier stellt der Hottentott zwischen der Sage und dem Tier eine Folgebeziehung her, die unter den Eingeborenen selbst so bekannt ist, daß der Erzähler sie nicht mehr hervorhebt: Als die beiden Tiere nach ihrer wilden Flucht ihre Schwänze wieder auseinanderknoteten, zeigte sich, daß der des Pavians geknickt war. Das ist ihm nun für seine Feigheit für immer geblieben, s. Abbildung auf S. 288.

Ob gye büruba gomagu ikχa hã gunisa gye mã bi. tsĩb gye go ǂgaĕ ǁao tsĩ go mĩba: „bura, ǁnona tsẽti hã tsĩ ra χau hãb!" ti go mĩ tsĩb gye go ǁnari igĩriba.

Tsĩkχa gye bürkχa ǁnona tsẽti go ǃ o haga ŋ(e)ĩ tsẽs ŋga go ǁaũ, ob gye hãba χau toma hã mariẽ tsĩ igãb iguiba ra χau. okχa gye bürkχa go igoĕ igũ tsĩ go ikχoĕ igon. tsĩkχa gye ŋgaũs doba go sĩ daob am ǁna ǂnõas doba tsĩ: „nẽba gye ǃgunisa mabas hã?" tumi go tẽ. on gye: „ai tsẽ gye ǃ" ti go mĩ.

Tsĩkχa gye go igabi igon tsĩ ŋkχaba ŋgaũs doba go sĩ tsĩ: „nẽba gye ǃ gunisa mabas hã?" tumi go tẽ. on gye: „ǂari go ǃ" ti go mĩ. tsĩkχa gye go igabi igon tsĩ ŋkχaba ŋgaũs ai go sĩ tsĩ: „nẽba gye i gunisa mabas hã?" tumi go tẽ. on gye: „nẽ tsẽ go ǃ" ti go mĩ.

Tsĩkχa gye go igabi igon tsĩ igĩrib sĩ hã hĩa go sĩ tsĩ: „ohm ǂos, ǂnoa ǂũ tsi ta ra!" ti go mĩ.

O i gye: „mã thabĩ aitsa ǂnõa ǂũte?" tumi go tẽ.

Ob gye: „sats gum mariẽ χau toma hãba mariba ra χau ti gye mĩbate o!" ti go mĩ.

Ob gye: „hm'm, ŋnãti ǁhoaĕ horaẽ tã ǁhoa ũte!" ti go mĩ. „ti igãb gaib iguib sago ikχa ra ŋamagu!" ti go mĩ igĩriba.

Tsĩ go naukχa bürkχa go tẽ: „mabab hã?" tumi. ob gye igĩriba: „ŋnãba ŋgona ŋam hã" ti go mĩ. tsĩkχa gye go igabi tsĩ sĩ ǁhabiẽ ũ hã toma igĩriba go ǂnoa ǁan.

Übersetzung von XXXIX.

Der Schakal, der an die Buren ein Pferd verkauft.

Der Schakal verkaufte *(ŋamaχu, i. pass. narr.)* an *(doba)* die Buren *(bürgu)* ein Pferd *(hãba)* und steckte *(igũ)* zuvor *(aibe)* Geld *(marina, comm. plur.)* in *(ǁna)* das Hinterloch *(tsoas)* des *(di, Genitivpart.)* Pferdes und brachte *(sĩ kommen, ũ nehmen, i. pass. narr.)* es an und sagte *(mĩ, i. pass. narr.)*: „Jetzt *(ᵊnẽ sirisa)* werde *(nĩ)* ich *(-ta, Suff.)* Geld bekommen *(hã)* dort *(ŋnã)* von *(χu)* dem Pferde!" Und als *(o)* das Pferd schiß *(χau)*, hielt er die Hand unter *(χaba, i. pass. narr.)*, und das Pferd schiß Geld.

Als *(o)* aber die beiden *(-kχa, Suff. dual. masc.)* Buren vom Preis *(igauna)* des Pferdes sprachen *(ǁhoa)*, sagte der Schakal: „Einen Preis setze *(ŋnũi)* ich nicht *(toma)* an, weil *(ao)* ich das Pferd nicht ver-

kaufe. Aber jeder *(hoa, mit d. Suff. comm. sing.)* Mann *(aoĭ, comm. sing.)*, der [es] kaufen *(ǂama)* wollte *(ga, Verb.-Part. d. potentialis)*, würde mir *(ĭe, Suff.)* einen Wagen *(gunisa)* mit *(ǀkχa)* den zugehörigen *(ǂ(e)ĭs, Pron. pers. d. 3. pers. sing. fem., unter Weglassung d. Genitivpart. i. Sinne des Pron. possess. gebraucht)* Ochsen *(gomagu)* geben *(mā)*."

Da gab ihm *(bi, Suff.)* der Bur einen Wagen mit Ochsen. Und der Schakal spannte ein *(*ǂgăĕ ǀao)* und sagte: „Bur! Drei *(ǀnani)* Tage *(tsĕti)* wartet *(hā)* das Pferd, dann scheißt es [Geld]!" So sagte der Schakal und fuhr *(ǀnari)* ab.

Die beiden Buren aber warteten *(ǀaū)*, als *(o)* die drei Tage vorbeigegangen *(ĭ)* waren, bis *(ǂga)* zum vierten *(haga ǂ(e)ĭ)* Tage, aber das Pferd schiß kein Geld und schiß nur *(ǀgui m. Suff.)* Gras *(ǀgūb)*. Da sattelten *(*ǀgaĕǀgā)* die beiden auf und jagten *(ǀkχoĕ)* hinter *(ǀgon)* [dem Schakal] her. Und sie kamen *(sĭ)* zu einer Werft *(ǂgaūs)*, zu einer, die am *(am ǀna)* Wege *(daob)* lag *(*ǂnōa, mit Pers.-Suff.)*, und fragten *(tĕ)*: „Wo *(maba, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* ist der Wagen, der hier *(nĕba)* vorbeikam?" „Vorgestern *(ai tsĕ)* ging er vorbei", so hieß es *(mĭ sagen)*.

Da ritten *(ǀgabi)* sie hinterher und kamen wieder zu einer Werft und fragten: „Wo ist der Wagen, der hier vorbeikam?" Darauf sagten die Leute *(-n Pers.-Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. comm.)*: „Gestern *(ǂari)* kam er vorbei." Da ritten sie hinterher und kamen wieder in eine Werft und fragten: „Wo ist der Wagen, der hier vorbeikam?" Darauf sagten die Leute: „Heute *(diesen nĕ, Tag tsĕb)* kam er vorbei."

Da ritten sie hinterher; und als *(hĭa)* der Schakal [längst nach Haus] gekommen war, kamen sie an und riefen: „Ohm Fuchs *(d. Kapholl. entlehnt)*, ich schieße *(ǂnoa)* dir *(-tsi, Suff.)* die Stirn *(ǀūs)* ein!"

Darauf jener: „Für *(ai)* welch ein *(mā)* Vergehen *(ǀhabĭĭ, comm. sing.)* schießt du *(-tsa, Suff.)* mir die Stirn ein?" So fragte er.

Darauf der Bur: „Du *(sats, Pron. pers. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* hast mir ja *(gum--o)* gesagt, das Pferd, das kein Geld scheißt, schisse Geld!"

Doch der Schakal sagte: „Nein *(hm'm)*, sprich ein für allemal *(ǀhoaĕ horaĕ)* nicht *(lā—toma)* so *(ǂnāti)* mit *(ā)* mir! Mein *(ti)* älterer *(gaib, groß)* Bruder *(ǂgāb)* treibt Handel *(ǂama kaufen, -gu Reciprocal-part.)* mit Euch!" *(sago, Pron. d. 2. pers. plur. masc.)*

Da fragten die Buren *(wörtl.: die beiden anderen *nauǂχa)*: „Wo ist er?" Und der Schakal sagte: „Dort *(nāba)* [weiter] unten *(ǁgona)* wohnt *(ǁan)* er." Da ritten die beiden ab und gingen hin, den Schakal, der keine Schuld hatte, totzuschießen *(ǂnoa ǀan)*.

XI.

Kχoïn ǁgubusa gye tom ǀgīriba.

ǀGīrib gye ǁ(e)īb ǁgaũsa χu gye ǀkχī tsī kχoïn oms ǀna hā gye ǂgā tsī kχoïn ǁgubusa gye tom. tsīn gye kχoïna gye ǀkχī ǀgīrib oms doba hā hīa. ob gye oms aoba gye tē: „mā ǀāb ˈǀgīritsa?" tumi. ob gye gye ǀgīriba ǀeream: „ǂaro ǀāb ǀgīrita, ǂarona ra ǂūta, ǂharina ra ǂūta, ǂaũna ra ǂūta, gumo!"

Dieses Verhör des Schakals wird nun, um es eindringlich zu machen, zwei- bis dreimal vom Erzähler wiederholt. Dann folgt:

Ob gye gye aoba mī: „χau ēta gō tsi!" ti gye mī. ob gye gye ǀgīriba χau ǂarona. ob gyē gye aoba tē ǁkχaba:

Frage und Antwort wie vorher. Dann dieselbe Aufforderung des Mannes an den Schakal. Darauf:

Ob gye gye χau ǂharina. ob gye gye aoba tē:

Frage, Antwort und Aufforderung wie vorher. Dann:

Ob gye gye ǀgīriba χau ǂaũna. ob gye aoba tē: „mā ǀāb ǀgīritsa?" tumi. ob gye gye ǀgīriba ǀeream: „ǂaro ǀāb ǀgīrita, ǂarona ra ǂūta, ǂharina ra ǂūta, ǂaũna ra ǂūta, gumo!"

Eindringliche Wiederholung des Verhörs. Dann wieder:

Ob gye aoba: „χau ēta gō tsi!" ti gye mī. ob gye χau ǀgīriba ǁnũiba. ob gye aoba gye ǀkχō bi. ob gye ǀgīriba: „tī ǁnaob, ǀkχō unu ǀgā!" ti gye mī. ob gye gye aoba ǀkχō unu ǀgā. ob gye gye ǀgīriba ũi tsī gye mī: „ǁnā gye ī ǀgōata mo!" ti gye mī.

Übersetzung von XI.

Der Schakal, der den Topf der Leute ausschleckt.

Der Schakal *(ǀgīrib)* kam *(ǀkχī)* von *(χu)* seiner *(ǁ(e)īb, Pron. pers. 3. pers. sing. masc., vor dem folgenden Substantiv als Pron. poss. gebraucht)* Werft *(ǁgaũs)* zu *(ǀna)* der Hütte *(oms)* der Menschen *(kχoïn)* und

(tsĭ) kam *(hã)* hinein *(ǂgã, verb.)* und schleckte *(ǀom)* den Fett-Topf *(ǁgubusa)* der Leute aus. Die Menschen aber kamen, während *(hĭa)* der Schakal noch *(hã bleiben)* bei *(doba)* der Hütte war, herzu. Da fragte *(tĕ)* der Mann *(aoba)* der Hütte: „Welches *(mã)* Rivieres *(ǀãb)* Schakal [bist] du?" *(-tsa Pers.-Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc., nomin.)**) Da antwortete *(ǀeream)* der Schakal: „Ich *(-ta)* [bin] der Schakal vom Aro-Busch-Rivier. [Die Früchte] vom Aro-Baum *(-na, Endung des plur. comm.)* esse ich *(ǂũta)*, vom Hari-Busch esse ich, vom Au-Busch esse ich, jawohl *(gumo)*!" **)

Wiederholung. Dann:

Darauf sagte *(mĭ)* der Mann: „Laß *(ĕ, Imperativpartikel)* mich *(-ta)* dich *(-tsi)* scheißen *(χau)* sehen *(gõ)*!" So *(ti)* sagt er. Da schiß der Schakal Aro-Beeren. Und der Mann fragte wieder:

Wiederholung der Frage und der Aufforderung.

Und der Schakal schiß Hari-Beeren. Da fragte der Mann:

Wiederholung der Frage und Aufforderung.

Und der Schakal schiß Au-Beeren. Und [wieder] fragte der Mann: „Welches Ortes Schakal [bist] du?" Und der Schakal antwortete: „Ich bin der Schakal vom Aro-Rivier, Aro-Beeren esse ich, Hari-Beeren esse ich, Au-Beeren esse ich, jawohl!"

Wiederholung. Dann:

Und der Mann sagte: „Laß mich dich scheißen sehen!" Da scheißt der Schakal Fett, und der Mann fing *(ǀkχõ)* ihn *(bi)*. Doch der Schakal rief: „Mein *(ti)* Großvater *(ǁnaob)*, faß anders zu!" *(ǀkχõ zufassen, unu umwenden, ǀgã rückwärts)*. Und der Mann faßte anders zu. Da entwischte *(ũi)* der Schakal und sagt: „Ja *(mo = gumo)*, so ein Kerl bin ich!" *(wörtl.: so ǁnũ, einem Kinde ǀgõa-, gleiche I ich)*.

XLI.

ǁKχãǁkχã aoba gyere ǁgamsa χoraba ǀgĭrib tsĭ ǀnoab tsĭkχa.

ǀGĭrib tsĭ ǀnoab tsĭkχa χa i gye ǁgamsa gyere χorahe tsĭ i gye ǀgĭrib χa, ǁarukχa nĭ ǁaĕb ta ǀoa o, ǂgoab ǀna ra ǀharisenhe tsĭ ǀnoaba ra ǁãsen

*) Das Wort **tumi* = so, das häufig an direkter Rede angeschlossen wird, hat schlechthin referierenden Sinn, im Gegensatz zu der imperativisch referierenden Konjunktion *goma: „Mã ǀab gĭritsa goma"* würde bedeuten: „Wo kommst du her? antworte! Das ist mein Auftrag."

**) Der **ǂa-ros*-Busch ist *Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.* (Rhamnaceae). **ǂhari-s* ist *Royena pallens Thbg.* (Ebenaceae). *ǂaũ's* ist *Grewia flava D. C.* (Tiliaceae). Der Schakal lebt in der Tat auch von den Beeren-ähnlichen Früchten dieser Gewächse.

gaihe. tsī i gye sīkχa ra o ǀnoaba ǂkχari ǀoreros ǀna ra horabaǂe tsī ǀgīriba ǁūsen ǀores ǀna ra horabahe.

Ob gye ǀgui tsē ǁkχāǁkχā aoba, sīsen ǀgūngkχa go o, go ǀgūng mū tomakχa hāse. tsīkχa go sī. ob gye ǀnoaba go ǁgōa ob gye ǀgīriba go ǁgoē tsī go ǁom. tsīb go ǁarukχa nī ǁaēba ǀoa ob gye ǀnoaba go ǂoaχa tsī go ǂkχaiǂkχai ǀgīriba; ob gye ǁnān hoana ǂnōa ra mū ǁkχāǁkχā aoba. tsī ǀnoaba go ǁūsen gai tsī go ǂgoab ǀna ǁ(e)ība ǀharisen. tsīkχa gye go sī. ob gye gai ǀoreb ǀna ǀnoaba go horabahe tsī ǀgīriba ǀnoab di ǀoreros ǀna go horabahe. o i gye: „ǁnaū sats hā" ti go mī. „titats go mā ǀgūng gaihe!" ti go mī. ob gye ǀnoaba: „tita go māhe ǀores ǁkχāǁkχā aobi," ti go mī.

Tsīkχa gye go sīsen ǀgūng tsīkχa go ǁgams doba a sī o i gye: „hākχum ǁūsen tsīgo" ti go mī, „ēkχum ǀuri ǀkχaikχa ǀgain ai tsī nē ǁgams ǀna uri!" ti go mī. tsī i gye ǀnoaba go ǀgai aihe tsī ǀnoaba ǀgai ai toahetsī ǀuiba go ūhe tsī: „ǀnoas, urita go, hūgye uri!" ti mīhe tsī ǀuiba go ao ǁnāhe tsī i gye: „ǀnoab go ǁgam ǁō, tsaūn go dai, guniti go ǀnarisen, omgu go ǂhubi!" ti mīhe tsī a ǀkχoē bēhe.

Ob gye χama go ǁgoēamχa. tsī gye ǥo ǀkχīhe: „mai huis!" ti go mīhe, o i gye a ǀnōsa. o i gye: „ǀhoata tite, χūī gye nēē ti oms oē tomaē" ti go mīhe tsī: „nē ǀnās ǀguisa ta nī ǂgai" ti mīhe tsī ǁkχaba go ǂgaihe. ob gye χama: „hē!" ti go mī. „ǁnaū tsī mūts gye, ǀnaēts gye o, om i gye oē ǀkχaiē?" ti mīhe tsī gye ǁhai-nī.

Ob gye ǁkχāǁkχā aoba ǀhanab ǀna ǂaēba gye gye maīhe, tsīb gye go ǂgāχa ǀgīriba tsī ǂgāb garu hīa go ǀkχōbasen ǂaēb ai ob gye go ǀkχōhe ǂaēb χa. ob gye: „taeētsa dī ǀna ǀhanaba?" ti go mī tsī: „ǁnāχu tetse, ēta ǀgūng!" ti go mī, χabeb gye ǁnāχuhe toma. ob gye: „ǁnamtse aob, ēta χau ǂora, ǀāse ta nī ǂgāχa, χūgye!" ti go mī. ob gye χuhe toma hā hīas gye ǁgoasa go ǁgoa. tsīb gye ǁkχāǁkχā aoba go ǀkχī tsī hā go ū ǁnā bi tsī go sī ū bi ǁgaūs doba tsī go tē bi, mati nī ǀgam bi ǀkχaiē. ob gye: „gausa gūba ǂā ēts gauna ǀgaē te ēts ǂareba ǂkχau ǀāiā tsī nēbats nī ǀgaisa tumi ǂan i kχoēba ōa ǂuī ēb ǂareba tami ǀum ǀna tsī ǁnā ǂnōa ǀhaos ai ǂē ǂan te!" ti go mī.

Tsīb gye ǁkχāǁkχā aoba, mīb go ǀgīriba kχumi, ǀgaisa kχoēba go ōa ǂui tsī go ǂē gai tsīb go ǂē. ob gye ǀgīriba ǂaira ǂama go mā tsī: „ǁnā gye i ǀgōata, gumo!" ti go mī tsī go ǀkχoē. tsīgu gye kχoēga hāga ǀgaē ǀgātsī go ǀkχoē ǀgon. o i gye ǀāb ǀna ǁgōahetsī blomga ūhetsī go kχoēga ǀgūng ǀoahe. tsīgu gye kχoēga: „nē a ǀgīrib gye!" ti go mī. o i gye:

„mā ǂgiriba?" ti go mīhe, „mū tomago hā blom-ǀhūba χu ta ra ǂkχī ǀkχaiē?" ti go mī. ogu gye go ǂgom tsī go ōa χabegu gye hō toma hā. Tsīb gye go ǂkχī tsī hūga go hā i kχumi go hā.

Übersetzung von XLI.

Der Schakal und das Stachelschwein, die beide für den Lehrer (Missionar) Wasser gruben.

Der Schakal und das Stachelschwein *(ǀnoab)*, die beiden *(tsī und, kχa Pers.-Suff. dual. masc.)* gruben *(χora, i. pass. narrat.)* Wasser *(ǂgamsa)*, und als die Zeit *(ǂaēb)*, da sie heimkehren *(ǂaru)* sollten *(nī)*, erfüllt *(ǀoa)* war, durchnäßte *(ǀhari)* sich *(-sen, Reflexivpart.)* der Schakal im *(ǀna)* Lehm *(ǂgoab)* und ließ *(gai, i. pass. narr.)* das Stachelschwein sich waschen *(ǂā)*. Als *(o)* dann die beiden ankommen *(sī)*, wird dem Stachelschwein in ein kleines *(ǂkχari)* Schüsselchen *(ǀores, -ro Dimin.)* ausgeschöpft *(hora die gare Speise aus dem Kochtopf nehmen)* und dem Schakal wird in einer Waschschüssel zugeteilt*).

Aber eines *(ǀgui)* Tages *(tsē)*, als *(o)* die beiden zum Arbeiten *(sīsen)* gegangen *(ǀgūng)* waren, ging der Lehrer *(ǂkχāǂkχā lehren, aob Mann, der Missionar)* [ihnen nach], ohne daß *(toma nicht, *hāse, adv. von hā sein, bleiben)* die beiden [es] sahen *(mā)*. Und sie kamen hin. Dann stieg *(ǂgōa)* das Stachelschwein herunter [in die Wassergrube], der Schakal aber legte *(ǂgoē)* sich hin und schlief *(ǂom)*. Und als *(o, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz)* es Zeit war, nach Haus zu gehen, kam das Stachelschwein heraus *(ǂoaχa, verb.)* und weckte *(ǂkχaiǂkχai)* den Schakal. Aber alles *(hoana, comm. plur.)* das da *(ǂnā)* beobachtete *(ǂnōa sitzen, mā sehen)* der Lehrer. Dann hieß [der Schakal] das Stachelschwein sich waschen, selbst *(ǂ(e)ība, pron. pers.)* aber durchnäßte er sich im Lehm. Und die beiden kamen an. Da wurde [diesmal] dem Stachelschwein in der großen *(gai)* Schüssel zugeteilt, und der Schakal bekam in dem Schüsselchen des Stachelschweins. Da sagte [der Schakal]: „Du *(-ts Suff.)* hast dich verhört *(ǂnaū hören, sā etwas verkehrt tun)*: **mir** *(tita pron. pers.)* bist du geheißen worden, [die große Schüssel] zu geben *(mā)*." Das

*) Weil der Schakal mit den Spuren der Arbeit am Leib als der fleißige und das Stachelschwein als der faule Arbeiter gilt.

Stachelschwein aber entgegnete: „Mir hat der Lehrer*) die Schüssel gegeben."

Dann gingen die beiden zur Arbeit, und als sie zum *(doba)* Wasser kamen, sagte der Schakal: „He da! *(*tsĭ und, -go Suff. 2. pers. plur. masc., tsĭgo ist eine ähnlich nachlässige Anrede wie nētse)*, laß *(hā)* uns *(-kχum, Suff. d. 1. pers. plur. masc.)* baden *(ǁūsen)*! Laß *(ē)* uns weiße *(ǀuri)* Tücher *(ǀkχaikχa, dual. masc.)* vor *(ai)* binden *(ǀgai)* und in dieses *(nē)* Wasser springen *(uri)*!" Dann band er dem Stachelschwein zuerst *(ai erst sein)* [das Tuch vor], und als *(tsĭ, Part. d. partic. praet., hinter toa aufhören)* er es fertig gebunden hatte, nahm *(ū)* er einen Stein *(ǀuiba)* und [sagte]: „Stachelschwein, ich sprang, darum *(*hūgye)* spring!", So sagte er und warf *(ao)* den Stein herunter *(ǁnā fallen, i. pass. narr.)*. — *Das Stachelschwein springt, in der Annahme, der Schakal sei vorangesprungen, nach und ertrinkt.* —

Darauf [jubelt] der Schakal**): „Das Stachelschwein ist ertrunken *(*ǁgam ǁō)*! Die Kälber *(tsaūn)* haben Milch gesaugt *(dai)*! Die Wagen *(guniti)* sind von selbst *(sen, Reflexivpart.)* gefahren *(ǀnari)*! Die Hütten *(omgu)* sind in Brand gesteckt *(ǂhubi)*!" So rief er und floh *(ǀkχoĕ eilen, bĕ weggehen, i. pass. narr.)*.

Aber der Löwe *(χama, euphon. für -mi)* lauerte *(*ǁgoĕ am)* ihm auf. Da kam *(ǀkχĭ, i. pass. narr.)* [der Schakal zu seiner Hütte] und rief***): „Mein Haus!" *(dem Kapholl. entlehnt)*. Aber es ist *(i, gye, a)* still *(ǀnōsa)*. Darauf sagte er: „Ich *(-ta, Suff.)* werde mich still halten *(ǀhoa sprechen, tite Part. d. fut. negat.)*, das *(nēĕ, pron. dem. i. comm. sing.)* ist etwas *(χūĭ Ding, comm. sing.)*, daß meine *(ti)* Hütte *(oms)* nicht antwortet *(oĕ)*. Dieses einzige *(ǀguisa)* Mal *(ǀnās)* [noch] werde ich rufen *(ǂgai)*!" So sagte er und rief wieder. Da rief der Löwe: „Jawohl *(hĕ)*!" [Darauf der Schakal:] „Hast du dein' Lebtag schon mal gehört oder gesehen *(wörtl.: hörst ǁnaū, und siehst du, seit o, du geboren ǀnaĕ, bist)*, daß *(ǀkχaiĕ)* eine Hütte antwortet?" So sagte er und entfloh *(ǁhai-nĭ)*.

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*) Das ist wohl einer der wenigen Fälle, in denen sich die alte Form des Suff. d. 3. pers. sing. masc. *-bĭ* erhalten hat. Das *ĭ* ist verloren gegangen und hat sich im Nama sonst nur noch in den männlichen Hauptwörtern erhalten, in denen an Stelle des *b* ein *m* steht: *ǁgami, χami* etc. (vgl. Th. Hahn[2]), S. 62).

**) Das Folgende ist als übermütiger Unsinn aufzufassen.

***) Der Schakal schöpft Verdacht, daß der Löwe ihm hier auflauert. Er spekuliert auf dessen Einfältigkeit, indem er laut ruft und dann in fingiertem Selbstgespräch sein Kommen von einer Antwort abhängig macht, mit der sich der Löwe dann in der Tat verrät.

Der Lehrer aber stellte *(maĩ, i. pass. narr.)* im Garten *(ǂhanab)* Leimruten *(ǂaĕba Leim)* auf, und der Schakal kam herein, und während er im Hereingehen *(ǂgā garu)* ist, verfing er sich *(ǀkχōbosen)* im Vogelleim und wurde vom *(χa)* Vogelleim gefangen*). Da sagte der Schakal: „Was *(taeĕ = tareĕ)* machst *(dĩ)* du *(-tsa, Suff.)* da im Garten? Laß mich *(te, Suff.)* los *(ǁnā lassen, χu abstehen von)*, du *(-tse, Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc., vocat.)*, laß mich *(-ta)* gehen *(ǀgūng)*!", so sagte er, wurde aber trotzdem *(χabe, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* nicht losgelassen. Dann fuhr er fort: „Warte *(ǁnam)* du, Kamerad *(aob ist die vertrauliche Anrede zweier Altersgenossen, die zusammen aufgewachsen sind, s. S. 315)*, laß mich zum Kacken *(χau)* herausgehen *(ǂora)*, gleich *(ǀāse)* will ich [wieder] hereinkommen, darum [laß mich los]!" Aber er wurde nicht losgelassen; indessen *(hĩa m. Pers.-Suff.)* brach *(ǁgoa)* der Morgen *(ǁgoasa)* an. Da kam der Lehrer und tritt herzu *(hā)*, ihn [von den Leimruten] abzunehmen *(ũ ǁnā)*, und nimmt *(geht nehmen)* ihn zur Werft und fragte *(tĕ)* ihn, wie *(mati)* er ihn töten *(ǂgam)* solle *(nĩ, ǀkχaiĕ *Part. d. indir. Rede)*. Er aber sagte: „Schlachte *(ǂā)* einen fetten *(gausa)* Hammel *(gūba)* und *(ĕ, m. d. Suff. 2. pers. sing. masc.)* gib mir den Schmalz *(ǁnuiba)* zu trinken *(ā trinken, si gibt dem Verb. kausat. Sinn: tränken)* und pack *(ǂgaĕ)* mir das Fett *(gauna)* auf und fette *(ǂkχau)* [mir] den Schwanz *(ǂareba)* naß ein *(ǀāĩā naß machen)* und suche *(ōa)* hier *(nēba, m. Suff.)* einen Mann *(kχoĕba)* aus *(ǂui)*, von dem du weißt *(ǂan, tumi so)*, daß er stark *(ǂgaisa)* ist (*die Fut.-Part. nĩ entspricht hier unserem „voraussichtlich"*), und der *(-b in ĕb)* wickele *(tami)* [meinen] Schwanz in [seine] Hand *(ǂumi)* und schleudere *(ǂĕ niederwerfen, ǂan schlagen)* mich auf *(ai)* die Felsbank *(ǂhaos, s. S. 162)*, die dort *(ǁnā)* liegt *(ǂnōa)*!" So sagte er.

Und der Lehrer suchte, wie *(kχumi)* der Schakal gesagt hatte, einen starken Mann aus und hieß ihn [den Schakal] zu Boden schleudern. Und er schleuderte. — *Der eingefettete Schwanz entgleitet seinen Händen.* — Da stand *(mā)* der Schakal auf *(ǂama)* beiden *(-ra, Suff. dual. fem.)* Füßen *(ǂaira)* und sagte: „Da bin ich Knabe *(ǀgōab*

*) Der Schakal glaubt nun im Dunkeln, von einer Person festgehalten zu werden, und sucht sie zu übertölpeln, indem er die Rollen vertauscht und sich als den ausgibt, der den andern gefangen hat und zur Rede setzt.

Sohn), jawohl!" und entfloh. Aber die Männer sattelten *(ǃgaĕ aufpacken, ǃgāb Rücken)* Pferde *(hāga, masc. plur.)* auf und jagten [ihm] nach. Doch der Schakal ging in ein Rivier *(ǃāb)* herunter *(ǁgōa, i. pass. narrat. u. particip. praeter.)* und pflückte *(ū, in derselben Konstr.)* Blumen *(blomga, masc. plur., dem Kapholländ. entlehnt)* und ging den Männern entgegen *(ǃoa, i. pass. narr.)*. Da riefen die Männer: „Das ist der Schakal!" Aber der sagte: „Welcher *(mā)* Schakal? Seht Ihr *(-go Suff.)* nicht, daß *(ǂkχaiĕ)* ich aus *(χu)* dem Blumen-Lande *(ǃhub)* komme?" Da glaubten *(ǂgom)* sie [es] und suchten [weiter] und fanden Niemanden *(nicht)*.

Der aber kam [nach Haus] und lebte weiter *(hā bleiben)*, so wie er von jeher *(hūga)* gelebt hatte.

XLII.

ǃEb tsī ǂgīrib tsīkχa.

ǃGīrib tsī ǂeb tsīkχa χa i gye gye dīhe: o i gye ǂgiribi ǂaob go hôhe o ǂeb doba go sīhe tsī: „ǂetse, sātsa ǂaona ǂgam ū ǂgauĕtsi mība te go!" ti go mī.

Ob gye ǂgūng ū bi tsī sī go ǁgau bi ǁgoresa. tsīb gye ǂkχās ta hīa go ǁgaī ǂgā tsī ǂaoba go ǂgam. tsī ǂgam toab go ǂaoba o go ū ǂui, χabes gye ǂoaχa toma hā.

Ob gye: „aob, amtse ǂaoba nēba ta ra ī χūǂgye," ti go mī. tsīb gye ǂūbi mātsī ra ǂnoa ǂgā hīab gye ǂeba ǂgāba ū ǂkχī tsī hā go tsâ ǂkχa. o i gye ǂhuri hāse uri kχaīhe tsī: „aĕ, ǂkχamsis di ǁore χūnats ga noχoba ū hā!" ti go mīhe.

Ob gye ǂeba: „ǁôtsa, hūgye ta hui tsi re," ti go mī.

O i gye: „sa gūrego tits ǂaī hā. tita ga ǂgao o ta nī ū ǂui. ǁgoreī gum χabe o!" ti go mī tsī: „ǂgūngtse ĕ sī gō ǂaob ǁan toma ǂkχaiĕ!" ti go mīhe. tsī ǂeb go ǂgūng o ǁgams ǂna go urihe tsī ǂgai ǂui tsāhe. tsī ǂoaχa tomas go ǁgoresa ī o go ǂgūnghe.

Tsī ǂhīrab ǁgaûs ai go sīhe tsī: „ǂeb gum ǁgoresa tanas ǂna ǂgā gai te o tsīs gum ǁgoresa ǂoaχa ǂgao toma o!" tib ta mī hīa ǂeba go ǂkχī tsī: „ǂgīrib, tā ǁnāti ǂhumi!" ti go mī. ob gye kχaī mā tsī go ǂgūng.

Tsī ǂkχamab ǁgaûs doba go sī tsī: „ohm, nē ǁgoreī ǂeb go gā teĕ ū ǁnāba te re!" ti go mī hīab gye ǂeba go ǂkχī tsī: „ǂgīrib, tā ǁnāti ǂhumi!"

ti go mĭ. tsĭ i gye: „o kχa, nauban χūn ākχuma ǂgarusase hă, χūigye χūna go ǂgā re!"

Ti go mĭhe tsĭ go ǂgūnghe ǂnoab ǁgaûs ǁga tsĭ: „ohm eystervat, nē ǁgoresa ū ǁnāba te re ǂēbi ta go gāhesa!" ti go mĭhe. ob gye ǂnoaba ǁkχamtas ǂkχa ǁgoresa go kχôa.

O i gye: „kχa ǂhaĭ ǂgaraba, mā ǂabeē ta ga hôba bi?" ti go mĭ. tsĭkχa gye go ǂgūng tsĭ ǂgom ǁkχūs doba go sĭ. o i gye ǂgĭrib χa: „ǁnā ǂnôa ǂkχinasa ǂaba ǂgā!" ti go mĭhe. ob gye go ǂaba. ob go ǂaba o i gye ǂaob ǁga: „ǁnā ǂnôa ǂēba ǂaba ǂgā, ti ǁnaob!" ob gye go ǂaba ǂaoba ob gye ǂēba go uri.

O i gye ǂgĭrib χa: „ǂgā ǁnai nē ǂhaĭ ǂnûis ôaba!" ti go mĭhe. ob gye go ǁgôaχa ǂaoba tsĭ: „ǂgĭrib!" ti go mĭ. ob gye: „ti ǁnaob!" ti go mĭ ǂgĭriba. ob gye: „ǁnaû tsĭ mûts gye nēti go ǂgôaĭ gye aoē ǂgoē ǂkχaiē?" ti go mĭ tsĭ go ǂnau bi.

Ob gye go ǂkχoē-nĭ. ob gye ǂēba go ǂkχô bi tsĭb gye ǂaoba go ǂkχĭ tsĭ go ǂnau bi. tsĭb gye go ǂkχoē-nĭ tsĭ χami doba go sĭ tsĭ: „ti ǁnaob, ǁnā ǂgoaχa ǂaoba tā ǁkχaba ǂnau te!" ti go mĭ tsĭb gye ǂkχoē-nĭ.

Tsĭb sĭ ǁom ǁgoē hĭab gye go ǂaoba daob āb ǂkχa go sĭ tsĭ sĭ go ǂkχaiǂkχai bi tsĭ: „maba χutsa ǂkχĭ?" ob gye: „ǁan ǂoē ǂgūng hă gomana ta gum ra ôa o." ti go mĭ. ob gye ǂaoba: „ǂhumi tomatsa!" ti go mĭ. ob gye: „ǂhumi tomata hă, ti ǁnaob!" ti go mĭ.

Ob gye ǂaoba: „ǂhui ǁkχum ēta gô!" ti go mĭ. tsĭb gye go ǂhui ǁkχum. ob gye go mū ǂaoba ǁ(e)ĭb goro ǂnau bi ǂnabaga tsĭ ǁkχaba go ǂnau bi tsĭ go ǂgūng gai bi.

Übersetzung von XLII.

Das Erdmännchen und der Schakal.

Mit dem Schakal und dem Erdmännchen begab es sich *(dĭhe wurde gemacht)* so: Als *(o. das o am Anfang des Satzes ist copula)* der Schakal *(-i, altes, selten gebrauchtes Demonstr.-Suff.)* eine Schlange *(ǂaob)* entdeckt *(hō, i. pass. narr.)* hatte, ging er zum Erdmännchen und sagte: „Erdmännchen, verrate *(mĭ sagen, -ba objektivir. Verb.-Part.)* mir *(te, Suff.)* doch *(go)*, auf *(ū mit)* welche Manier *(gaus)* du *(satsa, pron., verstärkt durch d. Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing. -tsi = tse)* die Schlangen *(comm. plur.)* tötest *(ǂgam)*!"

Da ging *(ǃgûng)* das Erdmännchen mit ihm *(bi, Suff.)* und zeigte *(ging si, zeigen ŋgau)* ihm den Genickwirbel*). Und als *(hĭa)* der Wirbel *(ausgedrückt durch d. Pers.-Suff. -s hinter ŧkχā sich weigern. ŧa euphon. für ra)* sich nicht [überstreifen lassen] wollte, preßte *(ŋgaĭ)* er [ihn] hinein *(ŋgā hineinstecken)* und tötete die Schlange. Und als *(o)* er die Schlange fertig *(toa aufhören, mit Pers.-Suff.)* getötet hatte, [suchte er] den Wirbel abzustreifen *(heraus tui; zu nehmen ǂ)*, aber *(χabe, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* er ging nicht *(toma)* los *(toaχa herauskommen)*.

Da sagte der Schakal: „Kamerad *(aob, s. S. 315)*, brate *(am)* du *(-tse, Suff.)* die Schlange da *(nēba)*, denn *(χuigye)* ich *(ta, Suff.)* gehe *(ĭ)* [einmal beiseite]“**). Und während *(hĭa, mit den Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* er mit vornübergebeugtem Kopf *(*ŧubi, verb. zur Bezeichnung dieser Haltung)* dasteht *(mā, im partic. praeter.)* und [mit den Fäusten gegen den Wirbel] aufstampft *(*ŧnoa ŋgā)*, tritt unversehens *(ŧkχĭ erscheinen, hā kommen)* das Erdmännchen hinter *(*ŧgûba ǂ)* ihn und stößt ihn an *(ŧsā ŧkχâ)*. Da sprang *(uri)* er erschreckt *(ŧhuri. *hāse adv., einen Zustand ausdr.)* auf *(kχaĭ aufstehen, i. pass. narr.)* und sagte: „Na! *(*aĕ, Interj.)* du *(-ts)* hast *(ǂ nehmen)* wohl *(ga, Verb.-Part. d. potent.)* noch *(*noχoba, vielleicht d. Kapholländ. entlehnt u. assimiliert)* kindische Neckereien *(ŋore foppen, χûna mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. angered. Person, Dinge, di Genitivpart., ŧkχamsis Jugend)* im Kopf!“

Aber das Erdmännchen erwiderte: „Du stirbst *(ŋŏ)*, darum *(hûgye)* möchte *(re, Optat.-Part.)* ich dir *(tsi, Suff.)* helfen *(hui)*.“

Darauf der Schakal: „Ihr *(sa---go)* Dummköpfe *(gûre, adj.)* denkt *(tai)* so! *(ti, m. d. Pers.-Suff. der einen angered. Person)*. Wenn *(o)* ich nur wollte *(ŋgao)*, dann könnte *(nĭ, fut.)* ich ja *(gum---o)* doch *(χabe)* das Wirbelding (*comm. sing.*) abstreifen!“ So sagte er und fuhr fort: „Geh du und *(ē)* sieh zu *(geh si, sehen gō)*, ob *(ŧkχaiē)* die Schlange nicht gar ist *(ŋan, verb.)*!“

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*) Der Sage nach steckt das Erdmännchen seinen Kopf durch den Atlas-Wirbel, *ŋgoresa*, eines Ochsen oder eines Pferdes, greift die Schlange an und dreht im Moment, wenn jene zustößt, den Kopf so, daß die Schlange in den Knochen beißt. Hat sie auf diese Weise ihr Gift ausgegeben, wird sie vom Erdmännchen tot gebissen.

**) Der Schakal schämt sich seiner Zwangslage, in die er durch eigenen Fürwitz geraten ist, sucht den Wirbel heimlich abzustreifen und das Erdmännchen, das ihn bei seinen verzweifelten Anstrengungen ertappt, zu täuschen.

Und als das Erdmännchen gegangen war, sprang er in's *(ǃna)* Wasser *(ǂgams)* und versuchte *(ǂsā, i. pass. narr.)* [den Wirbel] abzuziehen *(ǂgai)*. Doch als der Wirbel nicht loskam *(ǂoaχa, s. oben. I gehen)*, lief er weg.

Und er kam in *(ai)* die Werft *(ǂgaũs)* der Hyäne und sagte: „Sieh *(gum---o, ja)*, das Erdmännchen hat mir geheißen *(gai, veranlassen)*, den Kopf *(ǂanas)* in den Wirbel hineinzustecken *(i. Hott. umgekehrt ausgedrückt)*, und nun will der Wirbel nicht loskommen!" Doch während er so redete, kam das Erdmännchen und sagte: „Schakal, lüge *(ǂhumi)* nicht *(ǂā = toma)* so *(ǂnāti)*!" Da stand er auf und ging weg.

Und er kam zur *(doba)* Werft des Silberschakals und sagte: „Ohm, nimm mir *(ǂe, Suff., mit dem die Wortfolge gleichsam substantivierenden Suff. d. 3. pers. comm. sing. -ē = I in ǂgorel)* bitte dieses *(nē)* Wirbelding ab *(ǂnā, verb., mit d. objektiv. Part. -ba)*, mit *(ũ)* dem mich das Erdmännchen betrogen hat *(gā)*!" Doch während er so sprach, kam das Erdmännchen und sagte: „Schakal, lüge nicht so!" Er aber erwiderte*): „Ach je *(o und kχa, Interjekt.)*! unsere *(ũ, Wurzel des pron. poss., mit d. Pers.-Suff. der Besitzer, hier im dual. masc.)* Geschäfte *(χũna)* dort *(*nauba = ǂnāba, m. Pers.-Suff. des comm. plur.)* sind in Unordnung *(ǃgaru auseinandersein. -sa adjekt. Endg., -se adv. Endg.)*, darum sieh doch nach den Geschäften!"

So sagte er und ging weg zur *(ǂga)* Werft des Stachelschweins und sagte: „Ohm Jjzervark *(Kapholl. Name des ǃnoab)*, nimm mir bitte diesen Wirbel ab, mit dem *(adjektivisch ausgedrückt durch die Endg. -sa hinter dem Prädikat)* das Erdmännchen *(-i, altes Demonstr.-Suff.)* mich angeführt hat!" Da zerbrach *(*kχõa)* das Stachelschwein den Wirbel mit *(ikχa)* dem Schraubstock *(ikχamtas)*.

Darauf sagte der Schakal [zu sich selbst]: „Ei, der Schmutzkrusten-Schamker!!**) *(ǃhaĩ-die saure Kruste einer schmutzigen Milchkalabas. ǃgarab die männl. Scham.)* Was könnte ich ihm wohl antun?" *(welchen mã, Plan tabeĩ comm. sing., könnte ga, ich für -ba, ihn bi, finden hõ)*. Und die beiden gingen fort und kamen an ein dichtes *(ǃgom)* Dornbaum-*(ikχũs-)*Gebüsch. Da sagte der Schakal: „Klettere *(ǃaba)*

*) Um jede weitere Erörterung, die ihn blamieren könnte, abzuschneiden.

**) Gemeint ist das Erdmännchen, das ihn überall Lügen strafte. Aus Rache lockt er es in eine Falle und hetzt die Schlange auf.

hinter *(ǂgā)* dem Perlhuhn *(ǂkχinasa)* her, das dort *(ǂnā)* sitzt!" Und das Erdmännchen kletterte auf. Als es aber aufgeklettert war, sagte der Schakal zur Schlange: „Steig hinter dem Erdmännchen her, das dort sitzt, mein Großvater *(ǂnaob, ehrerbietige Anrede)*!" Und die Schlange stieg auf, aber das Erdmännchen sprang ab.

Da sagte der Schakal: „Ei *(ǂnai)*, sieh doch *(wörtlich: horch ǂgā)* dieses Schmutzkrusten-Schamkind!"*) Und die Schlange stieg herunter *(ǂgōaχa)* und rief „Schakal!" Und der Schakal antwortete: „Mein Großvater!" Aber die Schlange sagte: „Hast du schon einmal gehört und gesehen *(mū, i. Hott. im praesens)*, daß *(ǂkχaiǂ)* so ein Kind *(ǂgōai, comm. sing.)* wie dieses *(nǂ)* dem Alter *(aoǂ, einem Manne. Die Schlange ist hier männl. Geschl.)* flucht *(ǂgoǂ)*?" Sprach's und schlug *(ǂnau)* ihn.

Bitis cornuta L.

Da entfloh er *(ǂkχoǂ-nī)*. Aber das Erdmännchen fing *(°ǂkχō)* ihn, und die Schlange kam und schlug ihn. Und er entfloh [wieder] und kam zum Löwen und sagte: „Mein Großvater, daß die Schlange, die dort ankommt *(ǂgoaχa)*, mich nicht schlägt!" Sprachs und entfloh.

Und als er sich eben schlafen *(ǂom)* gelegt *(ǂgoǂ)* hatte, kam die Schlange auf *(ǂkχa mit)* seiner *(āb)* Spur [ihm nach] und weckte *(ging wecken ǂkχai ǂkχai)* ihn und fragte: „Woher *(maba χu)* kommst du?"

Jener aber antwortete: „Die Rinder *(gomana, comm. plur.)*, die gestern Abend *(ǂan ǂoǂ)* fortgelaufen sind, suche *(ōa)* ich ja!" Darauf die Schlange: „Lüge nicht!" Und der Schakal sagte: „Ich lüge nicht, mein Großvater."

Da sagte die Schlange: „Entblöße *(ǂhui)* den Bauch *(ǂkχum)*, laß *(ǂī)* mich sehen!" Und er entblößte den Bauch. Da sah die

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*) Der Schakal flucht der Schlange, die daß Erdmännchen entschlüpfen ließ, halblaut aber unvorsichtig genug, daß sie es hört. *ǂnūis* d. weibl. Scham. *ōaba* Kind.

Schlange die Striemen der Nilpferdpeitsche *(ǂnabaga, plur. masc.)*, mit dem sie selbst ihn geschlagen hatte, und schlug ihn abermals *(ǂkχaba)* und jagte ihn fort *(hieß ihn fortgehen)*.

XLIII.

Falamigob tsī hũnors tsīra gye gā ǂgīriba.

ǂGīrib χa i gye hũnors haís ai ōa hã tsī ǂubugu ai ǂnōas doba go ǂkχihe tsī: „hũnors, ti ǂgã, ǂgui χũroba χabe ao ǂnãba te re!" ti go mī. os gye: „hĩta tite," ti go mī. ob gye: „tiĩu ga ǂgao ota nī ǂoą ai hais," ti go mī tsī: „ǂãse ta nī ǂoa ai hais, χũigye ao ǂnã!" ti go mī. os gye ǂgui ǂububa go ao ǂnã. ob gye: „ao ǂnã tomas ga i ota ga ǂoa a hã!" ti mātsī go ǂgũng.

Tsī nau tsē go ǂkχī hũnors ǂhũb ǂai hã hĩa tsī go ǂkχō si. os gye: „ǂnam aibe, ēta ǂgore!" ti go mī. tsi ǂnãχu sib go o go fĩi ǂaba. ob gye: „ǂans ga hã nē tsē!" ti go mī tsī go ǂgũng.

Tsī falamigob ta ǂauna ǂkχōba go sī tsī: „ǂabas ta ǂgom o mati go ra ǂnũ?" ti go mī. ob gye: „nēti gye ra ǂnũ," ti go mī. ob gye: „aore ǂoab ta ǂgom o mati go ra ǂnũ?" ti go mī. ob gye: „nēti gye ra ǂnũ," ti go mī. ob gye: „huriǂoab ta ǂgom o mati go ra ǂnũ?" ti go mī. ob gye: „nēti gye ra ǂnũ," ti go mī. ob gye: „ǂkχabagob ta ǂgom o mati go ra ǂnũ?" ti go mī. ob gye: „nēti gye ra ǂnũ," ti go mī. ob gye: „ǂere," ti go mīhe.

Tsī go ǂgũng ũ bi tsī sib go hũnors doba o: „mũs go sa aoba ta go ǂgam ǂkχaiẽ? ao ǂnã ǂubuga!" ti go mī. os gye: „hĩta tite" ti go mī. ob gye: „ǂãse ta nī fĩi ǂaba ai hais! mũ tomas hã sa aoba ta go fĩi ǂgon tsī a ǂgam ǂkχaiẽ?" ti go mī. os gye ǂnona ǂubuga go ao ǂnã. ob gye go haba ǂubuga tsī: „noχoba ao ǂnã!" ti go mī. os gye: „hĩta tite," ti go mī. ob gye: „ǂãse ta nī ǂoa ǂgã si!" ti go mī. os gye: „ti tsã o, ēta mũ!" ti go mī. ob gye ǂoa tsã χabeb gye ǂoa toma hã.

Os gye: „ǂnī tsēts ǂhũb ai ǂgaī ǂgãē hõ tite ǂhũb ai! tsĩtsi kχoĩn dã tsautsau hã ǂunina ǂũ! tsida nī sida kχoĩn doba hã tsī ǂũna ǂũ!"

Übersetzung von XLIII.

Der Schakal, der den Flamingo und die Henne betrügt.

Der Schakal kam *(ǂkχī, i. pass. narr.)* zu *(doba)* einer Henne *(hũnors, a. d. Kapholl. entlehnt u. assimiliert)*, die auf *(ai)* einem Baum

(hais) Eier legte *(ôa, gebären)* und auf den Eiern *(ǂubugu, masc.)* saß *(°ǂnôas)*. Da sagte er: „Henne, meine *(ti)* Schwester *(ǂgû, ohne Suff.)*, wirf *(oo)* mir *(ti, Suff.)* doch *(χabe)* bitte *(re, Opt.-Part.)* eines *(ǂgui)* der Dingerchen *(χûba, masc. sing., -ro Dimin.)* herunter!" *(ǂnâ, mit objektiv. Part. -ba)*. Doch sie erwiderte: „Ich *(-ta, Suff.)* werde es nicht *(tite, Part. d. fut. negat.)* tun *(hî)*." Darauf sagte er: „Wenn *(o)* ich *(tita, prom.)* wollte *(ǂgao, ga Part. d. potent.)*, könnte *(nî, Fut.-Part.)* ich auf den Baum klettern *(ǂoa)*", und fuhr fort: „Gleich *(tâte)* werde ich auf den Baum klettern! Deshalb *(χûigye)* wirf eines herunter!" Da warf sie ein Ei herunter, und er sagte: „Wenn du es nicht *(toma, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. angeredeten Person)* heruntergeworfen hättest, wäre ich aufgeklettert!" Sagte es *(-tsî, Part. d. partic. praet.)* und ging weg *(ǂgûng)*.

Dann kam er am anderen *(°nau)* Tag *(îsî)* herzu, als gerade *(hîa)* die Henne auf dem Boden *(ǂhûb)* war, und fing *(°ǂkχô)* sie *(si, Suff.)*. Da sagte sie: „Warte *(tnam)*, erst *(aibe)* laß *(ê)* mich *(-ta, Suff.)* beten*) *(°ǂgore)*!" Als er sie *(an d. Suff. d. 3. pers. fem. sing. ist das d. Subjekts, -b angehängt)* aber los ließ *(tnâχu)*, flog *(ǂîî, dem Kapholl. entlehnt)* sie auf *(ǂaba aufsteigen)*. Da sagte er: „Diesen *(nî)* Tag magst *(ga)* du dir merken *(tan wissen)*!" und ging weg.

Und er kam hin, wo *(-ba, Demonstr.-Part. d. Ortes)* der Flamingo *(dem Kapholl. entlehnt)* Fische *(tauna, comm. plur.)* fing, und fragte: „Wenn der Nordwind *(ǂabas)* weht *(ǂgom, ta = ra)*, wie *(mati)* setzt *(tnû)* Ihr Euch?" *(-go, Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. plur.)*. Und jener antwortete: „So *(nîti)* setze ich mich." — *Der Erzähler wendet sich nach Süden.* — Darauf der Schakal: „Wenn der Südostwind *(°aore xoab)* weht, wie setzt Ihr Euch?" Und jener antwortete: „So setze ich mich." — *Der Erzähler wendet sich nach Nordwesten.* — Darauf der Schakal: „Wenn der Seewind *(hurixoab)* weht, wie setzt Ihr Euch?" Und jener antwortete: „So setze ich mich." — *Der Erz. wendet sich nach Nordosten.* — Darauf der Schakal: „Und wenn der Südwind *(ǂkχabagab)* bläst, wie setzt Ihr Euch?" Und jener erwiderte: „So setze ich mich!"**) Da gab es einen Knax *(°tere, Nachahmung des Tons,*

*) Getaufte Hottentotten ließen zuweilen die Weißen, deren sie während des Krieges habhaft wurden, beten, ehe sie sie erschossen.

**) Der Erzähler steckt den Kopf unter den Arm, wie der Flamingo den Kopf unter den Flügel.

den das Beil macht, mit dem der Schakal dem Flamingo den Kopf abschlägt).

Dann ging der Schakal mit *(ǃâ)* dem Kopf *(durch hi angedeutet)* weg, und als er zur Henne kam, sagte er: „Hast du *(-s, Pers.-Suff. hinter mũ stehen)* gesehen, daß *(ǃkχoiǃ)* ich deinen *(ha)* Mann *(ooba)* getötet *(ǃgam)* habe? Wirf die Eier herunter!" Doch sie sagte: „Ich werde es nicht tun!" Darauf er: „Gleich werde ich auf den Baum auffliegen! Siehst du nicht, daß ich deinem Mann nach-*(ǃgon, adv.)* geflogen bin und ihn getötet habe?" Da warf sie drei *(ǃnona)* Eier herunter. Der aber fraß *(haba)* die Eier auf und sagte: „Wirf noch mehr *(noχoba, wohl d. Kopfoll. entlehnt u. dann assimiliert)* herunter!" Doch sie sagte: „Ich werde es nicht tun." Darauf der Schakal: „Gleich werde ich auf *(ǃgũ)* dich hinaufsteigen!" Doch sie erwiderte: „Versuch *(tsâ)* es *(ti se)* doch *(o, Interj.)*, laß *(ǃî)* mich sehen!" Nun versuchte er aufzuklettern, kam aber nicht herauf.

Da [fluchte] sie ihm: „Niemals *(ǃnî ein anderer derselben Art, tsî Tag, tîte Part. d. fut. negat.)* sollst du *(-ts)* auf der Erde dein Glück *(ǃgui ǃgũî, comm. sing.)* finden *(hâ)*! Und friß *(sũ)* du *(-tsi, seltene Form d. Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* das Gewürm *(sunina, comm. plur.)*, das die Menschen *(kχoũn, comm. plur.)* mit Füßen zertreten *(dâ, tsautsau weich machen)*, wir *(-da, Suff. d. 1. pers. comm. plur., und sida, Pron. d. 1. pers. comm. plur. exclusivi)* werden bei den Menschen bleiben *(hâ)* und Speise *(sũna, comm. plur.)* essen!"

So wurden die Hühner Haustiere und der Schakal omnivor.

XLIV.

ǃGiriba gye sõõtsenba χamra.

χamra χa i gye ǃgoaχa sai sõ hâ ra χa tsî gye ǃgiriba go mũhe goaχab hîa. tsî go sõõtsenhe tsîb gye go hâ. tsî go ǃkχâ tsoa ǃguisa os gye tsoasa go gom. ôb gye san sõõtsenra hî ǃkχaiǃ tsî: „ǃkχũtse doinki tsi, sî sũîs go mã te ǃkχaisa!" ti go mî. tsî dorosa go onan tsî ǃgõrosa go shabi tsî: „aibe ta ra toire," ti mî tsî toîs ûga go ǃgũng. tsî soatîb ta kχõa hîa go bî tsî ǃhoms ai si go soa tsî: „ǃgaise ta go ǃkχâ tsoa ro!" ti go mî tsî: „ǃhaî ǃgoragu gaigu ôara ga ǃgum te ûgûra," ti go mî. tsîra gye sai sõra hîga hâ, ǃkχais ǃama ǃgũng toma hâ.

Tsîb gye go ŋûng tsî thoob ŋgoo si ŋgoé tsîb som ŋgoé hîa gye ŋgorube go ikʒi tsî go ikʒô bi. „Ai tnaob tnam, nî ruib ta ‚nnâ aikʒum! hûgye ehî!“ okʒa gye gye ehé tsî gye ŋgiriba: „hôba tita ekʒô ‚nu hait ba!“ ti go mî. tsîb gye go ba tsî go bé tsîb gye ŋgorube nnâ ruibab ehé nâ hîa gye aô. oh gye tsâtti gaʒuba hâ tsî hâ gye gû. oh gye aô hâ oh gye ŋgiriba: „ŋgo nî gûs! tita ga i ots ga ŋgai ǂ a hâ ruib. mâtti ŋgui nî iha go!“

Übersetzung von XLIV.

Das Löwenpaar, das sich dem Schakal tot stellt.

Ein Löwenpaar *(gamra, dual, masc.-fem.)* kommt *(igoaʒa)* fußweh *(sai ao)* daher und sah *(mâ, i. pass. narr.)* einen Schakal herankommen *(hîa während, hier i. Sinne d. Particip. praes.)*. Da stellten sie sich tot *(aôtsen, i. pass. narr.)*, und er kam *(hâ)* herzu. Und er berührte *(ikʒâ)* [leise] das Hinterloch *(tsoas)* des einen (*wörtl.: ein Hinterl.*), und das Hinterloch zog sich zusammen*). Da wußte *(nan)* er, daß *(ikʒaib)* die beiden sich [nur] tot stellten, und sagte**): „Gott, ich danke *(ikʒûtse, dainki, aus dem Kapholländ. entlehnt)* dir *(tsî)*, daß *(ikʒaisa)* du *(-ts, Suff.)* mir *(ts, Suff.)* diese *(nî)* Speise *(sâb, comm. sing.)* gegeben *(mâ)* hast!“ Dann schlug *(enan)* er das Feuerzeug *(doroaa)* an und steckte ein wenig *(-ro, Dimin.)* Gras *(igâna, comm. plur.)* in Brand *(ekaôi, verb.)* und sagte: „Erst *(aibe)* suche ich Feuerholz *(iaâre, verb.)*“ und ging *(igûng)* nach *(aga)* Holz. Und während er das Holz allda *(matti, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* brach [*ǂkʒâa, ta euphon. für ra*], entfernte er sich *(bé)* und stieg *(geht hi, steigen soa)* auf *(ai)* einen Berg *(thoma)* und rief: „Gut *(igaise adv.)* habe ich Euch *(ro, Suff. der 2. pers. dual. masc.-fem.)* das Hinterloch berührt! Ihr Ausgeburt der großen Schmutzkrusten-Scham (*s. früher*) hättet *(ga, Konjunkt.-Part.)* mich beinahe *(*ŋgâ, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* getötet *(igam)*!“ So rief er. Aber die beiden waren seit lange *(hûga)* fußweh, darum *(um der Sache ikʒais, willen gama)* liefen sie nicht *(homa)* [hinter ihm her].

Und er ging und legte sich *(ging, sich legen ŋgoé)* unter *(*igao)* einen überhängenden Fels *(thoab)*, und während er schlafen *(tsom)*

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*) *gai'ns* ist der reflexivische Lähmlaut wandelt als der reflexivische Konsonant den Spiritus asp.

**) Um die Löwen glauben zu machen, ihre List sei gelungen, und der Schakal wolle sie nun fressen.

lag, kam *(kχī)* der Leopard *(ıgaruba)* und fing *(°ıkχō)* ihn *(bi)*. [Er aber rief:] „Mein Großvater *(ti ǂnaob, ehrerbiet. Anrede)*, halt ein *(ǂnam)*! Der Fels *(ǂuib)* fällt *(ǂnā)* auf *(ai)* uns *(-kχum, Suff. d. 1. pers. dual. masc.)*, darum *(°hūgye)* stemm [dich] an, [daß wir nicht beide erschlagen werden] *(°thē)*!" Da stemmten [sich] die beiden an, und der Schakal sagte: „Laß mich *(laß hā, daß ich -ta Suff. und tita Pron. pers.)* Holz suchen *(ōa)* zum Darunter-*(ına)*stützen *(ıkχā)*!" Und er suchte und eilte weg. Aber der Leopard stand da *(mā)* [und] stemmte [sich] dort *(ǂnā)* [gegen] den Fels *(m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, bis er umkam *(tō. wörtl.: während er etc.--, kam er um)*. [Der Schakal] jedoch bleibt Tage *(tsēti)* lang *(gaχu)* weg, dann kommt er, nachzusehen *(gō)*. Da ist jener tot, und der Schakal ruft: „Verrecken werdet Ihr *(go, Suff. d. 2. pers. plur. masc.)* vor Dummheit! *(gās = gāse, adv., dumm)*. Wenn *(o)* ich es wäre *(ga, Konj.-Part.)*, dann *(dasselbe o)* wärest du *(-ts* in *ots)* wohl stark *(ıgai)* mit *(ū)* dem Fels*)! Genau *(ıgui einzig)* so *(ǂnāti)* soll es Euch [immer] widerfahren!" *(I geschehen, -ba objektivir. Part.)*.

XLV.

Gomasa ǂā tsī gye ıgarub χa ǂgoē amhe ıgiriba.

ıGirib χa gye kχoīn gomasa gye ǂāhe. ob gye ıgaruba gye ǂgoēam bi. tsīb gye ǂgoēamhe hā hīa gye ıkχī ramgyib ıkχa.

Tsīb gye ıgoaχa ra ǂnau tsīb gye gye tē: „tarīē ǂgams doba hā? huga ra oēba te ǂgams gum χābe o! ne ınās ıguisa ta nī tē!" tsī go ǂkχaba a tē: „tarīē ǂgams doba hā?" tumi. ob go ıgaruba: „tita hā!" ti a mī. „ǂnaū tsīts gye mā ǂgams gye oē ıkχaiē?" ti mī tsī ıkχoē-nī.

Übersetzung von XLV.

Der Schakal, der die Kuh schlachtet und dem vom Leoparden aufgelauert wird.

Der Schakal *(ıgirib)* hatte die Kuh *(gomasa)* der Menschen *(kχoīn)* geschlachtet *(ǂāhe)***). Der Leopard *(ıgaruba)* aber

*) D. h.: Mit mir, an Stelle des Felsen, würdest du wohl fertig werden; das hast du dir aber verscherzt.

**) Das *χa* hinter *ıgirib* kann wegfallen und trotzdem bleibt das Prädikat im Passiv. Daraus geht hervor, daß es sich hier, in *ǂāhe*, um das pass. narrativum handelt, und das *χa* hier nicht *Co* Postposition, sondern Demonstrativpartikel ist.

lauerte*) ihm *(bi)* auf. Und während *(hĩa)* ihm aufgelauert wird *(ecchtes passiv)*, kommt *(ikχĩ)* er mit *(ikχa)* dem Saitenspiel *(ramgyib)***), und während er am Kommen ist *(igoaχa)*, spielt *(schlägt)* er und fragte *(lẽ)*: „Wer *(tarĩ?)* ist bei *(doba)* dem Wasser? *(igamsa)****) Stets *(hũga, von jeher)* antwortet *(oẽ, -ba objektivierende Verb.-Partikel)* mir *(te)* ja *(gum---o)* doch *(χabe)* das Wasser! [Noch] dieses *(nĩ?)* einzige *(iguisa)* Mal *(ĩnãs)* werde ich fragen!" Und wieder *(ikχaba)* fragte er: „Wer ist beim Wasser?" Da rief der Leopard: „Ich bin's!" Der [Schakal] aber sagt; „Hast du *(-ts)* [je] gehört *(ĩnaũ)* oder *(tsĩ und)* gesehen *(mũ)*, daß *(ikχaĩ?)* das Wasser antwortet?" Sprach's und entfloh.

XLVI.

χami tsĩ igirib tsĩkχa.

χami tsĩ igirib tsĩkχa χa-i gye gye ǂauhe tsĩb gye igiriba gausa ǂnaĩte go ekχaũ. ob gye χama ŋgabasa ǂnaĩsa go ekχaũ tsĩ igirib go ekχaũ ǂnaĩti go ũ tsĩ igiriba ŋ(e)ĩb go ekχaũ ŋgabasa ǂnaĩsa go mã. tsĩ gauga mã bi tsĩ tarasa go ŋgai ŋgũng gai bi.

Ob gye sib go o gauga ŋ(e)ĩb ãana mã tsĩ χami ãana sõte go mã tsĩ χamsa: „aoõ gye: hã goma igõan ikχa?" ti go mĩ. tsĩ taras ãb tsĩ igõan ãb tsĩna ũ tsĩ go ŋgũng ĩsĩ go sĩ. ob gye: „mabasa ŋnaosa hã?" ti go mĩ. ob gye: „ti ŋnaoõ, ti ŋnaos gye ŋgũngs tite tumi ekχã tsĩ go hãsa!" ti go mĩ. ob gye go ŋgũng.

Ob gye igirib hoa gausa ŋgana ŋganas ai go ŋoa ũ tsĩ ŋgabasa ǂnaĩsa go ŋnãχa. tsĩb gye gauga go aira tsĩ ŋguba ŋgurusa ŋnuib ǂna go aira. tsĩ gye go ikχĩ χama tsĩ go ŋgai, ob gye go oẽ. „ũ ǂaba te!" ti go mĩ. ob gye ǂhaũba go ũ ŋnãbahe tsĩb gye go ŋnausihe tsĩ sib ta hĩa ǂhaũba ikχai ŋgoohe tsĩ ŋgona go ŋlsen tsĩb: „ũãsa ǂhaũba ma te! — ŋoro ǂhaũb ma te!" ti go mĩ.

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*) *am* ist die Postposition „für", eine interessante alte Form für *ĩ* (s. Hahn[19], S. 61). *ŋgaĩ* = liegen. „Für etwas liegen" = auflauern.

**) Obwohl dieses Musikinstrument, nach Angabe eines Hottentotten, mit dem Finger gezupft wird, wird im Folgenden doch das Wort *ŋnãã* = schlagen gebraucht. Das ist ein Fingerzeig, daß das Instrument sich erst entwickelte, nachdem die alte Bezeichnung für das Anschlagen des Musikbogens bereits die allgemeine Bedeutung „Saitenmusik machen" erlangt hatte (vgl. „Musikinstrumente", S. 374). Ganz analog ist der Sprachgebrauch des Wortes *dara* (siehe Feuerzeug).

***) Er bedient sich hier derselben List wie in Sage XLI (S. 476 unten) dem Löwen gegenüber.

Tsîb gye ǂoaǂa ǂoab go o: „ti ǂnaob, amǀnasa kχôba ĕts nĕ gauĕ ĕχase ǂhĕ!" ti go mî, „ĕ ǃ-tã ǀhũb ai ǂnũ, ǀhũb ai i ga ra ǂnũ o nî ǂam χuigye." tsîb gye go amǀnaba kχôba tsîs gye gausa ĕχase amǀna go ǂgã.

Ob gye: „ ti ǂnaob, ǂgams ǂga, ǂgams ǂga!" ti go mî. ob gye aoba ǂgams doba sî toma hã hîa go sõ.

Übersetzung von XLVI.

Der Löwe und der Schakal.

Der Löwe und der Schakal die beiden waren auf Jagd gegangen *(ǀaũ, i. pass. narr.)*, und der Schakal schoß mit dem Bogen *(ǂkχaũ, verb.)* fette *(gausa)* Giraffen *(ǀnaǂte)*. Der Löwe aber schoß eine magere *(ǂgabasa)* Giraffe; und die Giraffen, die der Schakal geschossen, nahm *(ã)* er und gab *(mã)* dem Schakal die magere Giraffe, die er *(ĭ(e)îb)* selbst erlegt hatte. Dann gab er ihm *(bi „Suff.)* Fett *(gauga, masc. plur.)* und hieß *(gai)* ihn, die Löwin *(tarasa Frau)* rufen *(ǂgai)*.

Als *(o)* aber der Schakal hinkam *(sî)*, gab er das Fett seinen *(ĭ(e)îb, Pron. d. 3. pers. sing. masc., unter Auslassen d. Genit.-Part., als possess. gebraucht)* Kindern *(ôana, comm. plur.)* und gab den Löwenkindern die Lungen *(sõte)* und sagte zur Löwin: „Der Mann *(aob)* läßt dir sagen *(goma, adv. z. Ausdruck dafür, daß d. Gesagte ein Auftrag ist)*: „Bleibe *(hã)* zu Haus mit *(ǂkχa)* den Kindern *(ǂgôan)*!" Dann nahm er seine *(die Wurzel ã vervollständigt sich zum pron. poss. durch Anhängen des Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers)* Frau und seine Kinder, sie alle, und ging *(ǂgũng)* und kam [zum Löwen]. Da sagte der Löwe: „Wo *(maba, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* bleibt die Herrin *(ǂnaosa, wörtl. Großmutter, Ehrerbiet.-Bez.)*?" Und er antwortete: „Herr, meine *(ǃî)* Herrin will nicht *(ǃîte, Fut. negat.)* gehen *(m. Pers.-Suff.)*, so *(tumî)* weigerte sie sich *(ǂkχã)* und blieb!" Da ging der Löwe [selbst].

Der Schakal aber zog *(ǂoa hinaufsteigen, ã nehmen)* alles *(ǂhoa)* Fleisch *(ǂguna)* auf *(ai)* den Giraffenbaum und ließ *(ǂnãχu)* die magere Giraffe zurück. Dann briet *(aira)* er das Fett aus und briet einen runden Quarzstein *(ǂgurusa)* in *(ǀna)* den Schmalz *(ǂnuib)*. Nun kam *(ǂkχî)* der Löwe und rief, und der Schakal antwortete *(oĕ)*. [Da rief der Löwe:] „Zieh mich *(ǃe, Suff.)* herauf *(ǀaba aufsteigen, ã s. o.)*!" Dann wurde ihm *(-ba, i. Praedic., objektiv. Part.)* ein Riemen

(ǂhaũba) heruntergelassen *(ũnnũ)*, und er wurde aufgezogen *(°ǂnausi)*; als er aber eben *(ǂhĩa)* [oben] ankam *(sĩ, ta = ra)*, wurde der Riemen zerschnitten *(ǂkχai und ǂgao)*, und er stürzte herunter*). Da sagte der Schakal [zur Schakalin]: „Gib mir einen neu *(ǂãsa)* angefertigten Riemen, — [und flüsterte]: „einen alten Riemen gib!"

Als aber der Löwe nicht zurecht kam *(ǂoa nicht können, ǂoaχa hervorkommen)*, sagte der Schakal: „Herr, sperr *(kχõba)* den Rachen *(am ǂnasa)* auf und *(ẽ, m. d. Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* fang dieses *(nẽ)* Fettstück (*comm. sing.*) hübsch *(ẽχase)* auf *(°thẽ, verb.)*! und daß es nicht *(tã = toma)* auf den Boden *(ǂhũb)* fällt *(ǂnũ setzen, I geschehen)*, denn *(χuigye)* wenn *(o, ga Part. d. potent.)* es fällt, wird es in Stücke gehen *(ǂam)*!" Da sperrte der [Löwe] den Rachen auf, und das Fett [mit dem glühenden Quarzstein darin] fuhr schön in das Maul hinein *(ǂgũ, verb.)*.

Da rief der Schakal: „Herr, [lauf] zum *(ǂga)* Wasser! *(ǂgams)* zum Wasser!" Aber der kam nicht hin *(doba)* zum Wasser, sondern verreckte *(ãũ)*. (*Wörtl.: während er nicht hinkam, verreckte er.*)

Der Stein fuhr durch den Darm und zerriß den After. Darum, so belehrte mich der Hottentott, den ich weiter befragte, schlingt jeder Löwe, wenn er ein Tier geschlagen hat, erst ein Stück Fell herunter, um den Verschluß, den der glühende Stein zerschlagen hatte, wieder dicht zu machen.

XLVII.

χami ǂuri gorasa gye ǂgameba.

χami χa i gye ǂuri gorasa gye ǂgamehe tsĩs gye ǂgabaga go guruba bi tsĩb gye ra ǂĩi. os gye ǂĩib ta o ǂkχõte ra ǂgaẽ maĩ tsĩb gye kχoẽna ra ǂgũng ǂgara, mũb taĩ hoaẽ ǂgam, ti ra hĩ.

Ob gye ǂgui tsẽ ǂgtriba go ǂkχĩ tsĩ: „ǂgami χa au te!" ti go mĩ. os gye: „omsa χuta gum a bẽ ǂoa o," ti go mĩ. ob gye: „ǂĩia nẽba ǂnõa tsĩĩ ariẽ ǂkχĩ tite, hũgye χuri sĩ!" ti go mĩ. os gye go ǂgũng.

Tsĩb gye ǂgtriba ũ ǂnãtsĩ ǂkχõga go ǂnoa ǂamiam. tsĩs gye go ǂkχĩ tsĩ: „tariẽ go dĩ ǂgauẽ?" ti go mĩ. ob gye: „nẽbata go ǂomro on arina ǂgũ χa hã." ti go mĩ.

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*) °ǂĩ bedeutet: a) das Stoßen des zeugenden Viehes gegen das Euter; b) fallen lassen, mit der Reflexivendung -em: abstürzen.

Tsīra gye sores go ǂgū o go ǂom. o i gye ǂuri goras di ǂnamsa go ǂhe tsī ǂ(e)īb di ǂnamsa go ǂuri gorasa mā.

Tsīb gye go χàma ǂnūseb ǂgoaχa hīa: „aise, to----n te re!" ti ra mī. tsīb gye go ǂkχī tsī ǂkχara ǂnamē ra mū tsī ǂuri gorasa go ǂkχū ǂan. ob gye ǂgīriba go uri ǂora tsī: „ǂgū kχoēgye gye ǂhūb ai ǂgūng ǂgoē re!" ti go mī.

Übersetzung von XLVII.

Der Löwe, der Gatte der Weißkrähe.

Der Löwe hatte die weiße Krähe geheiratet, die hatte ihm *(bi, Pers.-Suff.)* Flügel *(ǂgaboga)* verfertigt *(guru, m. Andeutung d. indir. Obj. durch -ba)*, und er fliegt *(entlehnt)*. Wenn *(o)* er dann fliegt *(la euph. f. ra)*, hängt *(ǂgaē binden, maī stellen)* sie die Knochen *(ǂkχōte, fem.)* [der getöteten Beute] auf. Er aber duldet nicht *(ǂgara)*, daß man *(kχoēna, comm. plur.)* einhergeht *(ǂgūng)*, tötet *(ǂgam)* jeden *(hoaē, comm. sing.)*, den er sieht *(mū, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.; ta = ra, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Obj.)*. So *(ti)* treibt *(hī)* er es.

Da kam *(ǂkχī)* eines *(ǂgui)* Tags *(tsē)* der Schakal und sagte [zur Krähe]: „Gib *(*au schenken)* mir *(te, Pers.-Suff.)* Wasser *(ǂgami)*!" Doch sie erwiderte: „Ich *(-ta, Pers.-Suff.)* kann ja *(gum--o)* nicht *(ǂoa, verb.)* von *(χu)* der Hütte *(omsa)* weggehen*) *(bē)*!" Darauf der Schakal: „Ich *(tita)* sitze *(ǂnōba)* hier *(nēba)*, und kein Hund *(arīē, comm. sing.)* soll *(tite, Part. d. fut. negat.)* herankommen, darum *(*hūgye)* geh *(sī)* und schöpfe *(χuri)*!" Da ging sie.

Der Schakal aber nahm *(ī)* die Knochen herunter *(ǂnā, verb., i. partic. praeter.)* und schlug sie in Stücke *(ǂnoa werfen, ǂam ǂam zerbrechen)*. Da kam die Krähe *(durch das Pers.-Suff. -s in tsīs ausgedr.)* und fragte: „Wer *(tarīē)* hat so etwas *(ǂgauē)* getan *(dī)*?" Jener aber antwortete: „Als *(o, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz, -n. comm. plur.)* ich hier *(nēba, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* ein wenig *(-ro, Dimin.)* schlief *(ǂom)*, kamen Hunde herein *(ǂgū, verb.)*."

Als dann die Sonne *(sores)* unterging, legten sich die beiden *(-ra, Pers.-Suff. dual. masc.-fem.)* schlafen. Aber der Schakal nahm

*) Weil sie die aufgehängten Knochen beaufsichtigen muß. Denn wenn die Knochen zu Boden fallen, stürzt auch der Löwe zur Erde.

(ũ, s. pass. narr.) die Decke *(ǂnamsa)* der *(di, Gen.-Part.)* weißen Krähe und gab *(mã)* der weißen Krähe seine *(ǁ(e)ĩb, Pron. pers.)* Decke.

Und der Löwe rief, während *(hĩa)* er von ferne *(ǀnĩise, adv., m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* ankam *(ǂgoaχa)*: „Mutter! *(aise)* hebe *(ton)* mich doch *(re)* auf!“ *) Dann kam er herzu und eine fremde *(ǂkχara)* Decke sah er. Da stack *(ǂkχã)* er die weiße Krähe nieder *(ǂan)*. Der Schakal aber sprang *(uri)* hervor *(ǂora)* und rief: „Daß wir *(-gye)* armen *(ǂgã)* Leute doch [nun] ruhig *(ǁgoẽ liegen)* auf *(ai)* der Erde *(ǂhũb)* einhergehen mögen *(re, Opt.-Part.)*!“

XLVIII.

ǂAob gye sore ǂnaobesenĩ ǁgoẽ hĩa ǂuis χa gye ǂnũ aiheba.

ǂAob sore ǂnaobesenĩ ǁgoẽ hĩa gye ǂuisi ǂnũ aiheba χa i gye ǂ ra kχoẽn hoana: „doχoba ǂ kχaĩ ai te re!“ ti ra mĩhe.

Ob gye ǂnoaba ǂgui tsẽ go ǂkχĩ ob gye: „doχoba ǂ kχaĩ ai te re!“ ti go mĩ. ob gye ǂnogba go ǂ kχaĩ ai bi tsĩ go ǂgũng ǂ bi ǁgams ǁga. tsĩkχa gye go sĩ ǁgams doba, ob gye tami bi tsĩ tanas go dom ǂna a hã o: „õ tsĩta ra!“ ti go mĩ. ob gye: „kχa gai ǁgaũb ǁgakχum gum garu o!“ ti go mĩ.

Tsĩkχa gye ǂarob ǁgaũs ai go sĩ. ob gye: „ǂgũng toa χute go aogu gye ǂhai!“ ti mĩtsĩ go ǂgũng.

Tsĩkχa gye ǂgabestaub ǁgaũs ai go sĩ. ob gye ǂnamsa ǂgaẽ ǂkχã tsĩ go ǂgũng.

Okχa gye ǂgĩrĩb ǁgaũs ai go sĩ. ob gye ǂnamsa ra ǂgaẽ ǂkχã tsĩ: „ǂareẽkχo õa ǂgoaχa? ǂgũng ta ra, ǂgũng ta ra! ǂhaise ǂkχĩ, ẽta ǁnaũ!“ ti go mĩ. okχa gye go ǂkχĩ. tsĩb gye: „nẽ kχoĩb gum ǂuiba ta go ǂ kχaĩ ai bi õ ra õ te o!“ ti go mĩ. ob gye: „ǂkχĩ i gye ǂgũng, ẽta gõ!“ ti go mĩ ǂgĩriba.

Tsĩgu gye go sĩ, ob gye: „ǂnũ, ẽta gõ!“ ti go mĩ. ob gye go ǂnũ ǂgam ǂhonra ai. ob gye: „nẽti go ǂnõa i kχoẽba?“ ti go tẽ. ob gye ǂnoaba: „hm'm,“ ti go mĩ. ob gye ẽχase go ǂnũ.

Ob gye ǂgĩriba ǂuiba go ǂnũi ai bi tsĩ: „nẽ χabe ǂda ra gõse: ›doχoba ǂ kχaĩ ai te re‹ ti ra mĩ ǂaob gum χabe o!“ ti mĩ tsĩ: „χũĩ goro tsũba go o ǂgui tita ǂans!“ ti mĩtsĩ go ǂnau bi.

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*) Der Erzähler brummt das *ton* in tiefem, gedehntem Baß, fernes Löwengebrüll nachahmend.

Übersetzung von XLVIII.

Die Schlange, die von einem Stein überrollt wurde, als sie sich sonnte.

Eine Schlange, die von einem Stein *(ǃuisi = ǃuis χa)* überrollt *(ǂnũ sitzen, ai auf)* wurde, während *(hĩa)* sie, sich sonnend (*wörtl.: an die Sonne sores, sich -sen, festklebend ǂnaobe, -ĩ ist adjekt.-bildende Part.*) da lag *(ǂgoẽ)*, ruft allen *(hoan)* Leuten *(kχoẽn, comm. plur.)*, die vorbeikommen *(ǃi)*, zu: „Helft *(ǃĩ nehmen)* mir *(te, Pers.-Suff.)* doch (*wohl entlehnt, re Opt.-Part.*) aufstehen *(kχaĩ ai)*!"

Da kam *(ǂkχĩ)* eines Tags das Stachelschwein, und die Schlange rief: „Hilf mir doch aufstehen!" Da half ihr das Stachelschwein auf und ging *(ǃgũng)* mit *(ǃĩ)* ihr *(bi, Suff.)* zum *(ǂga)* Wasser *(ǂgams)*. Als *(o, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz, -b)* aber die beiden zum *(doba)* Wasser gekommen *(sĩ)* waren, umschlang *(tami)* die Schlange das Stachelschwein *(durch d. Suff. bi ausgedr.)*, und als ihm ihr Kopf *(tanas)* an *(ǃna)* die Kehle *(domi)* kommt, sagte sie: „Ich fresse *(õ)* dich *(tsi, Pers.-Suff.)*!" Da sagte das Stachelschwein: „Ei *(kχa)*, wir *(-kχum, Suff. d. 1. pers. dual. masc.)* sind ja *(gum---o)* auf dem Wege *(garu, verb.)* nach einer großen *(gai)* Werft*) *(ǂgaũb)*!"

Und die beiden kamen zur Werft der Aro-Eidechse. Die aber sagte**): „Die Männer *(aogu)* sind schon *(toa fertig sein)* fortgeeilt *(ǃgũng und ǃhai)* und haben mich stehen lassen *(χu)*! [Ich muß ihnen schnell nachfolgen]!" Sprach's und ging fort.

Dann kamen sie zur Werft der Gabestaub-Eidechse. Aber die schnürte *(ǃgaĕ binden, ǂkχũb Leib)* ihre Decke *(ǂnamsa)* zusammen und lief fort.

Da kamen sie zur Werft des Schakals. Der schnürte seine Decke zusammen und sagte: „Was *(tareĕ, m. d. Suff. d. angered. 2. pers. dual. masc.)* sucht *(õa)* ihr hier *(goaχa ankommen)*? Ich gehe gerade *(ra, fortschr. Handlg.)* fort, ich gehe gerade fort! Kommt schnell und *(ẽ, imperativisch)* laßt mich *(-ta)* hören *(ǂnaũ)*!" Da kamen die beiden, und das Stachelschwein sagte: „Ach *(o, am Ende des Satzes)*, diese *(nẽ)* hier *(kχoẽb, Mann)*, der ich doch *(gum---o)* den Stein

*) Zu ergänzen: „Laß uns doch dort unsere Sache zur Entscheidung bringen."

**) Die folgenden Antworten sollen das feige Sich-drücken vom Schiedsrichteramt kennzeichnen.

abgewälzt habe, will mich fressen!" Darauf der Schakal: „Kommt! Lauft! Laßt mich sehen *(gō)*!"

Dann kamen sie hin, und der Schakal sagte: „Leg dich hin *(ǂnū sich setzen)*, laß mich sehen!" Da legte sich die Schlange in *(ai)* zwei *(ǀgam)* Windungen *(*ǀhonra, dual. fem., von ǀhon zurückkehren)* zusammen. Da fragte *(tē)* der Schakal: „Lag *(ǂnōa)* sie so *(nēti)*?" Und das Stachelschwein sagte: „Nein!" Da legte sie sich ordentlich *(ēχase)* hin.

Der Schakal aber setzte *(ǂnūi)* den Stein auf sie und sagte: „Mögen wir *(-da, Suff. d. 1. pers. comm. plur.)* auch *(χabe)* immer *(gose)* hier vorbeigehen *(ǃ)*, die Schlange mag ruhig sagen: Helft mir doch auf, — [wir lassen sie liegen!]", und weiter sagte er: „Wenn *(o)* Euch *(goro)* etwas *(χūi)* in die Quere kommt *(tsūba, verkehrt)*, nur *(ǀgui)* dann denkt Ihr an mich *(tita)*!" *(wörtl.: ist ein An-mich-denken, ǂans, fem.)*. Sprach's und prügelte *(ǂnaũ)* das Stachelschwein.

XLIX.

ǀGīrib tsī kχoëra tsīn.

O i gye gye hīhe: ǀgīrib χa ǀgam kχoëra gye ũhe hã o i gye ǀgui kχoïs ǀguis ǂkχa ra ǁomhe. tsī gye nau kχoïsa tsãhe toma hã o i gye ǀabeẽ go dīhe. tsī go ǀauhe tsī ǀgũnghe ǁgã i go: „nẽbab ga ǁgũba hã ī ōro gye: ›nī nẽ ǁgũb ga goma gai ǂkχōs ǀna a kχōa‹ ti nī mī!" ora gye gye: „ã" ti gye mī. ob gye gye nau kχoïs ǁga gye mī: „sas gye nī ǀoa aiba ũ, ǁgũb ga kχōa o!"

Ora gye gye ǁgũb gye ī hã o: „nau garu ǁgũb ga goma gai ǂkχōs ǀna a kχōa!" ob gye ǁgũba gye kχōa, ora gye gye ǂã. os gye nau kχoïs tsã tomab hãsa ǀoa aiba gye ũ tsīs gye am tsī gye ũ ǂui tsīs gye aibe gauna gye ō tsīs gye gauna gye ō toa. tsīs gye go ǂhaba ǀuis ai ǁgui tsī go ǂnoa. ob gye go ǂgã ǁ(e)īs ǀna; os gye go ǂgai ǂui, tsī ǁkχaba go ǂnoa, ob gye ǁkχaba go ǂgã. ob gye ǀgīriba: „huga tsãhe tomasa tsã si!" ti gye mī.

Übersetzung von XLIX.

Der Schakal und die beiden Mädchen.

Und *(o)* es begab sich so *(wörtl.: wurde gemacht hīhe)*: Der Schakal hat zwar *(gye Verb.-Part. d. praes., hã Verb.-Part. einen*

Zustand ausdr., ū nehmen) zwei *(ǃgam)* Mädchen *(kχõëra, dual. fem.)*, aber einzig *(ǃgui)* mit *(ǂkχa)* einem *(ǃguis)* Mädchen schläft er *(ǁom, wieder passivisch)*. Und *(tsī)* da *(o)* er das andere *(*nau)* Mädchen nicht *(toma)* genießen *(tsā kosten, passivisch)* [kann], machte er *(dī possivisch)* einen Plan *(ǃabeĕ, comm. sing.)*. Er ging jagen *(ǃau)*, und kurz ehe *(ǁgā)* er ging *(ǃgũng, passivisch)*, [sagte er]: „Wenn *(o wenn — dann)* hier *(nēba, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* ein Springbock *(ǁgũba)* vorbeikommt *(Doppelverb.: hā herkommen, I gehen, ga Verb.-Part. d. Konjunkt.)*, dann sollt *(nī)* Ihr *(-ro Pers.-Suff. d. 2. pers. dual. fem.)* so *(ti)* sagen *(mī)*: Daß doch *(ga)* dieser *(nē)* Springbock im *(ǃna)* Oberschenkel-Knochen *(wörtl.: Groß- gai, Knochen ǂkχõs)* zusammenbricht *(*kχõa)*!" *(goma gibt diesen Worten den Charakter eines Auftrags.)* Und die beiden sagten: „Ja *(ū)*!" Zu *(ǁga)* dem anderen Mädchen aber sagte er: „Du *(sas)* wirst die Scham*) nehmen *(ū)*, wenn der Springbock zusammenbricht!"

Der lüsterne Schakal geht fort, verwandelt sich in einen Springbock und eilt an den Mädchen vorbei.

Und als der Springbock vorbeikam, da [riefen] die beiden: „Daß doch der Springbock, der da *(*nau = ǁnaba)* läuft *(garu)*, im Oberschenkelknochen zusammenbricht!" Da brach der Springbock zusammen, und die beiden schlachteten *(ǂa)* [ihn] aus. Das eine Mädchen aber, das [der Schakal] nicht genossen hatte, nahm die Scham und briet *(am)* sie und nahm sie heraus *(ǂui)* [aus dem Feuer] und aß *(ō)* erst *(aibe)* das Fett *(gauna)* und aß das Fett ganz *(toa aufhören)* auf. Dann legte *(ǁgui)* sie [das Glied des Springbockes] auf *(ai)* einen breiten *(ǂhaba)* Stein *(ǃuis)* und stampfte *(*ǂnoa)* es weich. Da aber fuhr [das Glied] in *(ǃna)* sie *(ǁ(e)īs)* hinein *(ǂgā hineingehen)*; und sie zog *(ǂgai)* es heraus und stampfte es wieder *(ǁkχaba)*, da fuhr es ihr wieder hinein. Der Schakal**) aber ruft: „Die *(sa)* noch nie *(huga von jeher, toma nicht)* genossen worden ist *(tsāhe)*, [ich habe] sie *(si)* genossen!"

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*) *ǃoa aib* sind die männlichen Schamteile mit allem was drum und dran, *ai* auf, ist. Ähnliche Schlächteraundrücke sind: *ǃnā aib* die Bauchgegend, *saru aib* das Fell und Fett im Schnittbereich des Fettschwanzes, der in der ventralen Mittellinie geöffnet wird.

**) Als der Schakal seinen Trieb befriedigt hat, nimmt er seine alte Gestalt an, tanzt um das Mädchen und sagt: s. oben.

I.

Sorisa gye aba ǂgīriba.

O gye gye hīhe: on gye gye doĕ oī gye ǂgīrib ǂkχa kχoïn gye doĕ bĕ χabe kχaos ai hāhe tsī gye soris ǂnôaba go hāhe tsī: „ǂkχī ĕta aba si!“ ti go mī. os gye go ǂkχā χabeb gye: ǂkχī ĕta aba si!“ ti go mī. ob gye go aba si tsīra gye go ǂgūng.

Tsī garu ra hīab gye go hau ǁoa. ob gye: ǁgōaχa, ĕta nĕ ǂnaĭte ǂnoa!“ ti go mī. os gye: „hugata abaheta hā hīa ra ǂnoa ūhe ǂnaĭti,“ ti go mī. tsīra gye go ǂgūng. tsīb gye: „ǁgōaχa, nēn ǁgūna mā!“ os gye: „hugata abaheta hā hīa ra mū ūhe ǁgūn,“ ti go mī. tsīra gye go ǂgūng ǁkχaba. tsīb gye aoba hau ǁoab go o: „nēti ǂgorete mā, χuigye ǁgōaχa, ĕta ǂnoa!“ ti go mī. os gye: „hugata abaheta hā hīa ra ǂnoa ūhe ǂgoreti gumo.“ ob gye aoba: „tāse ta nī ǂgāb ǂkχāb ai mā χāb ǂkχa χai si!“ ti go mī. os gye: „hugata ra ǂgāb ǂkχāb ai mā χāb ǂkχa χaihe,“ ti go mī.

Tsīb gye go ǂkχoĕ ū si tsī sī ǁgams ǂna: „ǁubu,“ ti go mī, χabeb gye huihe toma hā tsīb gye go ǂoa ǁgamsa χu tsī ǂnumaba go χoıa tsī ǁnā ǂnumab ǂna go ǁharu tsī, sores kχôb ǂkχa ǂnôa hīa, nau ǂkχāb ai go ǂkχaru tsī go ǁaru.

Tsī soregūra sī go hō tsī ǂguisa go ǂā tsī gauna ū tsī go ǂgūng tsī go sī. on gye ǂgōana: „dāb ǁgana tani hā!“ tumi go ǂkχoĕ ǂoa. ob gye go ǁaiχa aoba tsī go ǂkχī ǁgâsib ta ǁō hīa tsī go ǁgami ǂgan. os gye tarasa go mā bi o i gye ǂkχō ǂoab ta hīa go ǂnā. os gye go tarasa ǂan soregūsa ǂā hā ǂkχaiĕ tsī: „nēda hoa tsēte ra ǂgūng ī ǂkχā soregūra gye nēts ǂā hā ra!“ ti go mī tsīs gye go tĕ gauna ū hâ ǂkχaiĕ. ob gye: „ūta hā!“ ti go mī. os gye: „ī ǂnūi si!“ ti go mī. ob gye sī go ǂnūi tsī ǂkχari gaurona ū hā tsī go hā. os gye tarasa go ǂnâba bi o i gye ǁkχaba go ǂnā ǁgamĕ. os gye: „horagase sī ǂnūi!“ ti go mī. ob gye: „ǂkχari χūroï ǂguiĕ ta ū hā, mūte ta nī sobo ga,“ ti go mī. os gye tarasa: „ǁnā aūnats ū hā gōsets ā tite ǁgami tsītsi ǁō ǁgā si!“ ti go mī. ob gye sī go ǂnūi hoana tsī go ǂkχī tsī go ā ǁgamĕ.

Übersetzung von I.

Der Schakal, der die Sonne aufhuckt.

Und es begab sich so *(hīhe wurde gemacht)*: Man ging auf die Wanderschaft *(doĕ)*, und mit *(ǂkχa)* dem Schakal zogen die Menschen

(kχoĩn, comm. plur.) fort *(bē, verb.)*; jedoch *(χabe)* er blieb *(hã, i. pass. narr.)* hinten nach *(kχaos ai)* und kam *(hã)* dahin wo *(-ba)* die Sonne*) *(soris)* saß *(ǂnõa)*, und sagte: „Komm, laß *(ē, imperativisch)* mich *(-ta)* dich *(si, fem.)* aufhucken!" *(aba ein Kind im Fell auf dem Rücken tragen)*. Aber sie weigerte sich *(ǂkχã)*. Nichtsdestoweniger *(χabe)* sagte er: „Komm, laß mich dich aufhucken!" Dann huckte er sie auf, und die beiden *(-ra, dual. masc. fem.)* gingen *(ǀgũng)*.

Und während *(hĩa, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* sie im Gehen *(garu)* sind, konnte er es nicht mehr schaffen**) *(hau bringen, ǁoa nicht können)*. Da sagte er: „Steig ab, laß mich diese *(nē)* Giraffen *(ǀnaĩte = -ti, fem. plur.)* schießen *(ǂnoa)*!" Sie aber sagte: „Von jeher *(huga)* hat [man], auch wenn *(hĩa während)* ich *(-ta)* aufgehuckt war, mit mir *(ũ nehmen, he Passiv.-Endg.)* Giraffen geschossen." Und die beiden gingen. Darauf sagte er: „Steig ab, dort *(nẽn, pron. dem., comm. plur.)* stehen *(mã)* Springböcke *(ǁgũna, comm. plur.)*!" Sie aber sagte: „Von jeher hat man doch, auch wenn ich aufgehuckt war, Springböcke mit mir gesehen *(mũ)*!" Und die beiden gingen weiter *(ǁkχaba)*. Und als der Mann *(aoba, der Schakal in menschenähnlicher Gestalt)* es nicht mehr schaffen konnte, sagte er: „Dort stehen Zebras *(ǀgorete = -ti, fem.)*, darum *(χuigye)* steig ab, laß mich schießen!" Sie aber [entgegnete]: „Von jeher hat man ja doch *(gumo)*, auch wenn ich aufgehuckt war, Zebras mit mir geschossen!" Darauf der Mann: „Gleich *(ũse)* werde *(nĩ)* ich dich mit dem Schamglied *(χãb, penis)*, das mir auf *(ǀkχãb Körper, ai an)* dem Rücken *(ǀgãb)* steht, vergewaltigen *(χai Coitus vollziehen)*!" Sie aber sagte: „Von jeher bin ich mit dem Glied, das im Rücken steht, begattet worden!"

Dann eilte *(ǀkχoẽ)* er mit *(ũ nehmen, hier wie eine Präposition gebraucht)* ihr *(si)* fort und ging *(sĩ)* in *(ǀna)* das Wasser *(ǁgams)*. „Plumps" *(*ǁubu)* sagte [das Wasser], jedoch es wurde ihm nicht *(toma)* geholfen *(hui)*. Da ging er heraus *(ǂoa, verb.)* aus *(χu)* dem Wasser und grub *(χoro)* eine Wurzel *(*ǀnumaba horizontal verlaufender Wurzelstock)* und schlüpfte *(ǁharu)* da *(ǁnã)* unter die Wurzel, und

*) Gedacht in Gestalt eines schönen Mädchens.

**) Er sucht sich nun der Sonne mit allerhand List zu entledigen, wird aber stets ironisch abgefertigt.

während die Sonne mit dem Fell *(kχōb)* hängen bleibt *(*ǂnōa)*, kroch er auf der anderen *(*naa)* Seite *(ǃkχāb)* durch *(ǃkχaru, verb.)* und geht heim *(ǂaru)*.

Da traf *(kommen sī, kriegen hō)* er auf die zwei *(-ra, dual. fem.)* Sonnenschafe und schlachtete *(ǂā)* eines und nahm das Fett *(gauna)* und ging und kam [nach Haus]. Da [riefen] die Kinder *(ǃgōana, comm. plur.)*: „Vater *(dāb, abgekürzt aus dādab)* trägt *(tani)* Fleisch*) *(ǂgana)*!" So *(tumi)* eilten sie [ihm] entgegen *(ǃoā, verb.)*. Da wurde der Mann böse *(ǂaiχa)* und kommt an *(ǃkχī)*, während er vor Durst *(*ǂgūsi durstig)* vergeht *(ǂō, ta euphon. für ra)*, und verlangt *(ǂgan)* nach Wasser. Da gab *(mā)* ihm die Frau *(tarasa)*, und während er [es] in Empfang nimmt *(Doppelverb. ǃkχō nehmen, ǃoa begegnen. ta = ra)*, trocknet *(ǂnā)* [das Wasser] aus**). Da wußte *(ǂan)* die Frau, daß *(ǃkχaiē)* er ein Sonnenschaf geschlachtet hatte, und sagte: „Wir da *(-nē Pron. dem., -da Suff. d. 1. pers. plur. comm.)* gehen alle *(hoa)* Tage *(tsēte = -ti)* an den beiden Sonnenschafen, die du da schlachtest, vorbei!" *(Doppelverb.: ǃgūng und I gehen, ǃkχāb Seite)*. So sagte sie und fragte *(tē)*, ob *(ǃkχaiē)* er Fett genommen habe. Und er sagte: „Ich habe!" Darauf sie: „Geh, leg *(ǂnūi)* es weg!" Da ging er, es hinzulegen, aber ein kleines *(ǂkχari)* Stück Fett *(-ro, Diminutiv.)* behält er und kommt. Dann goß *(ǂnā. ba, objectivir. Part.)* die Frau ihm ein, und wieder *(ǂkχaba)* trocknete das Wasser aus. Da sagte sie: „Geh, leg es alles *(horagase)* hin!" Darauf er: „Ein kleines Bischen *(χūb Ding, ro Diminut., i Suff. d. comm. sing.)* behalte ich, um *(ga)* die Augen *(mūte = -ti)* zu salben." *(sobo, nī Verb.-Part. d. Fut.)*. Die Frau aber sagte: „Solange *(gōse)* du *(-ts, Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* das Fett *(aūna, comm. plur.)* da *(ǂnā)* behältst, wirst du nicht *(tite, Part. d. Fut. negat.)* Wasser trinken *(ā)* und *(tsī, mit der selten gebrauchten vollen Form d. Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.: tsi)* vor Durst umkommen!" Da ging er, alles hinzulegen, und kam und trank Wasser.

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*) Die Kinder hielten den fellosen, blutig geschundenen Rücken des alten Schakals für aufgebuckten Jagdwild.

**) Die Sage geht, daß die Sonne auf der Erde zwei Schafe weiden läßt, die unantastbar sind. Wer sich an ihnen vergreift, der verdurstet, weil ihm das Wasser vor den Lippen austrocknet.

LI.

χama gye ǂgame ǂamisa.

ǂAmis χa i gye χama gye ǂgamehe ǂīs gye go ōa. tsīs gye gomate go ǂkχaī ob gye χama ǂgōaroĕ go hara ǂīs gye ǂgōaroĕ habuhe hā hīa go ǂkχī. tsīs gye ǂǂkχaba gye ōa ob gye ǂǂkχaba ǂnāĕ gye haba.

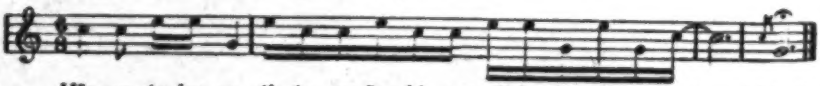
Felis leo L. ♂

Os gye ǂnona ǂǂ(e)īĕ āba χorotsī āb ǂna go ōa ǂāb hīa. tsīs gye ǂao ǂoa tsīs ta gomate ǂkχaī o sī ra daisi bi ǂgai bi tsī:

„ǂOa-ra kχao-ba ǂǂ bi! ba-tsi ba-tse! hu-bais ōa-ba ǂǂ bi!“ ǂumi. ob gye ǂoaχa tsī ra dai os gye ra ǂgūng dai ǂoab ta o. tsī gomate sī ǂnāχu tsīs ta ǂkχī o: „ǂgara kχaoba ǂǂ bi etc.“ ti ra mī. ob gye ǂoaχa tsī ra dai.

Ob gye ǂgui tsē χama, gomates go ǂkχaī o, go sao si mū tomas hāse tsī go mū mabas ōa hā ǂkχaiē ısī matis ta mī ǂkχaiē go ǂnaū. tsī daisi toa tsīs go ǂgūng o go sī tsī: „ǂgara kχaoba etc.“ tumi go ǂnaē. ob gye ǂoaχa toma hā. ob gye ǂkχaba: „ǂgara kχaoba etc.“ ti go mī. ob gye go ǂoaχa ob gye go ǂkχō bi tsī go hara bi.

Tsīs gye gomate ǂnāχu tsīs go ıkχī o: „ǂgara kχaoba etc.“ ti go mī. ob gye go ǂnō. os gye ǂkχaba go ǂnaē tsī go hā ās ams ai tsī χami di daoga go mū. os gye sīs go o:



„Hīn-ga-tu-bu-se, ti-ta ra ōa-bi o ǂguib ōa-ba ōa ıor - e - bi hā!“ tumi go ǂnaē.

Tsīra gye go χūgu tsīs gye go ǂaru ıamisa.

Übersetzung von LI.

Die Straußenhenne, die den Löwen heiratet.

Eine Straußenhenne *(ıamisa)* hatte einen Löwen geheiratet *(ǂgame, i. pass. narr.)* und gebar *(ōa)*. Aber als *(o, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz)* sie die Kühe *(gomate)* nach dem Melken ins Feld trieb *(ǂkχaī, das Vieh nach d. Melken i. F. tr.)*, verschlang der Löwe das Kindchen *(ǂgōaē, comm. sing., -ro Dim.)*, und als *(hīa)* das Kindchen schon verschlungen *(habu)* war, kam sie herzu. Dann gebar sie wieder *(ǂkχaba)*, doch abermals verschlang der Löwe das Kind *(ausgedrückt durch d. Demonstr.-Wurzel ǂnā mit dem Pers.-Suff. d. comm. sing. -ē)*.

Das dritte *(ǂnona ǂn(e)ī, mit Pers.-Suff.)* aber gebar sie, nachdem *(-tsī, Part. d. partic. praeter. hinter χoro graben)* sie eine Höhle *(*āba)* gegraben hatte, in *(ǂna)* der Höhle, ohne daß er *(-b, hinter ǂū nicht wissen)* es wußte. Und wenn *(o)* sie fertig *(toa aufhören)* gemolken *(ǂao)* hat und die Kühe ins Feld treibt *(ta = ra)*, kommt *(sī)* sie hin, das Junge *(bi, Pers.-Suff. masc.)* zum Tränken *(dai saugen, -si gibt d. Verb. kausativen Sinn)*, zu rufen *(ǂgai)*, und [singt] so *(tumi)*: „Fang *(ǂū)* ihn *(bi)*, den mit dem mageren *(ǂgara)* Hintern*)

*) Die Mutter neckt das Kind mit seiner Magerkeit und macht ihm bange. *Batsībab* ist der Eigenname des jungen Straußes; dieses Wort begegnete mir nur noch einmal, mit weiblicher Endung, als Name eines Mädchens der Bethanier-Hottentotten. *Hubais* ist Eigenname der Straußenhenne.

(kχaoba)! Mein Batsibab! Fang ihn, den Sohn *(õaba)* der Hubais!" Dann kommt es hervor *(ǂoaχa, verb.)* und saugt, und wenn es fertig gesaugt hat, geht sie [weiter]. Dann läßt sie die Kühe [im Feld] stehen *(ǁnäχu verlassen)*, und wenn sie zurückkommt, ruft sie: „Fang ihn, den mit dem mageren Hintern! Batsibab! Fang ihn, den Sohn der Hubais!" Dann kommt es heraus und saugt.

Aber eines *(ǀgui)* Tages *(tsĕ)*, als sie die Kühe *(m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* ins Feld trieb, folgte *(sao)* ihr *(si. Suff.)*, ohne daß sie es sah *(mũ, hã Hilfsverb. m. Adverb.-Endg.)*, der Löwe und sah, wo *(maba, interrog., mit Pers.-Suff., erhält durch die Konjunktion ǀkχaiĕ den Sinn einer indirekten Frage, im Deutschen durch einen Relativsatz ausgedr.)* sie geboren hatte, und wie *(mati)* sie rief, hörte *(ǁnaũ)* er. Und als sie das Junge fertig getränkt hatte und weggegangen war, kommt er hin und singt*): „Fang ihn, den mit dem mageren Hintern!" etc. Aber das Junge kam nicht heraus. Da rief er wieder**): „Fang ihn!" etc. Nun kam es hervor, und er fing *(*ǀkχõ)* und schluckte es.

Struthio australis L. ♀

Die Straußenhenne aber ließ die Kühe im Feld stehen, und als sie zurückkam, rief sie: ——— *folgt d. Lockruf.* Doch es war still *(ǀnõ)*. Und noch einmal sang sie

*) Der Erzähler brummt die Lockworte in tiefem Baß.

**) Der Erzähler singt die Worte jetzt mit hoher Stimme.

und trat *(hã)* vor *(ams ai)* die Höhle *(ãs = ãb)*. Da sah sie die Spuren *(daaga, plur. masc.)* des *(di, Genitivpart.)* Löwen. Als sie dann zurückkam *(sĩ)*, sang sie: „O Hingatubus*), wenn *(o)* ich *(tita)* einen Sohn *(hier durch das Suffix -bi ausgedrückt)* gebäre, da ist *(hã)* er *(ǃaba Sohn)*, den ich gebäre, immer nur *(ǃguib einzig)* ein armer!" *(ǃore. Das -bi ist altes Demonstr. d. masc. sing.)* Die beiden *(-ra, Pers.-Suff. dual. masc.-fem.)* aber schieden die Ehe *(ǂχũgu, verb.)*, und die Straußenhenne ging zurück nach Haus *(ǂaru, verb.)*.

I.II.

ǃNĕrab tsĩ ǂgaiǃgãb tsĩkχa.

ǃNĕrab tsĩ gaiǃgãb tsĩkχa χa i gye ǂan ǂarehe hã. o i gye kχũba ũ tsĩ a ǃgũng o gaiǃgãb χa gye ǂkχurihe ǃnĕraba. ob gye ra mũ ǂkχuriheb ta ǂkχaiĕ tsĩb gye:

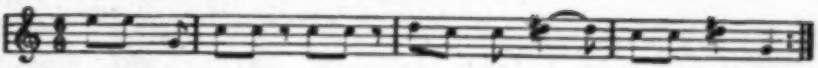
tumi ra ǃgabu. ob gye gõheb ta o ǃnoros ti ǂaĩ hã tsĩ ra ǂkχuri, gõheb ta o. tsĩ ǃaruǁb ta ǃnĕraba gõ o ra ǂgoĕ, tsĩ gõheb ta o ra ǂkχuri. tsĩ gye go hã ǂoa tsĩb go ǂham. ob gye ǃnĕraba ǂhoas ǃna ǃnubuse go ǂgõ tsĩb gye gaiǃgãba ǂhoaba χa go ǂnã ǂgona tsĩ go ãõ.

Ob gye ǂgõatsĩ aĩsa go ǂã ǂui tsĩ go am tsĩ go sĩ ǂgaũs ai aĩs ǂkχa tsĩ ǂgũsa go mã χami aĩsa. os gye: „tarexa hĩ ra ǂkχoa aĩĕ?" tumi go tĕ. ob gye ǃnĕraba ǂgõan ãb tsĩ taras ãb tsĩna ǂhoas ǂga gye ǂoa gai. tsĩn gye gye ǂoa ob gye ǂoan gye o gye ǃeream χamsa, oms doba hã hĩa gye ǂguri ǃgau o: „ǂnãs ta hõ kχoma tsã aĩ i gye!" tumi gye ǃeream si.

Os gye gye ǂoaχa. ob gye gye ǂkχoĕ-nĩ tsĩ sĩ gye ǂoa. os gye gye sĩ tsĩ gye mũ ǂgõab ãs sõ hã ǂkχaiĕ. os gye gye ǃao tsĩ: „hã ǃari aitsi ǃhumgu!" ti gye mĩ. tsẽs gye nẽ ǃnĕraba ǃhumgu ai hãsa.

*) Rätselhafter Sagenname des Straußes.

Schlußgesang mit Bogenbegleitung:



„ǃNu-ru-na na-bo, na-bo tsīgye ga ŧnū o-gye ŧnû-re!"

Übersetzung von LII.

Der Pavian und der Löwe.

Der Pavian und der Löwe, die beiden wohnen *(ǂan)* beisammen *(ǂarehe vereinigt)*. Und *(o)* als *(o, hinter ǂgûng)* der Pavian den Spielbogen *(kχūba, s. S. 374)* nimmt *(ǂû)* und geht *(ǂgûng, a Verb.-Part. d. Praes.)*, schleicht *(ǂkχuri, passiv. ausgedr.)* der Löwe dem Pavian nach. Er aber sieht *(mū)*, daß *(ǂkχaiē)* er beschlichen wird *(ta euphonisch für -ra)*, und [singt]: „Ich sehe *(mū, -ra Verb.-Part.)* den *(-ba)*, der mich *(-ta)* Menschen *(kχoē-)* beschleicht *(ǂhaba)*. Ich *(tita)* [sehe den] Schleicher. [Ich] mit den Augen überall *(tsaba sich mißtrauisch umsehen, -χa Part. den hohen Grad anzeigend, mûb Auge, -sa Adjektivendung)* [sehe] den Schleicher!" So *(tumi)* spielt er auf dem *Bogen (ǂgabu schlagen)*.

Der Löwe *(durch das Suffix -b in ob angedeutet)* aber glaubt *(taī, ti so)*, wenn *(o)* er angesehen *(gōhe, mit Suff.)* wird *(ta = ra)*, den Hinterkopf *(ǂnoros)* [des Pavians zu sehen], und schleicht heran, trotzdem er gesehen wird. Wenn aber der Pavian beiseite *(*ǂarulīb)* sieht, duckt jener sich nieder *(ǂgoē sich legen)*, und wenn er [wieder] gesehen wird, schleicht er heran. Und er kam völlig heran *(Doppelverb.: hā kommen, toa aufhören)* und sprang *(ŧham)*. Da wich *(ŧgō)* der Pavian kurz *(ǂnubuse)* aus nach dem Felsabhang *(ŧhoas Ecke)* zu, und der Löwe fiel *(ŧnā)* vom *(χu)* Abhang *(hier mit voller Masculin-Endung)* herunter *(ŧgona)* und kam um *(ŧō)*.

Da schlachtete *(ŧā)* der Pavian, nachdem *(tsī, Verb.-Part. d. partic. pract.)* er abgeklettert *(ŧgōa)* war, die Leber *(aīsa)* heraus *(ŧui)* und briet *(am)* sie und ging *(sī)* zu *(aī)* der Werft *(ŧgaūs)* hin mit *(ǂkχa)* der Leber und gab *(mā)* der [Löwen-]Mutter *(ŧgūsa)* die Löwen-*(χami)* Leber. Da fragte *(tē)* sie: „Warum *(tareχa)* schmeckt *(ŧkχoa)* so *(*hī)* das Leberzeug *(-ē, verächtlich, comm. sing.)*?" Darauf hieß

(gai) der Pavian seine *(ā Wurzel d. Pron. poss., verbunden mit d. Pers.-Suffix, -b, des Besitzers)* Kinder *(ıgōan)* und seine Frau *(ǂaras)* auf *(ıga)* den Felshang steigen *(ıoa)*. Und sie stiegen auf. Da, als *(o)* sie aufgestiegen waren, antwortete *(ıeream)* er der Löwin, während *(o als)* er indessen *(hīa)* allein *(ıguri)* bei *(doba)* der Hütte *(oms)* zurückblieb *(ıgau)*: „Dort*) *(ınā, mit dem Pers.-Suffix d. Subj.)* kriegt *(hō)* die Leber solchen Geschmack *(kχoma so, tsā schmecken)*!“ So antwortete er ihr *(si)*.

Papio porcarius (Bodd.) alter Männchen.

Da kam sie heraus *(ıoaχa)*, er aber entflieht *(ǀkχoē, nī, Verb.-Part. d. Futur. drückt die Erwartung der Verfolgung aus)* und steigt hinauf *(Doppelverb. sī und ıoa)*. Und *(o)* sie kommt *(sī)* dahin und sieht, daß *(ǀkχaiē)* ihr *(ūs)* Sohn *(ıgōab)* tot *(hō)* ist. Da wurde ihr bange *(ǀao)* und sie ruft: „Bleib *(hā)* du *(tsi)* für immer *(ǀari vollends)* auf *(ai)* den Bergen *(ǀhumgu)*!“ [Seit] diesem *(nē)* Tag *(tsēs)* bleibt *(hā mit adjektivischer Gerundiv-Endung -sa)* der Pavian auf den Bergen.

[Die Paviane haben nun ihre Ruhe und singen:]

„Wenn *(o im letzten Takt, mit dem Suffix -gye, wir)* wir Baumharz *(°ınuruna, beliebte Nahrung des Pavians)* auflesen *(nabo)* und [behaglich] da sitzen *(ınū)*, dann laßt uns gefälligst in Ruhe!“ *(wörtl.: dann sitzen wir doch bitte, -re)*.

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*) Der Pavian weist dabei höhnisch auf die Hütte des Löwen.

LIII.

ǂAroǂ tsî χami tsîkχa.

ǂAroǂi i gye χami ikχa ǂharihe hã. tsîb gye χama ra ǂau; tsî i gye ǂaroǂi ǂkχõgu tsõanahe tsî daoǂ am ǂna si ra ǂgoêhe tsî ikχîb ta o nũgu ãb ǂna ra ǂgũhe. tsîb gye ǂgunga ao χu tsî ra ǂkχoê-ni.

Ob gye ǂaroǂa ǂgunga ra ĩ tsî sîb ta o tarasa ra mîba: „lã ĕ ǂgõana ǂhuru sare!" ti ra mî.

Ob gye ǂgui tsî χami go ǂgũng o go ǂgũng tsîn gye ǂgõana ǂhuru sare hã. tsî go ǂkχam on gye ǂaroǂ ãana: „ǂgaise dãbi ǂkχõgu ikχa ǂaoǂaohe tsî ǂgungu ra ĩ ǂhanaheb gye saoba!" ti go mî.

Tsîb gye ǂaoǂaohetsî ǂgan tse go ikχî ǂkχaba. on gye χami ãana: „ohm trauχot gum χabe dãba ra ǂaoǂao o tsî dãba χu ǂgana ra ĩ o!" ti go mî.

Ob gye go ǂgũng ǂaroǂ ǂgaũs ǂga tsî go si tsî: „satsa ǂitats sore kχoê dî hã?" tumi go tî.

Ob gye: „ǂareî ǂama ohma ra tî ǂgaue?" ti go mî.

Ob gye: „sa ãan gum satsa ǂita ǂaoǂao tsî ǂgana ĩ ǂhana ti go ti ãana mîba o!" ti go mî.

Ob gye: „nîta ra ǂãs ikχa ǂgoê sore ǂgũ o mã saêb ai ta a ǂan χũna?" ti go mî.

Ob gye go ǂgũng χoma. ob gye: „sasa ta ra tõn ǂhuru sare, ti ra mîba ǂgõana!" ti go mî tsî ǂgõana ǂhõa gaos ǂna gye ǂgũ tsî go ǂgũng χami ǂgaũs ǂga tsî go si tsî χama go mîba: „sẽ χãb ǂgõab ĩ ǂgaus sẽ siritsa sakχuma ra ǂgoê sare χũao ta gum ti ãana ǂnau ǂan toa o!" ti go mî.

Ob gye χama ǂguirol tsîn ǂgou tomase ǂgõan ãba go ǂgam.

Tsîb gye go sara t[illegible]aêb ai go ǂaba o ǂgabestaub go mũ o ǂgõana go tsoro ǂui. ob gye ǂkχubis go ǂnũ o χama: „sa ãanats go ǂgauǂgau ĩ χãĩ χa au te re!" ti go mî. χabeb gye mũ toma hã ǂaroba.

Übersetzung von LIII.

Die Aro-Eidechse und der Löwe.

Die Aro-Eidechse lebt mit *(ikχa)* dem Löwen in Nachbarschaft *(ǂhari, i. ǂaas. narr.)*. Und der Löwe geht auf die Jagd *(ǂau.*

verk.); dann reiht die Eidechse Knochen *(ikxôgu)* auf eine Schnur*) *(tsôana, verk., i. pass. narr.)* und legt sich *(gèkt si, sich legen xgoê)* neben *(am ma)* den Weg *(daob)*, und wenn *(ô)* der Löwe kommt *(ikxi, m. d. Pers.-Suff., ta = ra)*, geht sie [ihm] zwischen *(ma în)* die Beine *(mâgu)* hinein *(xgâ, i. pass. narr.)*. Dann wirft *(oa)* er das Fleisch *(tgunga, plur. masc.)* weg *(zu prnigeben)* und flieht *(ikxoê-si)*.

Die Eidechse aber nimmt *(i)* das Fleisch, und als *(o)* sie [nach Haus] kommt *(si, ta = ra)*, sagt *(mi, mit d. objektiv. Part. -ba)* sie zur [Eidechsen-] Frau *(tarasa)*: „Daß *(i)* die Kinder *(gôan, comm. plur.)* nicht *(ti = toma)* zusammen *(tare zusammenkommen)* mit den Löwenkindern spielen *(thara)*!" So sagt sie.

Aber eines *(gui)* Tages *(tsi)*, als der Löwe fortgegangen *(gâng)* war, liefen die Kinder weg und spielten zusammen. Da gerieten sie in Streit *(ikxam, verk.)*, und die Eidechsen-Kinder riefen: „Ei, wie schön *(igaise)* macht unser Vater *(dâbi)* mit den Knochen Eurem Vater *(soôba)* bange *(soôso, verk.)* und nimmt *(ti)* [ihm] das Fleisch ab!" *(thama rauben, i. pass. narr., mit Pers.-Suff.)*

Der Löwe aber kam *(ikxi)*, [von der alten Aro-Eidechse] bange gemacht *(-tsi, Verb.-Part. d. partic. praeterit.)*, wieder *(ikxoba)* ohne *(ose)* Fleisch an. Da sagten die Kindêr: „Ohm Traugott *(kapholländ. Name der xarob-Eidechse)* macht ja *(gum---o)* doch *(gube)* Vatern bange und nimmt Vatern das Fleisch ab *(gu)*!"

Da ging der Löwe zur *(tgu)* Werft *(tguâna)* der Eidechse und kam hin und fragte *(ti)* so *(tami)*: „Machst *(di)* du *(soôna, Pron. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* mich *(tita, Pronom. mit d. Pers.-Suff. des 2. pers. masc. sing. -ti)* zu deinem Hanswurst?" *(tare foppen, kxoê Mensch, comm. sing.)*.

Die Eidechse aber sagte: „Warum *(tarê ama)* fragt Onkel dererlei?" *(tgunê, Art u. Weise, comm. sing.)*.

Darauf der Löwe: „Deine *(ta)* Kinder haben ja erzählt, daß du mir Bange machst und das Fleisch abnimmst; so *(ti)* haben deine Kinder ja erzählt!"

Doch die Eidechse sagte: „Der *(o da)* ich *(d. Demonstrativstamm ni mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. 1. pers. sing.)* mich, wenn die Sonne *(tsees)* untergeht *(xgâ)*, mit Hunger *(idi)* hinlege, wie *(mirk.: ma ai, welcher mit. Zeit naht)* weiß *(sas)* ich von so etwas?" *(tgîna Dinge, comm. plur.)*.

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*) Sie stellt sich eine Rassel her, mit der sie dem Löwen Furcht einjagt.

Da ging der Löwe. Aber die Eidechse sagte zur Eidechsenfrau: „Ich sagte dir doch *(tase, pron. 2. pers. fem. sing.)*, die Kinder [sollten] nicht *(ti)* zusammenspielen!" und steckte *(ige)* die Kinder in den Schelmsack*). Dann ging er zur Löwenwerft, kam hin und sagte zum Löwen: „Weil *(gti ao)* die Unart dieses Kinder-Packs *(wörtl.: die Manier, die diesem Kind-Ding gleicht !)* jetzt *(ti sirina)* Zank unter uns bringt *(wörtl.: uns beide zukzum, zusammen tare, verb., sicht igui)*, sieh *(gum---o ja)*, darum habe ich *(das praeter. ist hier durch toa = fertig werden, ausgedrückt)* meine *(ti, Stamm d. pron. 1. pers. sing., unter Weglassung der Genitivpart. als pron. possess. gebraucht)* Kinder erschlagen *(mau tan)!"* So sprach er.

Da tötete *(igum)* der Löwe seine *(ti Wurzel d. pron. possess., bildet mit dem Pers.-Suff. des Besitzers das volle pron. poss.)* Kinder, daß auch *(ttl, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. comm. plur., auf igkun bezogen)* nicht *(tamase, adv.)* ein einziges *(igui)* kleines *(-ro Demin.)* übrig blieb *(igau)*.

Eine *(gabestaub-ä* (3. m.) genannte Lacertide, der Gattung *Scapteira* verwandt. 1/3 nat. Gr.

Die Aro-Eidechse aber ging nach Haus *(tare, verb.)*, und als sie auf *(ti)* einen Bergkamm *(/nuäb)* aufstieg und eine Gabestaub-Eidechse**) sah *(mä)*, schüttete *(tsaro)* sie die Kinder aus *(tui)*. Als sich da ein Lärmen *(ikzuhi)* erhob *(tuä sitsu, stattfinden)*, rief der Löwe: „Schenke *(tu)* mir doch *(re)* von *(ga)* dem Ding, mit *(ti)* dem du *(-ti, Suff.)* deine Kinder lebendig gemacht *(igaugau)* hast!" Aber er sah die Aro-Eidechse nicht wieder.

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*) *Sila gum*, ein Fellsäckchen, in das verwundete Kleinigkeiten verwahrt werden (vgl. S. 233).

**) Soll von der Aro-Eidechse mit Vorliebe gefressen werden.

LIV.

Gai ǂgûb ǂguriheb nî ga gye kχoẽte a ǂgaib.

Gai ǂgûb χa i gye ǂõõtsenhe tsî kχoẽte gye ǂgaihe ǂguriheb nî ga. tsîti gye go ikχî. os gye ǂamisa gomate ra ǂao tsî ra ǂnaẽ: „ǂîitsaba χa mũ ǂna tita ra ǂai!" os gye ǂumi ra ǂnaẽ. ob gye: „ǂamiro---s, taẽ tis ta mî?" os gye: „ti ǂnaob gaise õχa tita ra ǂai, oõ-i gye!" ti go mî. tsîti gye go ǂguri ǂoa tsî go ǂaru. ob gye ǂguisa go ikχõ tsî go χaẽ.

Übersetzung von LIV.

Der Löwe, der die Frauen ruft, damit er geknetet werde.

Der Löwe stellt sich todkrank *(ǂõõtsen, i. pass. narrat.)* und ruft *(ǂgai, i. pass. narr.)* die Frauen *(kχoẽte = kχoiti Menschen, fem.)*, daß *(ga)* er geknetet *(ǂguri)* werde*). Und sie kamen *(ikχî)*. Der Strauß *(ǂamisa)* aber melkt *(ǂao)* die Kühe *(gomate = -ti)* und singt *(ǂnaẽ)*: „Lebendig *(ǂîitsaba)* [siehst du] im *(ǂna)* Auge *(mũ)* aus, denke *(ǂai)* ich**) *(tita, prom.)*!" So *(ǂumi)* sang der Strauß; darauf [der Löwe]: „Straußchen *(-s, Diminutiv.)*, was *(taẽ, verkürzt aus taregẽ)* sagst *(mî, ta hinter dem s, dem Pers.-Suff. d. Subj., euphon. für ra)* du da so *(ti)*?" „Darauf jener: „Mein *(ti)* Großvater *(ǂnaob, ehrerbietige Bezeichnung)* ist gar *(gai groß, -se Adverb.-Endung)* todkrank, denke ich, todkrank ist er!" So sagte der Strauß. Und die Frauen *(nur durch d. Pers.-Suffix fem. plur. ausgedrückt)* kneteten ihn fertig *(ǂao aufhören)* und gingen nach Haus *(ǂaru, verb.)*. Aber eine *(ǂguisa)* fing (*ikχõ) und vögelte er *(χaẽ, Coitus vollziehen)*.

LV.

χami tsî ǂamib tsîkχa.

χami tsî ǂamib tsîkχa χa i gye gye ǂgarob ǂna ǂhaoke χami ǂgûbe ǂgam hã hîa. tsîb gye ǂoõsa go kχau ǂamiba. ob gye χama orase ra ũ ob gye ǂamiba go am tsî ũ ǂoab go o ikχaba si go ǂgao.

Ob gye χama: „tîta go ǂgam ǂhãĩ gum χabe o!" ti go mî tsî go saiχa.

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*) Massage ist eines der beliebtesten Hausmittel der Hottentotten.

**) Der Strauß durchschaut die Verstellung des Löwen.

Ob gye ǂamiba: „ǂa ora ǂs ǂa ora ǂts!" ti go mĩ.

Ob gye χama: „ǂa ǂguru haraǂs ǂa ǂguru haraǂs!" ti go mĩ tsĩ: „hãkχum ǂgũ gye aibegu o!"

Ob gye ǂamiba: „mamasi ta sorabahe tôma χũĩ gum ǂgũ gye aibeguĩ o," ti go mĩ.

Ob gye: „hãkχum ǀum gye aibegu o!" ti go mĩ. ob gye ǂamiba: „mamasi ta sorabahe toma χũĩ gum ǀum gye aibeguĩ o," ti go mĩ.

Ob gye: „hãkχum ǂnai ǂana gye aibegu o!" ti go mĩ. ob gye: „mamasi ta sorabahe toma χũĩ gum ǂana aibeguĩ o."

Ob gye: „hãkχum ǂai gye aibegu o!" ti go mĩ. ob gye: „mamasi ta sorabahe toma χũĩ gum ǂai gye aibeguĩ o!" ti go mĩ.

Ob gye: „hãkχum ǂgoro gye aibegu o!" ti go mĩ. ob gye ǂamiba: „ǂ(e)ĩsa ta gye sorabahe-ǂkχois gye snãsa!" ti go mĩ.

Tsĩkχa gye go snãgu: χama go snã tsĩb gye χũĩ dĩ toma hã. tsĩb gye ǂamiba go snã tsĩ go snoĩ χama.

Übersetzung von LV.

Der Löwe und der Strauß.

Der Löwe und der Strauß, die beiden kamen im *(ǀna)* Feld *(ǂgaroh)* zusammen *(ǂhaa, i. pass. narr.)*, als *(hãã)* der Löwe eben einen Springbock *(ǂgãba)* getötet *(ǂgum)* hatte. Da zündete *(kχau)* der Strauß ein Feuer *(saĩsa)* an. Der Löwe aber fraß *(ũ)* [das Fleisch] roh *(oraxe, adv.)*, und der Strauß briet *(am)* es, und als *(o)* er fertig *(loa aufhören, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* gefressen hätte, ging *(ti)* er wieder *(tikχaba)* daran, [sich] abzuschneiden *(ǂgao)*.

Da sagte der Löwe: „Ich *(ĩĩsi, Pron.)* habe ja *(gum---o)* doch *(χabe)* einen Springbock *(ǂhãĩ, comm. sing.)* getötet!" und wurde ärgerlich *(saĩχa)*.

Da sagte der Strauß: „Du *(ta---ti)* Rohfresser-Kind! *(Kind ǂa, einer roh fressenden Mutter; die letztere verächtlich nur durch das Pers.-Suff. d. 3. pers. sing. fem. -s angedeutet)* Du *(-ti, Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* Rohfresser!"

Und der Löwe erwiderte: „Du Kieselschlucker-Kind!*) *(ǂguru Quarz, hara schlucken)* Du Kieselschlucker! Laß *(hã)* uns *(-kχum,*

*) Der Strauß hat bekanntlich eine beträchtliche Menge Kieselsteine im Kaumagen zum Zerkleinern der Nahrung.

Suff.) doch *(o)* mit den Zähnen *(ŋgũ)* fechten!" *(wörtl.: laß uns die Zähne gegenseitig vorn sein* °*ailegu).*

Aber der Strauß erwiderte: „Meine Mutter *(mamas, m. d. alten Demonstr.-Part. -i)* hat mich *(ta, Suff.)* ja nicht *(toma)* geboren *(sora, i. pass. narr.)* zu *(-ba)* so etwas *(ɣũĩ)* wie einem Kampf mit Zähnen."

Da sagte der Löwe: „Laß uns doch mit der Hand *(ũm)* fechten!" Aber der Strauß erwiderte: „Meine Mutter hat mich doch nicht zu so einem Handkampf geboren."

Struthio australis L. ♀

Und der Löwe sagte: „So laß uns denn *(ũnai)* doch mit dem Kopf *(tanas)* kämpfen!" Der Strauß aber erwiderte: „Meine Mutter hat mich doch nicht zu so einem Kampf mit dem Kopf geboren."

Da sagte der Löwe: „So laß uns denn mit dem Fuß *(tai)* fechten!" Doch der Strauß sagte: „Meine Mutter hat mich doch nicht zu so einem Kampf mit dem Fuß geboren."

Nun sagte der Löwe: „Laß uns doch mit der Kralle fechten!" Da sagte der Strauß: „Ja, dafür *(wörtl.: für die* ũãsa, *Stelle (kgais)* hat sie *(ũ(e)ĩa, pron. pers.)* mich geboren!"

Und die beiden traten *(ũnã)* sich gegenseitig *(-gu, Reziprokal-part.).* Der Löwe trat, aber er richtete nichts aus *(di tun).* Da trat der Strauß und schlitzte *(ũnõĩ)* den Löwen auf°).

°) Der Fußtritt des kräftigen Vogels hat in den Eingeweiden der Kapbeute manches Unheil angerichtet.

LVI.

ǂArib tsĭ χami tsĭkχa.

ǂArib tsĭ χami tsĭkχa χa i gye gye ǂauhe tsĭkχa gye ǂgarob ǂna go ǂhao. ob gye χami: „tareē go maĭba hă χũrona nēna?" ti go mĭ.

Ob gye: „kχa, sago ǂguri hă kχoĕroē ra mũ ǂore tego ga o ta nĭ ǂkχaubasen ũ ga ta maĭ hă χũron, gumo!" ti go mĭ.

Ob gye: „ǂkχoē ẽts ǂnai ǂnă ǂnõa ǂhu ubasa sĭ ǂkχã!" ti go mĭ.

Ob gye ǂariba: „satsa si aibe ǂkχã re!" ti go mĭ.

Ob gye go ǂkχoē χama tsĭ go ǂkχã sĭ. o i gye ǂkχãb go χabe χũē ǂ toma hă. ob gye ǂariba go ǂkχoē tsĭ si go ǂkχã os gye ǂhũ ubasa ǂãron ãs ǂguisa go ǂaē.

Ob gye χama mũbasen tomaĭ tsĭ ǂkχoē-nĭ. ob gye go ǂkχoĕb ǂgon ǂgaĭ tsoa ai bi.

Übersetzung von LVI.

Der Steenbock und der Löwe.

Der Steenbock und der Löwe, die beiden waren auf der Jagd *(ǂãn, verb., i. pass. narr.)* und trafen sich *(ǂhao)* im *(ǂna)* Feld *(ǂgarob)*. Da sagte der Löwe: „Was *(tareē)* für Dingerchen*) *(χũrona)* sind dir *(durch die objekt. Part. -ba angedeutet)* da *(nē, Demonstrativwurzel mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* aufgesetzt *(maĭ)*?"

Darauf sagte jener: „Ei *(kχa)*, wenn *(o)* Ihr *(sago, Pron. d. 2. pers. masc. plur.)* ein Menschenkind *(kχoēē, comm. sing., -ro Dimin.)* allein *(ǂguri)* seht *(ǂhã)* [und wie diesem, so auch] mir *(te, Suff.)* etwas antun *(ǂore)* wolltet *(ga, Verb.-Part. d. potentialis. go Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, dann will *(nĭ)* ich mich wohl wehren *(*ǂkχaubasen)* mit *(ũ)* den Dingerchen, die ich mir aufgesetzt habe, jawohl *(gumo)*!"

Da sagte der Löwe: „Lauf *(ǂkχoē)* und *(ē, mit d. Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc.)* stoß *(geh si, stoßen ǂkχã)* doch *(ǂnai)* in den Termitenhügel *(wörtl.: Land- ǂhũb, Nabel ubasa)*, der dort *(ǂnã)* steht!" *(*ǂnõa *sitzen)*.

Darauf sagte der Steenbock: „Stoß du *(satsa, Pron.)* gefälligst *(re)* zuerst *(aibe)*!"

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*) Gemeint ist das kurze spitze Gehörn des Männchens.

Da eilte der Löwe [dahin] und stieß zu. Aber obschon *(χabe)* er stieß, ging *(i)* nichts *(nicht toma, ein Ding χūĕ, comm. sing.)* vor sich. Da eilte der Steenbock [dahin] und stieß zu, und die Stückchen *(ǂāron, comm. plur.)* des *(ās, pron. poss.)* Termitenhügels sprangen *(ǂaĕ)* nur *(ǂguisa, auf ubusa bezogen)* [so umher].

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg). Steenbock ♀.

Dessen hatte sich der Löwe nicht versehen *(mū sehen, -ba objektiv. Part., -sen Refl.-Part.)*, und er entfloh *(*ǂkχoĕ-nī)*. Der Steenbock aber jagte hinterher *(ǂgon)* und *(das Pers.-Suff. -b hint. ǂkχoĕb gibt dem Verb. substantivischen und damit hier Subjektcharakter)* stach *(ǂgai)* ihm *(bi. Suff.)* in das Hinterloch *(tsoa, Suff. fehlt)*.

LVII.

χami tsī ǂgaihetomab tsīkχa.

χami χa i gye ǂgaihe ǂān, ǂgīrin, ǂkχaman, ǂēn, ǂgīn, ǂhōan tsīna tsī: „tari tsoras ōa tsoraba tita nī ǂkχā tsoaba ǂgamsa ǂuris ǂkχa?" ti go mīhe.

Ob gye ǂgīriba ǂao toagu go o: „hoa-gye-ǂgā-hā-kχoīs-ōaba ta nī aibe sī ǂgai," ti go mī tsī go ǂgūng ǂurisa ǂaēs ǂna soasoab dis ǂna ǂgātsī sī go ǂgūng. tsī sī go ǂgai ob gye: „taeĕ go ra ǂgaiba te?" ti go mī tsī go ǂgūng.

Tsī go sī. ob gye χama: „tari tsoras ōa tsoraba ti tsoras ōa tsorata nī dao tsoaba?" ti go mī. χabeb gye kχom toma hā tsī ǂhaīrosa ū ǂuitsī dorosa go ǂnan tsī go ǂgaĕ tsī: „ǂause ta nī dī, nēta nī ǂkχōhe χabe. ǂgui tsēs ǂguis di ūī gum χabe o!" ti go mīhe. tsī ǂhaīrosa ǂarihe tsī go ǂgāhe.

Ob gye χama ǂnāti ǂgoĕ o i gye ǂkχamabi: „ǂgam toma ǂuriĕ?" ti go mī. ob gye ǂgiriba: „ǂgam gotse aos ōab!" ti go mī. tsīs go ǂgam tsī ǂaob

kχoma a i. ob gye χama ǂkχaba: „tari tsoras ōa tsoraba ti tsoras ōab tsorata nī dao tsoaba?“ ti gō mī. ob gye ǀkχàmaba: „ti tsoras ōa tsorata nī dao tsoa tsi!“ ti go mī tsī go dao tsoa bi.

Tsīkχa gye go sarugu. tsīb gye ra hā ob gye ra ǂgō ǀkχamaba tsī ra ǂhore mū ǀna bi. tsīkχa ǂnāti ra hī hīab gye χama go tsau. ob gye ǂkχam ǀnoēba go uri ūhe tsīb go uri tsīkχa gye go sarugu. ob gye gai ǀnoēbā go uri ūhe, ob gye go ǂnāba hā ǀari tsīb gye go ǀguri ǂaru ǂkχi ǀkχamaba.

Übersetzung von LVII.

Der Löwe und der Silberschakal.

Der Löwe rief *(ǂgai, i. pass. narr.)* die Löffelhunde *(ǂǂān, comm. plur.)*, die Schakale *(ǀgīrin)*, die Silberschakale *(ǀkχaman, vgl. S. 454)*, die Erdmännchen *(ǂēn)*, die Erdwölfe *(ǀgīn)* [und] die Katzen *(ǂhōan)*, sie alle, zusammen und sagte:*) „Welcher Lausbub (*wörtl.: welches tari, Schamglied-Kindes tsoras ōa, Schamglied tsorab = Penis*) will *(nī, fut.)* mir *(tita, Pron.)* mit *(ǀkχa)* einem heißen *(ǀgamsa)* Eisen *(ǀuris)* [in] das Hinterloch *(tsoaba)* stechen *(ǀkχā)*?“

Und als *(o)* sie *(-gu, Suff.)* sich von ihrer Furcht erholt hatten *(aufhörten toa, sich zu fürchten ǀao)*, sagte der Schakal: „Ich *(ta, Suff.)* will erst *(aibe)* gehen *(si)*, das Kind der Schwester *(ǀgā, ohne Suff., kχoīs Mensch, fem.)* aller *(hoa)* [Menschen] rufen.“**) Sprach's und steckte *(ging ǀgūng, stecken ǂgā)* das Eisen in *(ǀna)* das Feuer *(ǀaēs)* des *(dī, nachgestellte Genitivpart. mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. regierenden Subst.)* Blasebalgs *(soasoab)* und machte sich auf den Weg. Und als er hinkam, ihn zu rufen, sagte jener: „Was *(taeē = tareē)* riefst du mich?“ Sprach's *(mī, i. partic. praeter.)* und ging.

Dann kamen sie an, und der Löwe sagte: „Welcher Lausbub will mir *(tita, Suff.)* Lausbuben das Hinterloch brennen *(dao)*?“ Jedoch *(χabe, mit Suff.)* der Silberschakal schwieg *(sprach kχom, nicht toma)*, nahm *(ū)* sein Knochenpfeifchen *(ǀhaīb, -ro Dim.)* heraus *(ǂui, im partic. praeter.)*, schlug Feuer *(ǂnan, verb.)* auf der Zunderdose *(dorosa)* und rauchte *(ǂgaē)* und sagte: „Ob ich es tue oder lasse *(wörtl.: ich werde es umsonst ǂause, tun dī)*, ich *(nē Demonstr.-Wurzel*

*) Als Provokation, um ungestraft einen Mord begehen zu können, aufzufassen.
**) Damit ist ein Silberschakal gemeint, der seine Sippe am besten repräsentiert.

m. d. Pers.-Suff.) werde ja doch gefangen *(!kχō)* werden. Es gibt ja *(gum---o)* nur einen einzigen *(!gui !guis)* Todestag!"*) Dann löschte er sein Knochenpfeifchen aus *(!ari, i. pass. narr.)* und steckte es ein *(ǂgū. i. pass. narr.).*

Als nun der Löwe da so *(ǁnāti)* lag *(ǁgoĕ),* fragte der Silberschakal *(-i, altes demonstr. Suff.)*: „Ist das Eisen nicht warm?" Und der Schakal antwortete: „Es ist warm geworden *(d. Suff. d. angered. 2. Pers. ist an die Part. d. praeter., go, angehängt),* du Kind meiner guten Kameradin *(*aos, Altersgenossin, vgl. S. 315)*!" Und es war heiß, undwie *(kχoma)* Blut *(!aob)* sieht es aus *(ī, verb.).* Da fragte der Löwe wieder: „Welcher Lausbub will mir Lausbuben das Hinterloch brennen?" Der Silberschakal aber antwortete: „Ich *(ti---ta)* Lausbub will dir das Hinterloch brennen!" Sagte es und brannte ihm das Hinterloch.

Dann jagten *(saru)* sie sich *(-gu Reziprok.-Part.).* Da kommt *(hā)* der Löwe heran, aber der Silberschakal weicht aus *(ǂgō)* und wischt *(*!hore)* ihm in die Augen *(mū, d. Suff. ist vor der Postposition weggelassen)* [mit seinem buschigen Schwanz]. Aber während die beiden es so treiben *(hī),* wurde der Löwe schlapp *(tsau).* Da sprang *(uri)* der Silberschakal mit *(ū, der verbale Ursprung der Postposition spricht sich noch in der angehängten Endung des pass. narr. aus)* ihm über einen jungen *(ǂkχam)* Hakjesdorn *(!noĕba),* aber auch der Löwe sprang, und sie jagten sich weiter. Da sprang der Silberschakal mit ihm über einen großen *(gai)* Hakjesdorn, da *(ǁnāba)* aber blieb der Löwe hängen *(hā !ari als einziger zurückbleiben),* und der Silberschakal kam allein *(!guri)* nach Haus *(ǁaru, verb.).*

LVIII.

ǂKχoaba gye !game !gīnas.

!Gīnas i gye ǂkχoaba gye !gamehe tsī gye ǁāhe ǂkχoab ǁgaūs ǁga tsīs gye ǁnābasi !gŏasa gye hō. okχa gye !gāsakχa ǁgūs doba gye tē: „sikχuma ga tarere !gāsa !kχa ǁora ǁarehe tomakχum hā?" tumi gye tē. os gye ǁgūsa: „tarere !gāsasa kχo gye ū hā," ti gye mī ǁgūsa „χabes gye

*) D. h.: Lang kann ich ja nicht zu Tode gequält werden. Oder: Einmal muß ich ja doch sterben. *tsēs* Tag, *ǁō* sterben, durch das Pers.-Suff. d. comm. sing. substantiviert.

nēba hā toma, ǁaiχa ǀhaos ǀna gye ǀgame," ti gye mī. okχa gye: „sikχum gye nī ǀgūng ǁnā ǁaiχa ǀhaos ǁga!" ti gye mī. os gye ǁgūsa: „ǀgamhe kχo nī χabe!" ti gye mī. χabekχa gye gye ǀgūng.

Tsīkχa gye ǀuī-a gye sī ǁaraga ǂnau hīa ǂkχoa ǀgōaron tsī ǀgāsas ākχa ōas. tsīn ta ǁaragu ǂnau hīa okχa gye hākχa go hais ǀna go ǂgā. tsīn go ǂnau, — ob gye ǀgāsas ākχa ōas di ǁaraba ǂnaus go ǁ(e)īkχa ǂnōaba sī go ǁgoē. os gye ǁarabas go hā o go ǂgaihe tsī go ǁamahe. tsīs gye ǁarabas go ǁ toa o go sī tsī: „sadu ǂgoaba ra ǂūdu ǂgoab ǁga ǀgūng, ēta tita daiē ra āta daiē ǁga ǀgūng!" ti gye mī. on gye ǂkχoarona ǂgoab ǁga gye ǀkχoē os gye ǀgīnarosa daiē ǁga ǀkχoē. tsīs gye sīs gye o: „aise, kχaī ē daiē sī mā te!" ti gye mī. os ǁgūsa kχaī toma os gye ra ā. os gye ǁgūsa gye kχaī tsī gye sī tsī si daiē gye ǂnaba sī. os gye: „tita go, aise, mū χūī, sī gōre!" ti gye mī.

Os gye ǀhaūba ǁ tsī go ǀgūng tsīs gye sī go mū kχā. tsī ǀgāba go tsuru tsī ǀgāb ǀna go ǁguiam kχā, arikχā hoakχā ǀkχa. tsī go sī ūkχā oms doba tsī oms ǀna ǀguri hā omsa go om tsī ǁnāba go ǁgoē gai kχā. okχa gye go ǁgoē tsī arikχā go mība: „tākχo gye nī — — — tumi, nī ā!" ti go mī. tsīs gye go gaira hā ǂkχoas doba go tē: „tita ga χare nēba ta gye ǀgame o ǀgora ǁgoase gūba ǂdaheta gye?" ti gye mī. os gye: „ti χaēb ǂarase, tareχas hugas mī toma χūna ra mī tsēē ga?" ti gye mī. os gye: „tēta ra!" ti gye mī. os gye: „ǂābahe tomas hā," ti gye mī tsī gye gūba ǂāba si. tsīs gye gye saī tsī ǁani gye o kχoēkχā ǁgoēba hai ǀoreb ǀna hora ǂai bi tsī gye kχoēkχā ǁgoēba maī bi.

Tsī ǂkχoab di ǀkχī ǁaēba gye ǀoa. os gye kχoēkχā gye mība: „hātsīb ga hā ǀgai okχo gye nī ǂguiti ǀkχō ǂgan!" ti go mī. tsīs gye sāē ra χon. os gye: „tareēs hō hā tsēē nē hugata ǀkχaba toma ǁamana ta ra ǀkχabaē?" ti go mī. os gye: „sadu ǀnata gye ǀgame ota sāē dīsen tite tidu ǂaī hā?" ti gye mī. tsī go ǀkχai.

Ob gye go ǀkχīhe tsī go kχom ǀgoaχab hīa. os gye: „ǂoa ē saoba mība!" ti go mī. os gye ǀgōarosa go ǂoa tsī go mība: „χūēda dī toma!" ti go mī. ob gye hā tsī oms χori hā go ǁgoē. tsī go ǀgai tsī go kχaī tsī go ǀgūng.

On gye ǁnā ǁaēb ai omsa go ǁkχoba tsī go ǀgai ǀgarub ai tsī go gaira gūs tsī ǂgī beris tsī ǂgī gomas tsīna go ǀgai maī tsī go bē. ob gye ǂkχoaba ǀgōaǀgon. on gye ǀgōasa ǀgaruba kχaos ǀkχāb ai go ǀoa ǂnū gai tsīs gye: „ǀgoaχahe gumo! gai ǁganaē ǁnauχaē, tsauē tsomχaē!" ti gye mī

„ǃgoaχahe gumo!“ ti gye mī. tsīkχa gye ǁnū ǁaēb ai daoba gye ǁgaū ǂgan tsīn gye ǁgoēam bi.

Os gye ǃgūngb gye ǁaēb ai gye mī: „ti ōatse, sats ga ǃgamhe ob gye nī ti kχao aiba gon,“ ti gye mī. tsīb gye ǁgoē amheb ha hīa gye ikχī. tsīb gye: „ǃgauta ra ǃgau i gye!“ ti gye mī tsī gye uri.· ob gye gōakχa ikχa gye ǁhaīhe okχa gye arikχa gye nā ǃan bi. os gye ǃgāsasa: „ǁoraaob gye ǃgam bi kχo ga o ǂoa aiba ǃgao kχaī!“ ti gye mī. okχa gye ǃgam bi kχa gye o gye ǃgao kχaī tsīn gye gye doē ǁaru.

Übersetzung von LVIII.

Die Fliege, die den Elefanten heiratet.

Die Fliege *(ǃgīnas)* war dem Elefanten *(ǂkχoaba)* angetraut worden *(ǃgamehe)* und war zu *(ǁga)* der Elefanten-Werft *(ǁgaūs)* gezogen *(ǁā)* und dort *(ǁnāba, mit dem vollen, selten gebrauchten Suffix der 3. pers. sing. fem.)* gebar *(hō)* sie eine Tochter *(ǃgōasa).* Da *(o, mit d. Pers.-Suff. des Subj. -kχa, dual. masc.)* fragten *(tē)* ihre beiden Brüder *(ǃgāsakχa)* bei *(doba)* der Mutter *(ǁgūsa)* an: „Sind wir *(sikχuma, pron. pers. 1. pers. dualis exclusivi masc.)* denn *(ga)* nicht *(toma, mit d. Pers.-Suff. des Subj.)* zusammen mit *(ikχa)* einer Schwester *(ǃgāsa, tarere weiblich)* geboren *(ǁora)*?“ So fragen sie. Darauf *(o)* die Mutter: „Eine Schwester besitzt *(Doppelverb: ū nehmen, hā bleiben)* Ihr *(kχo, dual. masc.)*“ spricht die Mutter, „aber *(χabe, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* sie ist nicht hier *(nēba),* in *(ǃna)* einen bösen *(ǁaiχa)* Volksstamm *(ǃhaos)* hat sie geheiratet“, sagt sie. Darauf erwidern die beiden: „Wir werden *(nī, Verb.-Part. d. Fut.)* zu *(ǁga)* dem bösen Volk dort *(ǁnā)* gehen *(ǃgūng)*!“ „Aber Ihr werdet getötet *(ǃgamhe)* werden!“ sagt die [Mutter]. Die beiden aber gingen.

Und gegen Abend *(ǃui Abend werden, verb.; a Verb.-Part., einen Zustand ausdrückend, beide hier wie zu einem Adverbium verbunden)* kamen *(sī)* sie hin, als gerade *(hīa)* die Elefantenkinderchen *(-ro, Diminutivpart.)* und die Tochter ihrer *(ā Possess.-Wurzel, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzer, -kχa)* Schwester die Arastöcke *(ǁaraga)* werfen *(ǂnau schlagen, s. Kinderspiele S. 313).* Und während sie die Stöcke werfen, gingen *(hā)* die beiden *(o, m. Pers.-Suff., den Nachsatz einleitend)* ins Gebüsch hinein *(ǂgā, verb.).* Nun werfen [die Kinder], — da *(o mit dem männl. Pers.-Suff. des Subj.)* kam *(sī)* der Stock der Tochter *(di,*

Genitivpartikel) ihrer Schwester, die *(-s in ǂnaus)* geworfen hatte, dort zu liegen *(ǁgoē)*, [wo] die beiden *(ǁ(e)ī̀kχa, pron. pers., 3. pers. dual. masc.)* saßen *(ǂnōa, ba deutet die Beziehung zu einem Objekt, hier dem Fliegenkind, an)*. Und als sie kam, den Stock zu nehmen *(ǁī)*, wird sie [von ihnen] gerufen *(ǂgaihe)* und gekost *(amahe; eigentl.: durch den Geruch, ǁamab, wie ein Hündchen anhänglich gemacht, S. 268)*. Und als sie den Stock aufgehoben hatte (*Doppelverb: ǁī nehmen und toa aufhören*), geht sie [zu den Elefantenkindern] und sagt: „Ihr *(sadu, 2. pers. comm. plur.)*, die Ihr Lehm*) *(ǂgoab)* eßt *(ǂū)*, geht zum *(ǁga)* Lehm! Laßt *(ē und, imperativisch)* mich *(-ta)*, die ich *(tita)* Milch *(daič, comm. sing.)* trinke *(ā)*, zur Milch gehen!" Da eilten *(ǀkχo͡ē)* die kleinen Elefanten zum Lehm, und die kleine Fliege eilte zur Milch hin. Und als *(o)* sie hinkam, sagt sie: „Mutter *(aise)*, steh auf *(kχaī)* und *(ē)* komm *(sī)*, gib *(mā)* mir *(te)* Milch!" So sagt sie. (*Die Frau sitzt nicht in ihrer eigenen, sondern in einer benachbarten Hütte.*) Die Mutter aber steht nicht auf, und die [Kleine] weint *(ā)*. Da steht die Mutter auf und geht hin und geht, ihr *(si)* Milch eingießen *(ǂnā, -ba Objekt betonende Verb.-Part.)*. Darauf [die Kleine]: „Mutter, ich habe etwas *(χūī)* gesehen, geh doch *(-re)* hin, [es] zu betrachten!" So sagt sie.

Da nahm sie einen Riemen *(ǀhaūba)* und ging und sah (*eigentl.: kam sehen*) die beiden (*-kχā, Suff. d. 3. pers. dual. masc. im Dat.-Acc.*). Dann rupfte *(tsuru)* sie Gras *(ǀgāba)* und wickelte *(ǁguiam)* die beiden, ihre beiden Hunde *(arikχa)*, alles *(hoa)* zusammen *(ǀkχa)* in das Gras. Dann brachte sie (*Doppelverb: sī gehen, ǁī nehmen*) die beiden zur Hütte *(oms)*, und in der Hütte baute *(om)* sie eine Sonderhütte (*ǀguri allein, hā bleiben*) und hieß *(gai)* die beiden sich legen. Da legten sie sich und schärften den Hunden ein *(mī sagen, -ba hebt die Beziehung zum Objekt hervor)*: „Ihr sollt *(nī)* nicht *(tā)* so**) *(tumi)* trinken *(ā)*!" So sagten sie. Die [Schwester] aber fragte bei der alten Elefantin an: „Als *(o)* ich

*) Der unter Hottentotten weit verbreitete Glaube, daß der Elefant sich von Lehm nährt, wird darauf zurückzuführen sein, daß diese Kolosse, wenn sie, wie einst, in Herden zum Wasser kamen, den Boden der Vlej von Grund aus aufwühlten. Sie soffen dann nicht nur schlammiges Wasser, sondern trugen an ihren Füßen auch soviel Schlamm mit fort, daß im Laufe der Zeit die Wasserstelle sich immer mehr, wie fortschreitend ausgefressen, vertiefte.

**) Der Erzähler ahmt hier das Schleckergeräusch saufender Hunde nach.

einst *(χare)* hier *(nēba)* heiratete, ist da ein kahl- *(ǃgora)* knieiger *(ǁgoasa adjekt., hier substantivisch ǁgoase[b])* Hammel *(gūb)* für mich *(ta, -ba s. oben)* geschlachtet worden*) *(ǂāhe)*?" Darauf sagte [die Alte]: „Du Frau *(tarase)* meines *(ti)* Sohnes**), warum *(tareχa, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* sprichst du auf einmal *(tsēē eines Tages)* von Dingen *(χūna)*, die du *(-s in hugas)* niemals *(huga von jeher, toma nicht)* besprichst?" Doch jene erwiderte: „Ich *(-ta)* frage *(tē)* eben!" Da sagte [die Alte]: „Für [dich] ist nicht geschlachtet worden", und schlachtete ihr *(si)* einen Hammel. Dann kochte *(saī)* [die junge Frau] ihn, und als er gar *(ǁan)* ist, schöpft sie ihn *(bi)* den beiden wartenden *(ǁgoē liegen, -ba objektivier. Part.)* Männern in *(ǃna)* die Holzschüssel *(hai ǃoreb)* aus *(ǂui)* und stellt *(maī)* ihn den wartenden Männern hin.

Und die Zeit *(ǁaēba)*, da der Elefant anzukommen *(ǃkχī)* pflegt *(wörtl.: die Komm-Zeit d. E., di Genitivpartikel)*, ist erfüllt *(ǃoa)*. Da ermahnt [die Fliege] die beiden Männer: „Wenn er, angekommen *(hā kommen, tsī Verb.-Part. d. partic. praeter.)*, rülpst *(ǃgai. wörtl.: rülpsen kommt)*, dann haltet die Nasenlöcher *(ǂguiti)* zu!" *(Doppelverb: *ǃkχō fassen, ǂgan zudecken)* So sagt sie. Dann zerreibt *(χon)* sie Buchupuder***) *(sāē comm. sing.)*. Da sagt [die Alte]: „Was *(tareē)* für Gerüche *(ǁamana, comm. plur.)*, die ich noch nie gewittert *(ǃkχaba)* habe, kriege *(hō)* ich heute *(an diesem nē, Tage tsēē, comm. sing.)* zu wittern?" *(ē Fragepartikel)*. [Die Fliege] aber entgegnete: „Denkt *(ǂaī, ti so)* Ihr *(sadu, 2. pers. comm. plur.)*, da ich [in Euch] hineingeheiratet habe, soll ich mir *(-sen, Reflexivendung)* nicht *(tite, Verb.-Part. d. fut. neg.)* Buchupuder machen *(dī)*?" Dann wurde es dunkel *(ǃkχai)*.

Da kam der [Elefant], und während *(hīa)* er ankam *(ǃgoaχa, m. dem männl. Pers.-Suff., -b)*, redete *(kχom)* er [um sich bemerkbar zu

*) Es ist Hottentottensitte, daß die Schwiegermutter zum Empfang der jungen Frau, die in die Werft des Mannes einzieht, ein Stück Vieh schlachtet. Die Schwiegertochter tut dann desgleichen. Wenn dieses festliche Schlachten bei gut Situierten unterbleibt, so ist das eine Verletzung der guten Sitte, eine Unfreundlichkeit gegen die junge Frau.

**) Die rohe Auffassung des Familienlebens, unter der die junge Frau zu leiden hat, wird im Munde der alten Elefantin dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß sie von ihrem Sohn nicht als dem Mann, den sie geboren *(ǒab)*, sondern den sie ervögelt hat *(χaē* den Coitus vollziehen*)*, spricht.

***) Das wohlriechende Pulver soll den Geruch der Brüder, den die alte (als blind gedachte) Elefantin wittern könnte, verdecken. Daß die Alte den Duft des Buchu, dieses Nationalparfüms der Hottentotten, nicht kennt, ist eine weitere Illustration dafür, wie fremd die junge (hier als Fliege gedachte) Frau in der Familie des Elefanten geblieben ist.

machen]. Da sagte [die Fliege zum Kinde]: „Geh hinaus *(ǂoa)* und *(ē)* berichte*) deinem Vater *(ǂaoba)*!“ So sagte sie. Da ging die kleine Fliege hinaus und meldete: „Wir *(-da, Suff. d. 1. pers. plur. comm.)* machen nichts *(χūē etwas, toma nicht)*!“ So sagte sie. Da kommt er heran und kommt, sich neben *(χōb Wange, ri an)* die Hütte zu legen. Dann rülpste er, dann stand er auf *(kχaī)*, dann ging er seiner Wege.

Sie (*-n, Suff. d. 3. pers. comm. plur.*) aber rissen *(ǁkχoba)* alsdann *(zur ai, Zeit ǁaēba, da ǁnā)* die Hütte ab und packten sie auf einen Tragochsen *(ǃgarub)* und banden *(ǃgai maī)* ein altes *(gaira)* Schaf *(gūs)* und eine blinde *(ǂgī)* Ziege *(biris)* und eine blinde Kuh *(gomas)* fest**) und machten sich davon *(bē, verb.)*. Der Elefant aber setzte ihnen nach *(ǃgōaǃgon)*. Doch sie hatten die Tochter rücklings *(kχaos hinten, ǁkχāb Körper, ǃoa nach hin)* auf dem Tragochsen sitzen *(ǂnū)* lassen *(gai)*, die [sieht ihn] und ruft: „Ja *(gumo)*, er kommt an! *(ǃgoaχa, passivisch ausgedrückt)*, [breit wie] ein weitästiger *(ǁnauχaē)* Giraffenbaum *(ǁganaē, comm. sing.)*, [wuchtig wie] einer der einen Brunnen *(tsauē)* zutrampeln *(tsom)* kann! (*-χa, Adjektivendung*). Er kommt an, wahrlich!“ ruft sie. Und nun versperrten (*Doppelverb: *ǁgau aus Zweigen einen Kraal machen, ǂgan zudecken*) sie den Weg *(daoba)* und lauerten *(*ǁgoē am)* ihm *(bi)* auf.

Zur Zeit aber, als er wegging, sagte [die alte Elefantin]: „Mein Sohn *(ōatse, Voc. masc.)*, falls *(o und ga)* du *(sats, masc.)* getötet wirst, wird [mir als Zeichen dessen] mein Hinterteil *(kχao aiba)* zittern *(gon)*!“ So sagt sie. Und während ihm aufgelauert wird, kommt er und ruft: „[Darüber] springe *(ǃgau)* ich, springen tue ich darüber!“ *(i, Hilfszeitwort.)* Da werfen *(ǁhaī, passivisch ausgedrückt)* sie mit den beiden Assagais *(gōakχa)* und die beiden Hunde beißen *(nā)* ihn tot *(ǃan im Sinne von getötet, im Gegensatz zu ǁō verendet)*. Und die Schwester sagte: „Wenn ihr den Kindermacher *(ǁora zeugen, aob Mann)* tötet, dann schneidet *(ǃgao)* [ihm] die Schamteile *(ǂoa aiba)* ab!“ *(*kχaī etwas oberflächlich, oben aufschneiden)*. Und als die beiden

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*) Der liebevolle Familienvater treibt sich tagsüber im Feld herum, kommt nur abends zur Hütte, geht aber nicht hinein, sondern läßt sich nur vom Kinde berichten, daß alles in Ordnung sei: „Wir machen nichts!“ d. h.: „Es ist nichts vorgefallen!“

**) Alles übrige Vieh trieben sie mit fort.

ihn getötet hatten, schnitten sie [die Scham] ab und zogen *(doč)* nach Haus *(ǂaru heimkehren)*.

LIX.

χūna gye ǀgū dī hā i ǂkχoab.

ǂKχoab χa i gye haga ǀnū ǀguruna gye ǀgū dī hā i tsīn gye mā ǁgoas hoasa ra ǀkχam aihe. tsī ǀuriſeb ǁhōba kχao ǀoa ra tomaba ra horaga ǁūba ra ǀkχam aihe tsī nauna ǂkχarirose ǀgui ra ǀkχam aihe tsīn gye ra kχao ǀgūng. tsīn gye nauna ǁhōga ra kχao ǀoa ra ob gye ǀuriſeba ǁnā kχaos ai ǂnōa χūroï ǀkχa ra ǀkχī. tsīn gye hā ra mā tsīn gye mā toatsī ra ǀgūng. tsī ǁgoas ta ǁgoa o ǀkχī tsī ǁhōga ǁī tsī ra ǀgūng ǀkχam ai toahen ta o.

Ob gye ǀuriſeba ǀgui tsē ǀabesa go hō tsīb gye āga go χoro tsīb gye gaise ǂkχari χūron ǀkχa ra ǀkχī. ob gye āga go χoro ǀoa o ǀgūng nī ǁnačb go ǀoa o ǀhomros ai sī go ǂnū gōaba ūtsī ob gye go ǂgai ob gye ſeba: „ǀkχam aitets tite nē tsē!" ti go mī.

Ob gye go ǀnoba ſeb ǁga ob gye go ǁhai-nī ſeba. ob gye go ǀkχoč ǀgon bi ob gye sī go ǂgū āb ǀna. ob gye ǂkχoaba go sī tsī go ǂai āb ǀna ob gye ǂuitsī go dā ǀkχomi nī ga go āb ǂamǀnā dā. ob gye ſeba go uri ǂora tsī ǀkχara āb ǀna sī go ǂgū. ob gye ǁnāba ǁkχaba go sī ob gye ǂgaos ai go ǀkχāhe ſeb χa.

Übersetzung von LIX.

Der Elefant, der allerhand Wesen zu Dienstknechten macht.

Der Elefant hatte vierbeiniges *(haga ǀnūb)* Raubzeug *(*ǀguruna, comm. plur., Sammelbegriff für alles bösartige Getier)* zu Dienstknechten gemacht, und Morgen für Morgen *(wörtl.: an welchem? mā, — an jedem hoasa, Morgen ǁgoas)* werden sie *(-n in tsīn, Suff. d. 3. pers. comm. plur.)* bepißt*) *(ǀkχam, ai auf)*.

Das weiße *(ǀuri mit euphon. n)* Erdmännchen *(ſeb)* aber, das *(-ba Suff. in tomaba)* den Knappsack *(ǁhōba)* nicht *(toma)* voll *(ǀoa)* [Feldzwiebeln] gräbt *(kχao)*, wird über und über *(*hōraga)* mit Harn *(ǁūba)* bepißt, die anderen *(*nauna, comm. plur.)* werden nur *(ǀgui*

*) Damit sie guten Fund machen, — seltsamer Aberglaube.

einzig) ein klein wenig *(ǂχari klein, -ro Diminutivpart., -se Adverbialendung)* bepißt; dann gehen *(ǃgüng)* sie graben. Und die anderen graben die Knappsäcke voll, aber das weiße Erdmännchen kommt *(ǃkχī)* mit *(ǃkχa)* Schundkram *(χūs Ding, -ro dimin., i Pers.-Suff. comm. sing.)*, der da *(ǁnā)* hinten *(kχaos ai)* [im fast leeren Sack] sitzt *(ǂnōa)*. Dann kommen *(hā)* sie her, [die Feldzwiebeln] abzugeben *(mā)*, und wenn *(-tsī, particip. praet.)* sie fertig *(toa aufhören)* abgegeben haben, gehen sie. Wenn *(o)* dann der Morgen anbricht *(ǁgoa)*, kommen sie und nehmen *(ū)* die Knappsäcke und gehen, nachdem *(o am Schluß d. Satzes)* sie *(-n in toahen)* fertig bepißt worden sind *(ta hinter s euph. für ra, Verb.-Part. d. fortschr. Handlung)*.

Da fand *(hō)* das weiße Erdmännchen eines *(ǃgai)* Tages *(tsē)* Rat *(ǃabesa)*: es grub *(χoro)* Löcher *(āga, masc. plur.)* und kommt mit ganz *(gai groß, -se Adv.-Endg.)* kleinen Zwiebelchen an. Als es aber die Löcher fertig gegraben hatte und die Zeit *(ǁaēba, gemeint ist d. nächste Morgen)*, da sie gehen sollten *(nī, Verb.-Part. d. Fut.)*, erfüllt *(ǃoa)* war, geht *(sī)* es auf *(ai)* einen Hügel *(ǃhomi Berg, -ro Diminut.)*, sich setzen *(ǂnū)*, nachdem *(tsī, Part. d. particip. praet.)* es einen Assagai *(gōaba)* genommen hatte, und rief *(ǂgai)*: „Aufpissen wirst du *(-ts, Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. sing.)* mir *(-te, Suff.)* heute *(nēǃtsē)* nicht!" *(tite Part. d. Fut. negat.)* So rief es.

Da ging *(ǃnoba)* [der Elefant] auf *(ǁga nach hin)* das Erdmännchen los, aber das Erdmännchen entfloh *(ǁhai, nī Part. d. Futur. drückt hier, mit dem Verb zu einem Begriff verschmolzen, die Erwartung d. Verfolgung aus)*. Da setzte er ihm *(-bi, Suff.)* nach *(ǃkχoē laufen, ǃgon hinterher)*, doch [das Erdmännchen] ging in *(ǃna)* ein Loch hinein *(ǂgū, verb.)*. Da ging der Elefant hin und spähte *(ǂai)* in das Loch, und nachdem *(tsī, Part. d. Particip. praeter.)* er hineingespäht hatte, trat *(dā)* er, daß *(ga)* ein Einsturz *(ǃkχomi)* geschehen sollte, trat er von oben *(ǂam)* in das Loch. Das Erdmännchen aber sprang *(uri)* heraus *(ǂora)* und schlüpfte *(ging hineingehen)* in ein anderes *(ǃkχara)* Loch. Da kam jener wieder *(ǁkχaba)* dort *(ǁnāba)* hin, da wurde er ins Herz *(ǂgaos)* gestochen *(ǃkχā)* vom *(χa)* Erdmännchen.

Seitdem leben die Erdmännchen unbehelligt in Erdlöchern. Ihr Fell aber ist weißgelb geblieben von dem täglichen Morgenguß.

LX.

Gai ǂaob ǂgaũs ǂga gye sari ǂgõati.

ǂGõati ǂa i gye gye sarihe os gye gãtsi/hamabesa gye sao ǂgãsasa, oti gye ra ǂhai ǂaba si. os gye ǂnũ tsĩ, bẽti ra o, ǂkǂoẽ ǂgon tsĩ ra sĩ, oti gye ǂkǂaba ra ǂhai ǂaba si. tsĩ ǂnãtis ta hĩ hĩati gye go bẽ ǂgaũsa ǂu. oti gye go ũ. tsĩti gye go sĩ tsĩti gye go ǂaobahe daina. tsĩs gye gãtsi-/hamabesa gomasa gai ǂaob ǂnõa ãb ams ai gomasa go ǂhaũbahe tsĩ go ãba /horos ǂkǂa ǂnũi aihe. tsĩs gye go daru gaihe gomasa tsĩs gye gomas di sama ra ǂkǂõ, os gye /horosa ra gon. os gye gomasa ra ǂkǂĩ sam tsĩs gye gomasa ra uri. os gye: „ti ǂnaos ũ te a gomas!" ti ra mĩ tsĩ go ǂkǂĩ oms doba. tsĩti gye ǂnuiba go mãhe tsĩti gye go sobosen. os gye gãtsi/hamabesa sobosen ǂgao toma hã. tsĩ gye go ǂkǂaẽ. o i gye ǂnamiroba ũ ǂuihe tsĩ haite ra sau ǂamhe. os gye ra tẽ tarasa: „taeẽs ta sau ǂamba haina?" ti go mĩ. „ǂari ta nĩ ǂgũnuna ora ũ garo haiti!" ti go mĩ.

Tsĩs gye ǂomti go o ǂnãǂaus oms doba go sĩ tsĩ go tẽ, mã ǂaẽb aib ta ǂkǂĩ ǂkǂaiẽ. os gye ǂnãǂausa: „tsũǂub gaib ai ga ra gara ǂoaroba ǂgom o ra ǂkǂĩ," ti go mĩ. o i gye sĩ go ǂgoẽhe, ǂaẽsu kǂau ǂkǂõaǂkǂõahe tsĩ ǂkǂoros tsĩ haiti tsĩ garosa ǂgoas tsĩna ũhe tsĩ oms ams ai go ǂgoẽhe.

Tsĩb gye gara ǂoaroba go ǂgom os gye go kǂaĩ mã tsĩ go ǂnũ. tsĩb gye go ǂkǂĩ tsĩs gye go ǂkǂã bi tsĩb gye ǂkǂã si, os gye garosa ǂgoaros ǂkǂa go ǂkǂau bi tsĩ go ǂkǂã bi tsĩ ǂkǂurub ǂkǂa go gan bi tsĩs gye go ǂgam bi. tsĩ kǂoẽna ǂgam toatsĩb ta ǂnũ ǂkǂais ai sĩ go ǂnũi bi. tsĩ go kǂoẽte ǂkǂaiǂkǂai tsĩti gye go bẽ tsĩti bẽ hã hĩas gye ǂgoasa go ǂgoa.

Tsĩn gye go gomate ǂao tsĩs gye- soresa go ǂhai ǂgabi. os gye sanugyeõaseb ǂga: „sa ǂnaoba sĩ ǂkǂaiǂkǂai! daba g ra ǂgõas go ǂkǂĩ hã i, ǂuigye," ti go mĩ. ob gye sĩ go ǂkǂaiǂkǂai, ob gye: „ĩnĩ te ra ti ǂnaob!" ti go mĩ. os gye ǂarasa aitsoma go sĩ tsĩ go mũ ǂõb ǂaoba hã ǂkǂaisa tsĩ: „ǂan ǂoẽ go nẽba ǂom ǂgõati ǂa ǂgamhe hã sa ǂnaob!" ti go mĩ. ob gye sanugyeõaseba: „ti ǂnaob gauǂa ǂkǂã ǂkǂõs ǂguisa ra mã te ba---a!" tumi go ã.

Os gye ǂnaũs go o: „ama ǂgama ǂgã, ama ǂgama ǂgã!" tumi ra ǂnubu. os gye ǂaob tarasa: „ǂgaeǂaus, taeĩ tis ta mĩ?" ti go tẽ. os gye: „ǂguise mã ǂgari aob gum ǂã ǂkǂãhe ra ǂũba o, tita gye ra mĩ."

Tsîli gye ǂaru siti go o ǂās ta χaîhe hîa o ǀgaute ǂgā maī tsī go ǂās ǂga ǀgūng. os gye ǂaob tarasa ǂkχī tsī gātsi/hamabes ǀgaus ǀna hā go ǂgā. os gye gātsi/hamabesa ǀgausa go ôa tsī go mū tsī: „ti ǀgaus gye ti ǂoa tomasa!“ ti go mī tsī haiba go ǂī tsī go ǂkχora ǂnā tsī ǂaēs ǀna go ǂgā ǀgausa. tsîs gye go ǂō ǂaob tarasa.

Übersetzung von LX.

Die Mädchen, die die Werft der Riesenschlange besuchen.

Die Mädchen *(ǀgōati)* gingen auf Besuch *(sari, i. pass. narr.)*, und Gatsinghamabes (*s. S. 452 unten und S. 454, No. 24*) lief ihrer *(sa)* Schwester *(ǀgāsa)* nach *(sao, verb.)*, aber die Mädchen (*durch d. Pers.-Suff. ti ausgedr.*) jagen sie *(si, Suff.)* zurück *(ǂhai daba)*. Da setzte *(ǂnū)* sie sich hin, und als *(o)* jene [weiter-]gehen *(bē)*, eilt *(ǂkχoē)* sie hinterher *(ǀgon)* und holt sie ein (*kommt hin*), die aber jagen sie wieder *(ǂkχaba)* zurück. Und während *(hîa, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz)* sie es also *(ǂnā Demonstr., ti so, -s Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. im Vordersatz)* treibt *(hĪ)*, entfernten *(bē)* sie sich von *(χu)* der Werft *(ǂgaũsa)*. Da ließen sie ab *(ǂū, verb.)*, und die Kleine kommt mit.

Dann kommen sie hin [zur Werft der Schlange] und molken *(ǂao, i. pass. narrat.)* sich *(-ba, objektivir. Verb.-Part.)* Milch *(daina, comm. plur.)*. Die Kuh *(gomasa)* der Gatsinghamabes aber wurde vor *(ams ai)* dem Loch *(°āb)*, [in dem] die Riesen- *(gai groß)* Schlange *(ǂaob)* saß *(ǂnōa)*, für sie *(-ba, s. oben)* gespannt *(ǂhaũ, mit d. Riemen werden die Hinterbeine zusammengekoppelt)* und das Loch mit *(ǂkχa)* Kuhmist *(ǂhoros)* zugedeckt *(ǂnūi setzen, ai auf)*. Dann wurde ihr geheißen *(gai)*, die Milch sich in den Mund zu melken *(daru)*, und sie faßte *(°ǂkχō)* das Euter *(sama)* der Kuh *(di, Genitivpart.)*, — da bewegte sich *(gon)* der Kuhmist. Da kniff *(ǂkχī)* sie das Euter der Kuh, und die Kuh machte einen Sprung *(uri, verb.)*. Dann sagt sie: „Großmutter*) *(ǂī ǂnaos)*, die Kuh ist nicht an mich gewöhnt!“ *(ǂū nicht kennen)*, und ging zur Hütte. Dann wurde ihnen Fett *(ǂnuib)* gegeben *(mā)*, und sie schmieren sich**) *(sobosen)*. Aber Gatsing-

*) Ehrerbietige Anrede an die Frau und Heilmeisterin der Riesenschlange, die als männliches Wesen gedacht ist.

**) Die Hottentotten schmieren sich, wenn sie einmal besonders gut schlafen wollen, abends mit Fett ein. Die damit verbundene Massage hat in der Tat einschläfernde Wirkung. Die Kleine will auch bleiben und weint deshalb die Wohltat zurück.

hamabes will *(ǂgao. hã drückt hier die Beharrlichkeit d. Kleinen aus)* sich nicht *(toma)* schmieren. Dann wurde es dunkel *(ǂkχaĕ. verb.)*. Nun zog sie ein kleines *(-ro. Diminut.)* Schneideisen *(ǂnamib, ein gescharftes Stückchen Blech)* heraus *(ũ tui)* und spitzte *(sau sam)* Hölzer *(haitc. euphon. für -ti)*. Da fragte *(tẽ)* die Frau: „Was *(taeĕ verkürzt aus tareĕ)* spitzest du *(-s)* [dir] Hölzer?" Das Mädchen aber sagt: „Morgen *(ǂari)* will *(nĩ)* ich *(-ta, Suff.)* mit *(ũ)* harter *(garo)* Stöcken *(haiti)* Gunuzwiebeln*) *(ᵐǂgũnuna. comm. plur.)* losbrechen *(ora)*."

Und als sie schliefen *(ǂõm)*, ging sie zur Hütte der Heuschrecke *(ǂnãǁaus)* und fragte, zu *(ai. mit dem Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* welcher *(mã)* Zeit *(ǂaĕb)* die [Riesenschlange] hervorkäme *(ǂkχaiĕ. Part. d. indir. Rede)*. Da sagte die Heuschrecke: „Zur Mitternacht

Methone andersoni Stal, ♀ (Oedipodide) von Kubub. nat. Gr.

(tsũχub gaib) wohl *(ga. Potentialis)*, wenn *(o)* ein kühler *(gara)* Luftzug *(ǂoab Wind, -ro Diminut.)* weht *(ǂgom)*, kommt sie." Darauf ging Gatsinghamabes, sich hinlegen, brannte *(kχau)* ein Feuer *(ǂaĕsa)* an, die Erde ringsum zu erhitzen *(ᵐǂkχõankχõa)*, und ein Kehrholz *(ǂkχoros)* und die Hölzer und ein hartes *(garosa)* Bettfell *(ǂgoas)*, das alles *(tsĩ und. -na comm. plur.)* stellt sie bereit *(ũ nehmen)* und legt sich [innen] an den Eingang *(ams Mund)* der Hütte nieder.

Und der kühle Luftzug wehte, und sie richtete sich auf *(kχaĩ und mã)* und setzte sich *(ǂnã)*. Da kam die Schlange *(durch das an tsĩ angehängte Pers.-Suff. -b, Accus. bi, ebenso kurz ausgedrückt, wie durch das folgende -s und si das Mädchen als Subj. resp. Obj. bezeichnet ist)*, und Gatsinghamabes stach *(ǂkχã)* sie, und die Schlange stieß nach Gatsinghamabes, aber die wehrte *(ǂkχau)* sie mit dem harten Bettfell ab und stach sie und bedeckte *(ᵐgan)* sie mit heißer Erde *(ᵐǂkχurub)* und tötete *(ǂgam)* sie. Dann legte sie das Tier *(bi, siehe*

*) Eine eßbare Babiana-Art (Iridaceae).

oben) auf den Platz *(tkχais)*, wo (*der ganze Relativsatz ist hier wie üblich ohne Relativwort dem zugehörigen Substantiv vorangestellt*) es sich niederläßt, nachdem *(tsî. Part. d. Partic. praeteril., hinter toa aufhören)* es die Menschen fertig getötet hat. Dann weckte *(tkχûi erwachen, verdoppelt: wecken)* sie die Mädchen *(kχoõĭe Menschen, fem. plur.)*, und sie gingen weg, und während *(hîa, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz)* sie weggingen, brach *(tgoa)* der Morgen *(tgoasa)* an.

Jene aber (*die Leute in der Werft der Schlange, durch das Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. comm. -n ausgedrückt*) molken die Kühe, und die Sonne *(soresa)* ging hoch auf *(Doppelverb: thai u. tgabi)*. Da sagte [die Frau der getöteten Schlange] zur Schwippschlange *(sanugyeõaseb. s. S. 454, No. 30)*: „Geh, deinen *(sa, Stamm des pron. person. 2. pers. sing. fem., unter Weglassung d. Genitivpartikel di, als pron. possess. gebr.)* Großvater *(tnaob)* wecken! Das Mädchen, das seine Augen überall hat *(wörtl.: dreht daba, und schaut gō)*, war da, deshalb *(tuigye)* [bin ich in Sorge]", sagte sie. Da kam jene hin, zu wecken, und sagte: „Gar scheel sieht *(tni)* mich *(ti)* mein Großvater an!" Da kam die Frau selbst *(aitsoma)* hin und sah, daß die Schlange tot *(ti)* [da lag], und sagte: „Von *(tga)* den Mädchen, die gestern Abend *(tsan toĕ)* hier *(nîba)* schliefen, ist dein Großvater getötet worden!" Darauf die Schwippschlange: „Mein Großvater, der mir *(angedeutet durch das objektivierende -ba, hier laut heulend ausgezogen)* immer nur *(tguisa einzig, auf tkχûs Knochen bezogen)* Knochen mit viel Fett *(gaub Fett, -ga die Menge ausdr., tkχûb Leib)* gibt!" So heulte *(ā)* sie.

Als aber die [Heuschrecke] das hörte *(tnaũ, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)*, [sagte sie]: „Wär' es doch wahr *(ama)*, daß sie am Boden liegt! *(wörtl.: daß ihr Rücken tgûb, tief ist °tguma.)* Wär' es doch wahr, daß sie am Boden liegt!" So spricht sie im Takt, wie die Butterkalabas rollt *(wörtl.: so buttert sie, tsuba)*. Da fragte *(ti)* die Frau der Schlange: „Heuschrecke, was (°*tuĭi* = *tarei*) redest du da?" *(ti, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. ungen. 3. pers. fem.)* Doch sie [antwortete]: „Einem einzig *(tguise, adv.)* dastehenden *(mâ)*, tüchtigen *(tguri)* Mann wird

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*) Die *sanugyeõaseb* genannte Schlange wird als komische Figur gezeichnet: Ihre Dummheit gibt sich darin zu erkennen, daß sie die verdrehten Augen der getöteten Riesenschlange als Ausdruck schlechter Laune auffaßt. Dann vergleicht der Hottentott in ihr auch jene minderwertige Trauer einem Kreisgingen, der seinen Wohlsitter nur beweint, weil seine eigenen guten Tage nun zu Ende sind.

ja unn *(gum---o)* ein Vieh *(wörtl.: ein Ding, masc.)* als Totenopfer geschlachtet *(°ǂâikχē)*, das sagte ich!"°)

Als aber die Mädchen nach Haus *(tara, verb.)* kamen, und zur selben Zeit der Riedtanz *(ǂâi)* geblasen *(gai)* wurde, hingen *(tgē, und mit setzen)* sie die Buchusäckchen *(°ǂgaxte, fem. plur., s. S. 240 unten)* auf und gingen *(ǂgûng)* zum Riedtanz. Da kommt die Frau der Schlange und schlüpft *(hâ herkommen, tgē hineingehen)* in das Buchusäckchen der Gatsinghamabes. Dann suchte *(ǂa)* Gatsinghamabes das Buchusäckchen und sah hin und sagte: „Mein *(ti)* Buchusäckchen ist nicht so *(ti)* voll *(ma)*!"°°), und nimmt einen Stock und holt es herunter *(ǂkyara ma)* und in das Feuer steckt sie das Buchusäckchen. Da kam die Frau der Schlange um.

LXI.

ǂHarebob tsî ǂâb tsî ǂanagyeiguieb tsîgu ǂgu gye ǂâsa a aru ǂgûng ǂgâatε.

ǂGâati ge i gye. kχoâgu gye ǂâîε ǂî tsî a ǂgîng o. gye ǂgî°ǂhe aruba nî ga. tsîgu gye go χoî. ob gye ǂaotsingamabeba: „nî tsî ni ǂanisen a ǂan!" tumi ra χoî.

Os gye gôtsiǂhamabesa go maâ ǂî tsî kχoâtε ǂî tsî go bî. tsîti gye ǂkχuba ǂâb ǂna si go ǂgâ tsî mâi ǂkχomi ǂkχa go ǂgan am. tsîti gye ǂanagyeiguieb ta gô o ra ǂkχoba am. ob gye: „maâ ǂnâa, maâ ǂnâa, ǂhaî ǂgoragu guigu hatti!"

Tsîgu gye nauga ra gû, oti gye mâi ǂkχomi ǂkχa ra ǂgan am, egu gye: „Ikχa, ǂhumits gum satsa ob!" — „ti ǂkχûb ao, maâ ǂnâa ǂgâatî!" ti ra mî. egu gye: „satsa hâ ǂgye sigye ǂgûng!" ti go mî tsî go ǂgûng.

Oti gye go ǂoatχa, ǂanagyeiguieb ǂguîb go ǂgau o, tsî: „ǂgâsi tsî ǂâ, χûgye ǂgûng ǂîs ǂgumâ s' ab!" ti go mî." tsîb go ǂgûng, oti gye go ǂgûng bî.

Übersetzung von LXI.

Die Mädchen, die zum Honigfresser, zum Erdmännchen und zum Anagyeieb-Käfer gingen, um mit ihnen den Riedtanz zu tanzen.

Die Mädchen *(ǂgâatî)* waren, als *(a)* die Männer *(kχoâgu Menschen, masc. plur.)* die Riedpfeifen *(ǂâîε, fem. plur.)* nahmen *(ǂî)* und

°) Die Zweideutigkeit dieser Worte: Tumor um den Tanz oder bewußte Erwartung des Totenschmauses? ist beabsichtigte Kränkung.

°°) D. h.: „Sie voll kann ich mein Buchusäckchen nicht vorfinden. Da muß etwas nicht gehören wie."

fortgingen *(ǂgûng, a ist hier Präsenspart.)*, [auch] gegangen, um *(ti, Fut.-Part., gu, Infinit.)* mitzuspielen *(ᵓǂ-ra, i. pass. narr.)*. Dann bliesen *(gui)* jene [auf den Rieden]. Der Miethäfer aber blies: „Heute *(ti ti)* werden sie sich *(-am, Refl.-Part.)* mit ihrem Blut *(ûm)* bespritzen!“ ᵓ)

Doch Gatsinghamabes verstand es gut *(tsaã hâren, ǂã auskreiten, klarlegen)* und nahm die [anderen] Mädchen [mit sich] und eilte fort *(ǂã, verb.)*. Dann gingen *(ti)* sie in *(ma)* eine Erdferkel- *(ikyuba)* Höhle *(ãb)* hinein *(ngã, verb.)* und schlossen *(ngun ausdecken, am Mund)* die Öffnung mit *(ikya)* einem Spinnennetz *(nãi ǂgami)*. Als aber der Honigfresser [hinein-]schaut *(gã, ta ausdem für ra)*, öffnen *(ikyuba am)* sie. Da ruft der Honigfresser: „Dort *(ma)* sitzen *(ndia)* sie! Dort sitzen sie, die Kinder *(ǂaã)* der großen *(gui, mit d. Suff. d. ausgetrigen Subst., weil diesem nachgestellt)* Schmutzkrusten- *(ǂaã)* Schamglieder *(ǂgurugu)*!“

Ein *tsaugyetgaisb*-Käfer (a. S. 456, No. 921)

Dann sehen die anderen *(ᵓnaugu)* hinein, die Mädchen aber schließen [alsbald die Höhle wieder] mit dem Spinnennetz. Da rufen jene: „Ei *(kya)*, du *(satsa)* lügst *(thumi)* ja doch *(gum - - - a)*!“ — „Bei Gott! *(um meinem Ei, Herrn ikyãb, meinem du)* dort sitzen die Mädchen!“ antwortet der Honigfresser. Jene aber sagten: „Bleibe *(hã)* du hier, und *(ti, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* wir *(nigye, Pron. d. 1. pers. masc. plur. exclusiv)* gehen!“ *(i. imperativischem Sinn)*. Und sie gingen [zum Wasser].

Die Mädchen aber kamen heraus *(nuaya, verb.)*, sie einzig *(ǂguã)* der Honigfresser zurückgeblieben *(ǂgui)* war, und [spotteten]: „Du wirst verdursten! *(ᵓngã dürsten, -si geht d. Verb kennz. Sinn, tsi dich, ãb umkommen)*. Darum *(ǂkye)* lauf und *(mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. ungerad. Pers.)* geh, Wasser *(ǂgumi, comm. sing.)* trinken *(ã)*!“ Da ging er und die Mädchen eilten davon.

LXII.

ǂAmãb tsi ekyurãb tsikya.

ǂAmãb tsi ekyurãb tsikya ya i gye gye kha: ramãb ya i gye: „nakyam ya-ka si tsha ǂgurise ǂkyai!“ ti go nkha.

ᵓ) *nami*, verb., bedeutet: a) das schnelle Hin- und Herschlenkern des Kopfes beim Reiten und Pferd; b) die ähnliche Bewegung der Hand beim Wasserausspringen, dabei: bespritzen.

Ob gye ǂkxuriba ǂkxurigu go ŋgui ǂhao ti̇ go mā xangu gui. tikya gye go ǂhao ti̇ go ǂkxoē xare.

Tuīb gye ǂnoahoakya ui tamā ai go oā yu hi. tuīb gye xamiba: „ǂkxurib!" ti go mi, ob gye: „hi!" ti go mi. ob gye xamiba nexoba ŋgūse hā ti oaitui go ǂkxoē. tui ǂkxoba ui toob go o: „ǂkxuri---hi!" ti go mi. ob gye: „hi!" ti go mi ǂkxuriba.

Tui tāti go ǂkxi ǂkxurib doba. tikya gye go xaru; yabeb gye nau ǂkxurib ŋguib ti oai hā.

Übersetzung von LXII.

Der Strauß und die Schildkröte.

Mit dem Strauß und der Schildkröte begab es sich so: (*adrtl.: —, die beiden wurden gemacht Hhe*). Der Strauß sagte: „Von (*ge*) uns beiden (*tsākxam, Pron. d. 1. pers. masc. dual. inclusiv*) werde (*ti*) ich (*ti, Suff. und tita, Pron.*) am schnellsten (*ŋgurise, adv.*) laufen (*ǂkxoē*)."

Da rief (*ŋgui*) die Schildkröte [alle] Schildkröten zusammen (*ǂhao zusammenkommen*) und hieß (*gui*) ihnen, sich hintereinander (*xangu*) aufzustellen (*mā*). Dann vereinigten sich die beiden und eilten zusammen (*xare, verb.*) davon.

Aber sobald (*°tamā ai*) sie eben anfingen (*ǂnoahoa, ti Fut.-Part.*), ließ die Schildkröte (*-b, Pers.-Suff. hinter ti*) den Strauß (*hi Suff., ihn*) allein laufen (*mā lassen, zu verlassen*). Dann rief der Strauß: „Schildkröte!" und die [ihm am nächsten stehende] antwortete: „Hier!" (*hi, nachlässiger allgemeiner Antwortruf*). Da dachte (*ti, mit d. Part. d. partizip. praeter. ti, ti zu*) der Strauß, sie sei schon (*°nexoba*) nahebei (*ŋgūse*), und eilte weiter. Und als (*a*) er wieder (*ǂkxoba*) erschöpft war (*dahin kam ti, daß er fertig war ton, verb.*), rief er: „Schildkröte!" Und die [ihm am nächsten stehende] antwortete: „Hier!"

Da ließ er ab (*tā, im particip. praeter.*) und kam (*ǂkxi*) zu (*doba*) der Schildkröte, [die ihm am nächsten stand]. Und die beiden gingen nach Haus (*xaru, verb.*). Er aber (*yabeb, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.*) dachte, es sei wahrhaftig (*ŋguib, einzig*) die andere (*°nau*) Schildkröte.

LXIII.

ǂKχurib tsî ǀkχanti ǂâna.

O i gye gye hîhe: ǂkχurib χa i gye gye ŋgumaǂe tsîb ǂnâa ra χuri hîa i gye ǀkχanti χa go ǂkχîhe tsî: „ǂkχurib, ǀkχaba te!" ti go mîhe. χabeb gye ǀhoa toma hâ.

Oti gye: „ŋâse ta nî hara tsî!" ti go mî.

Ob gye: „di tsâ o, ǂîa mâ!" ti go mî.

Oti gye: „hararohe nî kχomago ra î, χabego ra ǂî?" ti go mî.

Ob gye: „kχa, toriǂ ra ǂkχâ so? hara ǂgoo gas hoas go hara o!" ti go mî ǂkχuriba.

Os gye ŋguisa go hara bi. ob gye go dâ ǂkχou tsîs gye: „grrr — — ŋgobaǂ! — — ǀkχaû! — — ǂkχuri! — — ǀkχaû!" ti go mî tsîs go ǂî.

Ob gye ǂhauba go ǂâ sui tsî go ana tsî go saru. oti gye ŋgûsate ǂhoab âb χa ra ǀanuba bi. tsîb gye go ti ŋgaûs ai, oti gye go mâ ǂhaubob ǂî hâ ǀkχaiǂ tsî: „nî tsî se nî di gam tsî!" ti go mî.

Ob gye: „huga so ra di gum te!" ti go mî.

Oti gye: „nî tsî se nî di gam tsî!" ti go mî. ob gye gauna go mâ ti tsîn gye go ǂâ ŋgûng ǀkχansa.

Übersetzung von LXIII.

Die Schildkröte und die Eland-Antilopen.

Und es begab sich *(hîhe, wurde gemacht)* [so]: Die Schildkröte *(masc.)* war zum Wasser gegangen *(ŋguma, verb., i. pass. narr.)* und während *(hîa)* sie dasitzt *(°ǂnâa)* und schöpft *(χuri)* kommen *(ǀkχi, i. pass. narr.)* Eland-Antilopen *(fem.)* und sagen: „Schildkröte, schenk mir *(îe, Suff.)* ein *(°ǀkχaba, verb.)*!" Jedoch *(χabe, mit Pers.-Suff.)* sie schwieg *(ǀhoa sprechen, toma nicht, hâ drücken eine Dauer aus)*.

Da sagten jene: „Gleich *(âse)* werde *(nî)* ich *(îa, Suff.)* dich *(tsî, Suff.)* schlucken!"

Sie aber erwiderte: „Versuch *(tsâ)* es doch *(o)* zu tun *(dî)*, laß *(î und, imperat.)* mich sehen *(mâ)*!"

Da sagten jene: „Wie *(kχoma)* Dingerchen *(-ro. Dimin.)*, die geschluckt werden *(-he, Passivendg.)* sollen *(nî, Fut.)*, seht Ihr *(go, Suff. d. 2. pers. masc. plur.)* aus *(î, verb.)* und dennoch trotzt *(°ǂî)* Ihr?"

Darauf die Schildkröte: „Wer (*ŧarā*) wehrt (*ŧkyē*) Euch (*se, Suff. d. 2. pers. fem. plur.*) denn (*kya*)? Wer [mich] wohl (*gu, Verb.-Part. d. potentialis, mit d. Pers.-Suff. fem. sing.*) schlucken will (*ŋgue*), mag doch (*a*) allmal (*haas*) schlucken!" So sagte die Schildkröte.

Da schluckte eines (*ŋguha*) [der Elandtiere] sie (*ŧi, Suff. masc.*) ein. Die [Schildkröte] aber spreizte die Beine (*"di ŧkyas*) und: „grrr — — Krummbein! (*ŋgoâi, comm. sing.*) — — verschluckt!") — — Schildkröte! — — verschluckt!" sagte das Eland und verreckte (*ŧi*).

Dann schlachtete (*ŧi*) die Schildkröte das Magen-Netzfett (*thauba*) aus (*tsi*) und hing es um (*ana, verb.*) und ging heim (*tsara, verb.*). Aber die Schwestern (*ŋgûsi — -ti*) meiden (*ŋgus sauber sein. Die objektiv. Part. -ba gibt den Sinn: fem. gegenüber sauber sein, d. h. einen Unsauberen meiden*) sie ihres (*ŧi, masc.*) Achselschweißes ("*thoob*) wegen (*ya*). Da kam (*ti*) sie zur Werft (*ŋgutî*), und jene sahen, daß (*ŧkyaŧ*) sie Magennetzfett hatte (*ŧ nakmen, ŧŧ kleiben*) und sagten: „Heute (*ŧŧ ŧŧ*) werden wir (*se, Suff. d. 1. pers. fem. plur.*) dir (*ŧi, Suff., masc.*) die Achselhöhlen (*gum, sing. collect.*) [mit Buchupudern] zurecht machen") (*di*)."

Doch sie sagte: „Es ist lang her (*hagu, adv.*), daß Ihr (*se, Suff. d. 2. pers. fem. plur.*) mir die Achselhöhlen zurecht gemacht habt!"

Und jene erwiderten: „Heute werden wir dir die Achselhöhlen pudern!" Da gab (*mî*) sie ihnen Fett (*gumma, comm. plur.*), und sie gingen (*ŋgûŋ*) zusammen (*durch d. Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. comm. ausgedrückt*) fort, das Eland auszuschlachten.

LXIV.

/Ginaba gye ŋgumm ŋnâna.

/Nâb ya i gye ŋginaba gye ŋgumeke, târa gye go dat kyoâb ŋgûs ŋgu târa gye go si. tâb gye kyoâs daas go ŧkyare o go aoba nâba tsi go ŋgûŋ ŋgôas ds ŧkya. târa gye go ŋgûŋ tsi ŋgoâb ŋgûs doba go si. tâb gye ŋgôasa gumma ra mî thaub daa ya. oâ gye go mâ ŋgriba tsi

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*) *ŧkyaŧ*, dem Wägenmaterial des an der Schildkröte erzählenden Tieres entsprechend sagt der Erzähler einfachhin hinab: *ŧkyaŧ*.

**) Die Schwestern haben ihren Bruder, die Schildkröte, bisher verschwiegen, haben verschwiegen, ihm Puder zu bereiten (Frauenarbeit), und machen sich nun beim Achselhöhlen der reichen Beute Lächerlich.

‖oas go ǂnaiha o kχarob ǂna skχūga go mai. tsis gye go ‖gūχa tsis go ‖nā. agu gye skχūgu go ǂχē si os gye: „aboχan skχūll kχoma tsā toma skχūll go ǂχē kχoēsa!" ti go mi tsis gye go ‖ō.

Ob gye go ‖ō si. os gye ‖gīnarosa go ǂī tsī ‖gunus ai go ‖nā. tsīb gye ‖ō toatsī ‖gunuga ‖gunus ai go ‖gui. os gye ‖gīnarosa ‖gaoǂgoe-tarusa ‖ā tsī go ǂī tsī go si ‖ā ‖gūb doba. ob gye tarusa abas ǂna go ‖gū tsis gye go ǂhoaba bi. ob gye go ‖oo ‖giriba tsī go ‖gūng toma ... tsis gye ǂnaiha skχoba go ǂīhaba.

Übersetzung von LXIV.

Die Giraffe, die eine Fliege heiratet.

Eine Giraffin *(/naiti)* heiratete *(‖gume, i. pass. narr.)* ein Fliegenmännchen *(‖gīnaba)*, und die beiden *(-ra, Suff. dual. fem.)* zogen *(doē)* zur *(‖gu)* Werft *(‖gunūs)* des Mannes *(kχoēb)* und kamen *(si)* dahin. Und als *(o)* sie sich nach ihren *(ǂī Stamm d. Pron. possess., -sa Pers.-Suff. d. Reziprok., -s Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* Angehörigen *(kχoēn Menschen, comm. plur.)* sehnte *(skχore)*, sagte *(mi, mit objektivir. Part. ba)* sie [es] dem Mann und ging *(‖gūng)* mit *(kχa)* ihrem Kinde *(‖gōas Tochter)*, sie zu besuchen. Und die beiden machten sich auf den Weg und kamen zur *(doba)* Werft des Schakals *(‖gorīb)*. Und sie gab *(mā)* dem Kinde Fett *(gauna)* von *(χa)* ihrem Magengekröse*) *(ihaub ist das fettreiche omentum majus)*. Da sah *(mā)* der Schakal, [wie fett sie war], und als die Giraffe herausging *(‖oa, mit Pers.-Suff.)*, steckte *(mai)* er Dornen *(skχūgu)* in *(na)* das Lager *(kχarob)*. Dann kam sie herein *(‖gūχa)* und legte sich nieder *(nā)*. Da stachen *(kχē)* sie *(si, Suff.)* die Dornen und sie sagte: „Nicht *(toma)* wie *(kχoma)* die Dornen *(comm. plur.)* meiner Väter *(*aboē, selten gebrauchtes Wort für Vater. -gan s. S. 428, Anmkg.)* schmecken *(tsī)* die Dornen, die mich Menschenkind *(kχoēb, m. d. Suff. d. 1. pers. sing.)* stachen!" So sagte sie und starb.

Darauf schlachtete *(ǂī)* sie der Schakal *(durch das Suff. -b angedeutet)* aus. Die kleine *(-ro Diminut.)* Fliege aber flog *(ǂīl, dem Kap-Holl. entlehnt)* und setzte sich auf einen Giraffenbaum *(‖gunus)*. Und jener legte *(‖gui)*, nachdem *(tsī, Part. d. particip. praeterit., hinter*

*) Diese sylindrische Masse der Giraffe erinnert an die Sage der Alten vom Pelikan, der seine Jungen mit seinem Blute tränken.

toa aufhören) er fertig geschlachtet hatte, die Fleischstücken *(ǂganga, plur. masc. euphon.)* auf den Giraffenbaum (*übliche Art das Fleisch vor Raubzeug zu schützen, s. S. 424*). Da nahm *(ǁi, i. particip. praeterit.)* die kleine Fliege die letzte Kleinrippe *(°ǂgaoǂgaoiarasa)* und flog und kam damit *(ǁi)* zum Vater *(ǂgūb)*. Der aber steckte *(ǂgā)* die Rippe in eine Kalabas *(abas)* [mit Milch] und [die Kleine] erzählte *(ǂhoa, mit objektivir. Verb.-Part.)* ihm *(bi, Suff.)*. Da fürchtete *(ǂao)* er sich vor dem Schakal und ging nicht hin. Aber die Giraffe wurde wieder *(ǂkχaba)* lebendig°) *(ǂūitsaba)*.

LXV.

ǂNonaba gye am ǂgūriba.

ǂGūrib χa gye gye ǂauhe, ǂnonaba gye hõhe tsī go saru ǂkχīhe kχoīn ta sāsa χaī hīa. tsī gye go gun ǂguihe ǂaēs ǂna tsī sās ǂga go ǂgūnghe.

Tsī ǂ sī mā ra χaīhe hīa gye ǂnonaba go sī ǂgon ǂguihe goba: „ǂnī ao gye gumo ǂgūsa ǂgūng ǂnūitsī ra ǂ(e)ī horasen!"

Ob gye ǂgūriba gye ǂnaū tsī hā gye ǂkχō bi tsī gye ǂgūng ǂī tsī sī ǂkχaba gye gun ǂgui ǂaēs ǂna tsī ǂkχaba gye ǂgūng sās ǂga mā sī gye χaī.

Ob gye ǂnonaba ra ǂkχī tsī: „ǂnī ao gye gumo ǂgūsa ǂgūng ǂnūi tsī ra ǂ(e)ī horasen!"

Übersetzung von LXV.

Der Schakal, der den Leguan brät.

Der Schakal *(ǂgūrib)* hatte gejagt *(ǂauhe, i. pass. narr.)* [und] den Leguan *(ǂnonaba)* bekommen *(hõ, wieder passivisch)* und *(tsī)* kam *(ǂkχi, passivisch)* nach Haus *(saru heimkehren)* zur Zeit als *(hīa)* die Menschen *(kχoīn)* den Riedtanz *(sāsa)* bliesen. *(χaī. -ta = ra, hinter dem n des vorhergehenden Wortes euphonisch verändert)*. Und er legte *(ǂgui, i. pass. narr.)* [den Leguan] in *(ǂna)* das Feuer *(ǂaēs)* unter die Asche *(°gain mit Asche bedecken)* und ging *(ǂgūng, i. pass. narr.)* zum Riedtanz hin *(ǂga)*.

Doch während *(hīa)* er eben ankommt *(kommen sī, mā stehen)* [und] bläst, kam der Leguan hinterdrein *(ǂgon)*, der *(-ba hinter go, Part. d. praeter.)* unter die Asche gelegt war, und sagte: „Ja *(gumo)*,

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°) Die wunderwirkende Beleuchtigkeit der Milch findet sich in Sage VIII, S. 409 einen verschiedenen Abschluß.

weil *(ao)* der Andere *(ǂnĪ. gemeint ist der Schakal)* seinen Schatz verlassen hat*), da *(-tsĪ, Partic. praet.)* nimmt *(hora, das gare Essen aus dem Topf oder Feuer nehmen)* Er *(ŭ(e)Ī, gemeint ist der Leguan selbst)* sich selbst *(-sen, Reflexivendung des Verbs)* aus dem Feuer!"

Und der Schakal hörte *(ǂnaũ)* es und kommt herzu *(hã)*, fängt *(ǃkχõ)* ihn *(bi)* und nimmt ihn mit *(Doppelverb: gehen — fassen, ǀgũng-ũ)* und legt ihn wieder *(ǂkχaba)* ins Feuer unter die Asche. Dann läuft er wieder zum Riedtanz und geht hin, die Riede zu blasen.

Da kommt wieder der Leguan an und sagt: „Ja, weil der Andere seinen Schatz heimlich weggesteckt hat, da nimmt Er sich selbst aus dem Feuer!"

Die Sage will die Zähelebigkeit des Leguans illustrieren uad eine Erklärung seiner krustenartigen (gleichsam angebackenen) Haut geben.

LXVI.

ǂNērab tsĪ ǂharebab tsĪkχa.

ǂNērabi i gye danisa gye samhe hã i tsĪb gye ǂharebaba hairana gye ũ hã i tsĪkχa gye go ǀoagu.

Ob gye ǂnēraba: „hata tsãtsãtse!" ti go mĪ. ob gye ǂharebaba: „hata tsãtsã saē aibe!" ti go mĪ.

Ob gye go mã bi ǂkχari daniroē tsĪb gye go tsãtsã. ob gye: „saēta tsãtsãre!" ti go mĪ ǂnēraba. ob gye go mã bi.

TsĪkχa gye ǂhõti ǂkχa go ǂnaugu, ǂkχũi ǀnã tumi, tsĪb gye ǂnēraba daniba go ǂkχũi ǂui tsĪb gye ǂharebaba hairaba go ǂkχũi ǂui. tsĪb gye ǂnēraba hairaǂhõsa go ũ tsĪb gye ǂharebaba daniǂhõsa go ũ tsĪkχa gye go ǀgũng.

Tsẽs gye ǂharebab ta danisa ǂũsa tsĪb ǂnēraba hairaba ra ǂũsa.

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*) ǀgũng gehen, ǂnũi hinlegen, hinlegen und gehen = verlassen, auch wegstecken. Die Bedeutung von ǂgũse habe ich nicht ermitteln können, auch für die Richtigkeit des Schnalzlautes kann ich, da ich die Konsonanz vermutet habe, nicht bürgen. ǂgũse ǀgũng ǂnũi scheint eine feste Redewendung zu bilden mit dem Sinn: Etwas Wertvolles zurückbringen, was man einem anderen nicht gönnt. So hat hier der Schakal seinen Peinen, den Leguan, in der Asche zurückgelassen. In demselben Sinn sagte mir ein Führer, der jung verheiratet war und nach Hause zurückkehrte: „ǂgũse ǀgũng ǂnũi nũa go ǀgũng ǂui aoba gye ǂhabe ra oa ǂgao." D. h.: „Weil (ǂui) ich (-ba) etwas Kostbares zurückgelassen habend (tsĪ, particip. praet.) gegangen bin (ǀgũng, go Partik. d. praet.), so (ao) will (ǂgao) ich schnell (ǂhabe) umkehren (oa)."

Übersetzung von LXVI.

Der Pavian und der Honigdachs.

Der Pavian *(-i, s. S. 476 Anm., χa s. S. 487 Anm.)* hatte einst Honig *(danisa)* ausgenommen *(sam, i. pass. narr.)*, und der Honigdachs hatte Hairaharz (*comm. plur.*) gesammelt *(ǂ nehmen)*, und die beiden begegneten sich *(ǀoo, -gu Reziprokalpart.)*. Da sagte der Pavian: „Du *(-tse)*, laß *(ha)* mich *(-ta)* kosten *(tsātsā)*!“, und der Honigdachs sagte: „Laß mich erst *(aibe)* Deines*) kosten!“ Da gab *(mā)* ihm *(bi, Suff.)* der Pavian ein klein *(ǂkχari)* wenig *(-ro, Dimin.)* Honig, und jener kostete. Darauf sagte der Pavian: „Ich möchte *(-re, Optat.-Part.)* Deines kosten!“ und der Honigdachs gab ihm. Dann schlugen *(ǂnau)* sie einander mit *(ǂkχa)* den Säcken *(ǂhōti)*, bis *(tumi, s.)* sie spieen**) *(ǂkχūi; ǂnāt hell sein, offen daliegen)*. Und der Pavian spie den Honig aus *(ǂui)* und der Honigdachs das Hairaharz, und der Pavian nahm den Hairasack und der Honigdachs den Honigsack, dann gingen die beiden.

Seitdem *(tsēs tags)* frißt *(tū, verb., durch das weibl. Pers.-Suff. -sa substantiviert, aber trotzdem noch als Prädikat empfunden, wie die Verbalpartikeln ra und euphonisch ba zeigen)* der Honigdachs den Honig und der Pavian das Hairaharz.

LXVII.

ǀGorera tsī ǂnērab tsīna.

ǀGorera tsī ǂnērab tsīn χa i gye gye hīhe: ǀgorera χa i gye ra ǂgamahe. o i gye ǂurite ǀgamǀgamhe tsī ra ǂkχīhe, ǀgorera ra mū ǀgoaχahe o, tsī: „ti ǀgariχa amī gum χabe o!“ ti ra mīhe. ora gye ra oa tsī nau tsē ra ǂkχī. ob gye ǂuriti ǂkχa ra sī, mū ǀgoaχarab ta o, tsī: „ti ǀgariχa amī gum χabe o!“ ora gye go oa.

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*) *sa*, Stamm des pron. pers. d. 2. pers., unter Ergänzung einer Genitivpartikel in possess. Sinn gebraucht, durch Anhängen des Suff. der 3. pers. sing. comm. substantiviert. Grammatikalisch vollständig, aber in der Praxis nicht vorhanden, würde der Begriff „das Deine“ lauten: *sa di χūē*.

**) Weil Jedem das neu Gekostete so gut schmeckte, daß sie die alte Kost nicht mehr bei sich behalten wollten.

Tsîs gye ǂkχamsa ǀgoreba go ōa tsîn gye nau ǁgoaga go ǂkχī ǁkχaba. ob gye: „ti ǀgariχa amī gum χabe o!“ ti go mī. on gye go oa tsîn gye go hā ǀgoreb nī gais gōse, tsī ǀgoreb go gai on gye go ǁgama. tsîb gye ǂuriti ǂkχa ǁgōaχa tsī ǂkχîn go o: „ti ǀgariχa amī gum χabe o!“ ti go mī ǂnēraǒa.

On gye go mā tsîb gye ǀgoreroba go ǀnaē ǁgonaχa, ora gye go sao ǀgoreroba; tsîb gye go hā tsī go ā. ob gye ǂnēraba go dao bi nēba. ob gye go ǀkχō ǂnēraba tsī ǂuriti ai go ǁgaī ǂnūi.

Tsēs gye ǂnērab kχaoais a ǁansasa tsîb ǀgoreb di ǀuniti a daūsasa.

Übersetzung von LXVII.

Die beiden Zebrastuten und der Pavian.

Mit den Zebrastuten *(-ra, Pers.-Suff. dual. fem.)* und dem Pavian begab es sich *(hîhe, wurde gemacht)* so: Die Zebrastuten kommen zum Wasser *(ǁgama, verb., i. pass. narr.)*. Der Pavian aber macht Eisen *(ǂurite, fem. plur. = -ti)* heiß *(ǀgam/gam, verb., i. pass. narr.)* und kommt hervor *(ǀkχī, i. pass. narr.)*, als *(o)* er die Zebra's nahen *(ǀgoaχa, i. pass. narr.)* sieht *(mū)*, und ruft: „Mein *(ti)* ist ja *(gum---o)* doch *(χdoe)* der Wasserspiegel mit dem Rasenrand!“ *(ǀgariχa krautreich, amī Mund, Öffnung)*. Da kehren die beiden um *(oa)* und kommen am anderen *(ǂnau)* Tage *(tsē)* [wieder]. Aber der Pavian kommt *(sī)* mit *(ǀkχa)* den Eisen an, als er sie nahen *(dem Verb sind zwei Pers.-Suffixe angehängt: -ra zeigt sozusagen das Subjekt des Verbs, -b das des Satzes an)* sieht, und ruft: „Mir gehört ja doch der Wasserspiegel mit dem Rasenrand!“ Da kehrten die beiden um.

Und das junge *(ǂkχamsa)* [Zebra] warf *(ōa gebären)* ein Fohlen *(masc.)*, und sie alle *(durch das Suff. d. comm. plur. -n ausgedr.)* kamen am anderen Morgen früh *(ǁgoaga)* wieder *(ǁkχaba)*. Doch jener rief: „Mir gehört ja doch der Wasserspiegel mit dem Rasenrand!“ Da kehrten sie um. Und sie warteten *(hā)*, bis *(gōse)* das Fohlen groß *(gais, das s ist wohl abgekürzte Adj.-Endg., sa)* geworden sein würde *(nī, Fut.-Part.)*, und als *(o, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz: on)* das Fohlen groß geworden war, gingen sie zum Wasser. Da kam der Pavian mit dem Eisen herunter *(ǁgōaχa)*, und als sie erschienen, rief er: „Mir gehört ja doch der Wasserspiegel mit dem Rasenrand!“

Doch sie blieben stehen *(mā)*, und der kleine *(-ro, Dim.)* Zebrahengst *(-ba, masc.)* trabte *(ǂnaĕ)* herunter *(*ǂgonaχa, ist wohl die ältere Form von ǂgōaχa, Umwandlung des n in einen Nasallaut)*, und die beiden Stuten folgten *(sao, verb.)* dem kleinen Hengst; der kam *(hā)* herzu und trank *(ā)*. Da brannte *(dao)* ihn *(bi, Suff.)* der Pavian hier *(nēba)**). Der aber ergriff *(*ǃkχō)* den Pavian und setzte *(ǂnūi)* ihn fest *(ǂgaī pressen)* in *(ai)* die Eisen.

Papio porcarius (Boddaert) ²
von hinten,
zur Demonstration der Gesäßschwielen.

Seit dem Tage ist der Hinterste *(kχaoais)* des Pavians gebraten *(ǂan gar sein, -sa Adjektivendung, -sa weibl. Pers.-Suff., das Wort substantivierend; vergl. S. 539)* und *(tsī hat hier nicht d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subjekts, sondern des vom Subj. regierten Subst. im Genitiv)* die Ellbogen *(*ǂuniti)* des Zebras sind angebrannt *(daū brennen)*.

So erklärt sich die Phantasie des Hottentotten den Ursprung der Gesäßschwielen (siehe Abbildung) und der sogenannten Kastanien, jener nackten Hornschwielen an der Innenfläche der Handwurzelgegend des Zebra.

LXVIII.

ǃGarugu tsī χamgu tsīna gye ǃgoa dī hā i ǃgīriba.

ǃGīrib χa i gye ǃgaruga tsī χamga tsīna gye ǃgoa dīhe hā i tsīb gye ǃgōaseb āba ra ǂūi ǃgoana. ob gye darub ta o ra χora gāgūhe ǂgorogu ǃkχa tsīb ǂgye, ǃkχīb ta o, ra tē ǃgīriba: „tareī ǂnats ǂgā hā i?" tumi ra tē; ob gye: „birigu goro χora te!" ti ra mī tsīb gye ǃgōab ǃguiba ra ǃoa birite.

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*) Der Erzähler weist auf den processus ulnaris humeri seines Arms.

Ob gye ǂgui tsĕ, ǂaob ǂgūng go o, go ǂkχōhe χami χa. ob gye go ǂgai ǂgūba ob gye: „dada!“ tumi go oĕ. os gye tarasa go ǂhuma ǂna tsĭ: ūsgyeb īb nĭ ūsgyeba gō go!“ ti tarasa go mĭ. ob gye go ǂoaχa omsa χu tsĭ ǂharas ǂgāba go ĭ tsĭ go ǂgai. ob gye ǂgōaba nē ǂnāsa ǂkχarurose go oĕ. os gye tarasa go ǂoaχa tsĭ go aoba ǂgai ǂharas ǂgāb ai mā hīa. tsĭb gye go ǂkχĭ tsĭra gye go ǂgā. tsĭb gye χama go ǂhamra tsĭra gye go uri ǂharab ai tsĭb gye ǂgōaba ǂharas ǂnoros ai go ǂoa.

Hĭagu gye namaga go ǂkχĭ tsĭ go ǂūĕ ǂgan. ob gye: „ūsgyeb ǂoa ēts nē aoba gūĕ ǂgau, ĕb ū!“ ti go mĭ. tsĭb gye go ǂgau bi, o i gye go ǂnō. tsĭkχa gye ǂgam kχoĕkχa ǂkχaba go ǂkχĭ tsĭ go tĕ: „nēba gye go sĭ kχoĭba mabab hā?“ tumi go tĕ. ob gye: „ǂnaita go ǂkχō gai gūĕ kχoĕb gum ǂnāba o!“ ti go mĭ ǂgĭriba. tsĭkχa gye go ǂgā ǂharas ǂna.

Ob gye ǂgĭriba go ǂoa tsĭ ǂkχaĕb ǂna sĭ go mā. tsĭgu gye ǂgākχa go kχoĕkχa o ǂkχūgu ĭ kχumi go uri χamgu tsĭ ǂgarugu tsĭna. ob gye ǂgĭriba: „ǂhūgu goro am!“ ti go mĭ. tsĭn gye go ǂkχoĕ bĕ.

Tsĭ gye ǂgĭriba χamron tsĭ ǂgaruron tsĭnab nĭ ǂū toa ga ǂharasa go ǂkχoba am, tsĭb go ǂguiroĕ a ǂkχō. on gye go ǂkχau ǂkχū bi. ob gye go ǂū tsĭ ǂhoms ai sĭ go ǂkχoĕ-nĭ ǂaba. tsĭn gye ǂgaru hā χam hāna ǂgōana go ōa ǂkχĭ tsĭ mā i hoaĕ ǂ(e)ĭĭ ōaĕ ū tsĭ ǂgūng, ti go hĭ.

Tsēs gye mā ǂhūĭ hoaĭ ǂna ǂgarub tsĭ χami tsĭna hāsa.

Übersetzung von LXVIII.

Der Schakal, der Leoparden und Löwen als Vieh hält.

Der Schakal hatte die Leoparden und Löwen, die alle *(tsĭ und, -na Pers.-Suff. d. comm. plur.)*, zu [seinem] Vieh *(ǂgoa, ohne Suff.)* gemacht *(ūĭ, i. pass. narr.)*, und sein *(ū Stamm d. Pron. poss., -ba Pers.-Suff. d. Besitzers)* Kind *(*ǂgōaseb = ǂgōab)* hütet *(ǂūĭ)* das Vieh *(comm. plur.)*. Da wurde es, als *(o)* es sich [eines der Tiere] in den Mund ausmolk *(daru, m. Pers.-Suff., ta euphon. für ra)*, mit *(ǂkχa)* den Krallen *(ǂgorogu)* halb tot *(gū verloren sein, die Verdoppelung gibt d. Verb kausativen Sinn)* zerkratzt *(χora)*, und als es [nach Haus] kam *(ǂkχĭ, mit Pers.-Suff., ta = ra)*, fragt *(tĕ)* der Schakal*): „In *(ǂna, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc. -ts du)* was *(tareĭ)* bist du hereingeraten *(ǂgū)*?“

*) Obwohl er gut weiß, daß er die Schuld hat: er selbst hütet sich wohl, sein gefährliches Vieh auszuführen.

So *(ǂumi)* fragt er; und das Kind antwortet: „Die Ziegen *(birigu)* haben mich *(ǂe, Suff.)* zerkratzt!“ Aber einzig *(ǂguiba)* das Kind melkt *(ǂao)* weiter *(ra)* die Ziegen *(fem. plur.)*.

Doch eines *(ǂgui)* Tages *(tsē)*, als es *(-b in ǂaob)* zum Melken gegangen *(ǂgūng)* war, wurde es vom *(ʗa)* Löwen erfaßt *(*ǂkχō)*. Da rief *(ǂgai)* es der Vater *(ǂgūba)*, und „Vater *(dada)*!“ antwortete *(oē)* es. Aber die Frau *(tarasa)* [des Schakals] war voll Fürsorge *(*ǂhuma ǂna)* und sagte: „Usgyeb's *(Sagenname des Schakalkindes)* Vater *(ǂb)* soll *(nī)* doch gefälligst *(go)* nach Usgyeb sehen *(gō)*!“ Da ging der Schakal heraus *(ǂoaχa, verb.)* aus *(χu)* der Hütte *(omsa)*, aber ging hinter *(ǂgāba)* dem Kraal *(ǂharas)* vorbei *(ǂ vorbeigehen)* und rief [nur nach dem Kind]. Und dieses *(nē)* Mal *(ǂnāsa)* antwortete das Kind nur ganz schwach *(ǂkχari klein, -ro Dimin., -se Adverb.-Endg.)*. Da ging die Frau heraus und rief den Mann *(aoba)*, während *(hīa)* er hinter *(im ai, Rücken ǂgāb)* dem Kraal steht *(mā)*. Und er kam *(ǂkχī)*, und die beiden *(-ra, Suff. dual. masc.-fem.)* gingen hinein. Da springt *(ǂham)* der Löwe auf sie *(-ra)* los, die beiden aber sprangen *(uri)* auf *(ai)* die Kraalmauer, und das Kind schlüpfte hinten *(ǂnoros Hinterkopf)* zum Kraal hinaus.

Währenddessen *(hīa, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* kamen Hottentotten *(naman)* und baten *(ǂgan)* um Kost *(ǂūč, sing. comm.)*. Da sagte der Schakal: „Usgyeb, komm heraus und *(ē imperativisch, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. 2. pers. sing. masc.)* zeige *(ǂgau)* diesem Mann einen Hammel *(gūč, comm. sing.)*, und er *(-b)* nehme *(ū)* [ihn]!“ Und das Kind gab ihm *(bi, Suff.)* Bescheid, dann wurde es still*) *(ǂnō)*. Und wieder *(ǂkχaba)* zwei *(ǂgam)* Männer *(kχoēkχa, Menschen, dual. masc.)* kamen und fragten:- „Wo *(maba, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* bleibt *(hā)* der Mann, den wir hier *(nēba)* herschickten *(sī)*?“ So fragten sie, aber der Schakal sagte: „Schon lang *(ǂnai)* habe ich ja *(gum---o)* dem Mann da *(ǂnāba)* geheißen *(gai)*, einen Hammel zu fangen!“ Da gingen die zwei in den Kraal.

Der Schakal aber ging heraus [aus der Hütte] und stellte sich *(ging sī, stehen mā)* in die Dunkelheit *(ǂkχaēb)*. Und als die zwei Männer hineingegangen waren, sprangen nach allen Seiten *(ǂkχūgu, ǂ gleichen, kχumi so)* die Löwen und Leoparden, sie alle,

*) Der Mann wird von den wilden Tieren im Kraal zerrissen.

heraus. Da sagte der Schakal: „Weit über *(*goro am)* die Lande *(ǃhūgu)*!", und sie eilten *(ǃkχoĕ)* davon *(bĕ, verb.)*.

Dann öffnete *(ǂkχoba am)* der Schakal den Kraal, um *(ga)* die kleinen *(-ro, Dimin.)* Löwen und die kleinen Leoparden, alle die *(tsĭ mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Objekts, 3. pers. plur. comm. -na, und mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. -b)* samt und sonders *(toa beendigen)* zu schlachten *(ǂū)*, und er fing ein Kleines. Die aber zerkratzten *(ǂkχau)* ihm den Leib *(ǂkχāb)*. Da ließ er ab *(ǂū, verb.)* und entfloh *(ǃkχoĕ-nĭ)* auf *(ai Postpos., ǃaba aufsteigen)* einen Berg *(ǃhoms)*. Und alle *(hā s. S. 424, Anm.)* Leoparden und alle Löwen kamen, ihre Jungen zu suchen *(ōa)*, und ein Jedes (*wörtl.: welcher? mā?: alle hoaĕ, comm. sing.*) nahm *(ǁ)* sein *(ǁ(e)ĭ)* Kind *(ōa)* und ging.

So taten *(hĭ)* sie. Seit dem Tage sind in jeglichem Lande der Leopard und der Löwe zu Haus *(hāsa, substantiviertes hā, bleiben)*.

3. Rätsel, *ǃurogu*

bilden neben den Sagen einen guten Teil der Abendunterhaltungen der Hottentotten; sie werden von Alten und Jungen beiderlei Geschlechts zum Besten gegeben.

Die einfachsten Rätsel knüpfen an die unmittelbare Umgebung der Dasitzenden an (I—V): Jeder beliebige Gegenstand, allen sichtbar, ein Kleidungsstück, ein Baum, ein Fels, ein Gerät etc. etc. wird nach Gestalt oder Farbe oder nach seiner Beziehung zum Menschen umschrieben und zu raten gegeben.

Andere Rätsel haben nicht mehr unmittelbare Sinneswahrnehmungen, sondern Sinnes-Erinnerungen zum Gegenstand und nehmen damit schon stärker als jene erstgenannten das Vorstellungsvermögen in Anspruch (VI bis XIII).

An die Fähigkeit, bald mehr, bald minder abstrakte Vorstellungen zu kombinieren, appellieren Rätsel wie die in Nr. XIV—XXV mitgeteilten.

In sprachlicher Hinsicht sei die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Personalsuffixe gelenkt: Mit ihrer Hilfe wird der ganze Rätsel-Fragesatz substantiviert. Meist werden dazu die Suffixe der 3. pers. comm. sing. (*-ĕ* oder *-ĭ*) oder. plur. (*-na* oder *-n*) verwandt, als Anhängsel an eines oder an mehrere solche Wörter, die ihrem Sinn oder ihrer Stellung im Satze zufolge

irgendwie hervortreten. Korrekt, aber schwerfällig, würde man dieser Eigentümlichkeit in der Übersetzung gerecht werden, wenn man jede Frage mit den Worten einleitete: „Was ist das, was . . . usw.?"

In anderen Fällen erhält der Rätsel-Fragesatz dasjenige Personalsuffix, das nach Geschlecht und Numerus dem Substantiv in der Antwort zukommt.

Ist die Antwort in einem Verbum ausgedrückt, so wird sie mit Hilfe des Suffixes der 3. pers. sing. fem. (*-s* oder *-sa*) substantiviert.

Ich habe die Hottentotten folgende Rätsel sich aufgeben hören:

I.

Tareč goma ǂaba ǂgarib amǂgā mā ǂurina? — ǁgūti.

Was *(tareč)*, so heißt es *(goma)*, ist das: Am Rand *(am ǂgā)* einer roten *(ǂaba)* Talfurche *(ǂgarib ist der Abfall der trockenen Riviersohle gegen die Rinne, in der das Wasser läuft)* stehen *(mā)* weiße *(ǂuri)* Dinger? *(-na, Pers.-Suff. comm plur.)* — Die Zähne.

II.

ǂNū ǂhoms aiti gye ǂnū gūte mā? — tana uriti.

Auf *(ai, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* einem schwarzen *(ǂnū)* Berge *(ǂhoms)* stehen *(mā)* schwarze Schafe? *(gūte = gūti, fem. plur.)* — Die Kopfläuse.

III.

Tareč goma ǂgubu χūč ain gye ǂgāna mā tsīn gye kχoēna ǁnā ǂgāna ra tsuru? — tanas.

Auf *(ai, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* etwas Rundem *(ǂgubu)* steht *(mā)* Gras *(ǂgāna, comm. plur.)*, und die Menschen *(kχoēna)* pflücken *(tsuru)* das Gras? — Der Kopf, [der geschoren wird].

IV.

Tareč goma ǂgōahe tsī ǂgōa toahe tomaē? — ǂhūb.

Was wird *(-he, Pass.-Endg.)* gezählt *(ǂgōa)* und wird nicht *(toma)* zu Ende *(toa fertig machen)* gezählt? — Die Sandkörner *(ǂhūb Erdboden)*.

V.

Tareč goma ǂkχač i ga χabe tsī ǂnū i ga tsī ǂgū i gas tsīna mūč? — *ǂaēs.*

Was siehst *(mū)* [du], mag *(ga, Potent.)* es auch *(χabe obschon)* finster *(ǂkχač)* sein, mag es fern *(ǂnū)* sein und mag es nahe *(ǂgū)* sein? *(tsīna, conm. plur. faßt alle Fälle noch einmal zusammen).* — Das Feuer.

VI.

Tareč goma ǂnū ǂhōč? — ǂgoreb tsī ǂnoab tsīkχa di ǂguib.

Was ist schwarz *(ǂnū)* gescheckt *(ǂhō)*? — Das Zebra *(ǂgoreb)* und das Stachelschwein *(ǂnoab)*, eins *(ǂguib)* von *(di)* den beiden *(tsīkχa).*

VII.

Tareč goma ǂhuni ǂganič? — χaib.

Was ist gelb-*(ǂhuni)* braun gezeichnet *(ǂgani)*? — Das Kudu.

VIII.

Tareč goma ǂhairoč ǂnūseba χuts ga ra mū o ǂabač? — ǂgaēb.

Was ist ein wenig *(-ro, Dimin.)* fahl *(ǂhai)*, und wenn *(o)* du *(-ts, Suff.)* es von *(χu)* ferne *(ǂnūse, adv., -ba Demonstr.-Part. d. Orts)* siehst *(mū, ga Part. d. Potent.)*, rot *(ǂaba)*? — Die Gemsbock-Antilope.

IX.

Tareč goma ǂgaruč? — ǂgamirob.

Was ist fleckfarben? — Das Stinktier.

X.

Tareč goma ǂuri ǂnābaī ǂabač? — ǂaris.

Was ist rot *(ǂaba)* mit weißem *(ǂuri)* Bauch? *(ǂnāba, *-I, Adj.-Endg.)* — Der Steenbock.

XI.

Tareẽ goma ǂhoaẽ, ǀhoa ǁnābaĩẽ? — kosi.

Was ist blau *(ǂhoa)* mit einem krummen *(ǀhoa)* Bauch? *(ǁnāba, *-ĩ, Adj.-Endg.)* — Die Kaffeebohne. *(Ältere Hottentotten haben das f noch nicht angenommen, die Jüngeren sagen allgemein koffi. Die Farbbezeichnung ist seltsam.)*

XII.

Tareẽ goma gai ǁnāba ũ hāẽ? — gōnaiχūs.

Was hat *(ũ nehmen, hã bleiben)* ein großes *(gai)* Licht *(ǁnāba)*? — Der Spiegel, *weil er blendet, wenn man in der Sonne mit ihm hantiert. Spiegel = das Ding (χūs, fem.), in dem man (-n, Pers.-Suff. comm. plur.) sein Gesicht betrachtet (gō).*

XIII.

Tareẽ goma ǂgubu χūẽ tsĩ i gye ǂgubu χūẽ ǂnāba ǂnōa tsĩ i gye ǂnā χūĩ ǁna dorosa ǂnōa, tsĩ i gye ǂkχaba ǂnũ χūẽ ǂnōa tsĩ ǂgāĩ kχoma ĩ χūẽ ǂnōa tsĩ ǂgubu χūẽ ǂnōa tsĩ i ga ǂnā χūẽ kχoẽĩ ai a ǂnā o i ǂkχaba ǂnā kχoẽĩ ǂgau tite? — ǂuris.

Was ist das: Ein rundes *(ǂgubu)* Ding *(χūẽ, comm. sing.)*, und daran *(ǂnāba)* sitzt *(*ǂnōa)* ein rundes Ding, und in *(ǁna)* dem Ding da *(ǂnā)* sitzt eine Dose *(dorosa)*. Dann wieder *(ǂkχaba)* kommt etwas Schwarzes *(ǂnũ)*, dann kommt etwas, das wie *(kχoma)* Gras *(ǂgāĩ, comm. sing.)* aussieht *(ĩ)*, dann kommt ein rundes Ding, und wenn *(o)* das Ding da auf *(ai)* einen Menschen *(kχoẽĩ)* fällt *(ǂnāt, ga, Part. d. Potent.)*, wird dieser Mensch nicht *(tite, Part. d. Fut. negat.)* wieder lebendig *(ǂgau)* werden? — Die Kugel *(ǂurib ist Metall i. A.)* [in der Patrone].

Die Teile, die in der Frage aufgezählt werden, sind, in gleicher Reihenfolge wie oben und mit den gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen in Klammern, folgende: a) Die metallene Hinterfläche der Patrone (kχaoaib Gefäß), zweimal genannt, um die Lösung zu erschweren; b) die Zündung (ǂais Metallperle); c) das Pulver (χurub Kohle); d) der Wattepfropf (ǁabis ist das Nest einer Aegithalus-Art, aus watteartigem Pflanzenmaterial gebaut); e) die Kugel.

XIV.

Tarel goma nānā tsīts ǂkχaba ra ǂā gaiē? — ǂabus.

Was machst du *(-ts, Suff.)* satt *(nānā, verb.)* und läßt *(gai)* du dann wieder *(ǂkχaba)* hungern *(ǂā)*? — Das Gewehr *(ǂabu paffen), das geladen und nach dem Schuß leer beiseite gestellt wird.*

XV.

Tarel goma, mūts ga o, nause tsī ǂkχō kχoma tē χabets ǂkχō titel tā tsē? — soms.

Was ist das: Wenn *(o)* du *(-ts, Suff.)* es siehst *(mū, ga Part. d. Potent.)*, scheint *(ī, verb., kχoma wie)* es gar *(tsī)* leicht *(nause für nichts d. h. ohne Mühe)* zu fangen *(*ǂkχō)* zu sein, und doch *(χabe)* wirst du es nimmermehr *(tite, Part. d. Fut. negat., tā = toma nicht, tsē Tags)* fangen? — Der Schatten.

XVI.

Tarel goma ǂguri garuba ǂkχom tomas? — soris.

Wer hilft *(ǂkχom)* dem nicht *(toma)*, der *(-ba, Pers.-Suff.)* ohne sie *(ǂguri allein)* einhergeht *(garu)*? — Die Sonne: *sie zeigt dem Wanderer Schlangen und giftiges Ungeziefer am Weg, nachts ist er auf sich selbst angewiesen.*

XVII.

Tarel goma ǂ(e)ĪĪ ose ǂgüngtsīts ǂgaise ǂgüng tomaē? — ǂaēs.

Was ist das: Wenn *(tsī, Part. d. particip. praet., mit d. Pers.-Suff. -ts du, masc.)* du ohne *(ose, adv.)* es *(ǂ(e)ĪĪ)* fortgegangen *(ǂgüng)* bist, ist dein Weg nicht *(toma)* angenehm *(ǂgaise)*? — Das Feuer[zeug] *(die Zunderdose).*

XVIII.

Tarel goma kχoēī χa ra dīhe χabe aitsoma ǂkχadi ra ǂkχīē? — ǂgoms.

Was wird vom *(χa)* Menschen *(kχoēī, comm. sing.)* gemacht *(dī, i. pass.)*, obschon *(χabe)* es auch *(ǂkχadi)* von selbst *(aitsoma)* kommt

(ǂkχl)? — Das Wasser. *Brunnen graben wird auch von den Weißen in Südafrika fast allgemein „Wasser machen" genannt. Das was „von selbst kommt", ist der Regen.*

XIX.

Tareǂ goma ǂnū daoba ra ıgūigūǂ? — hāb.

Was *(tareǂ)* macht einen weiten *(ǂnū fern)* Weg *(daoba)* kurz? *(ıgū nahe sein; verdoppelt: nahe machen)*. — Das Pferd, *weil es schnell ist.*

XX.

Tareǂ goma ıgū daoba ra ǂnū/nūǂ? — gomab, garub.

Was macht einen kurzen Weg lang? Der Trekkochse, der Reitochse, *weil er langsam ist.*

XXI.

Tareǂ goma ǂkχoǂ ıgongun ra χabe sao saregu tomana? — gunis ınūti.

Was holt sich *(-gu)*, obschon *(χabe)* eins hinter *(ıgon)* dem andern *(-gu, Reziprokalpart., mit d. Suff. d. 3. pers. plur. comm., -n in ıgongun)* hereilt *(ǂkχoǂ)*, doch nicht *(toma, mit Pers.-Suff.)* ein? *(sao folgen, sare zusammenkommen)*. — Die Wagenräder *(ınūb, masc.: Bein, -s, fem.: Rad)*.

XXII.

Tareǂ goma ǂkχariro ǂanaga ǂnū i hā χūn ıguina ra ū hā ūǂ? — marīǂ.

Was ist gar klein *(ǂkχari, -ro Dim.)* und bringt *(hā kommen, ū mit)* doch *(°ǂanaga)* nur *(ıgui einzig, i. comm. plur.)* Dinge *(χūn)*, die größer sind? *(ǂnū überragen)*. — [Das] Geld.

XXIII.

Tareǂ goma tsū disa ǂanaga ıgui enū ǂnaǂ? — sīsen tsī marīǂ hōs.

Was ist mühselig *(tsū)* zu *(-sa, Gerundivendung)* tun *(dī)*, aber *(°ǂanaga)* angenehm *(ıgui)*, davor *(°tī, Postpos.)* zu sitzen? *(ınū)*. — Die Arbeit *(sīsen, verb.)* und ihr Lohn *(marīǂ Geld, hō bekommen)*.

[PS 41 a]

L.S. phot.

ALTER BONDELZWART-HOTTENTOT

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1: Schultze FX13 Hottentot

XXIV.

Taré goma hē go otsa tū a ŋgoaba, tūba ra, ŋgoba ra tū a ŋgoaba? — ū ŋgoba.

Was ist das: Wenn *(a, mit d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj. i. Nachsatz, -tsa da)* es von dannen gegangen ist *(hē)*, hast du Herzeleid *(tū, verk. ŋgoaba Herz)*; dann vergißt *(ŋra)* du es, doch *(ŋoba, m. d. Pers.-Suff. d. Subj.)* wenn du daran denkst *(tū)*, bekommst du Herzeleid? — Ein Abgeschiedener *(hē sterben, ga verlassen, he Pass.-Endg., -a den Infin. substantiv. Pers.-Suff.)*.

XXV.

Taré goma ǂnūba ŋaba mū a ǂoa tī ŋui ŋūa ga hā aihē, tī ŋūsts ga hā a ŋaua? — hurib.

Was ist das: Wenn *(a)* du *(-ts, Pers.-Suff.)* es von *(ŋa)* ferne *(ŋū, -se Adv.-Endg., -hi Demonstr.-Part.)* siehst *(mā)*, ist es blau *(ǂoa)*, und weiße *(ŋui)* Dinger *(ŋūa, comm. plur.)* sind *(hā)* darauf *(ai, mit Pass.-Endg. und Pers.-Suff.)*, aber wenn du *(-ts)* nahe *(ŋū)* herzugekommen bist *(hā)*, ist es durchsichtig? *(ŋūa neuter, klar)*. — Das Meer.

E. Schlußwort.

Das Verhältnis der Hottentotten zur eindringenden Kultur.

Wie kommt es, daß ein Volk wie die Hottentotten, das klare Beweise von jeher anerkannter und unter den Eingeborenen Südafrika's hervorragender Intelligenz gegeben hat, vor der Kultur wie Wachs auf heißer Platte dahinschmilzt? Unter welchen Ereignissen diese Auflösung bisher vor sich gegangen ist, ist in Kriegs- und Friedensbildern oft geschildert worden [7], [8], [9]. Uns interessiert hier lediglich die prinzipielle Seite.

Die erste Begegnung eines Hottentottenstammes mit der Kultur gestaltete sich überall freundlich, alle älteren Reisenden rühmen die Gastlichkeit des Volks und den Schutz, den ihnen die Kapitäne gegen Übergriffe Einzelner angedeihen ließen. Der Hottentott erwartete und fand auch zunächst seinen Vorteil: der Händler brachte ihm Kleider und Decken, die er sich selbst nun nicht mehr aus Fellen mühsam zu gerben und mit Sehnengarn zu nähen brauchte, brachte ihm Hausgeräte, die ihm das Töpfern und

die Hottentottenwut abzuhelfen. Dazu kamen Genußmittel, teils seit Alters hoch geschätzte, wie der Alkohol, jetzt in neuer konzentrierter Form, teils neue, die wie der Tabak und Kaffee sich so einbürgerten, daß sie kaum noch entbehrt werden können. Was aber vor allem Anderen dem Hottentotten eine friedliche Haltung zur einbringenden Kultur vorschrieb, war die Erkenntnis, mit ihrer Hilfe seine eigene Macht in ungeahnter Weise vervielfältigen zu können: der Vertausch des Degens mit der Feuerwaffe machte ihn mit einem Schlag zum Herrn über die gesamte belebte Natur und ebenbürtig im Kampf mit seinen Feinden.

Die Mission wurde, die den Waffenhandel in großem Stil betrieb, als die deutsche Regierung, die ihn auch nach der Besitzergreifung des Schutzgebietes im Norden den Händlern frei ließ, gaben den Hottentotten aber noch weitere Garantien, die ihn gleichfalls der Kultur willig näher brachten: der Hottentott erkannte bald, daß er im Missionar einen Freund hatte, auf den er sich in allen Lebenslagen unbedingt verlassen konnte. Die Regierung ihrerseits schloß Schutzverträge mit den Kapitänen, die diesen um so angenehmer waren, als sie ihre Macht einstweilen nicht beeinträchtigten.

Auch vom weißen Ansiedler versprach sich der Hottentott Vorteile am Landeserträgnis und am Steuern, die er von ihm erhob, und aus Anlehnungen, die er gelegentlich vornahm, wo der Weiße dem Land in harter Arbeit etwas abgerungen hatte.

Noch lagen im Groß-Namalande Gebiete brach, in denen sich der Weiße, ohne dem Eingeborenen etwas zu nehmen, ansiedeln konnte; aber im Laufe der Zeit mußte es dahin kommen, daß sich der Hottentott eingeengt sah, wo er vorher frei nach Maßgabe seiner Macht über Weide und Wasser verfügte. Er hätte in seinem Kapitänen wohl die Macht gehabt, aber er hatte, schon ehe er sich bewegt fühlte, nicht die Fähigkeit, hier die Interessensphären seiner und der fremden Rasse billig abzugrenzen.

Die Kapitäne suchten nur ihren eigenen Vorteil, erwiesen sich klar als das, was sie sind: eigensüchtige Machthaber, nicht Vertreter der Volksinteressen — es sei denn, daß die Interessen des Volkes mit denen ihrer eigenen Person zusammenfielen. So war es nicht anders möglich, als daß die weiße Regierung, die sich inzwischen etabliert hatte und von dem redlichen Wunsch beseelt war, Jedem zu seinem Recht zu verhelfen, eine Einschränkung der Kapitäne-Selbstherrlichkeit bedeutete. Das ist das passive Moment aller unserer Hottentottenkriege gewesen. Vorübergehend haben

sich die Herrschergelüste der anscheinend zahmen, mit den Namen der Apostel, Propheten und Erzväter geschmückten Machthaber wohl mit Geld und freigebig erteilten Alkoholkonzessionen zur Ruhe bringen; aber die so Bevorzugten fühlten sich trotz aller Einbezeugungen, die ihnen gelegentlich erwiesen wurden, vom Weißen unterdrückt, sahen aber gleichzeitig doch — und das war das Verhängnisvolle — ihre Macht über Ihresgleichen nicht gebrochen. Das hielt ihren Ehrgeiz wach und nährte die Sehnsucht nach der vollen Freiheit von ehedem. Daß dieser Trieb endlich mächtiger wurde als jede Erwägung, wie überlegen wir ihnen im Kampf sein würden, werden wir um so nachsichtiger beurteilen, je kurzsichtiger unsere eigene Prognose in diesem Punkte war.

Auf anderem Gebiet liegen die Ursachen, warum die Masse des Volks der Kultur erlag, statt für gewonnen zu werden. Man muß dabei von der fundamentalen Umwälzung der Lebensbedingungen ausgehen, die mit dem Einzug der Kultur in Südafrika für die Hottentotten verbunden war. Sehen wir zunächst von der Viehzucht ab und betrachten wir innerhalb der weißen, ihnen Grenzen die Jagdgründe der Hottentottenheimat: Das westliche Südafrika war um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts, auf große Strecken auch noch vor 100 Jahren, eines der wildreichsten Länder der Erde. Heute kann südlich des Oranje schon lange kein Hottentott mehr von der Jagd leben. Als die Kapregierung sich besann, das Wild zu schützen, war es für eine Erwägung der Frage des Eingeborenenwohls längst zu spät. Die Besorgnis des Sportsmannes, als Nimrod demnächst kaltgestellt zu werden, — die halb wirtschaftliche, halb ästhetische Erwägung, daß Wildpret doch der beste Teil des südafrikanischen Tisches ist, — endlich das Bewußtsein der Ehrenpflicht eines Kulturvolks, Naturdenkmäler, wie sie unter dem Hochwild Südafrikas der Elefant, das Nashorn und die Giraffe darstellt, der Nachwelt zu erhalten, — das waren die Motive für die Maßregeln, wenigstens den Rest des Wildes noch zu schützen.

Eine der ergiebigsten Jagdarten des Hottentotten war der Anstand an der Wasserstelle. Es ist klar, daß der Bur, der sich hier ansiedelt, oder der Viehzüchter, der das Vieh seines weißen Herrn hier tränkt, oder der Frachtfahrer, der hier kampiert, den Platz jagdlich entwertet. Wo sich das langsam zusammensiedelnde an immer mehr Stellen wiederholt, wird es dem Eingeborenen ebenso fühlbar wie die zunehmende Wildverödung längs der Eisenbahnlinien und im Umkreis der Stationen. Daß bei fast jedem für uns selbst erfreulichen Fortschritt in der Kolonisierung das Landes der Eingeborene in seinen

alten Lebensbedingungen entsprechend geschädigt wird, dessen sollte man sich wenigstens bewußt sein.

Verhängnisvoller als die Vernichtung der Jagdgründe wurde die planlose Veräußerung der Weidegebiete durch die Kapitäne an Farmlandspekulanten, denen jedes Mittel recht war. Auch sein Vieh gab der Hottentott auf leichtfertigste Weise für Gewehre, Alkohol, Tabak und andere Artikel hin, an die er sich gewöhnt hatte.

Man hat dem Hottentotten vielfach in der besten Absicht, ihn der Kultur zugänglich zu machen, Bedürfnisse in Kleidung und Lebensführung anerzogen, ohne entsprechend dafür zu sorgen, daß er sie nicht in einer Weise befriedigt, die ihn wirtschaftlich ruiniert. Denn von selbst sieht der Hottentott nicht, oder will, wenn er es sieht, die friedliche Konsequenz daraus nicht ziehen, daß ihm nur zwei Wege offen stehen, unter weißer Herrschaft zu leben. Entweder: der neuen Konkurrenz in der Ausbeutung der natürlichen Werte des Landes Stand halten, d. h. nach europäischen Begriffen rationell wirtschaften lernen, um sich wirtschaftlich selbständig zu halten. Oder: der Konkurrenz sich beugen und im Dienste des Weißen sein Brot suchen.

Den ersten Weg hat nur ein kleiner Teil der Hottentotten beschritten, und nur wenige von ihnen haben sich wohlhabend gehalten. Ein zweiter Teil hat den letzteren Weg beschritten und sich dem Weißen als Viehwächter, Wagentreiber, Dienstknecht oder Dienstmagd in Haus und Hof verdingt. Er hat hier wenigstens keine Nahrungssorgen und fühlt sich im Allgemeinen, auch wenn ihn sein Herr zuweilen hart anfaßt, wohl, wenn er Gerechtigkeit sieht, die aus der Überlegenheit des Einen keine Erniedrigung des Anderen macht. In diesem Punkte ist der Hottentott trotz äußerlich oft unbegrenzter Devotion von peinlicher Empfindsamkeit.

Die Mädchen und jungen Frauen können im Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zum Weißen auch auf ihre Rechnung. Im intimen Verkehr mit dem weißen Mann findet die junge Hottentottin ein sorgenfreies Leben. Ihre Eitelkeit wird meist nach jeder Richtung befriedigt, ihre Sinnlichkeit spricht stark mit, und ein weißes Kind zu gebären erhöht sie oft gewaltig mit Stolz.

Für den Durchschnitts-Hottentotten, der nur Eintags-Freuden und -Sorgen kennt, der Fürsorge weder für die Kinder nach seinem Tode noch für die eigene Zeit des Alters oder der Not bedenkt, wäre die Hörigkeit im Dienst des Weißen die leichteste Art, sich durch das Leben zu schlagen, wenn einerseits die Folgen der sexuellen Degeneration ihn nicht herunter-

stigen, und wenn man ihn andererseits dauernd an regelmäßige Arbeit gewöhnen könnte; das letztere ist aber bisher nie, weder mit gütlicher noch mit weltlicher Macht systematisch in Angriff genommen worden.

So blickt sich denn ein großer Teil der Hottentotten, wie in vergangenen Jahrhunderten, so auch heute bei weitem früher als am Futtertrapf des Weißen da, wo er in hartem Daseinskampfe einer kärglichen Natur seinen Lebensunterhalt abringen muß, aber durch keine anderen als die natürlichen Schranken selbst in seiner Bewegung gehindert wird. Die selbstbewußte Lebensweise sagt ihm, dem nur eine Erziehung durch Generationen hindurch den alten Nomadentrieb wohl brechen könnte, von heute auf morgen nicht zu. Er will sich nicht, wie es im Dienst des Weißen gefordert wird, an Tag und Stunde binden, will lieber die Strapazen der Wanderungen und die Entbehrungen monatelangen Aufenthalts in der Wildnis tragen, als sich zu geregelter Arbeit einspannen lassen. Aus diesem Material setzt sich die willigste Gefolgschaft der unerbittlichsten Kapitäne zusammen.

Ist dann bei erster Gelegenheit das Signal zum Aufruhr gegeben, dann erwacht bei Hunderten Anderer die alte Abenteuerlust, die Hoffnung auf reiche Beute und Siegesruhm, wie sie aus den endlosen Kämpfen vergangener Jahrzehnte in aller Erinnerung sind. Dann öffnet sich auch dem Einzelnen überall ein Weg zu persönlicher Rache für Unrecht, das einmal vor Jahren erlitten war, dann wird endlich auch über alle Einzelfragen von Recht oder Unrecht in Gegenwart oder Vergangenheit hinweggetönend, elementar der Ruf laut, den ich in immer gleicher Naivität und logischer Unwiderleglichkeit so oft gehört habe: „Das Land war unser, wir wollen wieder die Herren darin sein!" Das ist das alte Lied und das Ende davon auch hier, daß eine Menschengruppe mehr vom Erdboden verschwindet.

Hottentot Bibliography

[The following bibliography was compiled during the processing of the Hottentot file by Dr. George Peter Murdock of Yale and various members of the Hraf staff. The numbers and letters following date of publication are call numbers for the Yale library.]

Identification

The Hottentots are divided into four primary divisions: East Hottentot, Cape Hottentot, Korana, and Nama. Most of the information is on the Nama.

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The Ethnology of Africa
Edited by J. H. Driberg, M.A.
and I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.

THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

[p.:]

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500

THE ETHNOLOGY OF AFRICA

THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA
(Bushmen and Hottentots)
By I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.

THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL BANTU
By E. Torday

THE PAGAN PEOPLES OF NORTH-EAST AFRICA
By J. H. Driberg

THE PAGAN TRIBES OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN
By Professor C. G. Seligman

THE SOUTHERN BANTU
By I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D.

THE BANTU PEOPLES OF EAST AFRICA
By L. S. B. Leakey

THE LACUSTRINE BANTU
By J. H. Driberg

THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF WEST AFRICA
By Hans Lebzelter

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[Frontispiece
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THE KHOISAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS

By
I. SCHAPERA
M.A. (Cape Town), Ph.D. (London)

[p. iii]

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To
THE SCHOOL OF AFRICAN LIFE AND LANGUAGES
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
and to
PROFESSOR A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN
its former Director
IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

5

[RIV]

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[2] THIS volume is the first of a series designed to provide in a scientific manner a comprehensive survey of what is at present known about the racial characters, cultures, and languages of the native peoples of Africa. The rapid improvement in anthropological technique since the beginning of the century has led to far more complete and systematic studies by workers in the field than had previously been attempted, with the result that a vast amount of detailed information about numerous individual tribes has been rendered available. All this information needs to be sifted and correlated before it will be possible to arrive at a correct appreciation of the data and problems of African ethnology.

To this must be added the increasing public interest in all things African, which makes it desirable that the results of scientific research should be so presented as to be of service not only to the theoretical anthropologist and the specialist student of African ethnology, but also to the general reader and especially to those whose sphere of activity brings them into intimate daily contact with the African Native. To the administrator, the missionary, the economist, and the educationist, each in his own way now moulding the life of the Native into conformity with the standards of European civilization, a thorough knowledge and understanding of the people with whom he is concerned is an indispensable preliminary to the successful execution of his task. It is the hope of the editors that applied anthropology no less than the purely academic science will find in this series the groundwork upon which it may build for the future.

The series has been so planned as to take into consideration cultural rather than political boundaries. Each volume is written by a specialist in full touch with current anthropological thought, and with an extensive first-hand knowledge of the areas and peoples with whom he is dealing. In the presentation of material special prominence will be given to the descriptive analysis of social organization, customs, and customs, economic and political life, religion and magic, as it is felt that, apart from their greater theoretical interest, a full critical discussion of these cultural aspects and the part they play in the life

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[2] of the people is the main contribution that anthropology as a practical science has to make to the future government and well-being of Africa. The wider problems of racial movements and the diffusion of culture, in the analysis and interpretation of which lies the key to the ethnological history of Africa, can only be dealt with adequately once each separate cultural division has been studied in detail. These and the contactual relations existing and developing between Europeans and Natives will form the theme of the concluding volume.

J. H. Driberg.
I. Schapera.

[3] *This present series of books on Africa is not a publication of the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures. It could not be so, since work was begun on it before the plans of the Institute for its own publications had been settled. The Institute, however, welcomes this series very warmly, not only because the authors are members of the Institute and help it substantially in many ways, but also because the Institute naturally takes the keenest interest in all scientific publications dealing with African peoples and languages. Such publications materially assist the furtherance of its work, and this is particularly true of the present series. It is not the purpose of this short preface to make a critical study of the books included in the series, but I can say without reserve that they present an incredibly and invaluable survey of the peoples of the continent of Africa, which will be most welcome to both the anthropologist and the practical man, and will therefore meet a real need. That they will find many friends and extensive readers among the members of the Institute is certain.*

Professor Dr. Diedrich Westermann,
Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

April, 1930.

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For the illustrations I am indebted to various sources: to Dr. L. Fourie for the Frontispiece and Plates VI, VII, VIII, XIA, XII and XIIA; to Dr. L. Schultze and his publisher, Herr Gustav Fischer, of Jena, for permission to reproduce Plates I, II, IIIa, VA, X, XIV, and XV, from *Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (1907), and Plates III and V from *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner* (1928); to the Trustees of the British Museum for Plates IX, and XIa, kindly obtained for me by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz; to Miss M. Wilman and Mr. A. M. Cronin, of the McGregor Memorial Museum, Kimberley, for Plates IIIA, and IV; and to Mr. M. C. Burkitt and his publishers, the Cambridge University Press, for permission to reproduce Plate XIII from *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*. To all of them I am deeply grateful for their co-operation.

I. SCHAPERA.

Cape Town,
August, 1929.

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PART I

ETHNO-GEOGRAPHY

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Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are commonly classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

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with the exception of the southern half of South-West Africa and the western and central districts of the Cape. They are most densely settled in the eastern half of this region, i.e. in the Eastern Province and Native Territories of the Cape, Basutoland, Natal and Zululand, Swaziland, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa, while in the central and western portions—Orange Free State, British Bechuanaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and South-West Africa—they are much less numerous, although still greatly outnumbering the other native peoples. They are essentially negroes who have absorbed a varying amount of Hamitic blood, and therefore tend to differ somewhat in appearance from the Bergdama. Their languages belong to the great Bantu language family of Central and Southern Africa, and in grammatical structure and vocabulary are quite unlike those of the other South African native peoples. They are also on a higher level of culture, combining cultivation of crops with pastoralism as their principal means of subsistence, their communities are on the whole far larger, and their social organization is somewhat more complex.

Of these four groups of native peoples, the Bushmen and the Hottentots have both declined considerably in strength and numbers as a result of the encroachments first of the Bantu and then of the European settlers. The whole culture of the Hottentots has fallen largely into decay, and the majority of the people have even lost their own language and adopted that of the Dutch; while such tribes of Bushmen as still survive appear to be gradually dying out or at least merging with their Bantu neighbours. The Bergdama seem to have suffered less in regard to numbers, but their culture too is undergoing rapid disintegration. The social cohesion of the people in all these instances has been almost completely broken down. As far as present economic or political importance is concerned, they are relatively negligible in problems of inter-racial relationship, while numerically they are so inferior to the whites as to be considered an insignificant minority.

The Bantu peoples, on the other hand, are still vigorous and powerful, and in their economic and political relations with the European inhabitants of the country present one of the most vital problems now confronting European civilization in South Africa. They greatly outnumber the white population, and appear to be steadily increasing, a fact which is giving rise to much apprehension on the part of the latter. Their social and political organization, too, is so

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superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original customs and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with these two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the east of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 913,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis der Körper der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names Khoi-Khoin, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and San, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

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miles, without peninsulas of any size or any large islands off its coasts.* By far the greater part has an elevation of over 3,000 feet above the sea, while the area below 1,500 feet is merely a narrow fringe round the coast. Most of the interior consists of a high plateau region, rising gradually around its borders and passing by degrees into an encircling belt of much diversified country. The escarpment which bounds it on the south-east, south, and west is constituted by the Drakensberg Mountains of the Transvaal, the Drakensberg or Quathlamba of Natal and the Transkei, the Stormberg of the north-eastern Cape Province, the Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Roggeveld, and Kamiesberg further south and west, and is continued northwards under less well-known names to beyond the Kunene River. These mountains appear to be of no great height when viewed from the interior plateau, but on the seaward side they fall steeply, though rather irregularly, to the much lower level of country on the west and south.

On the west, as far south as the Olifants River, the escarpment is separated from the ocean by slopes of a more uniform nature, but in the south the Great Karroo and long ranges of fold-mountains (the Cape Fold-belt) intervene between it and the coast. The coast-line on the west is generally low, almost unbroken by bays or promontories, and beaten all the year round by a heavy surf; on the south there are several prominent headlands, which, however, afford little protection to ships. The only good natural harbour of any size is Saldanha Bay in the south-west, but at Walvis Bay, Table Bay, Algoa Bay and other places piers have been constructed.

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The general characteristics of the climate are determined more by the physical conformation of the land than by proximity to the equator. The eastern escarpments of the high plateau intercept the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, so that over the greater part of the interior the rainfall is slight (5 to 24 inches). This, added to the elevation of the land, makes the climate in general dry, bracing, and suitable for Europeans, notwithstanding the fact that the northern part of the country is within the tropics. Owing to the gradual increase of altitude from the coast to the interior, there is a remarkable uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the region: at

* The description given above is compiled mainly from the following sources: S. Passarge, *Südafrika*, 1908, chapter on our province; L. Schultze, "Südwestafrika," in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, 1910-11, II. Band(s), vol. I, pp. 109-198; *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 1914, vol. on "Africa", chapter I.—*Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 2, 1918, map (page 8 and 1918); *The South and East African Year Book and Guide* (ed. A. S. Reuter and C. C. Rowan), 1919 edition, pp. 81-98 and passim.

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very many places, irrespective of latitude or longitude, it is very close to 63° F., which is also the mean for the entire area. The difference between mean summer and mean winter temperatures is, however, considerable, increasing from the coast inland, while the daily range of temperature is also generally great. Frosts are common on the plateau during winter. H B 132

By far the greater part of the country receives the bulk of its rainfall in summer. The winter rainfall area is confined to a comparatively narrow strip parallel with the west coast, and the constant rainfall area to a much smaller belt in the south. Generally speaking the amount of precipitation decreases from east to west, with areas of heavier rainfall along the south coast and in the south-west. The average annual rainfall of about 14 inches is fairly regular all over the eastern half of South Africa, reaching a maximum of 40 inches in Zululand, and diminishing gradually along the south coast to rise again in the Cape Peninsula. It rapidly falls to 10 inches in the south-western Karroo, from which there is a steady decrease towards the north-west in South-West Africa, but the mean value is again approached in Angola and in the northern and eastern Kalahari.

This contrast in the amount and incidence of the rainfall tends to explain very largely the lack in correspondence of the principal river-systems in the south and west respectively. On the west the rivers are few, and only the Kunene, Orange, Olifants, and Berg are perennial, of which the first two, the largest, not only rise within centres of high rainfall, but also receive no important contributions throughout the lower part of their courses. In the south, owing to the moderately high winter rainfall, the smaller rivers rarely cease flowing, but all the important ones, such as the Gouritz, Gamtoos, and Sundays, actually originate in the interior region of summer rains behind the coast ranges and pass through the latter to the sea by means of deep gorges. They receive insufficient water in their courses across the Folded Belt to maintain a constant flow at all seasons, and in times of drought may become a series of pools. H B 133

Since most of the larger rivers rise upon the interior plateau, their gradients, over stretches, are high; sometimes there are waterfalls, such as the Ruacana on the Kunene and the Aughrabies on the Orange, while rocky bars or rapids may occur in their channels within the coastal belt or just before it is reached. In consequence of this great slope, and of the intermittent supply of water, none of the rivers is navigable beyond its estuary. The mouths of the rivers

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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are always obstructed by sand bars, and most of the rivers are further liable to receive sudden freshets, which sweep down with great force and render the fords impassable until they have subsided.

Natural Divisions and Vegetation

The Interior Plateau

Topographically the interior plateau can be divided up into several regions, more or less sharply defined from one another by the shape and character of the surface and by the climate. Its heart is constituted by the Kalahari Desert, a huge sand and bush-covered plain standing at an average elevation of 3,000 to 3,500 feet above the sea, and devoid of running water except in the extreme north. The greater part of this plain forms the western portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, but it spreads south into that part of Bechuanaland annexed to the Cape and west into South-West Africa. The Orange River may be taken as marking its southern limit; westwards it reaches to the foot of the Nama and Damara highlands of South-West Africa, eastwards to the cultivated parts of Bechuanaland, and northwards to the Congo-Zambesi watershed, embracing the valley of the Okavango and the bed of Lake Ngami.

The Kalahari as a whole is arid and scored by the beds of dried-up rivers. Its surface is thickly covered with red sand and calcareous deposits, through which the basement rocks seldom show. In a few places, however, they project abruptly above the plains in the form of isolated bare hills, which though not high are conspicuous on account of the monotonous regularity of the surface from which they arise. The ground is undulating and is thrown up towards the west into extensive belts of parallel sand dunes, in part, however, fixed by vegetation, which cover a great portion of the country in the south and stretch with interruptions to beyond Lake Ngami.

Throughout the Desert there are extensive mud flats, which after heavy rains become pans and lakes of shallow water, and water is then also found in mud-bottomed pools along the beds of rivers. All over the country numerous small pans or vleis also occur in crater-like depressions where the rock rises above the desert sands. The water in these pans is often brackish and in some cases thickly encrusted with salt. The native routes lead from pan to pan, or from one waterhole in the bed of a sandy river to another. During the dry season the lack of water is so widespread in the Southern

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain.

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another.

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface.

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving

? Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX 10

H B 137 the country the appearance of a vast cornfield. Considerable portions, chiefly in the west and north, are, however, covered with dense thorn bush, while in the north-west the whole region is well timbered and merges into thick tropical vegetation. Along the river beds throughout the country are dense thickets of Acacia (*detinens*, *giraffae*, and *horrida*), almost impenetrable in parts and often harbouring great numbers of wild animals. Large forest trees such as mopane, commiphora, and kirre and there baobabs are found in the north. Succulents, such as the *Aloe dichotoma* and *Euphorbia dinteri*, abound wherever there is rocky soil, while leguminous and bulbous plants are an important feature of the vegetation in all parts. The most remarkable of these plants is the well-known *tsama* melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), which owing to its nutritive and thirst-quenching properties is a veritable staff of life in many parts of the country during the height of the dry season.

H B 137 Towards the western border of the Kalahari, as the superficial deposits become thinner, ridges of rock make their appearance and become more and more numerous, the ground-level rises generally, and the region passes by degrees into the highlands of South-West Africa, which form the western edge of the vast interior plateau. This whole territory is practically one great series of undulating elevated plains, intersected by small mountain ranges, of which the Brandberg near the coast rises up as high as 8,277 feet above the sea.

In the far north-west is a chain of rugged mountains stretching south-east through the highland region of the Kaokoveld at a distance of 25 to 40 miles from the coast. Further inland the north-east Kaokoveld consists of an elevated plain, sloping abruptly towards the Kunene River and Ovamboland; from it hills emerge to the south and west. Ovamboland, which shares the characteristics of the Kalahari region, is a slightly undulating sandy plain, intersected by a number of shallow watercourses filled by the Kunene overflow and draining to the Etosha Pan. Towards the south of the Kaokoveld there is a general decrease in height. This southern portion, a country of steep, rocky hills with narrow valleys, passes over to the east into the Karst region, for the greater part a wide plain sloping gently towards the Etosha Pan and characterised by the formations associated with dolomitic limestone. The usual features of this kind of country are met with: sink holes, subterranean caverns and springs, and the absence of defined waterways, due to the porous character of the surface covering.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Northern Damaraland to the south of the Kaoko region is a vast H
tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and B
a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further 133
south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000
feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and
east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude
7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep
clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are
characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the moun-
tain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south extend
the plateaux and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This
part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that
of the Kuiseb to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east.
West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains,
among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib
plateau, while to the east of it is the Hauses plateau. Still further
east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinamib plateau overlooks the
Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas
Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the
greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated
tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly
of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the
sand-veld of the Kalahari.

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the H
Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather B
than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying 132
to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the summer; [44]
but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat
easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear,
bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice
often forms upon the central and southern plateaux. Rain falls during
the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter
season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6
inches in the south to 22 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches
in the north.

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern H
frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there B
are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. 133
Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents
for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

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Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaux and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grewia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca* Grah., the wild tobacco plant, is found as a scraggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Otjimbingwe the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Irideaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalidae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

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South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera [-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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Bushmen: FX 10

of the Orange Riv... is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland H
further east is ... essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from B
which it is separ... by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. 132
The summer rain... all is low (1 to 10 inches), increasing gradually 133
from the west ... ards; there is practically no surface water, and the
soil is usually ... stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry
throughout the g... ater part of the year, and the Orange River is the
only one that ... rs contains water. The general aspect of the H
vegetation both ... and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated B
xerophytic shrubs ... and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent 137
plants in the low... ing valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses
do not form a ... spicuous feature, but they occur on the high
plateaux and sandy ... plains, where the vegetative period is short, and
where they always ... assume a tufted habit.

Further south ... east in the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid H
belt of country ... reaching northwards to the Orange River at an B
elevation of between ... 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is 133
bounded on the west ... by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuwe-
veld and Sneeuwberg ... ranges, which form part of the great escarpment
of the interior pla... au. The landscape appears for the most part
in the form of vast ... reless plains, only here and there broken by table-
topped hills boldly ... scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheers, while
occasionally dark ... ngers, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite,
are seen traversing ... he country for many miles.

The region is ... posed to great extremes of temperature. Severe H
frosts are experienced ... d in the winter nights, while the summer heats B
are correspondingly ... severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. 132
The feeling of oppr... sion at such times is increased by the hot westerly
winds which prevail ... ssions during the first half of summer, although
the nights are cool ... even during the periods of greatest heat. The
winter days, on the ... other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being
keen and bright with ... a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range
of rainfall, from less ... than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in
the east; the greater ... part of this falls in violent summer thunder-
storms, and almost ... the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep
gullies which hurry ... it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, H
and the streams are ... all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock- B
strewn, except in the ... alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface 133
limestone becomes ... an important feature in the drier parts of the 134
region. Pans are ... ndant, and a striking feature in the low-grade

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

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The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

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The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea.

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 30 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·1°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 62·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°.

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich

FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos horrida* Welw.), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1950
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly occur.

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, members of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, ceder, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood.

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and [39] impoft; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX13

a more familiar appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert waste for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other realms of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–66.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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and nineteenth centuries many of the larger game animals were driven out of the more southern regions, the quagga being totally exterminated, but most of them are still found in the Kalahari and northern parts of South-West Africa, as well as in the eastern lowlands (from Zululand to the Zambesi delta).

The kudu is the most common of the larger antelopes, the duiker and steenbok among the smaller antelopes still numerous over the whole country, while in the north and east herds of hartebeest, blue wildebeest, gemsbok, and eland are also found in fair numbers. Among the better-known antelopes peculiar to South Africa are the bontebok and the black wildebeest, both now surviving only in a state of semi-captivity on farms, and the springbok, still fairly plentiful in some districts and kept in small herds on many farms. It formerly inhabited in immense numbers the open treeless plains of all South Africa, and is celebrated for the vast "treks" in which it travelled in search of food or water. Small herds of elephant survive in a few strongholds to the east and south, and in parts of the Northern Kalahari. The zebra, giraffe, buffalo, and rhinoceros are still found in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the eastern lowlands, while the hippopotamus, formerly abundant in every river of the Cape, is now confined to the neighbourhood of the Orange River, and also occurs in the rivers of the Kalahari and the Low Veld of the east. Of carnivorous animals the leopard is still common in many mountainous regions over the whole country, as are also the wild cat, red lynx, spotted hyena, and jackal, but the lion, once so plentiful throughout the Cape Province, is now apparently extinct south of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Baboons are numerous in many mountainous districts, and the forests, even along the south coast, still shelter monkeys.

Birds especially prominent in South Africa include the starlings, the weaver-birds, the larks, the sunbirds, the shrikes, bulbuls, and swallows. Of game birds the most common are the ostrich, still existing in the wild state in various unenclosed parts of the country, though now chiefly known as a domesticated bird; the bustards (korhaans and paauws), the francolins or African partridges, guinea-fowl, sand grouse, quail, and snipe, as well as numerous varieties of waterfowl. The secretary bird (*Serpentarius*), a long-legged terrestrial relative of the hawks and eagles, is protected on the strength of its reputation as a snake killer. A tropical element, comprising such birds as parrots, louries, hornbills, rollers, and glossy starlings, penetrates

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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal highveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic constitution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the rinkhals (*Sinpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendraspis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachnida are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole possesses an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants

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are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anopheline mosquito conveys

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malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies

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and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great rôle in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–211; Idem, "Die Grundlinien der vergleichenden Rhön der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–56, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–18.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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and other game and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for cultivation. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!nara* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the roots melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is inundated by the water.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The pioneers of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled areas, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; Johnston, *Kalahari*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and the elevated ridges and plateaux of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless wilds of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaux of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasturage and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

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Chapter II

HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Bushmen

Early History

174 The Bushmen were long regarded as the earliest human inhabitants of South Africa, and as having occupied the country from times of remote antiquity. This belief, most fully expressed in Stow's classical work, *The Native Races of South Africa*,[1] was not without some foundation. Of the peoples of South Africa of whom there is any definite historical record, the Bushmen are certainly the oldest; the other native peoples show in their traditions that when they first entered the country they found the Bushmen already scattered over the greater part of its surface; while the relics of the Bushmen, such as rock paintings, rock engravings, and stone implements, are distributed over a far more extensive area than was occupied by the people themselves within historical times, and frequently occur under conditions which postulate some antiquity.

172 174 It has now become fully established, however, that the Bushmen were preceded in the occupation of South Africa by other peoples. Recent archæological investigation has shown that there existed in the country a number of different stone implement industries, clearly separated in time as well as in character.[2] These industries are grouped chronologically into the Earlier, Middle, and Later Stone Age Cultures. The stone implements and rock art associated with the Bushmen all belong to the Later Stone Age, and it is only in deposits of this Age that skeletal remains of the Bushmen have been found.

[1] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London, 1905), chaps. i–ii.

[2] The most useful general account of the prehistoric cultures of South Africa and their northern affinities is by M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, which contains a good bibliography. Cf. also the valuable sketch by A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Stone Ages in South Africa," *Africa*, ii (1929), 174–82, and the recent series of monographs by Goodwin and Lowe on *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (Annals of the S. Afr. Museum, 27, 1929).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen. 172

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2] 174

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro, 174 144

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 116.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen [illegible]

to which main stock they are generally regarded as belonging. But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which have specialized along different lines.[1]

At the same time, although as a distinct racial type the Bushmen are now restricted to Africa south of the Zambesi River, traces of their former existence further north are found not only in culture. Physical features reminiscent of them are seen occasionally in various peoples of East-Central Africa, such as the Andorobo, Elgunono, and Doko, while between Abyssinia on the north and the Zambesi River on the south evidence of their absorption by the Nilotic and Bantu negroes is found in sporadic reversions of their type occurring in almost all the East African peoples.[2] Moreover, the Sandawe, a settled hunting people living west of the Irangi plateau in Tanganyika Territory, speak a language which in phonology (especially in the occurrence of " click " consonants), syntax, and vocabulary has certain by no means insignificant resemblances with the Khoisan languages of South Africa, and the Kanjegu of the same region are also said to have a click language.[3] There seems to be no great similarity in appearance between these peoples and the Bushmen; but, as Dempwolff suggests, it is quite probable that they were originally Bushmen who have since become considerably modified, first by intermixture with Hamitic immigrants into East Africa, and later by the incorporation of Bantu blood as well.

On the whole, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the Bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa, perhaps even to the confines of Abyssinia. That they are no longer to be found in this region may be ascribed to its extensive invasion by later Hamitic and Negro peoples. Harried by the encroachment of these more powerful races, the Bushmen, where they were not exterminated or absorbed, must gradually have passed southwards, keeping along the more open grasslands of the eastern

[1] The points of resemblance between the Bushmen and the Pygmies are fully discussed by F. von Luschan, " Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76, who is of the opinion that the two are closely related. The main arguments against this view may be seen in, e.g. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 518 sqq., and R. Pöch, " Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *Korrbl. deutz. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 73–80. A. C. Haddon, in *The Races of Man*, 1924, pp. 17–18, gives short summaries of the physical characteristics of the two peoples, which bring out very clearly the essential points both of resemblance and of difference.

[2] A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assn.* (*South Africa Meeting*), 1905, p. 514.

[3] O. Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe*, 1916, esp. pp. 63–70; F. J. Bagshawe, " The Peoples of the Happy Valley," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 25 sqq., 127 sqq., 219 sqq., 328 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined.

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration.

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical

[1] Laing, op. cit., 306-7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Goodwin on "Strandlooper" remains from Elandsfontein, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi-xxiii (1924-6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 182).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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162 174 times Bushmen were living in districts from which they have now completely disappeared, or where perhaps only a few individuals still survive. This is the case in Natal, Basutoland, Orange Free State, and especially the Cape, in all of which, as recently as the middle of last century, the Bushmen were still fairly numerous.

But the encroachment of later invading peoples gradually ousted them from the more favourable districts which they occupied. First the Hottentots, advancing south along the west coast, drove them from the fertile plains to the mountain fastnesses of the interior. Then the Bantu, pressing down the east coast, overcame the fierce resistance of the little people upon whose ancient hunting grounds they trespassed. Other Bantu tribes, traversing the interior of the country, came into conflict with the Bushmen in the arid plains north and south of the Orange River and the Vaal and in the rugged mountains to the east. The European settler, in his turn pushing north and east and seeking fresh pastures for his growing herds, waged an equally relentless war against them. Before each successive invader the Bushmen, where they were not forcibly exterminated, had eventually to seek refuge in more unfavourable and inaccessible parts.[1]

162 At the present time they are found living principally in the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and in the northern half of South-West Africa. On the north they extend into South-East Angola up to about 15 degrees S. latitude, on the east into the Tuli and adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, on the south into the region of the Nossob and Molopo Rivers, and on the west to the Etosha Pan in South-West Africa. Small isolated remnants are also met with in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, in the coastal province of Mossamedes in South-West Angola, and in the Namib desert strip along the coast of South-West Africa.

Everywhere else the Bushmen have been either exterminated, expelled, or incorporated racially by later invaders, although stray individuals may still be seen occasionally in the north-west districts of the Cape and sporadically in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is only in the Kalahari Desert and the north-eastern parts of South-West Africa that they still retain to any degree their original mode of life and organization. Even here they have all been affected to some

[1] A vivid account of the vain resistance offered by the Bushmen to the peoples encroaching upon them, and of the relentless manner in which they were persecuted, is given by Stow, op. cit., especially in chaps. ix–xii. Cf. also K. Barthel, "Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents," *Mitt. Ver. Erdk. Leipzig*, 1893, pp. 8–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld.

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained.

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek,

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

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PLATE I

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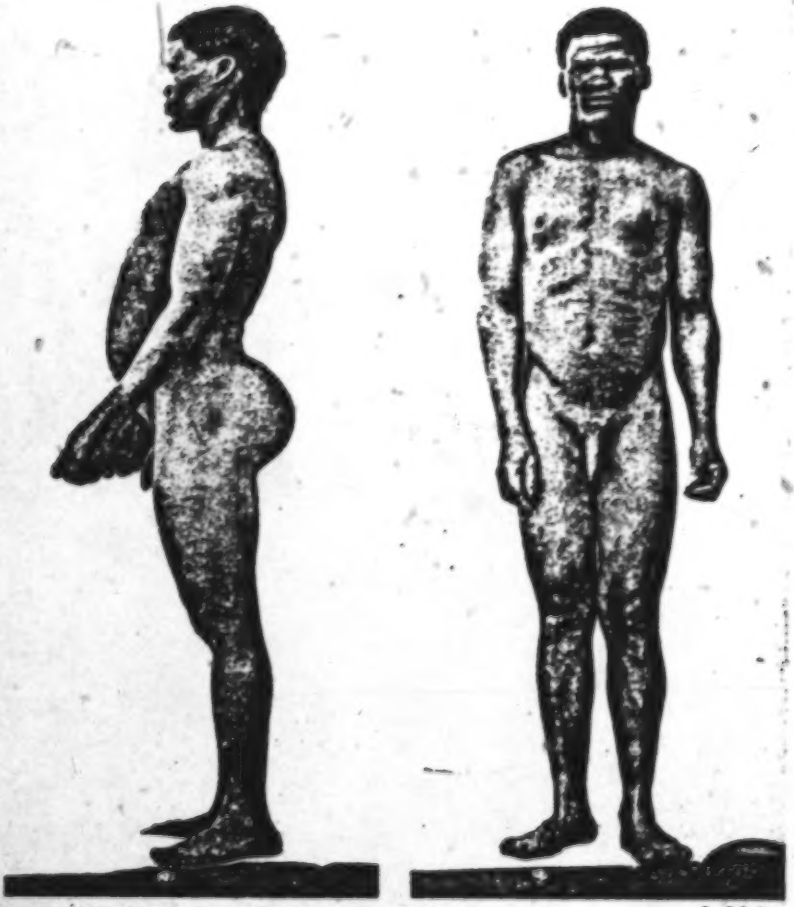

L. Schultze.

/AUNI BUSHMAN
From S.W. Borders of Kalahari

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619 To this group belong also the few Bushmen in the south-east of South-West Africa, of whom may be mentioned the */auni* in the waterless regions of the Lower Nossob and the */nu||en* (called */nusan* by the Nama Hottentots) in the Upper Nossob and Auhoup valleys. Some of these still lead a more or less independent life, but the majority are in the service of interdwelling Bantu, Hottentots, and Bastards.[1] Further east, in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate, other Bushmen of the same group are found in the service of the BeChwana among whom they live. They have no special name for themselves, and are known simply as *MaSarwa*, the Chwana term for all Bushmen.[2]

The tribes of the NORTHERN GROUP inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke in the north-east of South-West Africa, including part of the Kaukauveld and the Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into Bechuanaland Protectorate, and on the north into Angola.

In the south of this region, between Sandfontein and Gam, are found the *||Kau ||en*, called *ǂaukwe* by the Central Bushmen, *ǂausan* by the Nama, *MaKaukau* by the neighbouring Bantu, and commonly spoken of as the *Auen*. They are one of the few Bushman tribes still living in comparative independence, and appear to have retained their original mode of life and organization to a considerable extent, though not without a few traces of foreign influence. Their numbers [162] at the present time are estimated at between 500 and 600.[3]

Immediately north of them, and speaking a closely-related language, live the *!Khũ* or *!Kuŋ*, commonly called *Kung*, one of the largest and most independent of the Bushman tribes.[4] Their tribal name means simply "persons, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushmen" to them. They occupy the whole north-east corner of South-West Africa, extending from about Grootfontein

[1] D. F. Bleek, in *Festschrift Meinhof*, 56–7; *idem*, *Comp. Voc.*, 2–3; Paput, "Die Kalahariwüste und ihre Bewohner," *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Jena*, xiv (1895), 48–54; J. F. Herbst, *Report on Ristfontein Area* (Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 53–1908).

[2] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 650–78.

[3] The fullest account of this tribe is by H. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAuin, Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 135–60; cf. also Müller, "Ein Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," *D. KolBl.*, xxxiii (1912), 530–42.

[4] H. Werner, "Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; H. Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der /Kû-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke in den Jahren 1910–12," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; von Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 1–7; V. Lebzelter, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der *||Khwe*-Buschmänner," *Festschrift P.W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, 407–25; *idem*, "Bei den !Kung-Buschleuten am oberen Omuramba und Ovambo (Südwestafrika)," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer [12]–[16].

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in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the */Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and the *!Kungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names */gei /kũ*, "red people," or */o /kũ*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or */O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Pantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, *N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *id.*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, *op. cit.*; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 328–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipfel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deut. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–7, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 253–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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619 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes
197 differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the
619 *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen
[177 generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu
144] influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—
[177 *BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to
144] have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

619 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the
197

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Nama," *D. KolBl.*, xxiii (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felsenzeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the
184 Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

161 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

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their numbers. To this must be added the fact that observers do not always clearly discriminate them from the Hottentots. Of the various estimates previously made, the majority go back some fifteen or twenty years, and offer little safe guidance to present conditions. The only area for which fairly reliable figures of recent date are available is South-West Africa, where in 1926 there were officially stated to be 3,600 Bushmen.[1] This figure would therefore include the Auen, Heikum, most of the Kung, a few of the Naron, the /nu//en, and other small tribes on the south-eastern border, and the remnants of the Namib Bushmen. Adopting it as a rough guide, one may safely assume that all the other Bushmen still found in Angola, the Kalahari desert, and the western districts of Southern Rhodesia, together with the few individuals in other parts, will be at least as numerous, especially when it is remembered that the Kalahari is the centre of the region now occupied by the Bushmen. We may therefore place the total number of Bushmen still in existence at a conservative minimum of about 7,000 to 7,500. Any more accurate estimate is impossible with the data at our disposal. The Bushmen may be far more numerous, but there is no ready means of ascertaining this. On the other hand, it is hardly likely, judging from even the limited data available, that they can be much fewer.

That formerly they were certainly far more numerous is unquestionable. The fact that they are now almost completely extinct in many parts where at one time they were found in large numbers is sufficient testimony to the great decrease they have suffered. This is especially noticeable in the Cape, where, as already mentioned, they were forcibly exterminated at the hands of successive invaders. In the case of the European settlers alone we know that during the eighteenth century frequent commandos were sent against the Bushmen in the attempt to end their depredations against stock. The figures available of the relentless destruction that followed make sad reading. In 1774, we are told, a commando in the Roggeveld killed 503 Bushmen and took 239 prisoners, while it is calculated that between the years 1785 and 1795 no fewer than 2,504 were killed and 669 made captive.[2] Since these by no means represent the total Bushman population of the Cape at that time, there is little reason to regard Fritsch's minimum estimate of 10,000 for the number of Bushmen

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (Union of S. Africa Parliamentary Blue-book, U.G. 22, 1927), p. 28.
[2] G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. i, 1910, pp. 18–19.

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before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee 1912/1913: Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); *idem*, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Seidlmayer, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–2, 147.

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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Howitt, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–791; Peterson, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hama hie* (? *Haisa Eiku*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hescumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. N. Gueinzius, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotae consuetudo descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1691), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebürges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 263–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (-kwa or -qua in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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GA 177 But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they now came[1] with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete disintegration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such as smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Even more effective, however, in destroying their original status was the [144] very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first years of the settlement began to take place between them and the white settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whether at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this division can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their original culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

GA A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans, early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlement. One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the end of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleus of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua or [144] Chariguriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before* 1795, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Snow, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[1] [i.e., The Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

tribe, who by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most powerful group of Hottentots in the east, and extended from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River. Very little is actually known of these people, especially as regards their social habits and customs. They are said to have differed slightly in appearance from the Cape Hottentots, the result of intermixture with the neighbouring Bantu, and their language was also different in some respects. They have now apparently all been exterminated or absorbed by other races. They were the first Hottentots to come into contact with the Bantu invaders along the south coast, and it is largely as a result of both conflict and intermixture with these more powerful neighbours that they have become so completely effaced.[1]

The KORANA or !KORA are, as already noted, traditionally the descendants of the Kora or Gorachouqua, who, originally resident in the Cape Peninsula, began to draw away inland from the Dutch settlement towards the end of the seventeenth century. Their history for the last two hundred years has been one of continual strife with the Europeans on the one hand, and later with the Bantu as well. During the early half of the eighteenth century they gradually moved north-eastwards towards the Middle Orange, and by the end of the century they had been forced across that river to seek refuge round the junction of the Vaal and the Harts. They were found in 1813 by Campbell in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Old Lithakao, and later on settled at Bethany, under the influence of the Berlin Mission. For a time they managed to preserve their original status, and by about 1850 are said to have been divided into seventeen different groups numbering altogether some 20,000 persons. But by 1870 their tribal units had also become completely destroyed, chiefly as the result of disastrous fights with the neighbouring BaSuto. They have since declined considerably in numbers, and no semblance of their original organization now survives. They have mixed freely with the Bantu and with half-breeds, and although it is said that a number of racially pure individuals are still to be found, the majority of the present Korana have certainly a good deal of foreign blood in them.[2]

The fourth and best-known division of the Hottentots are the

[1] A summary of the early literature relating to these tribes is given by J. Hewitt, "Notes relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Eastern Provinces," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), pp. 364, 375, esp. 368–15. The most useful account of the Gonaqua is in F. le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance dans les Années* 1780–5, 2 vols., Paris, 1790, esp. vol. ii, pp. 28 sqq.

[2] Palmer, *op. cit.*, 366–76; Sarw, *op. cit.*, 267–313.

OLD BONDELSWART (!GAMI ǂNUN) MAN

L. Schultze

OLD TOPNAAR (ǂAUNIN) WOMAN

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619 NAMAN, spoken of more frequently as the Namaqua.[1] They were classified by the early Dutch settlers into two main groups: the *Little Namaqua*, living south of the Orange River in what is now Little Namaqualand, and the *Great Namaqua*, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South-West Africa. Both these groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and in the early days the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of Hottentots, and probably formed the rear-guard of their invasion of South Africa. Early in historical times they were settled definitely in the country north of the Orange River, where for a considerable time they held undisputed sway.

The Great Namaqua were subdivided into seven tribal groups, with one or two minor offshoots all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors. These groups were the *Gei //Khauan* (often known by their Dutch name *Rooi Natie*), the survivors of which are now resident at Hoachanas; the */Gami ǂNun* (*Bondelswarts*), in the district of Warmbad, just north of the Orange River; the *//Haboben* (*Veldskoendragers*), round Koes and Hasuur; the */Khara Gei Khoin* (*Simon Coppers* or *Franzmanns*), formerly found along the Auob River at Gokhas, but now living in British Bechuanaland south-east of Rietfontein S.; the *//Khau /Goan* (*Swartbooi*s), who lived at Rehoboth till about 1870, when they removed first to Ameib, and then to Fransfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld, where they are now found; the *//O Gein* (*Groot Doode*), who formerly roamed about the upper courses of the Great Fish River, but ceased to exist some fifty years ago as a result of inter-tribal quarrels and wars against the OvaHerero; and the *ǂAunin* or */Naranin* (*Topnaars*), of whom some live round Zesfontein in the Kaokoveld and the others at Walvis Bay.

At the present time there are also found in South-West Africa,

[1] The main sources of information on the habits and customs of the Naman are: J. H. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer Joachim van Plettenberg (1778–9)," published in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd* (3 vols., 1916–22), vol. ii, 78–138; T. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," *Globus*, xii (1867); *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, London, 1881; Fritsch, op. cit., 343–65; J. Olpp, *Angra Pequena und Great Namaland*, 1884; H. von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, Magdeburg n.d. (1896); J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; C. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien* (ed. S. R. Steinmetz), Berlin, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman und Bergdamen," *Z. KolPol.*, xi (1909), 657–86; L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 170–549; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inxa among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), 65–82; *idem*, "The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Naman of South-West Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 514–26; *idem*, "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South-west Africa," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24; H. Vedder, "The Nama," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, 109–52.

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619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white [191] blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witboois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [77] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been [144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

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161 the latest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,892, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 56,000.

144 Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a dis-
161 appearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently
177 in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griqua, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 22–'27), p. 28.
[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (ed. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 7.

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Chapter III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS: DRESS AND DECORATION

Physical Characters of the Bushmen

In appearance there are many features which readily distinguish the Bushmen from all the other inhabitants of South Africa save the Hottentots, and which may therefore be taken as characteristic of them. These distinctive features are best seen in the Bushmen south of the Molopo River, who may be regarded as purest in type. The tribes further north have all been affected to some extent by racial intermixture with other peoples, and tend consequently to vary in certain respects. But they are fundamentally of the same racial stock.[1]

The most conspicuous feature in the appearance of the Southern Bushmen is their small stature. Accurate measurements are unfortunately very scanty. The most reliable figures are those given by Fritsch, who found that the average height of 6 men was 144·4 cm., and of 5 women 144·8 cm.[2] Von Luschan, who claimed to have measured 41 racially pure individuals, did not publish his figures in detail, but states that the average stature of both men and women is about 140 cm., and the maximum for pure-blooded people 146 cm.[3] Older but less trustworthy measurements give an even lower average. It may safely be taken therefore that the average stature is not more than 145 cm., but whether it is the same in both men and women must, in the absence of adequate data, be regarded as questionable.

North of the Molopo the stature increases. No figures are available

[1] The best descriptions of the physical characters of the Bushmen are to be found in: G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 396–410; R. Virchow, "Buschmänner," *Ve.h. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1886, 221–39; H. Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xliii (1911), 73–80; F. Seiner, "Beobachtungen und Messungen an Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 273–88; *idem*, "Beobachtungen an den Bastard-Buschleuten der Nord-Kalahari," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xliii (1913), 311–24; *idem*, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76; R. Martin, "Zur Anthropologie der Buschmänner," in E. Kaiser, *Die Diamantenwüste Südwestafrikas*, 1926, vol. ii, pp. 436–90 and bibliography; L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, pp. 186–211 and bibliography.

[2] Op. cit., 397.

[3] Op. cit., 155.

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141 for the Bushmen immediately north of this river, but Pöch, w measured some of them, says that on the whole they are taller th the Southern tribes.[1] Among the Auen further north Kaufmann fou that the average height of the men is 151·5 cm. (min. 147, max. 16 and of the women 145·5 cm. (min. 138, max. 153). He does not st the number of measurements taken.[2] For the Naron Schinz giv 157 cm. as the average stature of 50 individuals, with a minimum 149 cm. and a maximum of 167; he does not mention their sex, b from the context it is clear that they were all males.[3] Mr. Drury, the South African Museum, measured some members of this tri at Sandfontein, and his figures[4] give an average of 157 cm. for 16 me which agrees exactly with that obtained by Schinz, and of 150·1 c for 13 women.

Fuller data are available for the Kung and Heikum, of whom large number were measured by Seiner. Among the Kung the avera stature of 74 men measured by him was 156·4 cm. (min. 142·2, ma 171·3) and of 18 women 148·2 cm. (min. 138·2, max. 158·3), whi in the case of the Heikum he found the average stature of 15 m to be 152·5 cm. (min. 148·6, max. 168·3).[5] Werner's figures for t Heikum are slightly higher; the average height of the 14 m measured by him was 155·3 cm., and of the 17 women 149·7 cm Further north, among the !O Kung of Angola, the stature increas slightly. Of the 22 men measured by Miss Bleek the tallest was 170 cm in height, the shortest 145·5 cm., and the average stature 159·3 cm while among the same number of women the tallest was 161·3 cm in height, the shortest 135, and the average 148·8 cm.[7]

It will be noticed that in these tribes there is an appreciabl difference in height between the two sexes. The average for me ranges between about 152 and 159 cm., and that for women betwee about 145 and 150 cm. The lowest averages are found among th Auen to the south, and the highest among the !O Kung, who are th most northerly of these tribes.

No detailed measurements have been recorded for the Bushme of the Eastern Kalahari, but Dornan says of the Hiechware that the are " taller than the Cape Bushmen and quite as tall as the Bechuanas

[1] " Reisen im Innern Südafrikas zum Studium der Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlii (1910), 35
[2] " Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 136.
[3] *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891, p. 393.
[4] Obtained by courtesy of the South African Museum.
[5] *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 277. [6] Op. cit., 242.
[7] " Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1929), 108.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Such individuals as I have measured ranged from 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] up to 5 ft. 9 in. [175·3 cm.]. A few were below or above these figures, but the average height may be taken at 5 ft. 5 in." [168 cm.].[1] Elsewhere he adds that "the women are usually considerably shorter than the men; those that I have measured ranged from 4 ft. 9¾ in. [146·8 cm.] up to 5 ft. 2½ in." [158·8 cm.], and he gives 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] as their average height.[2] The Hukwe and the Galikwe apparently attain to a still greater stature. Both Livingstone and Chapman speak of individuals fully 6 ft. tall (183 cm.), and the latter places the average stature of the "MaDenassena", i.e. Galikwe, at 5 ft. 10 in. (177·8 cm.).[3] According to Seiner the members of this tribe range in stature between 162 and 184 cm.,[4] and Wilhelm says of the Hukwe that statures of between 170 and 190 cm. must be regarded as normal.[5]

These figures show that on the whole the Bushmen north of the Molopo are distinctly taller than their Southern relatives, and it is evident that the further north and east we go the taller do they become. It has been suggested by several writers that this increase in stature is due to better conditions of subsistence. It is hardly justifiable, however, to assume that the Bushmen living within or on the borders of the Kalahari Desert could obtain better nourishment than those in the Cape, where water and food supply are on the whole much more favourable. It seems rather that we must look upon the pygmy stature of the Southern Bushmen as a true racial characteristic, and that the increased stature of the Northern tribes must be attributed to the influence of racial intermixture with other and taller peoples. This conclusion is borne out by several other features, of which the most evident perhaps is skin coloration.

In the Southern Bushmen the skin colour varies from light yellow to brownish-yellow. In the tribes just north of the Molopo some families are of the same colour, while others have darker tinges of varying shades—a patently new mixture. The Auen, Naron, and Kung have a fairly constant reddish-brown colour, although individuals incline more to yellow or to black. Among the !O Kung, according to Miss Bleek, some individuals are blackish-yellow, others reddish-brown or copper colour, others again are almost black, although

[1] "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwa)," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 43.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 1925, p. 79.
[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, 1857, p. 165; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, 1868, vol. i, p. 46.
[4] *Mitt. deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 299.
[5] *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 300.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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142 144 lighter in shade than the Bantu of the same region; and she adds that in Bushman-Bantu crosses the first generation of children may be either yellowish or blackish, while later generations, where both parents have a little Bantu blood, show the reddish-brown colour which distinguishes these Northern Bushmen from the Southern.[1] The colour of the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, says Dornan, "is usually darker than in the typical Bushman, but even it is not constant. I have met individuals of the brownish-yellow colour of the Southern Bushmen, and even amongst these there were individuals of a very dark type."[2] The same range of variation is found among the North-Eastern tribes, where, however, the dominant shade is a dark chocolate colour approaching that of the Bantu.

141 142 144 It appears moreover that the light-coloured individuals in the tribes just north of the Molopo are comparatively short, while the darker individuals are all of greater height. The same is probably true of the Hiechware, while Kaufmann writes of the Auen that the band living at Gam, in the northernmost part of the tribal territory, consists almost entirely of proportionately tall individuals, whose colour is darker than that of the rest of the tribe.[3] If these observations are accurate, and they need to be tested by statistical investigation, they would provide an excellent indication of the lines along which the still necessary detailed study may be made of the variations produced in the physical characters of the Bushmen by intermixture with other peoples. In any case, if we bear in mind the advance of the Bantu peoples from the north-east and the extent to which the different Bushman tribes have therefore been exposed to contact with them, it need occasion no surprise that the most northern and eastern tribes show on the whole the greatest stature and darkest colour.

Seiner, indeed, definitely terms the Bushman tribes of the Northern Kalahari "Bastard-Buschleute". His general remarks on their characteristics may be quoted as a concise statement of the extent to which mixture with other peoples has taken place in this region. "Das Gebiet der Bastard-Buschleute," he says,[4] "liegt ganz in der südlichen Zone der Nord-Kalahari, zwischen dem südangolesischen Hochland und dem Kaokoveld einerseits, sowie dem Matabeleland und Nordost-Rhodesia anderseits . . . Dieses Gebiet wird durch den Okawango in einen grossen westlichen und in einen kleineren

[1] "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, N.F. xxi (1927), 48.
[2] *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 42.
[3] Op. cit., 316.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 283–4.

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östlichen Teil geschieden. Während nun in der westlichen Bastard- 141
zone, sowie in der Süd- und Mittel-Kalahari die Buschmannstämme
mehr von Hottentotten als von Negern durchdrungen sind, ist die 142
Zersetzung der Buschmannrasse in der östlichen Zone, dem 144
Okawango-Sambesi-Gebiet, häuptsächlich auf die Vermischung mit
Bantu zurückzuführen. Der eigentliche Rassentypus ist wohl sehr
verwischt, kommt aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle doch so stark zum
Ausdruck, dass man diese Bastarde unbedingt zu den Buschleuten
rechnen muss. Die Individuen neigen in Physiognomie und Wuchs
bald mehr dem Neger, bald mehr dem Buschmann zu. Zwischen dem
eckigen Buschmannkopf und dem runden Schädel des Negers sind
die verschiedensten Verbindungen vorhanden, und von der fahlgelben
bzw. rötlichgelben Hautfarbe der Buschleute bis zur rötlichschwarz-
braunen Farbe der Neger zeigen sich zahlreiche Übergänge. Bereits
Livingstone berichtet, dass die nördlich des Ngamisees, also in der
Nord-Kalahari, lebenden Buschleute grösser, kräftiger und dunkel-
farbiger seien als jene der südlichen Steppen. Tatsächlich sind in
der östlichen Bastardzone Menschen von 170 cm. häufig, und diese
Beobachtung war auch der Hauptgrund, dieses Menschengruppe
nicht ohne weiteres als Buschleute anzuerkennen, da die Variations-
breite der Körpergrösse der letzteren zwischen 140 bis 160 cm. liegt.
Am Okawango, an dem die westlichen Bastardzone beginnt, sind
Individuen von 170 cm. Körperhöhe seltener und ist der Prozentsatz
an ausgeprägten Buschmanntypen grösser, welcher Umstand vielleicht
einen stärkeren Neigung zu Rückschlägen zugeschrieben werden
könnte."

It may be taken therefore, although only stature and skin colour have so far been touched upon as the most apparent indications of variation, that the Southern Bushmen do actually represent the purest Bushman type, while the Northern tribes all show some degree of intermixture with other peoples. They are, however, of undoubted Bushman stock, and although in the following brief survey of the principal racial characters of the Bushmen the Southern tribes have been taken as the standard type, it must be understood that save where otherwise indicated the description applies equally to all the Bushmen.

The skin itself of the Bushmen is very dry and lean, with little 142
adipose tissue. It readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially
on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people. In
the Northern tribes, and chiefly in the "Bastard" Bushmen, the

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[Facing p. 57]

L. Schultze

NAMIB BUSHMAN (//OBANEN GROUP)

A. M. Cronin

/XAM (CAPE) BUSHMAN
Notice the characteristic shape of the ear

[See p. 56

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142 tendency to fold is not so excessive, wrinkled features being comparatively rare in young people. There is very little hair on the body. The greater part of its surface seems completely bare; the arm-pits have only a weak show of hair, and even in the pubic regions the growth is very sparse. It is only on the scalp and occasionally on the eyebrows that the hair is at all thick. Rudimentary and irregular traces of beard and moustache are sometimes seen in the men, but rarely grow to any length or thickness. The hair is black in colour, and becomes grey only in very old people; baldness is extremely rare, even in advanced age. The hair is commonly very short and fine, but occasionally may be fairly long on the head of a woman. Such occurrences, however, seem to be rare, and it cannot be said that length of hair is a secondary sexual characteristic in the Bushmen. The hairs are tightly coiled into small spiral knots (not inappropriately referred to in popular speech as "peppercorns") which on the scalp appear to be separated by bare spots, but actually the hair follicles are distributed as in other races. In section the hair presents an elliptical contour.

141 The head in the Southern Bushmen is small and relatively broad
142 (mesocephalic), and markedly low in the crown (platycephalic). The face is broad and flat, somewhat rectangular in shape, and generally orthognathous or only slightly prognathous. The forehead is low and bulging, the cheek-bones fairly prominent, and the lower jaw relatively broad. In the Northern tribes there is a slight but distinct tendency for the head to be narrower and higher, the face appears longer and more oval in shape, and a fair degree of prognathism is
[144] often noticed. Among the Kung, and particularly among the !O Kung, one sometimes finds long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features, hinting at some new racial component which still remains to be determined; but even in these tribes the small rectangular Bushman facial type crops up in a number of faces with more or less negroid features.

142 The nose is generally low and very broad, especially at the root. As seen in profile, it is short and concave, but is set well back and often appears quite flat. The wings are broad, and the nostrils, which are directed forwards, have a curious splayed-out appearance. The orbits are low and the eyes set rather wide apart. The opening between the eyelids is very narrow, and often appears slightly oblique, owing to the remarkable fullness of the upper lid and the fact that a prominent fold of skin curves round from above it to the side of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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142 the nose and completely covers the inner canthus of the eye. This feature has often given rise to comparisons with the Mongolian eye, and even to a completely erroneous suggestion of racial affinity between the Bushmen and the Chinese. The iris is dark brown in colour, and the small pupil often appears to blend with it. In the Northern tribes Seiner found that in the majority of cases both this characteristic fold of the upper eyelid and the narrow opening were present, although he notes that as the proportion of foreign blood increases the opening becomes wider.

The ear is another specially characteristic feature of the Bushmen. Fritsch speaks of "great, ugly ears which stand away from the head", but this description is erroneous. The true Bushman ear is short and broad, with very little or even no trace of a lobe; the upper border is almost horizontal at its commencement, and the lower border is, as it were, pressed right into the cheeks. The helix is broad and almost completely rolled in, and there is no trace of the Darwinian tubercle. Among the Kung and the Heikum Seiner found this characteristic ear present in about half the cases he examined; the rest tended to have large ears and fairly well-developed lobes.

The lips are rather thin, though a false suggestion of thickness is often conveyed by the fact that the mucous membrane is generally everted. The upper lip, seen in profile, is slightly convex. The lower lip generally projects slightly beyond the upper, and thus heightens the snout-like appearance of the mouth, as does also the retreating chin, which is of medium size and mostly rounded, although in the Northern tribes it tends to become pointed. The teeth are as a rule white and sound, though often worn down considerably in old people. Among the !O Kung, however, the teeth are said by Miss Bleek to be "very bad" even amongst the boys and girls; "probably this is a result of their living on meal and soft food, as their Kalahari brethren living on wild vegetables have most magnificent teeth."[1]

The body generally is slim in build, but well proportioned, and in spite of the small stature of the Southern Bushmen there is no suggestion of dwarfishness in their appearance. The limbs are slender, and the muscles on them form firm and well-marked cord-like projections, but the joints are large and prominent, and often give the limbs a somewhat unsightly appearance. The arms and legs are rather short in relation to the length of the trunk, in fact the Bushman

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 106–7.

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arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis, even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

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may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs.

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

B 142 141

It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bastard Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned.

Hottentots

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The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant

PLATE IV

KORA (HOTTENTOT) WOMAN
Notice the excessive facial wrinkling

"MORAKWA" BUSHMAN, S. KALAHARI

A. M. Combe

[Facing p. 60]

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

differences between the two peoples can be detected. Amongst themselves the Hottentots vary but slightly, save, of course, where there has been much recent intermixture with other peoples. Among the Korana, for instance, who have absorbed a good deal of Bantu blood, one may often notice individuals who differ from the normal Hottentot type in being of a darker complexion and in having a greater development of hair on the head and face, coarser features and broader noses. But in pure-blooded Hottentots the physical type is on the whole fairly uniform in all the divisions. The following description may therefore be regarded as a general survey of those characters which can be looked upon as common to all people of the normal Hottentot type.[1]

In stature they are mostly of medium height. The fullest series of measurements are those given by Schultze for the Naman. He found that in 73 men the mean height was 162·4 cm., although the individual statures ranged from a minimum of 150·5 cm. to a maximum of 176·5 cm.; while in 27 women the mean was 149·7 cm. (min. 135·5, max. 162·5). The measurements recorded by other writers and of other groups of Hottentots correspond closely with these figures. The Hottentots thus appear to be appreciably taller than the Cape Bushmen, but only slightly taller than the North-Western Bushmen; while, on the other hand, they are on the whole somewhat smaller than the North-Eastern Bushmen.

Their skin colour is predominantly a light brownish-yellow, somewhat lighter in some cases than even in the Cape Bushmen. The skin itself is dry, and on the whole has little adipose tissue; it also displays the same propensity to fold as in the case of the Bushmen. In young people it is drawn smoothly over the muscles and bones, and has a certain pleasing and taut appearance. But in adults, and in particular in women who have borne children, its appearance is completely changed: the skin of the abdomen becomes flabby, and deep wrinkles readily form there, on the chest and on the face. There is little hair on the body; the arm-pits, pubes, and other parts are very sparsely covered with it, while the beard and moustache in men are only feebly developed. The hair is black and short, and has the same "peppercorn" formation which characterizes the Bushmen. It rarely turns

[1] The most exhaustive analysis of the physical characters of the Hottentots is found in the recent work of L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, esp. pp. 147–86. Of the earlier works the more important are Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 271–91 *et passim*, and E. Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*, Jena, 1913, esp. pp. 57–134 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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142 grey before about the sixtieth year, but baldness is rare, even in extreme old age.

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141 The head on the whole is long, narrow, and low—appreciably longer than in the Cape Bushmen, and slightly narrower and higher as well. This is best illustrated in the figures given by Schultze. In the 73 Hottentot (Nama) men measured by him, the mean maximum length of the head was 192 mm., the breadth 140 mm., and the height 116 mm., while in the 14 Bushmen (mostly from the Southern Kalahari) whose measurements he also records the corresponding dimensions were 187 mm., 142 mm., and 113 mm. The mean cephalic index of the Hottentots was 72·9 (max. 78·5, min. 67·1), and that of the Bushmen 75·8 (max. 78·2, min. 72·9); and whereas 57 per cent of the Bushmen were mesocephalic, the remaining 43 per cent being dolicocephalic, only 15 per cent of the Hottentots were mesocephalic, the remaining 85 per cent being dolicocephalic and hyperdolicocephalic. The length-height (altitudinal) index was the same in both cases, 60·3 (orthocephalic); but the lower height of the Bushman head is here neutralized by its smaller length. In the breadth-height index, on the other hand, the difference in the shape of the head is again apparent. The average in Hottentots is 82·8, that in Bushmen 79·5. It was found by Schultze that the form of the head in the Hottentots tends to alter in that, with higher stature, the head on the whole becomes longer and not broader (i.e. more dolicocephalic), and also higher (i.e. more orthocephalic). It will be noticed that the variations in shape of the Hottentot head as a whole from that of the Bushmen lie in the same direction. They may therefore possibly be correlated with the increased stature of the Hottentots as compared with the Cape Bushmen.

The face in the Hottentots is low and flat, but slightly longer and narrower in proportion than that of the Bushmen, and somewhat different in appearance. The forehead is low and narrow, but the cheekbones are high and prominent, and with the relatively narrower lower jaw and pointed, retreating chin give a triangular outline to the face. The nose is short and extremely broad, although slightly narrower in proportion than the Bushman nose: the nasal index is 100, while that of the Bushmen is 115. Both, however, are markedly platyrrhine. The bridge is very low, the nostrils wide and directed forwards. The eyes, especially in young people, have the same peculiar fold of the upper eyelid and very narrow opening which characterize the eyes of the Bushmen. The iris is also dark brown. The ear is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

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South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

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In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

PLATE V

L. Schultze

HOTTENTOT (ǂ'AUNIN) MEN WITH HAMITIC FEATURES

[facing page 64]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

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[See p. 64]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

B H 142 144

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

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Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak (" kaross ") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, " Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, " Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 255–7; Seiner, " Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, " Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

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also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

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well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebürge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

H [439]

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

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Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

B 304 856

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au ... up de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 43.

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joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[3] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

B 184 304 881

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joschim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

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304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765 751] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 884 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

½ [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

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PART II

CULTURE OF THE BUSHMEN

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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmannar der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hai-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxii (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

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621 101 [114] *Igom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kü* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 [191] The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 [623] [622] The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war. 621 [622]

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1] 619 621

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other. 423 621 [438] [619]

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always effected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed. [311] [361] [628]

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155.

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaudern, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bemerkungen der Ovaherero," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 45; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 81; Lebzelter "Bei den Kuh-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lii (1922–3), Sitzber. (12).

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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 642 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

1. Seiner, loc. cit.
2. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 273; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
3. Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 140.
4. D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
5. Trenk, op. cit., 186; Seydel, op. cit., 304; Range, *Landschaftsk . . . der Namalande*, 73.
6. Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 30.
7. Ibid., 130.
8. "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gukwe with ninety.[6] 162 621

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal. [114]

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 341 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, p. 20. [2] *The Naron*, p. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 130. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Reisetag der Omaheke," 353, 360.
[6] "Reisetag des Gokwe zwischen Okavango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Reise und Jagden*, 134.

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166 361 621 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy [221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several 361 619 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions 621 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were dying in great numbers in the Ghanaiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidoenitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons [622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, *op. cit.*, 41; Viehe, "Kalahari Missionen," 30.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 7, 8.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 158, 159. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, Germann official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, 6 (1932), 57-70.

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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

621 There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connection were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water. but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage) [591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially [114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father' [889] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Maxois and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance, often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushmen Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 113.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[4] Kaudern, "Die Auen," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, soviel möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe von hergeholt, ob von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ko-Buschmannsprache," *Z. Kolon.*, I (1910), 8.

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while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's people, although the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105 [2] *The Naron*, 34.
[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," (14).
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehören zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

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1/see p. 86

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L. Fourie

CRUDE BUSHMAN WINDSCREEN

PLATE VI

[facing p. 86]

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611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omuheke," 296, 297.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink.

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3]

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */hais*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which

[1] Trunk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50-2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

3412 3611 [462] [312] [224] 361 622 342 [372] 361 [184] [606]

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exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under it is made the first fire (*!hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52.
[2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

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Chapter V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Daily Life and Food

Daily and Seasonal Routine

The life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk. 221 [177]

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable */naras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are 221 312 423

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

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221 312 423 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

[621] It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

462 512 From their huts the people go out every day in search of food. The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.

[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family, each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually

512 [574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the b'igger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses".

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the */naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Ausin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[437] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 97,

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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. . . ." The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *tnorab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 9, 8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52-3.

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372 622 by him by means of the *kei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great 672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people 622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 372 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *kei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 372 622 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire," Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139: "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründen, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den Kuh-Buschleuten," 141: "Wie die Honigkäfern haben auch die Kuh das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt den Wanderbrand einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 772 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 53; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 [114] to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo [821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a [821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is [779] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly [761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which [815] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Pauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water [841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point, 229 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain [114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. 234 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout 252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is [462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the [28] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be [462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 146, 172.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100-3; cf. idem, "Customs of the Hai//om Bushmen," 19-6.

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on the ground under the */kaia* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gai-khoiŏ* (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the */kai-/aia* (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the */kaia* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gai-khoiŏ* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gai-khoiŏ* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*saa-tse*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *khoma*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *saaa* [taboo] and may not be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gai-khoiŏ*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *saaa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *saaa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *saaa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/oi-ŏi*). Her portion is known as the */aoe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */aoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the */khom-khoiŏi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */aoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gai-khoiŏ* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaua*. It is not brought under the */kaia*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The */khom-khoiŏi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */aoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not set when an

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224 262 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axuxegu* (youths) is known as */ee-//gusi*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, 224 etc. It is prepared by the *axuxegu* themselves over their own fire at 252 the *axuxegudi /gaus* (young men's hut). The person who shot the 262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder-blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */kais* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *saxu* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the */khaus*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gui-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* [574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gui-khoib*. The *gui-khois* receives her share from the */noe-di*. The *gui-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gusi*, [264] under which is included the */khaus*. The latter may be eaten only under the */kais*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the */khaus* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gui-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by 224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gui-khoib* likewise having to 262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the 622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */kai-/ais* with [372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief, 224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual [622] observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, *op. cit.*, 111; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 115-6; D. F. Bleek, *The Maxoé*, pp. viii-ix; *Idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 19; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 277 seqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, 18; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 148–9.

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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes 836 before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Spreeman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 184-85; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 331; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 217; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122-3.
[2] Fenck, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] Op. cit., 122. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[5] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[6] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards premuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage.

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[8] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[9] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[8] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family.

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy

114 836 [582] 848 [842] [847] [591] 595 [114]

[5] Op. cit., 32. [6] Op. cit., 128. [7] Op. cit., 169. [8] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; idem, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 273; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Snow, *Military Races of S. Africa*, 91.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

[114] [162] The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

582 The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 137. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities. 582

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3] [881]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils. 584 [184] 585

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbrüder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

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584 [114] The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] "A young man eligible for marriage is known as a */gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your 585 promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*/gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the */gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the */gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the */gu-/a-/nab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young 591 couple continue to live in the */gari-khois oms* for some months before

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 39-40; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721] been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177] down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581] sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 454; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether
684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to
[548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child
[848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 341 cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 134, 177.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 505) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

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[facing p. 118]

L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[face p. 118

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 81; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's
[114] father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never
[60] refer to each other by name, but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law ". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, " One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes.
[587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, " Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.
[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

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587 " after a certain length of time ", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, " Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753] [846]

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Spinner, "Bereinung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 324.

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844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the 847 Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. "Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Garus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub* and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, *op. cit.*, 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.

[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

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171 551 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eiseruā*, the lad with the long face, and *Aingunā*, the one with the poisned lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable [862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save [163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the [844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their karosa, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually reared, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among [184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality [165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, *op. cit.*, 77; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 30

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middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 842

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Mem.*, 18 seq., 27-9; Passarge, *op. cit.*, 100; Thomas, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 139-41; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," *op. cit.*

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857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

595 So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives

603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has [597] been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often [869] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there

593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the [184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," pp. 66–7; cf. Idem, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent.

[881] [825] [773] [535] [881] [831]

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76-9.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 130-31; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 133-8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

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881 The *ju 'hoa* hold a similar dance on this occasion, a man with a
[535] bird's beak on his head taking the place of the "eland bull".[1]

The corresponding ceremony among the Heikum is a much more elaborate affair.[2] As young girls (*ikkam-khoisi*) approach the age of puberty, they are placed in a special hut (*ikkam-khoisi ama*), in which they sleep at night. During the day time they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women, who also visit the hut and instruct them in the various matters pertaining to domestic life, teach them how to prepare the food, to gather wood, to make the fire, and so on. Men may not enter the hut, nor may the girls speak to or be addressed by any man, whether married or single.

At the onset of her first menstruation, a girl is isolated in a small round hut (*ikawe ami*, hut for waiting), which is completely closed in except for a small entrance, and is situated close to the *ikkam-khoisi ama*. In this hut she remains as long as the flow lasts; she may not show herself outside, and above all no man may pass close to the hut or attempt to address her. She is fed by her mother, or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman, and is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. Every day, too, her hair is smeared by the attendant woman with a mixture of red bark powder and powdered seed.

When the flow has ceased the girl informs her mother or attendant.
535 The latter tells the other married women, and they all prepare for the
881 *ikawe-tsaā* (menstruation dance). This takes place during the day on the central space of the camp. Men may not take part in it, nor even watch it. The girl is led out of her hut by two of the women, who cover her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross, leaving only the eyes visible. Each of the women takes her by the arm, and they join the line of dancers. The women dance abreast of each other, the feet thrown out sideways, with an old woman leading. What their movements are intended to represent we are not told. When the dance is about to end, the girl is taken back to her hut by the two women who had led her out.

The same performance is repeated for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, the girl is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in
88 the ceremony. Then, after she has been returned to her hut, the

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-||om," 17-9; idem, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89-91.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolises the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 892
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
vegetables, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Hatkum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first night; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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L. Fourie

NAMAQUA WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF SHEEPSKIN

L. Fourie

ALSEN GIRL

PLATE VIII

[Facing p. 122]

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 139.
[3] Passarge, *op. cit.*, 100–1; Kuckuckuan, *op. cit.*, 117; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–3; *idem*, "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," [1]; Fourie, *op. cit.*, 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.
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they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*/gi*, men's dance), which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

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881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gûis-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gûis-/kaw*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nôun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nôun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nôun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 304 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 113.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the /*nu*//*en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys.

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 12.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xiii, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–6.

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304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 304 177 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158-60.

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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos roots, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 133.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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222 422 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 [883] [462] Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

411 The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons. The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] [237] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or sometimes, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Nama*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuā-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Snow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–3; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

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detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [194] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

411 The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum and the !O Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with 171 feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many 278 ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of 184 arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. 278 There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hlechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, 8 (1934), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriological Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, viii (1911), 31–83; and Wanstrom, "The Bushmen's Arrow-Poison Bottle," *Natural History Magazine*, 8 (1935), 79–89.

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PLATE IX

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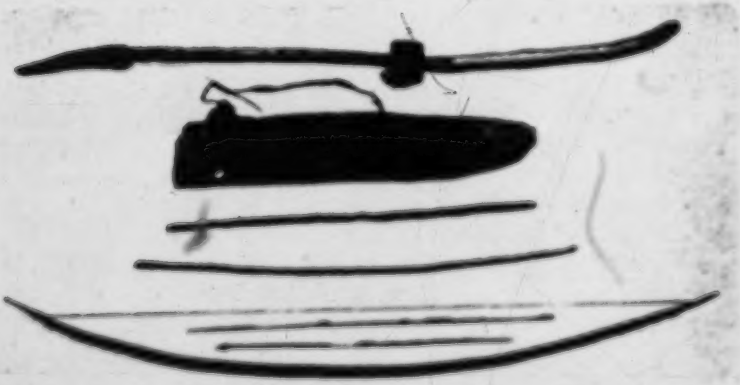
BUSHMAN ARROW-HEADS

f Simplest type: main shaft of reed, bone point coated with poison
a, e Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, barb and iron point coated with poison
c, g Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, reed collar or link shaft, and barbed iron head
b, d Reversible head; in b the poisoned end protrudes, in d the head is reversed

[412]



BUSHMAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

a Digging-stick passed through perforated stone ball and tipped with horn
b Leather quiver for arrows
c Fire-sticks
d Bow and Arrows

[See p. 19]

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mixture of animal and vegetable poisons, the ingredients most frequently employed being snake poison and amaryllis juice (*Haemanthus toxicarius*); while most of the Kalahari tribes derive their arrow poison from the grub or chrysalis of the *Cladocera* beetle. 278 [184]

The method of preparing the second type of poison is to cut off the head of the snake, extract the poison sacs, dry them and pound them into a dust. This is then placed in a piece of ostrich egg-shell or the breastbone of an ostrich, and the vegetable juice being poured in the mixture is stirred with a piece of bone or stick. It is then boiled until it acquires the requisite degree of consistency, usually that of a thick jelly, brownish-red in colour. Where a purely vegetable substance is used, as in the case of the *Arokanthera* shrub, the method of preparation differs but slightly. The wood of the shrub is pounded into rough powder, which is put into a clay pot and boiled for some time. A lid is kept on, as the fumes are noxious, but the liquid is stirred occasionally. After a while the wood is taken out and the remainder allowed to simmer until it is reduced to a cupful of glutinous liquid. This is then taken to a *Euphorbia* tree, and mixed with the fresh milky sap drawn from its stem. The poison, a brownish substance similar in appearance to beeswax, is now ready for use. It is generally worked up into a lump, which when not wanted immediately is carried about, wrapped up in a bit of skin, in the long bag which every Bushman has. When the poison is required, the lump is heated in a bit of tortoise-shell, and the melted portion either smeared on the arrow-head with a brush of wood or bone, or else, as was the custom with the Cape Bushmen, placed in a "poison stone", a smooth flat pebble with a deep groove down the middle. The part of the arrow to be anointed is pressed down upon this and worked round and round until the poison coating has acquired the proper shape. If possible the poison is never touched with the fingers, and great care is taken that none adheres to the hands or nails during the process.

The insect *Cladocera nigro-ornata* which forms the main ingredient in the arrow poison of the Kalahari Bushmen is a small reddish-brown beetle which in early spring frequents certain bushes (*Commiphora dinteri Engl.*), and hatches its eggs on the branches. The grubs come out in summer, eat the leaves of the bushes and crawl into the sand beneath them, where they form cocoons. "In both these stages they are used as poison, but the cocoon is preferred. It is dried in the sun and can then be kept for some time and is easily [136]

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

411 [439] [177]

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

224

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Secenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *op. cit.*, 141; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 143–4, 151; Gorochof, *op. cit.*, 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, *op. cit.*, 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schinz, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 144–71; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *op. cit.*, 13–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq. [114]

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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Ziziphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

114 278 There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

224 279 None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 [412] In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Maroro*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarized by Schapera, op. cit., 208.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Aoba," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hai-//om," 32.

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224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous antester holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from [223] the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the [621] neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [262] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is dried

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Snow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hinchwere and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind to

223 225 [292] [582] [184] 224 225 224 [224]

1 Snow, op. cit., pl. 18, facing p. 80.
2 Passarge, op. cit., part 1, p. 8; Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
3 Lichtenstein, Travels in S. Africa, ii, 280-3; Burchell, Travels in S. Africa, i, 277; Harbst, Buren en Bushmans, 60-1; Passarge, Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Kalahari, 77; Schultze, op. cit., 460; Drennan, op. cit., 109-11; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

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224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [13] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] wanted for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink [14] at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [13] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilised nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 108; cf. Wilm, "Buschgenossen ... Über von Pfannenberg," 88-9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386-7; Chapman, *op. cit.*, ii, 80-1; Passarge, "Die Chovisanquanschaft und ihre Nachbarn," 493; idem, *Die Buschmänner*, 78-9.

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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Kaisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria cylindrica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii. 233; Passarge, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hereros*, 1895; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 1913. Modern travellers have on one occasion or another found dead animals as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 111–4).

[2] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 466; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Conze, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerstämme," 139 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Notes*, 15.

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more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It is also the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaKoba and MaKuba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the chests, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] [illegible] i.e., Fishing = Analysis]

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2]

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the resistance of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may foreshode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Hottentots. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

[1] Chapman, op. cit., I, 58, 68, 81, 139; Warren, "Under the Bushmen and Kaffir Skies," 148; Passarge, op. cit., 108-9; Fourie, op. cit., 51; D. F. Bleek, "Bushmanese from Angola," 88, 97; idem, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 113-15; idem, Stories, 10.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 305.

[3] Bleek, Bushman Folk-lore, 103; Lloyd, Further Bushman Material Collected, 13-16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, Bushman Folklore, 28 seq., 270-275.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual
intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the
animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be
[241] eaten by women or by any man whose wives are menstruating;
this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game.
Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident;
for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife
was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition,
nor will she eat any of the *jaw-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion
of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but
they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty
attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and
to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
134 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at
the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of
existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily
in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during
the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of
hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all
the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some
hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon
after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus
makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to
kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only
[223] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather
[622] among the Herero, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei||om," 98; Lebzelter, "Eingeborenen of S.W. Afrika," 100.
[2] Bleek, "Some more about Customs," 31; Fourie, 100; Lebzelter, "Eingeborenen," 100, 101; Dr. F. Bleek, Notes, 10.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally happens as an accident.

The collection of vegetable food is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, lizards, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire.

Among the Hukwe the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of vegetables by the women. "It is performed," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the *shain* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gui-khoti*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gui-khoti*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *shain*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gwa*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gui-khoti*. On the return of the women to the *//gwa* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gui-khoti*. The *gui-khoti* then fills four or five beans by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */hain*. Her husband now kindles the */hai-/ain*, and, after having applied *powak* and *dakwa* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gwa-ti-/an*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply.

[1] "Customs of the Hai-//om," pp. 1; Alberts, "Beobachtungen über die Hai-//om," pp. 1.

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PLATE X

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"MOHAWA," A BALALONGO.
Carrying Bow and Quiver

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [962] [857] [415] [337] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 192 [22] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the game upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der Ova-Buschmannsprache," 6-9.

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *!nawa* and the *cauwa*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [278] [721]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their bows, the sticks of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, diggings-, throwing-, and fighting-sticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [942] [911] [912]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 57; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 197; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 57, 100-3, and fig.; Lichtenstein, *Aus Bushmanland und Hottentotten*, 60-1; Seiner, "Bushmen der Omaheke," 199-200.

[2] The most comprehensive catalogue of Bushmen implements is to be found in Cranenbach, "Die Buschmänner," 'Bushmen' Museum, Cape Town, Public Library, Cape-town, 1911, pp. 1-15, all material which relates chiefly to the Bushmen of the Cape Colony. Other descriptions of Bushmen implements, &c., are to be found in Passarge, *op. cit.*, 81-99; Cranenbach, *op. cit.*; Seiner, "Bushmen of S. Africa," *loc. cit.*;

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372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[912] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[915] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes
decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for
holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as
pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is
twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes
their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

47 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
28 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[912] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants'
eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their
huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[915] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[906] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops,
and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
417 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
329 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[911] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
D 26 barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
329 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[923] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by
the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made
karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco
pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing
the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins,
while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
221 personal belongings are carried. The bony bosses of the rostrals and
various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and
points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes,
etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers
for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[278] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leather, etc., while
[49] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned
into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and 462
garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expelled to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expelled to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others [463] in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation [756] is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects vetkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the woman in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers vetkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in 184
that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and 463
other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The [936]
production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, [939]
who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Ruunduu, where only the good shots were hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources 177
of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 439

[1] Lundmann, "Die Auin," 139; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 10.

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they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now crave very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich eggshell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south to customer tribes. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 32-3; Alan, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Die Okavangobuschmänner," 302; Alan, *The Bushmen*, 118-19; Tonch, "Buschleute der Etosha," 186.
[3] Passarge, *The Bushmen*, loc. cit.; Kuckuruse, "Die Auen," 132-3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31-6.

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, etc., which they obtain through the Hei||kum from the OvaKwangari and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Nacomabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChuana for tobacco, daggs, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen. 438 439

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa. [843] 437 [114]

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1] The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 421 423

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 119-21; Seidel, "Aus der Namib," 304; D. F. Bleek, *Maroro*, 38, 68; Lebzelter, "Bei den Wild-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[423] 422 [685] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognised. All portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter, 867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 22 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his [685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

428 [766] [831] The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Hanabi Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage [825] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2:Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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daughters are completely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxoma*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Ouchimpolo veld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChuana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the Bakalanguen.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bleek*, pp. 31; Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; Seydel, op. cit., 372; Trenk, "Buschleute der Wüste," 180.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110-13; Passarge, *Population and Business*, 63-4; Schinz, "Buschmänner der Omaheke," 1908, 1909; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 38. In August, 1918, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of Bakhurutsies at their chief (name known), made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Bakurutsies are the slaves of the Bamaroots. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realises that they are a backward people who serve the Bamaroots in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Bakurutsies to support themselves. Any Bakurutsies who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Bakurutsies attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the subjects and the Chief and the Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service to Bakwenaland." (Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1918-19, Colonial Reports No. 1170, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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hand, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a recognized chief (*‡Aese* or *‡Gamke*, *gun-ami* or *gai-khoiti*; the last two words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the preflex can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring Ovambo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Hanoi chiefs usually have two wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the fire are kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mountain*, p. 182; Alice, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 1934; Travis, op. cit., 1931; Marshall, op. cit., 1960.

[2] Kaufmann, "The Bushmen," 1911; D. F. Bleek, *Nharo*, pp. 1–3; Travis, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 1934; Lebzelter, "Die Buschmänner," 1934.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community.

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters.

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of communal, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal law and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their attitudes accordingly.

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681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [194] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [229] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention 627 of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of redress, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal offences punished in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 112; Tindall, op. cit., 184; D. F. Bleek, Naron, 11-6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (Kaufmann, p.c. with, among the Kung a man who steals is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her husband. More frequently, however, she is thrashed either by a man, although, if her parents are

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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire eating the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

[illegible] the way he handed over to them and they all hung to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the murderer alive, the dead is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been surrendered. But, if also in the old calculation, the murderer is said to pass him, through a son, to another person, or his homestead or death. These facts, obtained from a well-informed Bushwoman, would, however, to be confirmed. The Bushmen knowing no death of people, the whole of the murderer remains, is now regarded all over of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Meinhof, "Die Sitte von Blutrache über Totschlag," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, xxiii (1920), 152.

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the lawgiver. What happened
692 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
692 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relatives. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to face blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his relatives leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Okhombinde was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidoninaib. The latter put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, intensified though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[491] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
623 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., pp. 4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kiri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Tonik in discussing the legal usages of these Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of sicknesses resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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Bushmen from all parts of the Ghanzi veld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 170.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kung-Buschmänner,'" 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 174.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 178; 1911 Trans. "Buschleute der Namib," 189, 190; Passarge, "Unter den Buschleuten," 11 below; "Bemerkungen über Gesundheit," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 90; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 83.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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PLATE XI

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a b c d

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Ornament and Bone Pipe
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding drafts

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L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

(See p. 156)

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the Kinkwe. This does not extend to the
whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /xai//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; weapons and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual,
716 but the causes of such campaigns is small.[1] The chiefs have general
701 command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace,
[623] where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience
[687] naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and
ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons
[741] used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear.
The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness accounts of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kaffir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war,
628 but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin,
721 then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made
628 and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year,
726 they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood
727 feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the
[184] burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the tribes will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or
[721] even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 1911; Fourie, *op. cit.*, 63.

2: Schapera E-6, 5 (no date)1930
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The
marriage is brought to an end among the Auen by agreement, [628]
mutual suspicions passing freely between the two groups, and no [727]
indemnity is paid to the others in the form of women, mantid [728]
objects, and food. There is no information relating to peace-making
in other tribes, and even Kaudauen's statements about the Auen lacks [184]
corroboration.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conceptions of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we must here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

939 773 [764] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushmen and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare discovers the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 [758] There is not much information regarding the Bushmen beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushmen apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Dwarfs*, p. 21; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 38 seq.; D. F. Bleek, *Mantis*, 24-5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 170.

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that someone could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach of certain generalised rules of conduct connected especially with the rain, was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dtoa*, [776] who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauasi*) to enter the bodies [753] of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xo* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hindtwere, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognised.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with [764] all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, [766] e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 18, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 18, 21, 22;
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 373 note.
[3] Passarge, "Die Auen," 152.
[4] Lehmann, "Bei den Hindtwere," 111; Idem, "Religiöse Vorstellungen der

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764 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

999 There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are sometimes deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and kyness deals with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act otherwise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[2]

[764] [727]

114 764 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given 764 by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead person first has his head anointed with red powder (*hoche*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then ruddy perfumed (*grossièrement parfumé*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is [764] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Engelenburg, op. cit., 156.
[2] Bleek, "The Bushmen," 121; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–111; D. F. Bleek, *Mouse*, 31; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 31; Lebzelter, "Bei den Hirt-Buschleuten," 14.

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but with veneration and awe.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The incorrect attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] Passage of Exploration op. ... Cap. de Bonne Espérance, 177-9.
[2] Campbell, Missionary Travels in S. Africa, 240; Burchell, Travels in S. Africa, I, 289; Pringle, Brief Notice in Bibliotheca, 140. The account given by Moffat (op. cit., 111) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Barrow (op. cit., 128-9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Lichtenstein. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 363) renders "gesticulations pathetiques" as "mutually embraced", which, as it is supposed in Barrow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the account of real embracing among the Bushmen.
[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Houghton, in Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr., viii, 103-4; Fischlowitz, S. Afr. J. Sci., xii, 501, 540.

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[764] in a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [824] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Tenik gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawee*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; [765] and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, [273] in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

[767] Among the Natal, as soon as a person has died those present [768] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Natalk," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Natalk," 180.

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Auche on the grave and says adieu, good-bye. All then move to another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Nharo.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to prevent it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BaChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109-10; D. F. Bleek, *Nharo*, 31.
[2] Lebzelter, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kl-Buschmannvölker," 8; Lebzelter, "Kleb-Buschmann," 14.

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often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much afflicted by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the answers given above are admittedly inadequate. They agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a contracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called 'ua'ga, to which after death they will all go; and that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, *op. cit.*, 149-4. [2] *Op. cit.*, 14.

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lands, leave the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell and by Miss Currie, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Snow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the

[1] Snow, *op. cit.*, 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 93; Currie, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Manuscript Collection*, iv, 93; Bleek and Lloyd, *op. cit.*, 363–71, 389–401.

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hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Truth says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says they believe in a "good being" named *//khaoo* and a "bad being" named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to *//khaoo*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gâa* or *//gâua*, which Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die become *//gâua*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gâua*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

[2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not assault and harm them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung speaking from near Lake Ngami—"demon, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, //gibbi, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-workers could conjure up //gibbi by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in the papers recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *ox*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the spirits, //Gauab, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xo*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the //gauab of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Ovahimpalowveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, /*gum-ku*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Eruh*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *dorisb*, goes up into the sky to /*Gauab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold water and eats it.

[1] *The Native*, 16.
[2] "Bushmanlore von Angola," 141; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 133, 134.
[3] "Religiöse Vorstellungen der //Khon," *anthropos* [publication info illegible]; "Bei den 'Kun-Buschmänner," 14.

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78. were and one is. The soul then dwells with him, but frequently comes down to earth again and kills a number " of the family which involved it during its lifetime ". The group in North-East Ondonga (Ovambokland) believe that the soul, /gaobe, goes up into the sky, to the " house of God ", and does not remain on earth; while the people of Ukuanyáli say that when a man is dead he becomes *omupe* and is divided into three parts: the decaying body, the ghost or shade, /*gaose-i*, which goes about on earth and does mischief, and the real soul, *oumbo*, which goes to live in the house of the " great captain ", and there feeds on flies.

Here, it will be noticed, the part of man surviving the death of the body is on the whole believed to fall into two separate entities, having different fates. The ghost (//*gaoah*, /*gaose-i*) remains on earth and in the vicinity of the grave, while the soul (*dorish*, *ou*, /*gao-ku*, /*gaobe*, *oumbo*, the last four of which appear to be cognate forms of the same root) ascends to the " house of God " in the sky. The fate of the latter at once recalls the afterworld to which dead people are said to go by Stow and other writers on the Southern Bushmen; the former is obviously identical with the concept of //*gauwa* described by Miss Bleek for the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung. The word //*gauwa* among the North-Western tribes is, however, as we shall presently find, not restricted to the ghosts of dead persons. It is also used for a wider spiritual concept, and thus links up the beliefs concerning death with other aspects of Bushman religious belief.

In the Eastern Kalahari we meet again with the mention of an afterworld. Some of Dornan's informants said that after death the spirit of the deceased takes a long journey, and finally arrives at a certain place where he joins his fathers who have gone before him. They did not know the whereabouts of this place, but said that it is warm and has plenty of game. Other informants, however, asserted
78. that the spirits of the dead remain about the places where burials have
79. taken place. Hence the Bushmen avoid these localities as much as possible, and if they have occasion to pass them, " give them as wide a berth as possible, and often throw a small pebble on the grave, muttering at the same time some words to the spirit to ensure them good luck. This is to appease the spirit lest he might resent the intrusion. Any Bushman in the hunting field if he comes suddenly on a grave either of one of his own people, or other natives, will avoid stepping over it if he possibly can, and will throw a small stone upon it as above. All these observances indicate that they believe the

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spirit remains always about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumptions here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 130-8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shoot out an arm on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out some food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

1 "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 308.

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[921]
[539]
[782]

The Moon lying there,
There must look at the moon,
That I may shoot a springbuck with a to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also unearthed, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [777]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (annt' kerwe) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821

[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbuck,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out some food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out some food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbuck to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a gemsbok to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Folk-lore*, 3, p. 10, 11; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Main Bushman", 149; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304-6.
[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

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821 789 372 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 821 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folk-lore*, 338–41.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*/khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Remembrances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–4; idem, *Bushman Tales*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 70–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304–307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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[321] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[792] !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words:—

[539]

//xwa-as !Hakuma !gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//xwa-as xauma !gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//xwa-as tsis a !gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiöse Vorstellungen der //Khau-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuk Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 133; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119-20, 122, 124.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is *!hunta/kasi/kasten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gauau-ti'axau* (*/gauau* is the name of a certain star, and *ti'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-©pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xu*, the Porcupine.

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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773 776 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hamm*, the All-devourer, but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified [821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-ǂpwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ai*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention [751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 825 921 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought 821 825 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole, and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One [789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 1–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; idem, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 30.

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782 821 [539]

O gulegom,
O gulegom,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 821 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind [773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 776 [184] [794] Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that '*Kaang* (i.e, */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, '*Kue-'akeng-* [761] [821] *'teng*, " the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put [825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine 796 535 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or " dance of blood " is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant, [773] Qing, described as follows: " *Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night. [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd; *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne; the sick person is hang cãi." 535 796 [755]

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded, "We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call? Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle." 776 [782] [539] [825]

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun; but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaz* and *Gcwi*, and together with him and *Cogaz* there was another great "chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was *Cagn* who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how *Cogaz* was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*, is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by *Cogaz*, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*. [794] 773 776 [825]

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the female Kò; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as 776

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.'—Analyst]

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776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and
[88] who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba").
776 This is the

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 303–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ko-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: *!Kuh* is elsewhere written *//Khu*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gaguab* with */gau !goab*, and so on.

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu'e*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [194] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the [821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 184 776 [782] *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Kkun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kub-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dtimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dtimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

[1] Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, 410–12; *cf.* Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarising Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 188, 183.

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from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, *op. cit.*, 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone is in I"

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while those dying a " good death " go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). " About the nature of these beings," he adds, " they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them " on the other side " into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below " Magic and Magicians "), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say " *//gaua* thunders ", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: " *//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndjambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for " God "); " we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, " but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the " great captain " *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Nama*, 26, 46; Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 6, 71; D. F. Bleek, " Buschmänner von Angola," 141; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 133–4.

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First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptised, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiöse Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kub-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiöse Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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776 Bushpen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell
[192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings.
776 The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception
771 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and
776 Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with.
776 The notions of */khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter
[797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Eroh* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Initial *-l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Eroh* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is

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honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase; he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness; and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day; he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease, and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [792] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua's* fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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184 776 [821] among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get [753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 776 821 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind [769] forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [775] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 776 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of [762] the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [755] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [775] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, */nawa* or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */gisen*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have [881] seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hiake* into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New [821] Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. [756] [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'aubu* or */nu k'aubu*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixu*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1] [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ui k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [84] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gaua*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */aewa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gaua* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over
and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger
and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain
in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the
camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He
climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to
meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain,
he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts
him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord.
As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold
upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows
immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
[881] the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[787] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[755] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony
of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiöse Vorstellungen usw.," 408-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kub-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola" 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-Tji* had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

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arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood, leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *ǂuchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kunghanchkwase," 256; Kaufmann, "Anin," 159; Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, XX, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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Chapter VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Dancing and Music

535 Dances and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–2; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

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PLATE XII

535

L. Fourie

BUSHMEN DANCING
Notice the circling movement, and the chorus of women at the side

[face p. 100]

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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

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535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of
825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

526 Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people
535 of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women, found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line
[533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have
524 had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of
536 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

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side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see."[1] 524 536

Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire. 526 524

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood... Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water 524 857

[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

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524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 93–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 130–1; D. F. Bleek, *Nama*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

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violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534
although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177]
/gubo is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184]
Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531
incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

[1] Gretschel, *op. cit., passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xlv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Steinmitern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

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532 172 [178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most [135] of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Torgue, *Bushmen Paintings*, 1909; Mossolk, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeltlko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 502–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Mossolk, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7.

[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41.

[5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite.

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as "pocked". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked.

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.

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172 532 [386] Several different colours were used, the most common being red, black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups 172 of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring 184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west 532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

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systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archæological study of the paintings and engravings. 172 532 184 [114]

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

[1] Op. cit., 116–19.

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172. 184 532 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost vermilion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn, the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human hand is repeesented again and again, a feature never found in the Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172 532 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees, etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part the drawings of primitive peoples.[1] The aspect usually shown is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

[1] An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333-8; cf. Bulleer, Preface (pp. 3-12) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

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PLATE XIII

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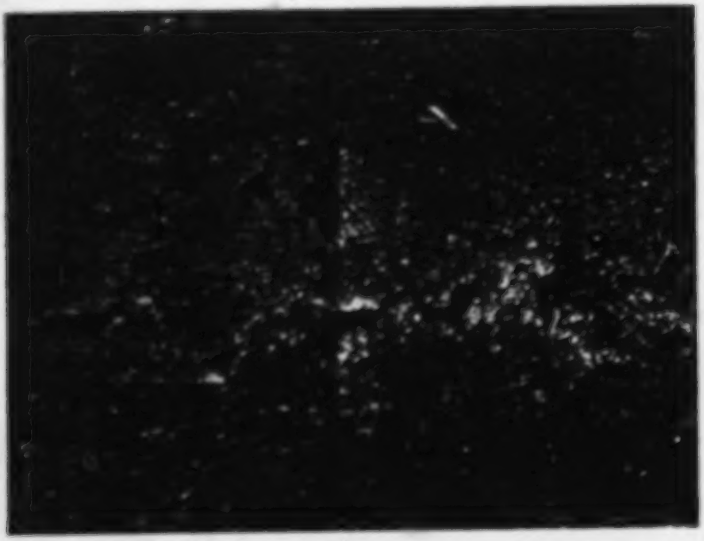
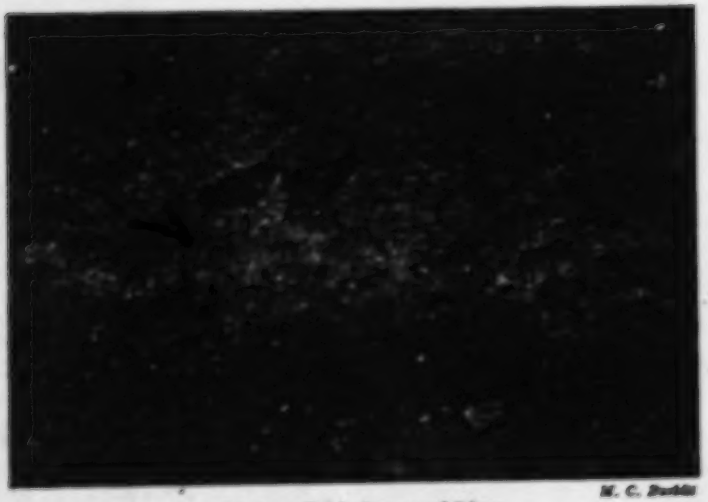


Painted Panel at Nswaguni, Matopos



M. C. Burkitt

Paintings at Domboshawa, near Salisbury
BUSHMAN PAINTINGS IN S. RHODESIA

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difficult to render were entered upon without hesitation, such as a kudu lying down or an eland turning its head round towards its back, and occasionally even an appreciation of the rudiments of perspective is to be noted, though only in a crude and uncertain form. The human figures are not so restricted to the profile aspect, but lack the accuracy and realism of the animal drawings. There seems to be a tendency here to impressionism, to seize on certain features of the body and to emphasize or exaggerate these, while others are minimized or ignored, and just sufficient is shown to indicate what the subject is. Often a man will appear all arms and legs and practically nothing else, while in women steatopygia is usually by far the most pronounced detail. 172 532

In addition to single figures and such compositions as a hunter pursuing game or several animals grouped together, there are the interesting series of big group scenes—of cattle drives, dances, and battles—to show very well indeed how the principle underlying Bushman art was fundamentally realism. There is nothing truly schematic in a Bushman drawing. In a battle scene, for instance, it is difficult to pick out the warriors of the two sides; they are all mixed up confusedly, some charging, others flying, and here and there single combats go on at a distance from the main battle. More than this, the men are shown in every conceivable attitude—running, standing, kneeling, crouching, or turning sharply round in the middle of flight to face the enemy once more. "In fact," says Fry, "we have, in all its confusion, all its indeterminate variety and accident, a rough silhouette of the actual appearance of such a scene as viewed from above, for the Bushman makes this sacrifice of actual appearance to lucidity of statement—that he represents the figures as spread out over the ground, and not as seen one behind the other."

In the art as a whole therefore we find a definite attempt to portray objects and scenes as they actually appear at the moment, and not as what they may be conceived as ideally. The aspects selected are always represented faithfully, and the pictures in general emphasize the unity of the representations rather than their details. Conventionalization in any shape is rare, and possibly the only departure from realism is in the case of human beings, where there is the tendency to impressionism.

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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment 000

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 136, 139; Seiner, "Beriehung der Omaheke," 193; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–41; D. F. Bleek, *Nama*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–4 passim.

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Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies (" disease-poisons ", " spirits of disease ", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the " doctor " feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the " doctor " is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the " supreme being " to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that " for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Crotalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. " Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29.
[2] " Religiöse Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.
[3] Nolte, " Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol.-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 118, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Knudsmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Velder, " Grammatik der !Ko-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 141.

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752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

278 The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation.
752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost
[114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing
[114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

[1] Op. cit., ii, 182. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212–13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159. [5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 393–4.

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184 805 The Naron have three seasons: spring, when the birds mate and the first flowers come, from about August to October; summer, when it is hot and the rain falls, or is expected, from November to March; and winter, or the cold time, from April to July. The !O Kung also have three seasons: the cold dry time from about April to September, the first rains from then to about November, and the real rainy season from about December to March or April. The Auen, Kung, and Heikum, on the other hand, distinguish four seasons: the cold dry season (winter), the small or first rainy season (early spring), the hot, dry season (spring and early summer), and the big or second rainy season (late summer). When all the seasons have passed, a year is finished; but there is no clear conception of the year as a period of time, nor do they reckon in years. Mothers can tell in which season their babies were born, and for three or four years know how many seasons ago it was, but after that they get confused. Hence, for instance, no person knows his positive age, although his comparative age as regards the other members of the family is always well established.[1]

184 805 821 The Naron observe the sun sufficiently to know that it makes a shorter path in winter than in summer, but apparently the stars foretell the coming of the seasons better. When the Pleiades rise just before dawn, the cold is due; when they come before midnight, spring is at hand. Besides the Pleiades the Naron also have names for the Southern Cross, Orion, the Milky Way, and the Great Bear, which is just visible at Sandfontein; and they know when each constellation will rise and set in the different seasons.[2]

184 821 The other North-Western Bushmen apparently take no special interest in the stars. The !O Kung, for instance, as we have seen, speak of all the stars as *//gaua*'s fires, and have no separate names for any of them; and the same seems to be true of the Kung and Heikum. The Cape Bushmen, on the other hand, were close observers of the movements of the stars and constellations, and had names for a great many of them. Thus Archernar is the "Star-digging-stick's stone" or the "Digging-stick's stone of Canopus", while Canopus itself is the "Bushman's rice star"; the Pointers to the Southern Cross are male lions; α, β, and γ Crucis are lionesses; Aldebaran is a male hartebeest, and Orion is a female hartebeest; Procyon a male

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies*, passim; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 110; *idem*, *Naron*, 39; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 160; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 99.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

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804 805 823 takes to reach the place. If, for instance, a Bushman is asked how far a certain waterhole is, he points to the part of the sky which the sun will have reached by the time one gets to that waterhole; or, if it is far, he says: "One night on the way," or "two", etc.; or, again, if asked the length of a journey, he will name the places at which he slept or will sleep, touching a finger to his lips for each, then hold up the fingers, saying: "So many nights" (not days).[1]

802 177 In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it, although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape 802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations [803] are also found as 4 = 2 + 2, 5 = 2 + 2 + 1, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however 2 + 2 + 1 fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral![2]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

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PART III

CULTURE OF THE HOTTENTOTS

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CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

114 The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

178 In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

162 619 The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */haus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doode* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//habob* or *//hawob*); while the *ǂAunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witboois, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */hobe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami ǂNun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and *ǂAunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4–7.

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the ǂAunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami ǂNun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/hau /nati*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 94, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

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the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witboois) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartboois, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gein* or big */Garin*, the */Gari !Nagaman* or "next" */Garin*, and the */Gari ǂKarin* or little */Garin*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gein* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari !Nagaman*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gein tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the ǂAunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Namaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */hau !nati*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gei khoi /ons*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gei khoi /ons* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Garis* will be called */Garib*, and all the daughters of a man named *//Khauab* will be called *//Khauas*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaib*, hence */Gari gaib*, the second the next one, *!nagamab*, hence */Gari !nagamab*, the third the dark one, *ǂnub*, or the light one, */haib*, or the tall one, *gaxub*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, *ǂami*, or the little one, *ǂkarib*, hence */Gari ǂkarib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

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family surname. That of the */Gari !Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the *!Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

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618 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants
619 of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form
593 clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually
643 develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous
618 to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were
619 scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a
417 great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in
231 which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south.
618 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
592 but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

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also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the *!gan* or servants.

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The huts themselves (*oms*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

[462]

[492]

The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, op. cit., 106–8; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 208–09; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306–7.

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LATE XIV

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L. Schultze

TOPNAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a [353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and [354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep. 513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their 595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by [594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife. 59 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act [36] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wanders, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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601 may be expected from the fact that they have a clan organization, is of the type customarily known as "classificatory", i.e. terms of relationship are applied by a man not only to the members of his own family, but also, according to certain rules, to classes of people who stand in a definite relation to his parents; and behind this linguistic usage there is almost always a set of mutual obligations between the man and all those to whom he applies these terms.

The primary terms of relationship are naturally those of the immediate family circle. Children address their parents directly by the term *ǂi* (com. sing.), the feminine form *ǂs* or *éis* being applied to the mother, the masculine form *ǂp* or *éip* to the father. When speaking of their parents, but never in direct address, they use the term *//gún* (from *//gū*, to be fertile)—*//gúb* (masc. sing.) for the father, *//gús* (fem. sing.) for the mother. A more familiar term for father is *tatab*, and for mother *mamas*. Parents, again, speak to or of their children by the term */gōan* or *ðan* (from */oa*, to bear). A son is *ðab* or */gōab*, a daughter *ðas* or */gōas*. Brothers and sisters use for each other the term */gān*; and here the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person or persons spoken to or of are carefully distinguished. An older brother is */gāb geib* (big brother), an older sister */gās geis*; a younger brother is */gāb ǂkami* (young brother) or */gāsab*, and a younger sister */gās ǂkams* or */gāsas*.

The application of these terms is also extended to more distant relatives. Thus *mamas* ("mother") is applied also to the mother's sisters, those older than the mother being called *mama geis*, those younger *mama ǂkams* or *mamaros* (dimin.). In the same way *tatab* ("father") is also applied to the father's brothers, again with the proper modifications for relative age. The term *mamas* is further applied to the wives of the father's brothers, and the term *tatab* to the husbands of the mother's sisters, and to the sons of the father's father's brothers. The children of all these people are called by the same term */gān* used for own brother or sister, with the proper modifications for sex and relative age. Finally, the term *ðan* or */gōan* ("child") is applied by a man also to the children of his brother (i.e. to those who call him *tatab*, "father"), and similarly by a woman also to the children of her sister.

On the other hand, certain other kinds of relatives are called by new and distinctive terms not used within the immediate family circle. For all persons, male and female, of all generations above those of father and mother, one term is used, *//nāon* ("the tip of an

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601 arrow", so that it refers, as it were, to the beginning of the family). The form *//nâob* (masc. sing.) is used for men—father's father, mother's father, their brothers, fathers, and father's fathers; the form *//nâos* (fem. sing.) for women—father's mother, mother's mother, their sisters, and the father's father's sisters. Conversely the children of any person called */gûas* are spoken of as *//nâris* (masc., *//nârib*; fem., *//nâris*). This term is therefore the reciprocal for *//nâos*.

The father's sister is nowadays called *mugis* (from the Dutch "moekie", little mother), but the old term was *êis geis*, "big mother," or *târas*, or *gai târas*, "the great respected one." Her husband is now called *omeb* (from Dutch "oom", uncle), also, through courtesy, *tatab*; there does not appear to be a distinctive term for him. The father's sister, again, has no special term for her brother's children, but uses a descriptive term—*/gûb ôan* (brother's child) or *târap ôan*, with the proper modifications according to the sex of the person concerned. Occasionally, however, she will refer to her brother's son as */âip*, a term used for relatives-in-law generally.

The mother's brother is nowadays also called *omeb*, but formerly was *//nâob* or *//nâotab*; and his wife is now *mugis*, formerly *//nâos*. He in turn applies to his sister's children the term *//nâris*. This term, which as we have already seen is also the term for grandchildren, is further applied to cross-cousins, i.e. to the children of one's mother's brother and father's sister—the masc. form *//nârib* to the sons, the fem. form *//nâris* to the daughters. Sometimes, however, a man will address the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister by the term *tards*, "wife,"[1] and conversely a woman will address the son of her mother's brother or her father's sister by the term *aob*, "husband."

The term *aob* is also applied by a woman, not only to her husband, but also to his brother, and to the husband of her sister; while the term *tards* is further applied by a man to his brother's wife, and to his wife's sisters, as well as to his own wife. The general term for relatives-in-law, however, is */aib* or */nâ khoin* (from the verbs */âi* and */na*, to become related by marriage). Thus a man applies the term */âip* (masc.) to his wife's father, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband, while a woman applies it to her husband's father and to her brother's son. The term */âis* (fem.), again, is applied by a man to his wife's mother and to his son's wife,

[1] This word *tards* is to be carefully distinguished from *târas* used for father's sister, etc., from which it differs in pronunciation.

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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámab*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei xiras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *xarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gûs*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoffmann, op. cit., 171; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 84; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; Idem, "Ueber Rechtsverhältnisse . . . der Naman," 278.

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592 357 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

463 465 These family servants, */gun*, are to be distinguished from the */gaisan*, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they [357] cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children are free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

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CHAPTER X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

MODE OF LIFE AND SUBSISTENCE

Daily Routine

THE Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–4; Idem, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 84.

233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried
484 meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
492 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
[415] bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
512 and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members
517 of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos, or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

1 [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 84–106; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 110–12.

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224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even
262 the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.
[415] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the
[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When
[251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld.
252 Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others
262 baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Bauhinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

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the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 102–3.

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and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

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As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

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[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, "Berigt aan ... Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, "Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96–7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.
[6] "The Nama," 129.

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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocrata. – Analyst]

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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] 848 Should pregnancy follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

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practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gamsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gamsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*oa /huru* or simply */huru* in the case of men, */goe-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gui-guisen*, to make oneself stiff) is also found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wandres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 351; cf. Falk, op. cit., 211.
[2] Op. cit., 283.
[3] Loc. cit.

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Marriage

582 Normally a girl is not regarded as marriageable until she has reached the age of puberty and passed through the puberty ceremonies, nor was a boy in the old days permitted to marry before he had been initiated into the ranks of the adult men (a custom now fallen into abeyance). Marriage, as we have seen, might not take place between members of the same clan, nor was a man supposed to marry a woman of the same "great name" (*gei khoi /ons*) as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded as a mother, if much older, or as a daughter, if younger, than himself. Nowadays this prohibition has ceased to be observed; and we also find that marriage with any first cousin is permitted, even with direct cousins, although on the other hand, says Mrs. Hoernlé, the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross-cousins. Marriage with the latter was formerly permitted, both with the father's sister's daughter and with the mother's brother's daughter, although in some of the Nama tribes (e.g. *//Haboben, Gei //Khauan, //Khau /Goan*) marriage with the latter kind of cross-cousin is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the former kind. It does not seem, however, that marriage with the cross-cousins was specially enjoined. Marriage with the direct (ortho-) cousins, on the other hand, was strictly prohibited.[1]

There is no single account of Hottentot marriage customs which can be regarded as exhaustive. The following description, pieced together as it is from the more or less incomplete accounts of a number of different observers, must therefore be looked upon only as approximately correct, although the details cited are all vouched for by reliable witnesses.[2]

584 As a rule there is free choice with regard to marriage, subject, of course, to the restrictions just indicated. The initiative usually lies in the hands of the boy. When he has found a suitable girl, he seeks to obtain her formal consent. He will hand her a little stick; if she takes this, breaks it in two, and throws one of the pieces at his breast, it is a sign that she is willing to marry him. The two now enter into a state of betrothal, which imposes upon them various

[1] "Social Organization of the Nama," 21.

[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 322; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214, Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 26 sq.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–5; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 318–19; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297–9; Vedder, "The Nama," 134–5.

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mutual avoidances. They are not supposed to meet or speak to each other, and may communicate only through an intermediary. This period of betrothal may be of considerable duration, and it is often several months or even a year and more before the marriage actually takes place. In the meantime the necessary negotiations will be going on between their parents, the boy's people taking the lead. After the young couple have come to an understanding, two or three old women from the boy's family go to the mother of the girl, and ask for her consent. This by custom she is required to withhold. After some time, during which the boy will occasionally bring small gifts to his future parents-in-law, the proposal is renewed, the girl's father also being approached this time. Finally, after a more or less prolonged show of reluctance on the part of the girl's parents, their consent is at last obtained, and the day for the marriage ceremony fixed.

In connection with this custom of wooing, reference must be made here to the employment of love magic among the Naman. A man wishing to win the favour of a girl will pound up a certain charm known as *duba* (a white substance the size of a fowl's egg, generally found in ant-heaps), and mix it with tobacco, which he then puts into a pipe. If the girl smokes this mixture, she will fall in love with the man who offered her the pipe.[1] Or he will secretly smear the mouth-piece of a pipe with some of the contents of a medicine horn, smoke the pipe, and then pass it on to the girl whose love he wishes to arouse.[2]

On the other hand, magical means are also employed to separate lovers. Of these one of the most effective is found in the legs of the locust. A girl who is to be alienated from her lover is asked, as often happens in the normal course of daily life, to grind to powder a heap of dried *buchu* roots—but among the roots a locust leg has been secreted. When the girl, having finished her task, rubs her *buchu*-stained hands in her arm-pits as usual, she unwittingly rubs in the magical means which kills her love. In other cases locust legs are pushed into the interior of a bone pipe, which is then handed round as usual. If care is taken that both lovers smoke of it, the magic will prove effective. In another instance quoted by Schultze,[3] the girl's parents consulted a magician, who smeared a small stick with some of the contents of his medicine horn, broke the stick, and threw the pieces apart, at the same time uttering the words: "The two who love each other must separate."

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90. [2] Schultze, op. cit., 319–20. [3] Op. cit., 297–8.

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585 [583] The marriage is celebrated by a great feast at the home of the girl's parents. On the day of the ceremony, the bridegroom has to present a cow to his mother-in-law, in token of the fact that she brought up his bride, and carried the latter whilst still a child in the *aba* skin on her back (hence the cow is termed *aba-gomas*). A similar presentation is made to his mother by the bride. The bridegroom and his people also have to provide the cows slaughtered for the marriage feast. Oxen may not be used for this purpose, lest the marriage prove unhappy and quarrelsome, whereas the use of female animals will make it fruitful. On the morning of the ceremony the cows are driven in festive procession by the relatives of the bridegroom to the home of the bride's parents. Here they are slaughtered. While the meat is being prepared, the bridegroom is fetched from his own home by two of his companions, who play on the reed pipes. All three dance up to the hut newly erected for the bride near that of her parents, in which she is waiting with some young girl attendants. Arrived there, the men dance round the hut for a while. Then the bridegroom's companions place themselves before the entrance of the hut, so that he can get in only with difficulty and by the exercise of force. As soon as he gets through and the young girls have left the hut, the mat door is lowered and secured to the ground with a stone, as a sign that entrance is forbidden. The marriage, says Hahn, is then consummated, with the knowledge of the whole camp, but without arousing any special notice. The guests meanwhile sing, pipe, and dance, and this continues all through the evening and night, the festivities only being interrupted for the great communal meal in which everybody takes part. Before the appearance of the morning star, the husband returns to his old home, where he has to stay the whole day without even seeing his wife; and only after the third or fourth day is he allowed to remain permanently with her.

584 585 The ceremonies of courtship and marriage just described are those noticed among the Naman within fairly recent times, and in most details are apparently still practised by them where they have not been christianized. A much earlier account by Wikar of the marriage customs of the Little Namaqua tribes contains several features not noted above; and as he is on the whole a reliable and accurate observer his description deserves to be quoted as complementary to that just given.[1]

584 He states that a boy courting a girl with the intention of marriage

[1] "Berigt aan . . . den Heer van Plettenberg," 100–2.

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does not ask her directly for her consent, but *oua*'s or "seeks her" in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, "if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him, he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bridegroom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, "praise men who seek wives, since to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered by a magician ("tovenaar"), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

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583 585 he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do; while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

585 264 The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

178 584 585 In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

584 According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Nama, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 273.

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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, 585
a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *suri* or magician of the camp now goes to the [791 514] men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

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585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women —but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

591 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with
606 his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 297, 318; Hoernlé, *Riderwald*, 16.

[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 46; Hahn, *op. cit.*, 19; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 299; Schinz, *op. cit.* 82; Wanderer, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 93–4; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 71.

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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his guests. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the
[578] children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground
684 for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 330; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 346.

[2] Von François, *op. cit.*, 212, 214; Olpp, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* Schultze, *op. cit.*, 379; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

[3] Kohler, *op. cit.*, 354; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 71; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 689; Vedder, "The Nama," 149.

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And Wikar, as far back as 1778, described what almost seems to have been a form of wife exchange among the Little Namaqua tribes. A married man, he says, will come at night into the hut of another, and lie down next to the latter's wife; whereupon the husband gets up to make room for him, and goes to sleep in another part of the hut. The following night this process is reversed, but, as Wikar delightfully adds, if the wife of the man who first initiated it is ugly, the affair is soon ended (" maar is de vrouw van diegeene die 't spel eerst begonnen heeft leelijk, dan wil 't tog niet braaf lukken met deeze handel ")! This form of intercourse is naturally of quite a different order from adultery, for although it is an encroachment upon the husband's sexual prerogative over his wife, it takes place with his full agreement, and he himself obtains a reciprocal liberty. It appears from Wikar's description that the relationship is formally agreed upon by the two husbands, for he speaks of it as being accompanied by slaughtering and rejoicing, but it is not clear if we have anything here in the nature of the *more* relationship.[1] In any case it is a good illustration of the freedom of sexual life among the Hottentots. A similar instance is mentioned by Alexander: " If a Hottentot has been out hunting and on his return finds his place occupied, he sits down at the door of his hut, and the paramour handing him out a bit of tobacco, the injured man contentedly smokes it till the latter chooses to retire."[2] This statement one would certainly question were it not compatible with the description just quoted from Wikar, who is on the whole so accurate an observer that there is no good reason for rejecting his evidence on this particular point.

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The only ground for divorce is ill-treatment, which has to be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, in whose hands the decision lies. A wife deserting her husband is forced to return to him, and similarly a husband abandoning his wife is requested to return to her. Should he refuse or neglect to do so, his property is taken from him and handed over to her.[3]

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Marriage, in addition to establishing the household with all its accompanying social, economic, and legal functions, also creates social observances of a special type with regard to the relatives-in-law. A man not only lives, as we have seen, with his parents-in-law for some time after his marriage, during which he has to render them

[1] Op. cit., 103.
[2] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 196. Cf. also Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 40, 64-5.
[3] Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 312, 314.

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606 various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *sou*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence
607 of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g.
587 be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed."[1] A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[2]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elasped since the death of the other partner.[3] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4]

587 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special
783 remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible
784 a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as /nau, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sie*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 253; Schultze, op. cit., 300 sq.; Kohler, op. cit., 345. The existence of the levirate among the Namaqua was noted as far back as 1761 by Roos and Marais, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport aan den . . . Heere Bijk Tulbagh," 57.)

[2] Kohler, op. cit., 346.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Isaos among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, 8 (1924), 73–7.

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anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become /nas, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain /nas, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and /naap (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls.

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587 783 784 off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

The Conception of /nau

783 784 This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be /nau. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of Isaw among the Hottentots," pp. 67-9. These transitions rites are also collected up under the name "soderunchen" (i.e. "donation") by Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, II 295, and by Wikar, "Beytrag zur den Hotten von Pierenberg," 59-6, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

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already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. Since, however, a */nau* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become */nau*, only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life, and no longer fear anything, are qualified to deal with him. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition; they alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the community. But not any old man or old woman will do; it must be one having the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by the recent loss of husband or wife. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease, and preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease—the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of "initiation" varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth, marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises—remarriage, boys' puberty ceremonies, reception into the rank of hunters, treatment of diseases regarded as */nau*, etc.—a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The */nau* person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the "essence" of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one part is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person.

Next follows a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. During this time certain other things become */nau* in relation to the */nau* person. First of all there is the fire in the hut in which he is secluded. This fire must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the hut and the renewal of the fire. During all this time, moreover, nothing must be cooked at the fire, nor must anyone come near it who

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783 might increase the peril in which the *!nau* person finds himself. Thus
784 pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut.
372 All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The *!nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a *!nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes *!nau*, but every *!nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the *!nau* person also become *!nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the *!nau* person and persons who can no longer become *!nau* may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

585 [1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of *!nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the sacramental meal in which only the bride and women already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these transition rites (*andersmaken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Graevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women eat apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Graevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

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BIRTH

Pregnancy

The ideas of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception do not appear to have been specially investigated. The fact that in cases of premarital pregnancy the girl's lover is expected to marry her, and in any case has a claim to the child, seems to indicate that physiological paternity is recognized. But there is no concrete information that the Hottentots are acquainted with the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. In their mythology we even meet with a few instances in which women have conceived without having connection with a man. Thus it is told that on one occasion, when some young girls had gone out to fetch firewood, one of them took a kind of sweet juicy grass, chewed it, and swallowed the juice. As a result she became pregnant, and was delivered of a son, Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth.[1] An instance of this kind, however, can, owing to its mythological character, hardly be interpreted as reflecting the normal beliefs of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception.

On the whole there seems to be a general desire among the people to have children. A barren woman, as we have seen, is looked down upon, and may even have to suffer the mortification of seeing her husband take a concubine. There are also various indications of rites specially designed to secure the birth of children. Graevenbroeck and Kolb, in their descriptions of the Cape Hottentot marriage ceremonies, both state that the person officiating publicly expresses the wish that the young couple will have offspring; and similarly the slaughter of only female animals for the Nama marriage feast is interpreted as due to the desire that the marriage may prove fruitful. Wikar, again, mentions that a barren woman will have recourse to a magician, who strokes her on the abdomen with pieces of horn and wood, and also smears her there with the contents of his medicine horn. Moreover, an ewe heavy with lamb is slaughtered, and the woman must carry the amnion of this unborn lamb on her back, like a child. Also, according to Schinz, women during confinement (*sic*) must eat only goat's flesh in order to promote their fertility.[2]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 69. Another myth of the same kind relates that Heitsi Eibib was born as a young bull of a cow impregnated by eating grass (ibid., 68. The original Nama text is given in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 177).

[2] Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 104; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97.

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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are [842] apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated [825] urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in [824] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate 847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody 682 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Laidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.
[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

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embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The fœtus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognized to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with upstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a *!nau* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 213–17; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] "The Nama," 135.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 216.
[4] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 85.
[5] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 668.

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Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in [562] the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all over with fat, then laid on the ground, [278] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 217–23; Schinz, op. cit., 97; von François, op. cit., 214–15.

It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted by Seiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course, be said. 853 171

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water. Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also[2] that at a child's birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked by a feast, provided by the father. 846 846 372

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Fransfontein Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e. after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay, among the Topnaars, it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the 852

[1] From other accounts it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.
[2] Op. cit., 77.

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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in [824] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

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at, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters 846
he hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects [276]
of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in
is hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the
irth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period
f seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in
arm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only
hen is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may
ot be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and
iends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, 851
celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially
it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. 844
ut they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying 846
irth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot
transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of 783
old water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period 784
f seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters
e hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water,
s well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—
l these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies
ssociated with the conception of *!nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general
alysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a
cramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who
ave borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a
ast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the
irth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar,
owever, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions
n which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1]
e gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's
wn data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet
een published.

bnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. 845
uch a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might 791
ecome a clever *!gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 94.

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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

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Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 320; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

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if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Names

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Graevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Graevenbroeck naïvely puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and then, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Naman, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gei khoi /ons*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomarib*, and that of the mother *//khunibes* (*-b* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khunibeb* and a daughter *gomaris*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khunibeb-gomarimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if found follows the same principle; hence *gomaris-//khunibemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khunibeb geib*, the second son */khunibeb /nagamab*, the youngest *//khunibeb /karib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Ten Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 98–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

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551 with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same "great name", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this "great name" derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

853 [854] A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby [862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the [847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 262 [145] From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 31–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, op. cit., 303–8; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 76; Schinz, op. cit., 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, op. cit., 222, 299.

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and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*/gui //han*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 300; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 322–3.

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561 expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to
[576] Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The
593 children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection
888 and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall
603 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances
576 be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti ǁndob* "my grandfather", or *ti ǁndosa* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative
576 age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in
593 definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *ousis* in the case of the eldest sister, *siros* or *sisiros* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *abudib* for the eldest brother, and *budirob* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father.[3]

576 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in
593 later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *siras*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *sou*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 21; Schultze, op. cit., 301. The term *ousis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *sussie*, sister; *siros* or *sisiros* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*. *Abudib* and *budirob* are similarly derived from the Dutch *boesie*, brother.

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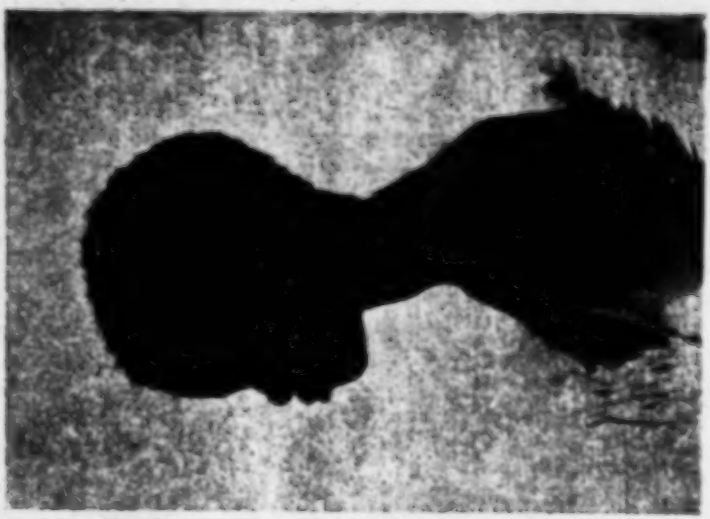

L. Schultze

TOPNAAR GIRL WEARING SHEEPSKIN KAROSS

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576 speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must
593 ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei târas*, his great respected
195 one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ni /gâs ao ra*,
576 as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk
593 into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa /gâsa xue*, commit incest with your sister.

602 This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men
576 to whom she applies the relationship term */gâb*, brother, even if
195 they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad
582 language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says
[177] Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

602 Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//nâris*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

604 The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 90-1; von François, op. cit., 202; Schinz, op. cit., 300.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

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604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *sáras* or *gei saras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//nâri //gaŏ* or *//nâri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even to-day carefully observed among the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *khara*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relative. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22-3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 15; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 313-16; Schreiner, op. cit., 309.

[2] "Reisign aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 391-2111.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, I, 189; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 177; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 271; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 113; Schreiner, *Reminiscences and Recollections*, 293-7; Vedder, "The Nama," 136.

[4] "The Conception of Sex among the Hottentots," 70-4; Idem, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 349-9.

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gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba xarás*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin karos. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */nas*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other */nas* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba xarás* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

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881 574 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ŧap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ŧap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating [841] woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor 843 any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarda* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oma*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, [535] regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. 881 783 Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

First, during the day, the *aba tarda* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axa /aip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarda* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying [291] off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-karoos stage*, from the Dutch term *broek-karoos* (lit. breeches-karoos) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarda*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *khara oms*. The *ubu xarib* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *ubu xarib* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oxanis*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *kucha* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oxanis*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *kucha*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her native context account ("Social Value of Water," 1925). In the earlier version ("Conception of Sex," 25), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the hut door, i.e. in the outer hut, and given out as such. Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *ubu xarib*. This she must now cook on the fire in the inner hut. . . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *ubu xarib* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxuis* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *hacku* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *abu tarás*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *hacku* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *abu tarás* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */naa*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *abu tarás*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *abu tarás* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Hano-Hottentotten," 307, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wilser, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Khoisanvolk*, 173; Alexander, loc. cit.

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water. The *aka tsaxa* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again /nau, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them /nau. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Nama find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, by Idies (quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schüler, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water," 324-5.

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84| not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be
784 */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things;
783 and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore
when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of
[823] cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition.
If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have
to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this
happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would
be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

88| A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the
262 girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion,
he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must
come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during
the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless.
But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers,
and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period,
[788] lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he
adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed
from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill
[757] them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as
medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

88| Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we
184 have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown
by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient
usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one
[302] custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed:
this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first
symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the
[518] ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the
body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the
[249] continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk
diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

84| Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots,
783 makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's
first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating
women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example,
might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods,
or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have
to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *endermaeken* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 214.

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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vaillant, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of */nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

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Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

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No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

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[1] Op. cit., 122–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 140, 206–7.

[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 41.

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881 885 in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The [192] word *kutsire*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when [783] hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

881 514 The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities.[2] Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[3] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 33-6a. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, II, 42.

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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blast") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

1 "Berge aus den Hoare von Pforrenberg," 103–4, 94.
2 "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 9.
3 "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44–7.
4 From a casual remark by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 12) it is the magician (*gui* and who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
5 *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

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"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Hoernlé's detailed analysis of the Nama circumcision rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

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can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *doro-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*doro*) and eat in the company of the other men of the camp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *doro* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *doro* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *doro* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *doro* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Andersson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Alberche, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 118.

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since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone "who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks" would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Naman the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *doro* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually ate apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Huwe* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Bushmelanguen im Groß-Namalande," 204.

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from those of all the Bushmen except the Heikum. In the case of the latter the general resemblance to the Hottentot rites is so marked— the powdering of the boys' scrota by the girl is especially noteworthy in this context—that one is definitely inclined to postulate Hottentot influence here. In the case of the other North-Western tribes, the central feature of the girls' ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is not found among the Hottentots, while on the other hand, the elaborate */nau* restrictions and reintroduction rites present among the latter have not been reported at all of the Bushmen. The seclusion ritual of the Cape Bushmen, and the beliefs connecting young maidens with the dangerous properties of rain and water, seem more in line with the Hottentot ceremony, but the data bearing upon the Bushman rites and beliefs is too fragmentary to justify any definite assertion of similarity.

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Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the
423 Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes, such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartboois. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their
619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products
166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Stow, *Native Races*, 278 sqq.; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandsche Tijd*, vols. I and II *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Namas," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 133.

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423 619 648 tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers [121] settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

619 423 486 How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to *await the reply before doing anything. This would have* avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

619 423 On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 51-60), 70, 73-4; Hammitt, *op. cit.*, 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 78.

rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said :—

Ti //Naonse //Hase	My ancestors' territory
//Gaise //Hâi hâ se te	Run nicely to meet me
aibe enase	I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession *of the old tribal territory by* consult with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile *//Hai //Nan* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Hottentots", 319–20.

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775 769 to encroachment upon the territory of another. There is unfortunately no other record of such usages to be observed when visiting a strange place, or linking up the occupation of land with supernatural agencies. Whether similar usages did exist among the Cape Hottentots, but have escaped observation, or whether in the case of the Naman, and especially of the Orlams, European ideas had completely overshadowed them in practice, cannot now be determined. Certainly the great freedom with which the Hottentots appear to have wandered from place to place, from their own territory into that of another tribe, does not argue in favour of any pronounced dread of the ghosts haunting such places, nor does the undoubted fact that disputes over the possession of land were frequent.

423 425 All the land claimed by a tribe was the common property of that tribe. It could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it the property of the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable. In the early Cape Records several instances are noted of land having been "sold" to the colonists by Hottentot chiefs. It is more than probable that such "sales" were looked upon by the natives themselves not as alienation but as the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase money" as analogous to tribute paid for this use. Even in more recent times, when the concepts of sale and purchase had become generally familiar to the Hottentots, the alienation of land to other tribes or peoples was extremely rare. The chief had no right to dispose of the land or of any portion of it without first obtaining the consent of the families under his rule, and the purchase money had to be divided equally amongst them.[1]

423 Every member of the tribe had a right as such to the use of its land, water, and grazing for himself, his family, and his stock. He could move freely over the tribal lands, and erect his hut wherever he pleased, without restriction or interference by the chief or anybody else. These rights, however, were merely those of usufruct, and in no case implied full ownership to the exclusion of others.[2] The only instance recorded of recognised private ownership of land or its resources occurs even to-day in the Nara bushveld of the Kuiseb regions behind Walvis Bay. Here each Topnaar family has an hereditary claim to certain */nara* bushes and their fruit. Trespass by other members of the tribe is reported to the chief and dealt with by him; but if the

[1] Wuttken, "Ueber das Recht der Namaqua," 677, 684; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 77-8; Vedder, "The Native," 144; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 350.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Schinz, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 650.

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thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chieftainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expelled to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the /*naru* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

[1] Schinz, op. cit., 191, 318.
[2] Warmbo, op. cit., 671-4; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 56. [3] Warmbo, loc. cit.

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Live Stock

231 The unsettled nomadic life of the Hottentots is occasioned primarily by the ever-present need of grass and water for their live stock. The domestic animals upon whose milk and flesh they depend so largely for their subsistence are cattle, sheep, and goats. The cattle seem originally to have been of the large, straight-backed, long-horned type (*Bos aegyptiacus*), still found among the native peoples in the Horn of East Africa. They have, however, become considerably modified through mixture with other breeds, especially those introduced from Western and Northern Europe by the Dutch and other settlers, so that the original type can no longer be clearly distinguished. The sheep were fat-tailed, with scraggy hair rather than wool, but here, as well as in the case of the goat, the type now also shows mingled characteristics, owing to intermixture with other breeds.[1]

234 177 It is a point of some interest, upon which Johnston comments, that the Hottentot root word for cattle, *gomo-*, may possibly be derived from the Southern Bantu *-homo*, while *hiri-*, for goat, may be the early Bantu *huri*, *hudi*, and even the root *gu-*, for sheep, can be traced to a Bantu source. From this he argues that "obviously the goat first, then the ox and the sheep, were brought to them from the north by Bantu or Nilotic negroes".[2] This is certainly true of the goat, which was most originally owned by the Hottentots and only acquired by them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came into contact.[3] We know, however, that within historical times at least the Hottentots at the Cape had cattle and sheep long before they came into contact with the Bantu. All their traditions, moreover, indicate that their pastoral mode of life was developed before their ancestors came south. Whether they acquired their domestic animals from the Bantu in East Africa is a more debatable question. In the absence of definite historical evidence, the argument from philological resemblances may seem plausible. It must be remembered, however, that cattle and sheep as domestic animals were introduced into Africa by the Hamites, from whom even the Bantu got them[4]; and the undoubted Hamitic

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 777-8, 783; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 177, 183, 188.

[2] "Man and Nature in South-West Africa," *Nature*, [illegible] (1908), 386.

[3] It may be noted in this connection that the word Hottentot comes for the Bechuana in Bolong, i.e. goat people.

[4] Cf. Ankermann, *Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika*, [illegible] (1905), 54-55.

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affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land around Table Bay was as thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Nama chief Akrombie, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 5,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Naman remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even harvesting stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

[1] Gustav Hildebrandt, *Reisen in die Kaap*, i, 56.

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is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the Ovaherero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 169-71.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 477-8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78-9; Theal, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to feed for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still proceeds to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

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The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

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[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 257-8; Kolb, op. cit., 79-80; von Francois, op. cit., 158.

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233 the early morning they are again allowed to drink, then are driven out into the veld in a different direction from the cows. Here they remain under the continuous watch of the herd-boys, who drive them back to the kraal in the evening. Only when a calf grows really thin is it allowed to accompany its mother in the veld.[1]

Occasionally, if the pasture round the settlement is poor, the cattle are driven far into the veld under the care of a few herdsmen, who keep them at outlying posts for weeks and even months. A wealthy cattle-owner may have several of these cattle-posts, which either he or his chief herdsman inspects from time to time by personal visits.[2] As a rule, however, each family remains and moves with its own herds, sometimes even ailing independently of the rest in the search for water and grass.

[329] It may be noted here that herdsmen often carry as charms pieces of a certain shrub called *!ubib*. If cattle have gone astray one of these pieces is burned in the fire, in the belief that this will keep the animals safe till they can be found the next morning, and will prevent their being destroyed by wild beasts.[3]

No attempt is made to control the breeding of the cattle. The bull is at all times allowed free access to the herd, in the veld and at water. The months at the end of the second rainy season, March and April, when the pasture is at its best, are the favourite time for jumping, and the bull then follows close on the heels of the cows. At the beginning of the dry season it separates from the herd and roves in the veld till the next rains, only coming to the fountain when there is not enough water elsewhere. Its movements are apparently quite unrestricted.[4]

The proportion of bulls is nowhere indicated, but is almost certainly quite small, since a large number of oxen are required for domestic purposes. The young bulls are gelded when their horns are just beginning to show. The Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, bound the scrotum closely and tightly, so as to cut off communication with the spermatic vessels, the calf then being allowed to run in that condition till the testicles rotted off.[5] Schultze was unable to learn the method of gelding employed by the Namas. He mentions, however, that according to his informants the successful "castration" ("Kastrierung") of a number of calves was formerly celebrated by a feast, consisting of the meat of a specially-slaughtered calf cooked

[1] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 79; van Pannen, *op. cit.*, 277-8; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 358-60; Hildebrandt, *Ausserungen über Ackerbau in Grosse Hottentottenland*, 83-4.
[2] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 360; Wanderer, *op. cit.*, 408. [3] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 80.
[4] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 360, 377. [5] *Op. cit.*, 79.

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together with the pounded testicles of the new oxen.[1] A similar feast was noted among the Cape Hottentots by Jan Hartogh in 1707.[2]

The young oxen are trained to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen are used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with the few household utensils, which are bound securely on them with "riems" (long thongs of raw hide). The riding-oxen are guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit. Instead of a saddle a sheepskin is thrown over the back of the animal and fastened by a thong drawn tight round the body. No stirrups are used, but both men and women ride the animals with ease, being accustomed to do so from childhood. "One can travel comfortably and securely in this way for a great distance and over rugged mountains," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "provided one is not in too much of a hurry." Kolb relates also that special oxen were taught to guard and keep the sheep together while they were grazing; such an ox, he says, is swiftly obedient to the voice of its master, and flies round the pasture ground to bring back within proper limits those of the flock that are straying off! No stranger is allowed to come within range of the pasture ground; the ox drives off the intruder and gives the robber a rude reception. The Hottentot oxen, he continues, are even taught to combat in a body, like a regiment of elephants, against the enemies of the nation. This statement, at least, is confirmed by other observers, but one cannot resist doubting if oxen were ever really used as sheep-dogs. Nowadays, at any rate, they are generally employed for the far more prosaic task of drawing waggons, and have been almost entirely superseded by the horse for riding.[3]

The goats and the sheep, like the calves, are herded by day in the veld, and kept at night in the kraal. Single goats or small flocks need no care, and easily accustom themselves to returning of their own accord at night. Bigger flocks are put under the care of a herd-boy, who guards them from danger and theft, and sees to it that they do not spread too widely over the veld. He also has to collect them during the midday heat under some tree or a rock, where they may rest in the shade. The lambs while still small remain continuously in a special kraal, and are allowed to go to their mothers only before the

[1] Op. cit., 180.
[2] Quoted in Grevé-Hildebrandt, Reisen in S. Afrika, I, 9.
[3] Kolben, op. cit., 177-8; Hoernlé, "Social Life Among," 14; Kolb, op. cit., 80-1; cf. Barrow, An Acct. quoted in Collins, Account of S. Africa, 20; Pringle, Narrative Incidents, 222; Sparrman, Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, I, 230-6.

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233 morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

231 The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the
242 poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little
[241] importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

231 The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of /nau must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the ceremonies established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound
[763] to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We
[762] have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

231 Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots
762 specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schreiner, op. cit., 280-4. [2] "The Conception of Sacrifice," 33. [3] Op. cit., ii. 1-4.

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animal is eaten by the old men, the young men are given the blood and the entrails, and the women feed upon the broth. After the meal each group apart spends the rest of the day and the following night in singing and dancing. "These are acts of atonement for their offences against *Gounja*, and which they trust will render *Gounja* propitious to them and their cattle." If the distemper ceases after this ceremony, the people become wild with joy, believing that "*Gounja*" is pleased with their offerings. But if it does not immediately cease, they either lay the blame upon the sacrificer or suppose that their offerings were not good enough. Another old man is then selected and the ceremony repeated in the same way, fatter sheep being slaughtered. Or else it is decided that the sheep have caught the disease from some ill quality of the pasture; and if this opinion prevails the settlement is immediately removed elsewhere. 231 782

The other ceremony consists in driving the sheep at certain times through the smoke of a fire. Early on the day determined upon, the women milk the cows and bring the milk to the men, who must drink it all. The women themselves may not drink of it, nor even spill any drop, lest the whole procedure prove ineffective. When it has all been consumed, some of the men go to bring the sheep together to the place where the fire is to be performed, while others busy themselves in preparing the fire. This is made in the open, and thickly covered with green branches, so that a dense cloud of smoke is produced. When the sheep then come up, a number of men range themselves closely in a long row on both sides of the fire; and the animals are driven through this lane. As soon as one has been forced through, the rest follow, jumping over the fire and passing through the smoke. Great jubilation is raised when everything has passed off successfully, for it is believed that now all will be well. The explanation Kolb claims to have received was that this custom originated in the fact that predatory animals, especially wild dogs, would come among the flocks and work havoc. To prevent this occurring, said his informant, the sheep are driven through the smoke, for as long as its smell clings to them the dogs will keep away. Long experience had taught the ancestors of the people that this measure effectively protected the sheep, and it was therefore still kept up among them. 231

This particular ceremony does not appear to have been noted by any other writer, and it is difficult to decide how far Kolb's

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description can be relied upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be connected, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snouts, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

Hunting and Fishing

Weapons and Methods

As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 501; Schinz, *op. cit.*, 268.
[2] Schinz, *op. cit.*, 267; Richardson, *op. cit.*, 84.

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ishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fixed in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often poisoned with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

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The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older travellers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore them out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. At first, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 111-13; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48-51; Barrow, *Travels in Africa*, i, 140; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 49.
[2] Schinz, op. cit., 88. Schinz, op. cit., 102.

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224 As the wounded animal ran off he leisurely followed, showing a remarkable skill in reading and distinguishing its tracks; and when finally he came up it was an easy task to finish off his quarry with the spear.

Big game, such as elephants, rhinoceros, and giraffe, were often directly attacked in the open. These animals, as well as elands and quaggas, were hunted by large parties of men armed with spears; and when the wounded animal turned upon its assailant, other spears were hurled against it from behind; as it faced about to ward off the new danger, a renewed attack was made upon it from the rear, so that it was constantly kept at bay until, exhausted by its wounds, it fell helpless to the ground. Or when wild animals had raided the herds and the flocks, all the men of the kraal would unite in a drive hunt, dividing themselves into bands to discover the haunts of the animal they wished to destroy. On finding its retreat they formed a circle round it, closing in till they came within bowshot; then, after wounding the animal with their arrows, they were able to come up and dispatch it with the spear.[1]

Even at the present time, when guns and the horse have made hunting far easier, the Hottentot still shows a considerable amount of real ability in the pursuit. In stalking down game his intimate knowledge of their habits is readily evident. With considerable caution he will approach the gemsbok, and then patiently wait till in the midday heat it goes to lie down in the shade of a bush. Quietly he steals up towards it, and once within range he makes no mistake with his bullet. Sometimes he finds the nest of the ostrich, and knowing that before long the bird will return, he conceals himself in the nearest bush, fires as it passes or when it has settled on the nest, and thus secures a double prize. He will patiently lie in ambush in the same way near a waterhole for big antelopes or zebras, or outside their holes for the smaller burrowing animals. Under cover of his flocks the herdsman steals up to the steenbok, innocently pasturing with the sheep and the goats, and kills it with a dexterous stone-throw; or with the aid of his dogs he runs down the gemsbok and the klipspringer. Drive-hunts are employed to root out the hares, which are knocked down with the kiri. Where he possesses a horse, the hunter takes his gun and rides out into the veld, where whatever first offers—ostrich, zebra, eland, or smaller antelope—is closely pursued till near enough to be shot. Sometimes large

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 107-8; Wikar, "Beitrge zur Völkerkunde," 107 and passim.

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hunting parties are organized, when nearly all the men of a kraal leave in their wagons, with plenty of ammunition and their hunting horses, trusting to the success of the expedition for subsistence while away. Large sections of the country are partially invested, animals of all descriptions brought within a comparatively limited space, and great quantities shot. The flesh is then cut up into thin slices, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the shade and wind; and after several weeks have been passed in the veld, the Bushmen return with their wagons loaded with the dried flesh of the ostrich, zebra, and various kinds of antelope, which afford food to the whole kraal, for a considerable time.[1]

Snare traps and snares, nooses and catches of all kinds are also made use of to waylay game. On some occasions, in former days, whole valleys were enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game from the heights into the valley below, which was staked and bushed across its whole breadth. At intervals the fence was broken, and here deep pitfalls were made. Since the fence was too high for the animals to jump, they were obliged to make for the gaps, where they tumbled into pits. Similar pitfalls were dug for elephants, rhinoceros, zebras, elands, and other big game in the paths to waterholes or along river banks. These pits were about 6 to 8 feet deep, and some 4 feet in diameter. A sharp-pointed stake was planted in the centre, the pointed extremity being on a level with the ground surrounding the pit, the surface of which was lightly covered and spread over with leaves intermingled with sand. As the hole was too small, the animal only fell in with its forefeet, thus causing the stake to enter its thorax or its breast; it was thus unable to get away, for the more it struggled, the more it became fixed. The hunters then coming up killed it with their spears, or mounting upon its neck they knocked it down with nooses or opened a vein with their knives to make it bleed to death. Running nooses similar to those of the Bushmen are still employed to catch small antelope, such as the klipspringer, duiker, and steenbok, as well as hares and dassies, while heavy falling traps of stone secure the jackal and hyena. Still more finely constructed are the falling traps for catching porcupines and small mammals. They are so made that the animal in attempting to get at the bait disturbs a horizontal peg; a small vertical peg is thereby released which, falling away, sets free an uppermost peg fixed between the stone slab and the support; the

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 80-3; Schultze, op. cit., 388-90.

224 stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

224, 227 Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal sinews or catgut. They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

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Special Observances

224 As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Namas, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute sanctioned to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

224, 312 More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected with hunting by pursuit, and reflecting the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

[1] Schinz, *op. cit.*, 200-1; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 128; Wikar, *op. cit.*, 170.
[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 129-30; Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, 240-1; Moffat, "South-West Africa," 19.

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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gwi /gub*, big brother, the latter as */gui-hommub*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, there ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 189.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 389.
[3] Olpp, "Aus der Anschauungswelt der Hottentotten-Khoi-Khoin," 40-2; Rohde, op. cit., 80-1; Schultze, op. cit., 389.

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224 mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralize him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

224 Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an
264 elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony;
[372] no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with pothlack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

224 Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate
[287] obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] "Reisige van den Heer van Plettenberg," 109-110.

and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Namas that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn meens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde paarde", ? wildebeest), harnebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[1]

Campbell[2] describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[2]

[1] Op. cit., p. [illegible]
[2] Travels in S. Africa, [illegible] ed.

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224 554 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the [EH] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some [276] words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his [301] body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best [639] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. [262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was [571] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vergebliche doch Curieuse Nachforschung*, 128-9.

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the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says, "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting: Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[1]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for consulting the two.

Industries and Trade

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," p.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., p.; Hoernlé, op. cit., p.

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by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite rough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with crowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the prepared leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the huts, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 122-23.

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Among the Naman skins are dressed and worked into clothing, bags, riems (thongs) and other objects by both men and women.[1] The tanning of leather is largely the work of the women, and involves a good deal of labour. The fresh skin is stretched out to dry, with the hairy side upwards; when it has hardened, it is softened again with the juice of succulent plants, which are pounded upon its inner side; the superfluous liquid is poured off, and the skin rolled up so as not to dry prematurely. Then the woman kneels on the roll, spreading out flat before her only as much of the skin as she can work at the moment, and after strewing the fleshy side with sandstone powder she rubs it hard with a stone. When all the flesh particles have been scraped off in this way, the skin is again allowed to dry slightly, is then kneaded and wrung out, and is rubbed on the outside with fat. Next it is tanned with the pounded inner bark of the acacia, then rolled up together with the pads of fibre and steeped in red lye made from the bark of the same tree, is afterwards again allowed to dry slightly, and is then spread out and lightly covered with sand. Finally one man takes it at the tail end, another at the head, women and children at the sides, and together they stretch and pull it smooth. It is then dried in the sun, and is now permanently soft and water-tight, and beautifully red on the inside.

Skins prepared in this way are used for a variety of purposes. Those of the calf, goat, sheep, springbok, and duiker are laid as rugs on the floor of the hut, either singly, or a number cut and sewn together, while karosses are sewn from the skins of the sheep, jackal, dassie, or lynx. Others are cut up and used for making the small bag, to hold personal belongings. Formerly also the rear apron of the girls was made exclusively from sheepskins similarly prepared, and the front apron of the boys cut from any such soft skin, while fur caps were made from the back skin of the aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*).

Where the removal of the hair is desired, the fresh skin, crumpled together and wrapped in a tanned skin, is exposed to the heat of the sun by day and placed near the fire in the hut at night. After three or four days of this treatment the skin sticks, and the hair can easily be pulled out. The hide is then rolled up, and the craftsman, in this case a man, stands upon it and works it up and down with his feet until it is soft and almost dry. The fleshy side is then rubbed in with fat.

Sheep or goat skins treated in this way were formerly used for

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 133-40.

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281 making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Leaders for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

In other cases the skin of the animal is not specially treated, but is simply converted into bags of various kinds, such as knapsacks for carrying objects needed on the march, and smaller bags for *buchu* roots, herbs, tobacco and so on. An interesting bag of this kind is 281 415 that used for holding milk or water. A freshly-killed goat, calf, gemsbok, or steenbok is cut open all along one side, from the left foreleg right up to the shoulder. Through this opening the whole body is shelled from the skin, head and legs having been first cut off. Then all the openings are sewn up, with the exception of that for the right foreleg, which serves as a spout for pouring the liquid in and out, and has a stone cork which can easily be tied fast. The fresh skin is turned inside out, the inner side cleaned of all particles of flesh and fat, and then it is dried. The hairs remain on the inner side of the bag.

283 The thread with which skin objects are sewn together is generally 329 animal sinew, and so formerly was the lawaaing. Strings of varying thickness are also made from the bark fibre of the *Acacia horrida* Willd. The branches of the tree are chopped off by the men, freed of all twigs and thorns, and rapidly passed through the hot ashes of a fire; then the bark is loosened at one end by hammering, and the whole pulled off in strips with the hands. Next the women separate the innermost white layer of fibre from the rest of the bark, and after

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letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still owned among the Namas. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When partially dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schultes, op. cit., 127-9.
[2] Schofield, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 69-70, pl. 8; Schultes, op. cit., 128 and fig.

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323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.'

322 [177] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Namas by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, fire-drills, walking sticks and kieries are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *hukie* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of snow implements
324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that, as in the case of the Bushmen, it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a hearthmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Grevenbroek, op. cit., 141–2.
[2] Kolben, op. cit., 140–1; Meier, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 331; Olpp, *Aegis Papers*, 67.

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which roots, coffee beans, *kanka* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 147-8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 177-8.
[3] "Reports on the Hottentots," 33.

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325 177 326 439 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, but hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into beads for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *dacha* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 37.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 248–51.

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To what exten specialisation enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialised activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognised practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed argues that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowab*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wanderer's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, daggas, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this barttering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Anglo Paguana*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119-20.

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axes, adzes and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of dagga, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Namas further north bartered cattle with the OvaHerero for iron beads and weapons, and with the Bergdamra for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere in any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Namas themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organization of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalised Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Rose and Marais, op. cit., 13; Wikar, op. cit., 121.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 97; Van Reenen, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* ii, 147; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 326–7.
[3] Trenk, "Beschikbare der Namib," 166.
[4] Schultze, op. cit., 325 sqq.; Walton, *History of S. Africa*, 38, 40, 43 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

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beads, copper and other trinkets, and tobacco were more in demand, but gradually the skin clothing of the people was replaced by European garments, the implements and weapons made by smithing were superseded by imported metal goods, firearms and ammunition, the clay pots and wooden utensils to a large extent by the iron pots and tin mugs of the trader. In all these respects the great majority of the surviving Hottentots have adopted elements of European culture, to a more or less considerable extent. In a number of cases they have also acquired waggons and horses, and the range of their household possessions has been extended to include tables, chairs, and rough wooden beds. Their mode of life has also altered. The majority of Hottentots now live as servants in the employ of Europeans, others have taken to agriculture in a small, and on the whole insignificant, way. Even the remainder, who still lead a purely pastoral life, as a rule have very few cattle, while most of their handicrafts have suffered and some have completely disappeared. The wares of European culture are now to be seen in every Hottentot hut. Only the latter still survives relatively unmodified, save where occasionally old sacking has replaced the far more attractive reed mats.

Property and Inheritance

Property

Several writers, in discussing the economic life of the Hottentots, have applied the term "communism" in a rather loose manner to the way in which goods are used by this people.[1] The concrete facts they themselves record show that this term is inaccurate. Communism, in the sense of all men having equal, free, and unconditional access to all goods and privileges, does not exist among the Hottentots. The only thing perhaps which may rightly be spoken of as communal property is the land, for all members of the tribe enjoy equal customary rights with regard to it. But even here, we have seen, there are limitations to the unconditional exploitation of the land and its resources, and recognition is given to certain individual and family rights.

'All other forms of property—huts, live stock, weapons, utensils and other objects of common use—are privately owned. This is emphasised by Kohler's informant, von Burgsdorff, who says that although an apparently pure communism is observable in the life of the Namas, actually this is not found. Everybody has his own property, which he seeks to increase and improve, and, preferably

[1] E.g. von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 111.

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421 unobserved by others, to use for himself? And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [428] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [424] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[1] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[2]

577 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far
579 from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[3] A man in possession of food shares, and is expelled to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[4] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, [425] and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Die Rede der Hottentotten," 140.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 136-7; Schultes, op. cit., 318; Wuras, "Ueber Rechtsverhältnisse der Hottentotten," 107; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.

[3] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Kolben, op. cit., 111-2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 135; Tindall, *Grass Ploughmarks*, 40; Wilms, op. cit., 134; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 302; von François, op. cit., 102; Schultes, op. cit., 318; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

[5] An extremely interesting expression of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the Hottentots:—

"Agreement closed 9th January, 1893:

"The agreement which I make with Francois Daniel Visser and with anyone who hires a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £12 per annum.

"2. If he follows his own customs on the farm and if he is ordinarily to the poor people and does not give them a kiss when they come to him then I charge him £24 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is not hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasture, be they white, red, or black, then I charge him £36 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Kolb, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, ii (1926-7), 77-8.)

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or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soaqua*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *saqua*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Namas] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make mates,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'maqua' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a mate, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her undress, and with these he departed with true native sang froid, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly patched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 318–19; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 182.
[2] Op. cit., 40–2.

[illegible cat. 46 p. 243. — Analyst]

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him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Boshmen (*sic*) named Ongus came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bosom brother ('*opligtdrager*'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices, where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *soogas*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

[1] Op. cit., 83-6.

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essentially intimate between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots.

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Somewhat akin to the *aoxpas*, from the economic point of view, is the *//nuri //gub*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism.

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It is hardly necessary to stress any further the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his *ons*, soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the right to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2]

1 "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 182-3.
2 "The Nama," 144.

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421 These statements imply that a distinction must be made between usufruct on the one hand and rights of disposal on the other. There is no doubt that individuals may have the exclusive usufruct of certain objects. This is evident from Vedder's statement about live stock, and almost certainly applies also to objects of personal use, such as clothing and weapons. It is clear also, from facts previously noted, that property such as live stock may be acquired by individuals through their own efforts, as well as by inheritance. We thus get the situation that individuals can acquire objects and have the sole right to use them, but apparently cannot dispose of them freely. The customs of *aregwe* and *//nuri //gai* are difficult to reconcile with this latter condition, and so too is the fact, which Wandres himself mentions, that an individual can during his lifetime specify how his possessions are to be distributed after his death. But, assuming that there is some measure of truth in the statement that family control is exercised, the question that must be answered is whether this control implies a complete negation of individual ownership. The Hottentot conception of ownership has unfortunately nowhere been clearly defined, and in an argument which is essentially one of native conceptions it is obviously dangerous to apply European legal concepts. But there seems no good reason why the usufruct enjoyed by an individual should not be regarded as a form of ownership, since these rights appear to be vested exclusively in him. The control of the family over the disposal of these objects can equally well be regarded as designed to guard against their reckless dispersal, and hence its own impoverishment, and in no way interferes with the actual rights of possession enjoyed by the individual.

In this connection it may be noted that Wandres mentions also that the chief has as little property as any other man, but has at the same time the rights of a guardian over the property of the individual families. It is his duty to see that his subjects do not dissipate or otherwise squander the family properties making up the wealth of the tribe.[1] In what way he does this Wandres does not specify, and the statement is not confirmed by other observers.

Inheritance

428 The customary rules of inheritance, by which a dead man's goods are distributed among his heirs, also indicate the existence of individual property rights. Unfortunately not even a single concrete example of

[1] Op. cit., 83.

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inheritance has been recorded. It is difficult therefore to determine accurately what goods are distributed in this way, and consequently what goods may be regarded as individual possessions. The live stock obviously form the major part of the estate, but mention is also made of "the rest of the property" and of "inanimate objects", which, however, are not specified. The old writers on the Cape Hottentots state quite definitely that the hut of a dead person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp was moved. In such cases, therefore, the hut, together with its furnishings, could not have been inherited. Nowadays this practice is no longer observed, so that these objects fall into the category of inheritable possessions. There does not appear to be any destruction or burial of a man's goods with him at death, a custom noted among the Bushmen, so that there are no goods of which it can definitely be said that they are not inherited. Concrete information on this point is greatly desirable.

There is some discrepancy between the different accounts of the general laws of inheritance. Among the Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, only males could inherit property; failing sons, the nearest male relative of the dead man was the heir, never a daughter. Normally the whole estate, and by this is meant primarily the live stock, passed into the possession of the eldest son, who now became the head of the family. The younger brothers remained dependent upon his goodwill, unless, indeed, their father during his lifetime had given them a few head of cattle for themselves, and thus enabled them to become independent. Otherwise they were expected to stay with the heir and help him to manage and keep together, if possible even to increase, the wealth he had inherited. He might, if he wished, give each of them some cattle, but he was not bound to do so, or else he could allow them to enter the service of Europeans, and thus be freed of his immediate control. The heir also had to support his mother and the other wives of his father, while his sisters were placed under his exclusive control and might not marry without his permission.[1]

Among the Namas also, according to most writers, the eldest son is the principal heir. He becomes the head of the family, and has the duty of supporting his mother as long as she lives, if she does not marry again. He also controls the marriages of his sisters. Any gifts made during courtship come to him; in return he is obliged to provide the marriage feast, but he is compensated for this by the

[1] Op. cit., 141-2; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 331.

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temporary service rendered him by the newly-married husband. He also inherits a greater portion of his father's estate than do the other children. In particular he acquires all the live stock, with the exception of those animals previously allocated by the father during his lifetime to other sons and daughters. These animals with their increase pass at the division of the estate into the full possession of the children for whom they had been set aside. The rest of the property—presumably the material objects—is divided equally between all the children, under the supervision of the chief. The widow, however, retains all the objects brought by her into the marriage (this would, therefore, include the hut), as well as everything, including cattle, given her by her husband during his lifetime. Here, it will be noticed, all the children, both sons and daughters, participate to some extent in the inheritance, and the concept of individual possession is fully illustrated in both the distribution of the goods and the retention by the widow and minor heirs of property acquired by them from the dead man during his lifetime.[1]

Wanders, and following him Vedder, specifies more minutely, and also somewhat differently, the Nama laws of inheritance. If a man dies his wife and all his children, sons and daughters, are heirs in equal portions. The estate may not be divided as long as the widow is alive, unless she wishes to return to her own people. The inheritance is then distributed by the chief, and the widow receives her portion, together with that of the youngest child, whom she takes with her. If the wife dies before the husband, her property is inherited by him and the children, i.e. it remains in the family. When both the parents are dead, the estate is divided up by the chief, who is compensated for his task, which is often by no means a sinecure. The estate is divided equally amongst the children, sons and daughters alike, the eldest son being regarded as the trustee, under the supervision of the father's eldest living brother. Children born to a woman before marriage normally pass into the possession of their real father, and therefore do not inherit from the man she subsequently marries. The illegitimate children of a man, on the other hand, are entitled to the same share of his estate as his other children. Children born to a woman in adultery can also inherit from her husband, if he pardons her and adopts them.

If the children are still minors, their nearest male relative or the grandparents on either side act as their guardians and as the trustees

[1] Schinz, *op. cit.*, 209; von François, *op. cit.*, 216–17; Kohler, *op. cit.*, 344, 347.

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the stock. The rights of the guardian cannot be interfered with 429
the chief or the tribal council, but as he is always closely watched
the other relatives he cannot easily appropriate anything in an
ial manner. When a childless couple die, the estate goes to their 428
ers, those of the husband having first claim. When the parents
also dead, the chief divides the estate among the more remote
tives of the deceased, the following order of preference being
erved: husband's eldest sister's children, husband's brothers,
band's sisters, wife's sisters, husband's brother's children, children
the husband's remaining sisters, wife's sisters' children. The
dren of the dead wife, Wanders remarks, do not inherit, since,
rding to the ideas of the Naman, they belong to another family.
portion of the estate is also claimed by the chief, in return for his
rvision.

These traditional laws of inheritance can only be departed from
a man during his lifetime stipulates that after his death certain
his goods are to be given to his *non*-companion, friends, more
ose relatives, etc. This voluntary testament, *gus*, must be made
ly before witnesses, and is usually abided by conscientiously,
ough the chief has to see that the poorer relatives do not suffer
it.[1]

t is doubtful to what extent this formulation of the laws of
eritance can be relied upon. It is certainly far more elaborate than
given by any other writer, and should therefore probably be
arded as more accurate. But the statement that all children inherit
qual shares does seem at variance with the honoured position of
eldest brother among the Naman, and the other writers, as we
e seen, all state that the eldest son is the principal heir. The
rmation about oral wills, again, also stands in need of confirmation.
re the lack of definite case-histories of inheritance once more makes
lf felt, as concrete examples would have enabled one to clear up
discrepancies in the different statements of the laws of inheritance.
e general trend of the information is to show that a man's eldest
is the principal heir, and that the other children inherit to only
inor degree. Apparently both men and women can acquire property [562]
this way, and the possessions inherited are held individually.

[1] Wanders, *op. cit.*, 283-5; Vedder, *op. cit.*, 145.

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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

692 177 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

693 619 622 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a *chief*, *kaupei* or *khoupai*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives. [574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

693 619 622 645 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 43–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 321–2.

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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their kaosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

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revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organisation of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognised as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, iii, 111.

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numerous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

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The political organization of the Namaqua was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 100–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 118–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 317–9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–3, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Grass Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 84; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 502–4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 140.

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Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-kaib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kanan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chiefainship. Failing a son, the last chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witbooia from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onder-kapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-constituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Tindall (*op. cit.*, 42) and, following him, Frisch (*op. cit.*, 364) say that the heir to the chiefainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chiefainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the eldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Time," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, I, 19.)

[2] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 115. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gao-aos* (contracted from *gaoaxa*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., 97, 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305.
[3] *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxvi–lxvii; cf. *idem*, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

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643 554 651 number of years. He also keeps a large quantity of milk at the door of his hut, which he distributes to the poor and the needy. None of these statements has been confirmed by later writers, with the exception of the tribute of game, which, as we have seen, is also mentioned by Wandres. Kohler's informant, on the other hand, explicitly denies that such a tribute is paid, and this would seem to be confirmed, at least as far as more recent times are concerned, by the statements of several other writers that the chief receives no tribute from his subjects. Nor does he levy any taxes, although in case of war or other extensive undertakings collections may be held or requisitions made, to which every tribesman has to contribute according [681] to his means. The fines levied in criminal cases, however, often go to the chief, or are shared between him and the judges. He can also accept a share of the damages awarded in a civil dispute, but there is no obligation on the successful litigant to pay this. It is regarded merely as a voluntary gift for the trouble taken, and the same is probably true in those cases, mentioned by Wandres, where the chief regulates inheritances. In co-operation with his council the chief can also impose orders upon his people, which as a rule are implicitly obeyed. He can, e.g., cause certain grazing grounds to be vacated, in order that they may be rested. He has also the right to use the labour of the people for public purposes, such as mending roads, building schools, or churches, opening up water and furrows, and so on. All adult males further are liable to be called out for military duty at any time.

643 554 It may be added that, according to Hahn, a Hottentot chief is expected "to have an open house and an open hand" and the worst that can be said of a chief is that he is *gei-//are*, i.e. "greatly left-handed or stingy." "It happens sometimes," Hahn even says, "that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal."[1] There is no instance on record, as far as can be ascertained, of such a deposal having taken place, and the statement seems contradictory to the genuine respect attached by the people to the hereditary rights of the chief. "Our chiefs are not made," they say, "they are given by God." And Eduard Lambert, when on the death of his brother Andries the German authorities wished him to act as chief of the Gei //Khauan, the rightful heir being several hundred miles away, is said to have at first declined the proposal, with the words: "One

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 17; cf. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322.

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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1891, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Reports on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illustrating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, *op. cit.*, 216 sq., 219–20; *Reports on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 sqq., 96; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 33–61 *passim*.

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643 was that, while he was an autocrat to a certain extent, the other chiefs,
624 like Willem Christian of the Bondelswarts, and Simon Kooper of the Franzmann Hottentots, relied more on popular approval and the support of their councillors than on their royal prerogatives.

HOORNKRANZ,
3rd January, 1891.

BELOVED COMMUNITY OF HOORNKRANZ,

To-day I make fresh appointments for the New Year. I have caused certain alterations to be made to the Civil and Church Laws. I have also appointed new officials according to the times and the promptings of the Lord. Therefore have I appointed younger men, like children who are being trained and, when the time is accomplished, they will be taken into full membership. For this reason I have relieved some of the older officials and have substituted young men in full authority of the laws, in order that they may publicly perform their authorized duties. I have, however, reappointed some of the old officials as well, so that they may train and teach the younger team. I have also appointed two additional elders. The names of those appointed will be read to the community, and are as follows :—

Then follows a list of the names and of the offices to which they have been appointed. These posts were all honorary, and carried no salaries or emoluments. The seven chief appointments are those of sub-chief, magistrate, war commandant, chief field cornet, and three senior councillors. The remainder (there are thirty in all) include the "overseer of the whole village", a "second magistrate", second, third, and fourth field cornets, elders, junior councillors, messengers of the court and of the elders, a "corporal" and a "second corporal". The "corporal", in spite of his humble designation, was really the quartermaster-general in the field![1]

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671 The political institutions of the Hottentots must be regarded from one aspect as a means of welding the tribe into an integral unity, and thus giving it the cohesion and solidarity which enable it to present a united front to the outside world in defence and aggression. They serve also to maintain law and order within the tribe. Through its agencies of government the activities of the community are organized, and the harmonious co-operation in public affairs which this produces secures the orderly functioning of communal life. Various other mechanisms contribute towards the achievement of the same end. Throughout our discussion of the social and economic life of the people we have noted the existence of numerous observances, conventions, and rules. These regulate all the normal relations between persons, as in marriage with its conditions and implications, the status of husband and wife and of their respective families, kinship,

[1] Quoted in *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73. A similar list of officials for 1881, differing slightly from the above, is appended to a letter quoted by von François, *op. cit.*, 220.

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exogamy, descent and succession, chieftainship, the exercise of power, economic activities and co-operation, and between persons and objects, as in property and inheritance. All the manners and customs of the Hottentots, therefore, their moral and religious precepts, their fashions, conventional standards of etiquette and rules of social intercourse, make for law and order in the community. They determine the personal relations between people, and their existence is the basis of uniformity and cohesion in social and economic life.

These rules are not formulated in any legal code. Some of them have come into being as decisions of the tribal council in judicial trials, while in more recent times others have even been deliberately enacted, as for example in the case of the various proclamations issued by such chiefs as Hendrik Witbooi. Legislation of the latter type, however, does not appear to have occurred in the original conditions of Hottentot life. The laws of the Hottentots are to a very considerable extent inherent in the social organization and usages of the people. They have developed as a result of the more or less unconscious adjustment of personal relations, as a product of economic activities, and so on, and have become accepted as norms or standards of life and conduct which are binding as such on the community. Their existence, in other words, is derived from the authority of tradition and precedents.

The orderly functioning of communal life demands that all members of the community must conform to these rules or norms of conduct. The individual, that is, must be adapted to social needs and standards. This involves the operation of social control, a process found everywhere in society. Here again we meet with the existence of moulding forces similar in function to those already noted among the Bushmen. The Hottentot child at birth comes into a society where there are already established manners and customs, definite forms of behaviour and organization. In the household of his parents, where he remains until marriage, in his relations with other people, especially with his kindred, and in the company of his coevals, the rules of social behaviour are impressed upon him. He falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking as is expected of him, and in this way comes to conform to the existing social pattern. Moreover, first under the direct guidance of his mother, and later in tending the flocks and in hunting, he is initiated into the economic life of his people, while a girl gradually learns to perform the household duties proper to her sex. At puberty, above all, he receives a definite course of instruction

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conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

The non-fulfilment or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of */nau*. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct interference on the part of the community.

Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganized social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to scorn, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishment, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its authorities or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among

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the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

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Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Naman, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sanction here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

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695 was listened to with undivided attention. The matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the headman, 696 in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The headman, as chief executioner, rushed towards the criminal and felled him to the ground [681] with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men then violently attacked him until he was beaten to death.[1]

672 No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same [764] way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing 681 that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, 695 but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

692 There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either in civil disputes or in crimes. The main tribal council, consisting 694 of the chief and the kraal headmen, dealt only with disputes between different kraals. It was summoned by the chief on receipt of any complaint, and its proceedings were conducted along the same lines as those of the kraal councils.

692 The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Naman, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal 693 cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

[1] An eyewitness account of such an execution, in which four men were beaten to death, is quoted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 172–3.

[2] The fullest accounts are given by Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein und Recht der Hottentotten," 270–6; Vedder, "The Nama," 142–4; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 352–7; cf. also Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 221; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 324–5; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73–6 *passim*.

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of the tribe. The eldest of them presides over the proceedings; the others are his assessors, *nu-aogu*, and can take part freely in the examination of the litigants or accused and of the witnesses. One of them also acts as public prosecutor, another as advocate for the defence (*gowaba-aob*, intercessor). The post of councillor, as we have seen, is honorary and carries no salary, but certain court fees are levied in trials. The complainant must deliver a couple of fat goats in advance in order to have his case heard, and these provide food for the judges as long as the court sits. The defendant also may be required to contribute a similar fee, even before the verdict is arrived at. 693

The initiative in any legal proceedings lies in the hands of the complainant. Self-help is not permitted. He must lodge his grievance with the official known as the magistrate. The latter then summons the councillors, who assemble together on the day fixed for the hearing. The court meets as a rule out in the open, under the shade of some tree, where all squat in a circle. The litigants or accused and the witnesses are then summoned by the public messenger, who as sign of his function carries with him a long stick. With this, on entering the hut of the defendant, he knocks three times on the ground, without speaking a word. Then he goes away as silently as he came. The defendant now knows that his presence is required. If he refuses to appear, which in fact seldom happens, or fails to send an acceptable excuse in time, several strong men are sent to take and bring him by force. For defying the summons he then receives a special flogging. If he is accused of some crime, and is suspected of meditating flight, he is brought before the court with a riem[1] round his neck and his hands tied behind his back. Witnesses summoned are obliged to appear, and if they do not are fetched and punished in the same way as the defendant. The latter must stand or kneel in the centre of the court circle, but if a woman is permitted to sit. The complainant stands or squats nearby till he is called upon to speak, and the summoned witnesses must also remain within a reasonable distance. 694 [681] 695

The magistrate now states the case to the council. The chairman then calls on the complainant to speak, next on the defendant and on all the witnesses one after the other. One witness as a rule is sufficient, but more are desirable. No hearsay evidence is allowed; only what the witness has himself seen and heard is admitted as valid. False testimony is severely condemned, the perjurer being punished according to the mischief he causes. Examination and cross-examination are conducted by the councillors. They rarely employ direct [687] 695 195

[1] [i.e. a thin strip of cowhide. – Analyst].

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695 [195] questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions. When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion is the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed. 696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is 681 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *nou-aob*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wandres describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *thigu*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men, or else he poured a little sand on to their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and bit, until one of them [574] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

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even dead, on the ground. The victor was not punished, and in some cases he also inherited the property of his unfortunate opponent.[1] 695

Another resort sometimes employed was divination. If the council was unable to decide the guilt of a person, the diviner, *ku aob*, was called in for assistance. He had with him two small strips of leather, *kura*, one with a copper bead, the other with an iron bead attached to the end. The former was regarded as male, the latter as female. These leather strips the diviner beat on the fist of his hand or on the ground, at the same time invoking the oracle with the words: *mi, mi, amae mi, homits gao, ota mi ais !na khau tsi!* "Tell, speak, tell the truth, if you lie, then I will burn you in the fire!" Then he jerked the strips from his hand into the circle formed about him by the council with the litigants or the accused. The ends to which the beads were attached had to point towards the culprit. Wandres explains the working of this method by the firm belief which the Naman even at the present time have in this oracle. The diviner, a skilled reader of men, carefully observes the litigants or the accused while busy with his strips. The real culprit, like all the others, believes in the efficacy of the oracle, and therefore cannot hide his apprehensions, with the result that the diviner can readily recognize his man, and with a twist of his hand divert the strips towards him.[2] 695 787

The main penal sanctions among the Naman are flogging, fines, and death. A sentence of death can nowadays only be passed by the European administration and its duly-constituted law courts, to which all cases involving it must be referred. Punishment in the native courts is therefore confined to flogging and to fines payable as a rule in goats. There are no fixed rules for the degree of punishment, but certain pragmatic principles are observed. Offences against the community are more severely punished than those against individuals. Accidental misdeeds are not regarded as crimes; but unsuccessful attempts meet with punishment, while self-defence, although not sufficient ground for acquittal, produces amelioration of the sentence. Incorrigible offenders are expelled and their property confiscated; in the old days they might even be killed. The confirmed cattle thief has to expect harder punishment at every conviction, until ultimately the death sentence would formerly have been decided upon; nowadays the matter is then referred to the law courts of the Europeans. 681 [673]

[1] Op. cit., 272–3; cf. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 105–6.
[2] Op. cit., 273.

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68 Theft as a rule is punished by flogging, administered with the sjambok, and the thief must also make twofold restitution. Sexual crimes, such as incest, adultery, and rape, are, as we have seen, punished by fines, floggings, confiscation of property, or even by death, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence. A man who insults or slanders the chief or a councillor is flogged till he becomes unconscious; if he slanders a dead man he is fined one or two head of small stock, and if the offence is repeated he receives fifty lashes and must pay a fine in cattle. The infliction of mild bodily injuries meets with a fine, and the culprit must, in addition, support the victim and his family until the former is well again; if the injured man is himself the cause of the strife, his assailant goes free. In severe bodily injuries leading to death, it is specially investigated if the wounds were deliberately caused or not. In the latter case all the assailant's property is given to the relatives of the deceased, and he receives a severe flogging as well, unless his relatives ransom him by paying a heavy fine. In the former case he was sentenced to death. The death sentence was also imposed for high treason, deliberate murder, and incorrigible stealing. Incorrigible thieves were stoned or beaten to death, but a murderer was killed in the same way as he had caused the death of his victim. If by shooting, then he was also shot; if by stabbing, then he was stabbed; if by beating, then he was also beaten to death, and so on. Wandres states also that a sorcerer who by his magic had caused the death of a man was killed and his body burned, but this lacks confirmation. Attempted homicide is punished by a flogging of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty lashes, unless the intended victim is the chief, when in former days the assailant was sentenced to death.

681 696 In the infliction of these punishments, the poorer members of the tribe, the servants and other inferiors usually come off worst. This is a point made by several reliable observers, and emphasized by Vedder, when he says: "Since South-West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property."[1] The more wealthy and influential people are on the whole treated less severely,

[1] Op. cit., 143.

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and formerly they could even escape the death sentence for murder by a payment of cattle to the chief. But the possible shielding of murderers in this way always exposed them to the blood feud. If, through favouritism or for political reasons, a murderer was acquitted by the council, the nearest relative of the victim had the right to take the law into his own hands and to kill him.

Blood vengeance, *//kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots.[1] A son avenged the death of his father, a brother his brother, and if there was no son to take vengeance for the death of a woman her husband was obliged to do so. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act. The case is cited of the well-known traveller and explorer Charles John Andersson, who about 1861 shot an Afrikander Hottentot near Windhoek in what he alleged was self-defence. He reported the matter to the chief Jonker Afrikaner, and as a result was brought before the chief and tribal council for trial. The council, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied, rightly or wrongly, that Andersson had exceeded his rights and had gone too far. But in view of the fact that he was a European and a British subject, the chief was reluctant to punish him. So, "I release you," said Jonker, "but," he added, "according to our law the brother of Hartebeest will kill you and must kill you, so flee for your life."[2]

In all probability the blood feud was formerly very extensively practised, especially in connection with the clan organization. We know from accounts left us by travellers among the Naman in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them, and the chief was unable in the interests of the tribe as a whole to prevent two clans from carrying out vengeance one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Alexander gives an account of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account of another vendetta at Bethanie among the !Aman Hottentots.[3] According to Wandres the feud ceased when revenge for the death had been taken, but other accounts imply that it was kept up as a continuous vendetta. Hahn states that

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Kohler, loc. cit.; Wandres, op. cit., 276.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 16, quoting Alexander, op. cit., I, 187, cf. 211; and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1856, p. 274.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need
621 of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami /Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[3] Theal, *Native Races*, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

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Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

The early Dutch records throw some light on the political interrelations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains" of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 56–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

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439 609 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment [721] would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

609 574 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 579 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 28th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1916, p. 191.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting —the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305–6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 362.
[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 368–9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 140–8; Fritsch, op. cit., 323–4; Stow, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

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726 proceed without further delay into the enemy's territory. As a rule, however, they preferred to attack by surprise, in order not to allow their opponents time enough to drive their cattle into security. They seized upon all the men, women and cattle that came in their way, and then returned with their booty before they could be attacked. Often enough they would swoop down upon the kraals, as in one of many similar recorded instances where a band of Little Namaqua and Chariguriqua attacked a Kochoqua kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off women, children, and cattle as booty.

If the enemy was prepared to receive them, both sides would first shoot at one another from a distance with their arrows, and then as the one showed signs of weakening the other would close up and the battle resolve itself into a disorder of hand-to-hand fights with the kirri and the spear. Sometimes the fighting-oxen would accompany the men, and when the chief thought the moment opportune, the beasts, goaded to fury, would be driven into the weakest ranks of the enemy, and in the havoc that ensued victory was assured.

728 One such battle as a rule ended the war. As soon as victory was obtained, the conquerors withdrew with their booty, and the defeated enemy, on coming together again, would send messengers to negotiate for peace and to make any necessary concessions. After the foundation of the Dutch settlement the practice developed of requesting its commander to mediate in such cases, which for reasons of policy he was always willing to do; but Graevenbroeck describes a peace-making ceremony which he says was observed in fixed form among the Hottentots themselves. When peace was desired, the two sides came together at their boundary, and after they had agreed upon terms an ox was slaughtered with spears, and the corpse left a prey to wild animals. They then expressed the wish that whoever might break the compact should come to all possible harm, the fate implied being that he might perish pierced through just like the ox, and become the food of vultures and hyenas.[1]

727 The burning of huts or other destruction of property does not seem to have been usual in these wars. Nor as a rule were the dead dismembered or despoiled. They were left untouched where they fell, and the victors, after having buried their own fallen warriors, withdrew and permitted the vanquished also to bury their dead. At times, however, when excited by lust of plunder or in a spirit of revenge,

[1] Op. cit., 369.

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the Hottentots could be ferocious and cruel. They gave no quarter to their enemy, and mercilessly slaughtered all the prisoners falling into their hands. Wikar states that among the tribes along the Orange River the belly of a captive was ripped open while he was still alive, and his entrails were pulled out by hand. Sometimes, if the captive refused to beg for mercy, his genital organs were cut off and he was slapped with them on the mouth. An instance of this occurred while Wikar was travelling among these tribes, in a war between the "Kamingous" (probably the */Gami ǂNun*) and the "Nanningais" (a group which cannot now be identified). In a battle lasting two days, thirteen of the Nanningais were killed with arrows, and about twenty severely wounded. They captured one of the Kamingou men, and in malicious revenge for the loss they had suffered treated him in the way just described.[1] This is the only record of abnormal cruelty to captives in purely Hottentot wars. It may be noted, however, that in 1850, in a war between the Afrikaners and the OvaHerero, a terrible massacre took place at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and numbers of their women crippled by having their feet chopped off in order to obtain the copper rings worn round their legs.[2] But Jonker Afrikaner, the leader of the victorious Hottentots on this occasion, was an Orlam chief notorious for his ferocity. In none of the early records of inter-tribal wars among the Cape Hottentots do we meet with instances of savagery comparable to this.

Firearms and the horse naturally made a tremendous difference to Hottentot methods of fighting. In their wars amongst themselves, against the OvaHerero and later against the Germans, the Naman were able to conduct campaigns often protracted over several months or even a year or more. Their strength lay in guerilla warfare, to which the nature of their country readily lent itself.[3] Its vast surfaces, waterless wastes and difficult rocky hills hindered pursuit by the enemy, and afforded safe refuge to the natives, familiar with every detail of their environment. The cattle which they drove with them afforded a standing subsistence, water could be found in remote spots or on rocky heights known only to the native herd or hunter, and an open kraal of bushes was ample shelter at night.

In attack the experience gained in hunting could readily be applied. "To the Hottentot," says Schultze, "our troops are a form of game,

[1] "Beigt aus den Heere von Plettenberg," 93.
[2] Vedder, "The Nama," 129.
[3] The principal discussions of Nama methods of fighting are given by von François, *Nama und Damara*, 132, 186, chaps. iv–v *passim*; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 336–9.

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726 which he hunts all the more confidently if he knows their habits from previous encounters. While our soldiers are ever learning anew at the cost of many lives, the Hottentot employs his old tactics. He lies in wait for the enemy at a waterhole, as formerly he awaited the zebra at the vlei; he fires upon a passing column from his rocky retreats, as he ambushed the springboks wandering in herds; he stalks round a weak patrol as round the gemsbok at dawn, and he surrounds a transport as he beats up the hares in an encircling drive to knock them down with the kirri." They preferred above all to lay ambushes, especially in the vicinity of waterholes, since the enemy both needed the water and usually came to it weary. As a rule difficult spots were chosen to fight in, which afforded good cover and facilities for retreat, if necessary; or else the flat tops of high hills were occupied, whose last ascent was almost vertical. The leading ranks of the enemy were allowed to pass by or to approach very closely; and then a general volley was fired into their midst. Their natural colour allowed the Hottentots to make use of every possible cover, and rendered it difficult for the approaching enemy to discover the position they occupied. Signals were often given on pipes cut from the horn of the springbok. It was one of the duties of the sub-chief to ascertain if any post or waterhole which was being approached was occupied by the enemy. He rode round it reconnoitring, while his men lay hidden near by, until a long drawn-out note caused them to emerge. Short successive blasts, to be answered by the men lying opposite or to the side, were generally the prearranged signal for attack.

726 643 Their raiding expeditions, as illustrated in the many successful descents made by Hendrik Witbooi upon the OvaHerero, were carried out with great skill and remarkable swiftness. He issued directions for the undertaking proposed only on the evening before he planned to set out. Then by forced marches he covered in two days the hundred miles or so lying between him and the Herero territory, after causing deliberately false reports as to the object of his expedition to be circulated among the OvaHerero. With overwhelming force he fell at dawn on their scattered villages, swept through a number of cattle posts, whose herdsmen were defenceless before his superior might, and drove away the cattle. This he did with remarkable adroitness, considering the great numbers he lifted. One of his men would give a penetrating whistle, whereupon the cattle were surrounded and driven sharply in a certain direction. Then one or two horsemen placed themselves at the head of the herds and conducted them without

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rest along a route well known to them; and then, joined by several more horsemen and the bulk of the men on foot, the cattle were escorted in forced marches by the most direct route to Hoornkranz, the headquarters of the tribe. Most of the horsemen remained behind to keep back the OvaHerero who in the meanwhile had gathered together. In regulating these retirements Hendrik was a real master, and he seldom made a mistake. If there was a biggish village in the vicinity, he would keep its inhabitants engaged until he knew that the stolen cattle had been driven far ahead; then he disappeared as swiftly as he had descended, and he always flung obstacles in the way of pursuit.

In retreat small parties were often posted at various spots to check the advance of the enemy; or, if the country was flat, the grass was set on fire, and the men disappeared behind the clouds of smoke. There was no orderly withdrawal. After a defeat the troops would scatter apart, to come together again later in small bands. The appointed place of assembly was not directly in line with the scene of battle, but to the side, sometimes even to the rear of the enemy. Their knowledge of the place and their colour, as well as their swiftness on horse or on foot, enabled the Hottentots to find security; sometimes they even hid in the immediate vicinity, and they always, if possible, fled over stony ground, so as to avoid leaving tracks. At best the enemy might see in the distance horsemen and those on foot scattered over a wide surface between bushes and rocks; almost immediately afterwards all had disappeared, and effective pursuit was seldom possible.

Of the special usages connected with warfare, only a few isolated facts have been recorded. These almost all relate to what may be loosely termed war magic. "If a party goes out on warlike expeditions," says Hahn, "a crow's heart is burned and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this powdered heart is blown into the air, in the same manner their enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows." Elsewhere he mentions that the Korana have certain roots which they use as amulets. If a commando goes out, every man will put such roots into his pockets and into the pouch where he carries his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy will then have no effect, whereas his own will invariably prove destructive. Also, if they have carried off much booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat.

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726 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not
789 follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden
787 ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere
[821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, "we are overpowered by *//Gauna*"; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha, //o ge ni*, "war is approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot
[643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 One other practice is mentioned by Hähn, which hints at something
554 similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. "Bravery was highly admired," he says, "and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony.
[304] The priest or */gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-/gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsātamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ōb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as */Khami* and */Khams*, Battlefield; */Kho-//oa-tes*, "You cannot catch me"; */Khotoas*, the one last caught; */Kxīxas*, peace; and */Huritamas*, "I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 339. [2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death, Burial, and Mourning

In dealing with the social, economic, and political life of the Hottentots, we have had occasion to notice in various connections ceremonies and beliefs of a ritual character. For example, all the observances and avoidances centring in the conception of *!nau*, as well as the rites and beliefs developed round hunting and war, really form part of the magico-religious or sacred aspect of Hottentot life. But they are so intimately associated with more profane activities that to discuss them separately would have been to divorce them from their proper context in native life, and thus to overlook their real significance. The beliefs and usages relating to death, on the other hand, lead more directly to a consideration of religion, since this supreme and final crisis in human life is one of the most important sources for the Hottentot conceptions of supernatural agencies.

The coming of death into the world is related by the Hottentots in a myth which varies but slightly from that told by the Bushmen. The Moon, it is said, once sent the louse to Men, saying, "Go to Men, and tell them, 'As I die and dying live, so you shall also die and dying live.'" The louse started with the message, but on its way was overtaken by the Hare, who asked on what errand it was bound. The louse repeated to him the message of the Moon. Then the Hare said, "As you are an awkward runner, let me take the message." With these words he ran off, and when he reached Men, he said, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die and dying perish, in the same manner you shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then he returned to the Moon, and told him what he had said to Men. The Moon thereupon angrily reproached him, saying, "Did you dare to tell the people a thing I did not say?" and taking up a piece of wood he struck the Hare on the lip. Since that day the hare's lip is split. There are several other variants of this myth, but in all of them the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon. Its flesh is consequently forbidden to men: "We are now angry with the hare," say the old

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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hei /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The *!gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gauab*, or the */Hei /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of *!nau*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85–6; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 517–21 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 520–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 87.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

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might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly, according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated." Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called *//gauna //ora khoin*, i.e. people who died the *//gauna* death.[2]

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers. When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission, never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation or to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was common and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of *//Gaunab*, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them." [5]

Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites.

[1] Cf. above, p. 266.
[2] Op. cit., 86.
[3] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 133.
[4] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 24; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 358; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 428; Albrecht, "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 264; Shaw, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 40–1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133–6 Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334.
[5] Op. cit., 86; cf. 74.

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764 Among the Cape Hottentots, according to some of the old writers,[1] a person when in the last agonies of dying was surrounded by his friends and relatives, who wailed and writhed in lamentation, the outburst of grief reaching its climax as soon as actual death had occurred. The body while still warm was bent so as to bring the head between the legs, and in this position it was wrapped and tied up in the kaross worn by the dead person during life. Dapper and, perhaps following him, Sparrman state that the corpse was sometimes buried quite nude, but this is contradicted by all other writers.

Burial took place soon after death, if possible on the same day, or at latest on the following morning. There were no special burial grounds or recognized grave-yards. Immediately after the death had taken place, the head of the kraal, with several of the men, went out to look for a suitable spot, where the grave was at once made. It took the form of a deep hole, in one side of which was hollowed out a special niche for the reception of the body. Sometimes they did not trouble to dig a grave, but selected a convenient cleft in a rock or the hole of some wild animal instead.

The body meanwhile was prepared for burial in the manner noted. When everything was ready, three or four men were appointed by the kraal head or by the relatives of the deceased to carry it in their arms to the grave. It was never taken out through the door of the hut, but through an opening specially made for the purpose by removing part of the mat-covering at the back. While this was going on, all the inhabitants of the kraal not concerned with the funeral preparations gathered before the hut, and squatted in front of the entrance, men and women apart, all lamenting loudly. As soon as the body was brought out, they followed it in two separate groups to the place of burial, still lamenting and wailing. Here the body was stuck into the hole or lowered into the grave, and placed in a sitting position in the niche. The grave was then filled in with earth, and afterwards covered over with a heap of large stones and branches, so as to prevent wild animals from getting at the body. Apparently no objects of any kind were placed in or on the grave. Fritsch, it is true, says that the possessions of the dead person were buried with him, but this is denied by most of the other writers.

[1] The description here given is based mainly upon Kolb, op. cit., 155–8, supplemented from Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaansche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 274; Sparrman, op. cit., i, 357–8; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 194–5; Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 350; Fritsch, op. cit., 335.

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The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the oldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *buchu*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 209.

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His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

The series of rites connected with death and burial among the Naman have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of */nau*, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes */nau*, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes */nau*, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become */nau* and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Scheppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood[4]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, op. cit., 316–17; Biden and Kling, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, ii (1912), 223–5; Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau," 79–81; cf. also Albrecht, "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 333; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 99–100; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 216.

[2] Op. cit., 79.

[3] "Beschreibung von Keetmansdorff," in Moritz, op. cit., 1916, 244.

[4] Loc. cit.

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over the bosom. The body is then wrapped and sewn up in skins, whose hairy side, strewn with *buchu*, is turned inwards. The face remains free till shortly before burial, when it is covered with a bit of skin which has been set aside and which is now loosely stitched to the others.[1] Biden and Kling add that in these more degenerate days the body may sometimes be sewn up in old bags, if obtainable, and a small amount of salt is placed on its chest, "to prevent it from decomposing."[2] Burial takes place as a rule on the afternoon following the day of death. Till then the corpse is left alone lying on the ground skins in the hut, while the relatives, neighbours, and friends spend the whole night together outside the hut singing.

A suitable spot is selected in the vicinity of the kraal, where a grave is dug in the sand by means of a gemsbok horn and a roughly-made wooden shovel. The grave is about three feet broad and six deep, with a long narrow niche along one side. The body is taken out of the hut through a special opening made for the purpose at the back, and is carried to the grave by the deceased's relatives and friends. Arrived at the graveside, one of the women, according to Biden and Kling, is appointed to approach the body and ask a relative whether the deceased gave drink to others when he was alive, i.e. whether he was a good person. "Whereupon all the women reply 'da' (yes), and the deceased is praised even if there is no cause why he should be praised. All the women arise and walk towards the grave and sprinkle *buchu*-leaves on the body."[3] The body is then lowered into the grave by means of riems, and two men climb in after it to push it into the niche. According to Schultze, it is laid here flat on its back, with the grave itself on the right hand side and the head facing west.[4] Biden and Kling, and several of the older writers, state however that it is placed in a squatting position, with the head always facing east. This certainly seems to have been the posture desired in earlier times.[5]

The niche is closed in with thick bushes or with twigs and stones which cover the whole floor of the grave. Large flat stones are next placed over these in such a way that no ground can fall upon the body. The grave is then filled in, everybody present picking up handfuls of earth and sand which they throw in. Finally a mound of stones is heaped up over the covered grave, the customary explanation being that this prevents wild animals from getting at the corpse. These mounds are often raised very high. A big stone, planted upright

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 316. [2] Op. cit., 223.
[3] Op. cit., 223–4. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Biden and Kling, loc. cit.; Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 65.

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764 in the heap and projecting about a foot or so, indicates the head end of the grave; occasionally also the gemsbok horn used in excavating the grave is placed in this position. Everybody adds a stone or twig to the mound, which is afterwards strewn with *buchu*. Any relative or friend of the dead person unable to be present at the funeral will also, on visiting the kraal, go to the grave and place something of the sort on the mound. Cold water is likewise thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. "The reason given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the 'seventies of last century was that it 'cooled the soul of the deceased'."[1]

765 When the people come back from the grave, all the inmates of the kraal, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, which is placed in front of the dead man's hut. Cold water is also sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. The explanation given for this washing is that the people would get sick if they did not do so, and the cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.[2] Meanwhile, the dead man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood into one or more pots.[3] The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others, all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and mixed with a certain herb, and then is stirred about with a chopper, which has been heated red hot, in order to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the dead man—men, women and children—collect round the pots and cover their heads with their karosses so that they perspire. Then an old [302] man, related neither to the deceased nor to the widow, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person—"to prevent their getting pains from eating the food." The flesh which has been cooking is now eaten by the relatives only, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. These rites—the sweating, the putting on of the black line, and the eating—are all done in the dead person's hut. It may be noticed here that the removal of the

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 517; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 113.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.
[3] The description which follows is taken from Mrs. Hoernlé's account in "The Conception of Inau", loc. cit.

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It may be noticed here that the removal of the kraal from the place of death, as mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Naman. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their recollection the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation.

The widow takes no part in the rites just described—"she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become */nau*, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains */nau* Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow takes the contents of the animal's stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes in front, scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying "let there be plenty of milk". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony.

[1] Cf. Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxxvii; Schultze, op. cit., 227.

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If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hei /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hei khoin*, "fawn-coloured people," or *sobo khoin*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gaunab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Angra* [illegible], 29.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 517, 519.

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ahn: *//naũa //gauna ta ni*, I will hear it, if I am a *//gauna*." "This eans," says Hahn, "if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight to things, which I now do not understand."[1] There is no doubt, oreover, that the mythical being *//Gaunaḃ* also is intimately linked with the ghosts of the dead. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, fact, insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunaḃ*. The names are two," he said, "but the thing is one."[2] This close onnection between *//Gaunaḃ* and the ghosts of the dead is a point which we shall have to recur.

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The question now arises whether all dead people become ghosts f the same sort, or whether some distinction is made in their fate cording to their circumstances in life—sex, age, social status, anner of death, etc. On this point there is very little concrete formation. Schultze states that people who die tranquilly also live ildly in the dreams of the survivors, whereas a man dying in great gony or raving madly appears to the living at night as a terrible hantom.[3] This implies a distinction similar to that found among me of the North-Western Bushmen between "good deaths" and bad deaths", and suggests that only the ghosts of the latter are to dreaded. There is, however, no other mention of this particular stinction, and, as we shall see, it appears that all ghosts are dreaded a rule. Hahn, again, states that some people are said to die from e influence of *//Gaunaḃ*, and these are called *//Gauna //ōra khoin*, people who died the *//Gauna* death." "Especially if people are ot buried, but devoured by vultures and hyenas, they are also nsidered *//gauna //ōra*."[4] He does not say, however, if the ghosts such people are regarded as in any way different from those of eople who die ordinary deaths and are buried, nor is there anything indicate that they are more dreaded.

The ghosts are thought to hover over the graves or to come from em; in general, that is, they linger round the locality where the ath has taken place. This point was made long ago by Kolb in scussing the Cape Hottentot beliefs concerning the dead. The eople fear, he says, that the dead may return and molest them. For is reason, when anybody has died, they all remove from the locality, lieving that the dead person only haunts the place where he has ed. Only if anything is taken from the hut of the dead person will s ghost follow them and trouble them.[5] The Naman, as we have

[1] Op. cit., 85. [2] Op. cit., 521. [3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 317.
[4] Op. cit., 85–6. [5] Op. cit., 62–3; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 338.

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775 seen, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the */hei /nun*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the */hei /nun* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761 753] Underlying this dread is the belief that the */hei /nun*, the ghosts, cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through the *ǂgei aogu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he [787] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, *//gán osi, /uri ǂkóp /gúiba ta go mu*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the */hei /nun* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the */hei /nun* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289. [2] "The Nama," 133.
[3] Op. cit., 518. A similar instance indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii, 35–6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 87.

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their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2] 775

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals. [292 782] [77]

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Olpp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */has*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *d-hd-hd*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 85. [3] Op. cit., 224–5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jackal) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 30.

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775 Kling. Olpp unfortunately does not state who the "certain people" are, who are befriended in this way. The Naman, however, [791] believe that the *!gei aogu*, magicians, are somehow in contact with the */hei /nun*, although we are nowhere told how this contact is established. If, therefore, the belief that the */hei /nun* may take the form of the */has jackals* is accurately reported by Biden and Kling, one would suppose that the people referred to by Olpp must be the magicians. But this is only conjecture.

Some light is thrown upon this medley of beliefs, as well as upon the other manifestations of the ghosts, by certain facts which Schultze records about *//Gaunab*.[1] To him *//Gaunab* is merely a mythical being ("Fabelwesen"), and he does not connect the name either with the personage figuring so prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naman, or with the ghosts of the dead. *//Gaunab*, he says, has the faculty of assuming human and animal form at will. The Naman conceive of him as having human shape, with ribs drawn over the flesh, and with feet the length of arms. "As quickly as a flame shoots up out of the glowing embers and then sinks down," said one of his informants, so quickly does *//Gaunab* come at night into a hut and steal a child. He hastens with his captive to a hole which he has dug in the loose soil, and rides on the child until it is stifled in the dust. By day he can also take on the form of a klipbok, jackal, or any other animal, which does not flee from men, since it is invulnerable; but in human shape he appears only in the distance, as in spite of all disguise he can be recognized by his facial features.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that these facts must be interpreted as referring to the ghosts. The word *//gaunab* itself is used for a ghost; the human shape which this "mythical being" is said to possess may be compared with the form in which ghosts appear to people in dreams; the abduction and stifling of a child in a hole is equivalent to saying that the ghosts drag their victims off to the grave; and the invulnerability of *//Gaunab* in animal form is paralleled by the beliefs relating to the */has jackals*. The latter, if this identification is accepted, must therefore be regarded not as a form in which all ghosts become reincarnated, but rather as one of the forms they may assume at will. There is no ground for supposing that the Hottentots have a definite doctrine of reincarnation or transmigration of the soul such as is implied in the account given by Biden and Kling.

[1] Op. cit., 450–1.

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To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarés*, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarés*, the whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */hei /nun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forbode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze,

[1] Op. cit., 519–20. [2] "The Nama," 133. [3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 518–19.

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821 775 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat, etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm, or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place, are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the putrefying body.[1]

769 782 775 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people. The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep" at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered, 'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps, that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise not from the "soul", as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse, since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

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[1] Op. cit., 317.
[2] Op. cit., 85, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112–13.

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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hahn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Seygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 89.
[2] Müller, in Codex Michaelensis, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 191; Grevenbroeck, op. cit., 371; Hahn, op. cit., 46-8 (quoting Spurrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 45. [4] Op. cit., 225.

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769 This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition
782 of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the
788 corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what [773] these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

[773] Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

778 All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more
771 or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional
797 religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

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There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Naman: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Naman, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wikar, "Berigt aan van Pletzenberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., ii, 42; Hahn, op. cit., 39–40 (quoting Pittschau and Vogel).
[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, part v, 158 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38).
[3] *Vergeliking der Gotten Hoffnung*, 50–1.
[4] "Rapport aan den Heere van Tulbagh," 56.
[5] Olpp, op. cit., 25.

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there were people,[1] but no other myths connected with it have been recorded similar to those found among the Cape Bushmen.

The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. "One would almost believe that a great calamity had befallen a kraal," writes Hahn, "such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking."[2] The same dread significance is attached to the eclipse of the sun. Like that of the moon, it is believed to herald much sickness and even death. Other celestial phenomena are also ill omens. The appearance of the Aurora australis or of a comet threatens war and death—"we are overpowered by //Gauna," say the people, "war is approaching, we are going to die"—while a shooting star indicates that sickness will spread among the stock, and the people on such occasions move to another locality, and implore the star to spare them.[3] The stars, as we have seen, are said to be the eyes or the souls of the dead; but there is no mention of prayers for food or rain to either them or the sun such as are found among the Cape Bushmen. It may be noted, however, that a religious dance is held at the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset, when prayers are offered to *Tsui //Goab* for rain.

Supernatural Beings

Apart from the invocation of the Moon, the religious cult of the Hottentots seems to have centred mainly in the worship of Heroes, derived partly from animistic beliefs, partly from a personification of the natural forces producing rain. Of the beliefs and observances connected with these beings we have much fuller information, and it is apparent that they played a more prominent part in the religious life of the people than did the Moon. Three names stand out in Hottentot ritual and mythology: *Tsui //Goab*, *Heitsi Eibib*, and *//Gaunab*. All three, it will be observed, are masculine in form, as is also the name for the Moon, *//Khab*.

Tsui //Goab is the great Hero of the Nama and other Hottentot tribes. The name is usually translated "sore (or wounded) knee", from *tsu* or *tsui*, sore, wounded, and *//goab* or *//khoab*, the knee. Its origin is told in the following myth: "*Tsui //Goab* was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 387. [2] Op. cit., 131; cf. ibid., 89.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 426–7, 428–9.

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from whom all the Khoikhoi tribes took their origin. But *Tsui* 771
//Goab was not his original name. This *Tsui //Goab* went to war with 773
another chief, *//Gaunab*, because the latter always killed great numbers of *Tsui //Goab*'s people. In the fight, however, *Tsui //Goab* was repeatedly overpowered by *//Gaunab*, but in every battle the former grew stronger; and at last he was so strong and big that he easily destroyed *//Gaunab* by giving him one blow behind the ear. While *//Gaunab* was expiring he gave his enemy a blow on the knee. Since that day the conqueror of *//Gaunab* received the name *Tsui //Goab*, 'sore knee' or 'wounded knee'. Henceforth he could not walk properly, because he was lame."[1]

This derivation is discredited by Hahn, who interprets the name as "the Red Dawn". His reasons are chiefly philological, elaborated under the influence of the mythological theories current in the middle of last century and associated mainly with the name of Max Müller. But he adduces three other considerations: that the Korana believe *Tsui //Goab* lives in the Red Heaven or Red Sky; that another mythological personage whom he equates with *Tsui //Goab*, *ǂEixa/kha-//nabiseb*, "The Man whose body has a brass-coloured backbone," is addressed as "Thou who paintest thyself with red ochre"; and that "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face towards the East: O, Tsui//goa, All-Father."[2]

Still another interpretation of the name, given by Kroenlein in his Nama-German dictionary, is the "painfully-invoked one", from *tsu*, painful, difficult, and *//goa*, to pray earnestly. Commenting upon this, Schultze, who himself accepts the first derivation, remarks caustically: "I believe that on this point the missionary Kroenlein has given the philologist Kroenlein a blow from behind!"[3]

Tsui //Goab is said to have been a great chief, a notable warrior of great physical strength, and a powerful magician.[4] According to Nama belief, he first made the rocks or stones from which the ancestors of the Hottentots came,[5] while the Korana say that he made the first man and woman.[6] He could do wonderful things, which no other man could do, because he was very wise; he could tell what

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. Other versions of the same myth are given by Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 258; Wurts, in Appleyard, *Kaffir Grammar*, 13, and in Hahn, op. cit., 61–2.
[2] Op. cit., 122–4.
[3] Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoi-Khoin*, 329 s.v. "*Tsu-//goab*"; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 447.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 48, 50, 62 (quoting Moffat and Wurts, loc. cit.); Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 28.
[5] Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104.
[6] Hahn, op. cit., 62, 105. For a similar belief held by the Cape Hottentots, cf. Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.

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771 would happen in future times; he died several times, and each time
773 he rose again. "And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. *Tsui ||Goab* gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."[1] Another of Hahn's informants, speaking of the origin of his tribe, said: "That very thing, the *||Habobe*, has been made by *Tsui ||Goab* in this country, and */Khub* [Lord, another name for *Tsui ||Goab*] has made us, and has given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow."[2] He is ubiquitous, and the people take oaths by him, "thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil"; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they use his name in the form of an exclamation: "*Tsui-||Goatse* !"[3]

773 On certain occasions *Tsui ||Goab* is worshipped openly as the
796 rain-giver. Hahn, as we have just seen, says that the Naman leave their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and invoke him. This is not mentioned by any other writer; but there is further evidence of worship directed towards him. The missionary, George Schmidt, who worked among the Hessequa, one of the Cape Hottentot tribes, from 1737 to 1744, has left on record a short but very important description of one of their religious ceremonies. "At the return of the Pleiades these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones in their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors. The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, etc.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"[4] *Tiqua* is an early form of writing *Tsui ||Goab*; and the prayer shows clearly that he is here regarded as the god of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

Tsui ||Goab is also invoked by the Naman, at the great annual rain-making ceremony, *guri ǂab* ("yearly killing"), which is the most

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. [2] Ibid., 64.
[3] Vedder, "The Nama," 130; Hahn, op. cit., 62; Schultze, op. cit., 447–8.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 43; quoting *Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12.

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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsûi //goaxo!	Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Abo Itse,	Father of our Fathers,
Sida Itse!	Our Father!
|Nanuba |avire,	Let stream the thunder cloud,
En xuna tire,	Let our flocks live,
Eda sida tire;	Let us also live, please;
!Khaisa gum goroß	I am so very weak
//Gâs xoe,	From thirst,
!As xoe;	From hunger;
Ese xurina amra.	Let me eat field fruits.
Sats gum xuna sida itsoo,	Art thou not our Father,
Abo itsoo,	Father of our Fathers
Tsûi //goaxo?	Thou Tsui //Goab?
Eda sida gorgontsire,	That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based mainly on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May, 1922), pp. 3–4; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 27–8, and "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 515–16.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Eda sida //khava /khaitsire,	That we may bless thee,
Abo itse,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida !khutse,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsûi //goatse !	Thou, Tsui //Goab !

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

[782]

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions."

773 776 782 821 These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abob*, father, and */khub*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Nanub*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurub*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Nanub*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourrou* (*/Gurub*).[3] The cloud */Nanub* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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let rain"[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gei*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

!Gurub di /Geis	The Hymn of the Thunder
!Nanumatse!	Son of the Thundercloud!
/Geri-khai, !Gurutse!	Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru!
ǂOuse gobare,	Talk softly, please,
/Hevit t'am u-kà-tamaŏ;	For I have no guilt;
/Ubatare	Let me alone! (Forgive me!)
ǂOutago xuige.	For I have become quite weak.
!Gurutse!	Thou, O !Guru!
!Nanus oatse!	Son of the Thundercloud!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrou* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui //Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*!Khub*, i.e. *Tsui //Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui //Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tusib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129–30. [2] Ibid., 59–60. [3] Loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 91–2. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 125.
[6] "Redman," */ova-khoin*, is another name used for themselves by the Naman, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *ǂau-khoin*, "black men," and the Europeans or "white men" */uri-khoin*.

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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂoap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1]
821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke !huba ra !gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of */nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially re-introduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui //Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigeib*, *Heiseb* or *Kabib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," *passim*; *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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773 from the roots *hei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heitsi Eibib* is *Heigeib*, Great Tree, from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, big.[1]

Heitsi Eibib is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Naman all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through
[825] mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.[2]

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
778 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.[3] This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, mutter
[782] the following prayer:—

O Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!

[1] Op. cit., 132–4.
[2] Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 75–82; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, 253; Hahn, op. cit., 64–73; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama Sprache*, 171–7 (Nama texts); Vedder, "The Nama," 131–2.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 349; Alexander, op. cit., i, 167; Bleek, op. cit., 76; Kleinschmidt, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 69, 134.

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Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui* //*Goab* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Naman, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui* //*Goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.[1]

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and has dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui* //*Goab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with //*Gaunab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui* //*Goab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui* //*Goab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi Eibib's* graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a few bushes," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

[1] Op. cit., 134–5.

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773 stones"; whereas Biden and Kling use the term "heidje eibib" in regard to all graves, although speaking also of a specially large
778 "heidje eibib" near O'okiep. Hahn says that branches are thrown only on the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, not on any others, which appears also from Alexander's remarks. Vedder, again, "was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stones, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty." He, therefore, concludes that these heaps were originally beacons set up by the Bushmen at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, that is, where there were old paths, and that later, when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, these boundary marks appeared to the Hottentots as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.[1]

769 Whatever the origin of these heaps, it is at least certain that the
778 Hottentots regard them as the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, add stones,
773 branches, and other objects to them, and pray at them to *Heitsi Eibib* for success in hunting, much cattle, and other benefits. We have previously noted that ordinary graves are also added to in this way, and that people will sometimes go to pray at the graves of the parents. This suggests that *Heitsi Eibib* is in some way connected with the ancestors. One is inclined, therefore, to look upon him either as a traditional hero of the past, round whom a series of legends have collected, or possibly as a mythological ancestor living much the same sort of life as the Hottentots themselves did. He certainly does not appear to be a personified nature deity of the same kind as *Tsui //Goab*. And it may be added here, that in translations of the Bible and other religious works into the Hottentot languages, the name *Tsui //Goab* is by some writers used as a rendering for "God", whereas *Heitsi Eibib* never is. This in itself indicates how different were the native conceptions of these two figures.

773 In the mythology of the Hottentots *Tsui //Goab*, as we have seen,
776 appears as a great tribal hero, many of whose people are killed by the evil chief *//Gaunab*. *Tsui //Goab* goes to war with *//Gaunab*, and finally destroys him by giving him a blow behind the ear; but

[1] Op. cit., 132; cf. *idem*, "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der . . . Buschmänner," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 11–12.

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hough destroyed in this way //*Gaunab* comes alive again, and one
orm of the myth tells the story as though the fight were an annual
ne. The name //*Gaunab* is nowadays translated by "Devil", and
wing to missionary influence has exactly this significance for the
atives; but Hahn derives it from //*gau*, to destroy, annihilate, and
herefore interprets it as "the destroyer, the one who annihilates."[1]

It is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of what the Hottentots
riginally understood by //*Gaunab*, especially as the information
lating to him is rather scanty. Graevenbroeck says of the Cape
lottentots that they believed in a first forefather *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*,
nd a god of the underworld *Damoh*.[2] Valentijn, who had access
Graevenbroeck's manuscript, enlarges somewhat on the latter
ing. The Hottentots, he says, spoke of a "Spectre whom they
ared very much, Somsoma", as well as of *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, "a
evil, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided
eaking of him, as he often persecuted them, but in carefully
amining this, it is nothing but their somsomas and spectres."[3]
angoh or *Damoh*, Vedder suggests, "is evidently an attempt to
ell the word //*Gauab*."[4] The linguistic identification seems rather
r-fetched, but at least the attributes *Dangoh* has in Valentijn's
escription definitely connect him with //*Gaunab*.

Kolb uses the word *Gounia* for "God, or the Great Chief", and
so mentions "another chief, somewhat lesser in power, called
ouquoa, from whom some of them had learned witchcraft; he
ver does good to the people, but always harm. They must, there-
re, fear him, show respect to him, and serve him. This they do by
ughtering in his honour sometimes a sheep, sometimes also a fat
, whenever they perceive that great misfortune is threatening
em."[5] It is evident, from what has already been said, that Kolb
s confused the two names, and that the attributes he ascribes to
ouquoa (*Tsui* //*Goab*) really belong to *Gounia* (//*Gaunab*). This
pears also from a curt statement by the missionary, George Schmidt,
out the Hessequa: "They have no religion or rites, and they
lieve only that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call
ui'qua. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name
una, but they do not care much about him."[6] Wikar, again,

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 125; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 519.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.
[3] Loc. cit. [4] "The Nama," 130.
[5] Op. cit., 52–3; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 41–2.
[6] "Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung," 275.

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says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *kounaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarés*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further intimately connected with the */hei /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for */hei /nun*, and even the term *//gauab* in the singular may be used for a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hei /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hei /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104. [2] Op. cit., 42, 86.
[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 520.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

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But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damoh* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating on the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gebo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gaib*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 61–2. [2] *Ibid.*, 126.
[3] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 530. [4] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 226.

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755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylvidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the */gai aob* is to cure people who have been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with
755 the */hei /nun*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nun* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the */gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
823 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 29; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutz. KolZtg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 320–1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. 791
He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. 754
His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the 823
water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered 754
innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the 823
case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a !naip*, the kidney of a species [825]
of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* 791
has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied 789
in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, 791
but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*/ga//goeb*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," 522. [2] Op. cit., 23, 24. [3] Ibid., 83.

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of certain rain." He does not state who these "sorcerers" are, nor does he suggest any connection between them and the rain-making ceremonies previously described, so that although there seem to have been among the Hottentots special rain magicians, we cannot identify them with certainty or link them up with the */gai aogu*, the known workers in magic.

From Schultze's brief account of Hottentot magic, it appears that the */gai aogu* are also diviners.[1] A thread is inserted into the fat in the medicine horn. The projecting end is set alight and held against the wind, and the direction in which the smoke blows tells the distressed inquirer where he must seek his strayed cattle or lost companion. If he still wishes to overtake his comrade on the way, a knot is tied in the thread and the projecting end set alight. Then, just as the flame is checked or extinguished on the knot, so will his comrade halt on the march until he comes up.

Other methods of divination are also employed by the Hottentots, but there is nothing to connect them certainly with the */gai aogu*. One of these we have already met with in connection with the conduct of judicial trials, where as a last resort the diviner is called in with his beaded strips of leather to ascertain who is the real culprit. The method there described is found also among the OvaHerero and the Bergdama, and may have been taken over from one of these peoples, although this cannot be definitely asserted. Another method of divination, described to Mrs. Hoernlé, was done for a Hottentot, but by a Bergdama. The chief Christian Goliath of the Berseba Hottentots, Mrs. Hoernlé's informant, said that he had lost a mug and called in this Bergdama man to find out who had taken it. The man had three iron beads which he threw three times upon the ground. Each time one of the beads rolled in the direction of a certain hut, and when this hut was searched the mug was found there! Here, it will be noticed, an expert from another people was called in; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to believe that this may have been the case in most of the instances of divination by means of bone or bead throwing reported of the Hottentots. All her Nama informants denied that they themselves practised divination in this way.[2]

Kolb describes on hearsay a form of divination which he says was practised by the Cape Hottentots in cases of illness where medical treatment seemed to be of no benefit. A sheep was carefully flayed alive in such a way as to avoid excessive bleeding; if it then moved

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Communicated by letter, 25-9-1924.

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away from the spot, the people gathered hope that the patient would recover, but if it remained lying where it was, they abandoned both hope and any further treatment.[1] 787

In addition to these more or less standardized methods of divination, the Hottentots also place great faith in omens. Of these there are a great variety. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the wind, celestial phenomena, the beat of the pulse, nervous twitchings, forebodings—all these, according to Olpp, can have significance.[2] Some kinds of omen we have already described in connection with hunting, war, and the moon. Vedder records one or two others.[3] Many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and, above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, are regarded as precursors of death. Again, if the corpse of a living acquaintance or a relative appears to a person in a dream, "he has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate his dream, as by then the time for its realization will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly." 787 763

The appearance of the mantis, again, is an omen of extreme good fortune. This little insect does not appear to enjoy the same reverence among the Hottentots as it does among the Bushmen, but the Naman believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it.[4] The Cape Hottentots, according to Graevenbroeck and Kolb, regarded it as a favourable omen of the highest significance.[5] If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, says the latter, the fattest ox belonging to the kraal was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and the fat, and wore the caul twisted about his neck till it rotted off, or until some other person was honoured in the same way by the mantis. The flesh of the ox was cooked, and the men or the women feasted upon it, according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into one of disaster and destruction. The insect, however, does not appear to have been prayed to (although in South Africa it is still popularly spoken of as the "Hottentot's god") nor does it figure at all in the mythology of the people. 787 825

[1] Op. cit., 153. [2] *Angra Pequena*, 32. [3] "The Nama," 133–4.
[4] Op. cit., 40. [5] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 367–8; Kolb, op. cit., 13–4.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gaio aagu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gaio aagu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, 751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare [439] these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated 648 in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 129. [4] Op. cit., 134.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaua* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains": *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

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Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua*. Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.

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CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Decorative and Plastic Art

532 Judged by the standard of the Bushmen, the Hottentots are distinctly poor in artistic productions. Painting and engraving on rock, one of the outstanding features in the culture of the former, does not appear ever to have been practised by the latter. Their decorative art 531 at the present time is confined mainly to scratching or incising simple rows of dots or lines of crude chevron, zigzag or fishbone pattern on the outer surface of their metal armbands and rings. Occasionally also simple triangular designs are burned round the mouth of their wooden vessels, or scratched on the stems of their serpentine pipes; while the clay pots they formerly made are sometimes found decorated round the neck with rows of dots or short, broad lines, apparently produced by incising.[1] No other form of decorative art is known to occur.

532 The rudiments of a plastic art may be noticed among the young 857 boys, who often model toys out of clay, which they burn in the fire to obtain shades of colour as well as hardness. These toys consist in figures of human beings, cattle, game and other animals, sometimes also in group compositions such as a team of oxen pulling a wagon. Schultze describes and figures some of them, which are skilfully modelled and by no means devoid of artistic appeal, in some cases even showing a lively sense of caricature, as in representations of Europeans.[2] But the talent here shown is not carried over into later life, and no modelling or carving of any description analogous to this is done by adults.

Music and Dancing

533 If the Hottentots are deficient in the plastic arts, their musical 535 talent at least is highly developed. The joy in imitative representation, in the fancy-free expression of stored-up impressions, lives in both young and old. Their delight and talent in mimicry is shown in

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 249–51; Schönland, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery," *passim* and pl. ii.

[2] Op. cit., 310–12; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335.

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pantomime, their musical sense in the use of musical instruments and in song, and their finer artistic feeling in the dance. Only in a few exceptional cases do we find these different art forms practised in isolation; as a rule, just like the emotions underlying them, they are intimately combined in the same performance.

The musical instruments of the Hottentots [1] include some of those found among the Bushmen, such as the */goura*, the */gubo*, the *ramgyib* (" ramakie ") and the " rommelpot ". Of these the */goura* is specially important from the ethnological point of view. As previously mentioned, it is a form of musical bow having the peculiarity of being sounded by means of a piece of quill connecting one end of the chord with the end of the bow-stave. Though various forms of the musical bow, including the */gubo*, are found widely spread over Africa, the */goura* is a specialized type somewhat sharply separated from the others. Its occurrence is confined mainly to the Hottentots and the Southern Bushmen, so that it constitutes a common culture trait of some significance. It is now also found among some of the Southern Bantu, but has almost certainly been taken over by them from either the Bushmen or the Hottentots.

Schultze describes in addition the ordinary musical bow, *kxab*, which he noted among the Naman.[2] The stave is made from a thin piece of acacia wood, and the chord from the back-sinew of the goat, or, better still, from sheep-gut. The women are the performers. They sit on the ground, with the upper end of the bow resting on the left shoulder, while the lower end, propped up against a skin-covered bowl serving as a sounding-board, is held there by means of the foot, inserted between the stave and the chord. The performer picks at the chord with a small stick held in the right hand, while with the left-hand she holds the bow like the head of a violin. Usually several of the women sitting round beat in time on the chord with their sticks.

From the musical point of view the chief characteristic of the theme represented in the musical pantomime performed with this instrument lies in rhythm. In hunting scenes this expresses the different types of movement of horses and game. The tracking of the hartebeest, the first galloping pursuit, the flight of the wounded animal and its overthrow, all this is indicated in the time beaten with

[1] Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 122–3; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 229; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 326–7; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 95–6; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 228; Schultze, op. cit., 374.
[2] Op. cit., 374–5.

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533 the stick. The onspurring of the pursuing horse, the fatal thrust, and the death rattle of the dying animal are punctuated with gestures and inarticulate sounds; the successive monotones beaten on the chord to varying speeds only serve as accompaniment. Similarly the progress of a wagon is indicated, with such incidents as the in-spanning of the oxen and the falling out of a lame animal, while the habits of wild animals are imitated with special delight.

In all these performances the music itself is relatively unimportant, even though the bow is throughout being sounded with the stick. It is only in the reed dance songs that the notes are first arranged
534 into melodies. The reed pipes, *ǂati*, are among the oldest known musical instruments of the Hottentots.[1] They are usually cut, as their name indicates, from reed; but where, as in barren tracts, no reed can be got, they are made from the hollow bark of acacia roots. They range in length from about six inches to a foot. Their barrels are like those of European flutes, but the holes on both sides meet one another and are larger than in the flute. One end of the pipe is closed with a grass cork, which is slid up and down by means of a thin bit of stick to vary the pitch of the instrument. These pipes are always used to accompany dances and songs.

533 868 Every large kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-/gun-aob*, who teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes. "Boys who perform well," says Hahn, "are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called */kho-/kha, to touch the body*, which means, 'to praise a person in a song.'"[2] A full Hottentot orchestra has at least nine performers, each with a pipe or set of pipes tuned to a different note from those of the others. The music of each performer consists in a series of rhythmical blasts all on one note, which harmonize with those of others in the same rhythm. These notes provide the time for the dancers and singers, who lead the melody.[3]

533 Many of the songs accompanied by reed music are without words; the theme is indicated simply by actions, and the melody "trolled" aloud, i.e. sung without articulate words.[4] Others have a fixed verbal text. Hahn distinguishes two kinds of the latter, sacred and profane. "The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations and songs of praise in honour of Tsu//goab, Heitsieibib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs, and the performance with dancing is called */geib*, while the general profane songs are called *//nai-tsanati*, and to perform

[1] The fullest descriptions are given by Schultze, op. cit., 375–7; von François, op. cit., 228.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 29. [3] Schultze, op. cit., 376, 377. [4] Ibid., 377.

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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba xaĩre*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it." [1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gein*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui //Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */nau* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances [4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 27-8. [2] Ibid., 58-60, *passim*.
[3] Ibid., 28; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 127.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 31-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schultze, op. cit., 377.

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535 Many of the profane dances have special themes. Some of them are purely pantomimic. One such dance, described by Schultze,[1] may serve to illustrate the wealth of imitative action with which they are enacted. The theme is that of a hyena slinking round a sheep kraal at night and being discovered. The pantomimic representation of this theme, with its reed music, its song and its dance, is extremely delightful. The men line up in a semicircle, as do also the women opposite them. The circle formed in this way, with its two opposing entrances where the line of men approaches that of the women, represents a sheep kraal, and the women the sheep. Amid the singing and the notes of the reed music of all those standing in the circle, one of the men leaves the line, and in a crouching posture, with sharply-bent knees, slinks into the interior of the "kraal" and along the line of women, with all the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men from the line make as if riding for the same opening through which the hyena has entered. In bearing and gesture they mimic the tying-up of their horses, then discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them, until suddenly they notice the animal. They hasten back to their horses and take up the pursuit. The hyena meanwhile has made for the open, but is overtaken outside the "kraal" and killed. During the whole of this 533 535 performance the women uninterruptedly sing at the "hyena" the words: *ǂHĭ-ra-se, kxoĭn xũn gye, ǂgo-be-se, kxoĭn xũn gye,* "Hyena, this (the sheep in the kraal) is the property of men!"

Other dances and their songs depict scenes of hunting or battle. Wikar describes one mimicking a rhinoceros hunt,[2] Hahn another in which a hero dies bravely in battle and is left a prey to the vultures, until his friends, having defeated the enemy, return and collect his bones into a grave, at the same time singing a very doleful burial song.[3] Another dance of this type, seen often by von François in Windhoek, is based on the historical incident of the "murder" of Jan Jonker by Hendrik Witbooi. The men group themselves in two parties, one with white hatbands, the other with red. The latter, representing Jonker's people, dance first, as if believing themselves safe, and the women dance round them. Then to the same melody and time the Witboois dance up out of the darkness towards the camp of the Jonkers. Suddenly they are noticed by the latter, the women spring aside and begin, standing still and clapping their

[1] Op. cit., 380–1; others are described on pp. 377–80
[2] Op. cit., 127–8. [3] Op. cit., 228–9.

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hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range themselves against the Witboois and in a crouching posture continue playing on their reed pipes. The Witboois also form into line, and send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-hatted men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witboois, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after inspecting them all returns to his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witboois dance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, with its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting illustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile imagination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even although they have not the grand masquerade dances performed by the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but singing without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of the songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; others are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known as *gares*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of extemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, and not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals will often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter or longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. But they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously, into the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often church hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are often replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical sense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal recreation in its exercise.

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, uncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and privations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers

[1] Schulze, op. cit., 381–3. [2] Op. cit., 107, 28–9.

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The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard
[826] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *top*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *ǂurub*,
783 varicose veins, and */nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *ǂop* becomes */nau*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

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a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gai aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gai aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as */op*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

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759 the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

757 On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also [842 previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according 841] to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

752 The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the 752 bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice 3 84 in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 19 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.
[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

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states that the head of the joint was tied up with sinew, and cut through below, the sticky juice of certain leaves and other herbs then being applied to the raw surface. 752 304

For relatively localized pains the universal remedy is bleeding, either by venesection with bandaging or by cupping. In the former case, as described by Kolb, a thong is tied round the limb and the vein cut open below it. When enough blood has been drawn off, the incision is closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Cupping, apart from its use in the */nau* ceremonies and diseases, is specially employed for stiffness and pains in the limbs, in order to hinder their swelling, for colics and pains in the stomach, and also, according to Laidler, for the relief of madness and epilepsy. The cupping horn is a carefully-prepared tip of calf or goat horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is first applied dry, i.e. over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified, the horn pressed tightly over the bleeding cut, and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established, he bites the resin and so closes the aperture in it. The horn is then left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. 757

Cures and antidotes for the bites and stings of the multitudinous snakes, spiders, and scorpions found in the country naturally play a large part in Hottentot medicine.[1] An "infallible" antidote for snake bite is the dried body of the lizard *Scelates capense Gthr.* Small deep cuts are made slightly above and below the bite, and cupped for about half an hour. Then a tiny fragment of the lizard's body is pressed into each cut and rubbed in with wood ashes. The bite itself is only washed with water. Snake poison itself may also be used as an antidote, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. Sometimes the "doctor" makes incisions over the bite, then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. Vegetable poultices are sometimes applied, or the crushed head of the snake may be used in the same way in case of snake bite, while similarly powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting, the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste. The patient at the same time is given 752 278

[1] Schulze, op. cit., 224–5; Laidler, op. cit., 438–40.

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752 278 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and fæces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff- [759] adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in this way are known as */ao/ga aon*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *top* diseases.

278 789 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with [823] the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, op. cit., 438–9; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 321.

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treating lupus, and consequently known as */nomi heip*, "lupus stick," must be treated with great deference. "When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not wholly disappear."[1]

Laidler has described at some length the herbal lore of the half-breed Naman of Little Namaqualand.[2] From the details he gives it appears that the principal ailments treated with herbs and roots are internal pains and fevers, classed together, he says, as "fires", and distinguished only by locality, certain women's troubles, flatulence as an entity, diarrhœa, and, among the accidental injuries, burns. In anæmias and weaknesses red substances are used, such as *Pelargonium anceps*, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are employed, several of his informants stated, because they are red, and the blood is red, and, therefore, they strengthen the blood; and, of course, when grown on red ground their value as drugs is increased enormously! All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. *Sutherlandia frutescens*, another red plant, was formerly used in decoction for washing wounds, and given as drink for fevers; nowadays it is used for consumption, chicken-pox, etc. *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, is considered a good poultice on bruises and cuts, and here again the colour appears to have been the chief attraction. Other decoctions for coughs and colds and fevers are made from the leaves of various Sages (*Salvia sp.*), as well as from the leaves of one species of wild olive, which are administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid. Other wild olives are used as sweating draughts, as is also *Grassula lycopodioides*.

Another species of wild olive is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and the leaves are also used as a plaster. Pains in the stomach are also treated with decoctions of *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens*; pains in the back are treated with *Boscia fœtida*; and shooting pains with *Passerina filiformis* or *Berkheyra sp.* For toothache the people chew the alkaline

[1] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 79.

[2] Op. cit., 434–5, 440–6; cf. for the Naman of S.W.A., Schultze, op. cit., 223 ff., Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.

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[757] [278] leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[845] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia restituta* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus sp.* are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is */au /arub*, the condensed urine and fæces of the dassie (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "dassiepis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition [847] generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the action of the atmosphere, is given internally [752] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhœa is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, pounded fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chiroma baccijeca*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Cynanchum capense Thun.* and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

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is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanie*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Cotyledon Walchii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkheyra sp.*, powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the same reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, that its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox is given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

Star Lore and Calendar

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and medicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or less directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the cares of everyday life, there is little trace of organized conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen are, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, and, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of season and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force the attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not discuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives a valuable detailed description.[1]

From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies for the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

[1] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 364–73.

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823 trees, and rock formations. Later when he goes with his family on longer marches in search of pasture, he is forced owing to the barrenness of the land to seek his way from one waterhole to another. His wanderings consequently consist in treks, each having as its daily goal a spot relatively near by and fixed upon according to local conditions. As a result the Hottentot needs no other points of orientation in the sky apart from the sun, and his knowledge of the stars is therefore very limited.

821 The sun, *aoxa*, also gives the Hottentot points of control for
823 distinguishing positions of the horizon. The East is named *aoxaxa //hai /kxub*, "the side on which the sun rises," the West *aoxaxa /ga /kxub*, "the side on which the sun sets"; while for North and South there is a common term, *aoxaxo /nub*, since when one faces in either of these directions the sun shines on (*/na*, in) the cheeks (*inb*). The names */kxubagub* and */abas* for the south and north winds respectively are sometimes also used for the abstract points of the horizon, but this Schultze regards as a later transference. The sun itself, how it rises and sets, the wind blowing from here or there, the place to which he formerly wandered—these are the elements of the Hottentot's geographical notions, and they suffice for understanding.[1]

821 The moon and its phases are more appropriately discussed in connection with the calendar, in which it plays an extremely important part. Of the stars,[2] */gamirosi*, the Hottentots know most accurately the two planets Venus and Mercury, whose closeness to the sun and regularly-alternating positions in the morning and evening sky make them readily observable. Venus, *//khawa*, is also known as "the Forerunner" of the sun, *ai/gura*, or as *augura //hai*, "the star at whose rising men run away" (i.e. from illicit sexual intercourse). Mercury is the Dawn Star, *//gua /gamirosa*, or the star that comes when the udders of the cows are filled again; as an evening star he is not observed. Venus as an evening star is recognised to be the same celestial body as the morning star, and is then called the "Evening Fugitive", */ui /kxoeb*, since it does not remain long in the sky. Jupiter is also known, but is sometimes identified with Venus; when, however, he is seen "in the middle of the sky" he is called the "Middle Star", *//aogu /gamirob*.

The six stars of the belt and sword of Orion are grouped together as the "Zebras", */gorogu*; δ, ε, ζ, are three fugitive zebras against the middle one of which the hunter ι shoots his arrows θ and ε. The

[1] Ibid., 365. [2] Ibid., 366–9.

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Pleiades, on account of their thick cluster of stars, are called by the 821
ame */hâiseti* or */kriiseti*, derived from the verb */hâ* to assemble, or are
therwise known as */ao /gumireti*, "Hour-frost stars," since at the time
hen they become visible the nights may already be so cold that
our-frost is found in the morning.

Of these stars Hahn gives the following myth, which he names 821
The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women".[1] "The /Khunuseti 773
Pleiades) said to their husband, 'Go thou and shoot those three
ebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home.'
nd the husband went out with only one arrow, and he shot with his
ow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed
e Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras,
d the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again.
nd because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there
sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger.
nd the /Khunuseti said to the other men: 'Ye men, do you think
at you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now,
e defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed
ame."

In explanation Hahn states[2] that Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the
usband of the myth, and the */Khunuseti*, or Pleiades, are his wives.
is bow is ν ν Orionis; his sandals, *//haiun*, are ε and δ of the
yades; his kaross is θ and γ of the Hyades; δ, ε, ζ, Orionis are the
ebras, */gaugu*, and Leo is the Lion. The arrow */ab* is marked by
d, ε, Orionis, of which again it is called *//nanu*, the arrowhead, and
is the opposite end, where */anu*, the feather is fixed.

The gleam of the Milky Way and of the Magellanic Clouds reminds 821
e Hottentot of the weak glow of the embers of a hearth fire. The
ream is therefore known as *tsaub*, Ember, the masculine singular
ding reflecting the large slender shape of the constellation, and the
ter as *tsaura*, Embers (fem. dual), the ending reflecting the clumpy
rm and the smallness of the constellation. The Magellanic Clouds
e also called *tsaw /khuruhas*, "the two lion testicles." Of single
ed stars Schultze heard only Sirius named, as the "Side Star",
aus */gumirub*. Two other names of stars are recorded by Hahn:
ra, "the two eyes," for α and β Centauri, and *tsami di mura*, the
es of the lion, for ρ 1 and 2 Scorpionis.[3] It will be remembered
at he also speaks of the stars as the eyes of the deceased.

The calendar of the Hottentots[4] is based on the change of the 805

[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 74. [2] Ibid., 108-9. [3] Ibid., 109. [4] Schultze, 159-160, 369-73.

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805 seasons, the phases of the moon, and the daily positions of the sun. They are well acquainted with the concrete phenomenon of the year, */gurib*, as a single period of seasonal variation, but they do not reckon in years of this sense. The year, that is, is empirically given by them, but not limited in the abstract. Above all, it is not a calendrical and numerical quantity. They keep in mind the age of their cattle, which they reckon by calving and lambing periods. They have, however, no interest in their own ages. When they wish to date back somewhat further, well-known events, such as the outbreak of rinderpest, hostilities with neighbouring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc., furnish them with satisfactory points of control, from which, coupling them in particular instances with the birth of their children or the stature of these at the time, they can arrive at a date.

805 The major divisions of the year are the seasons, *gunagu*, of which there are four. In determining these the Hottentots seem to keep
821 in mind the vegetation rather than the climate. They distinguish, first, early spring, (*//kxu//aib*, blossoming-time, or */abab*, spring), which has come when with increasing warmth, independently of the rainfall, trees and bushes break into leaf, and in good years winter or early spring rains have revived the grass. It begins as early as August and ends in October. The following season, *//kxûsab* (in the Bergdama dialect *sorab*, "sun-time") embraces the first half of the hot period, in which, when the year is good, the so-called lesser rains fall. If these are failing, or, as is usually the case, are scanty, the land is for the most part desolate, without grass or herbage. This time of drought is sometimes called by the same name as drought itself, */kxarab*. It prevails from October to December inclusive, and thus corresponds to the astronomical spring of the Southern hemisphere. The season upon the productiveness of which the welfare of the Hottentots most depends, *//kaob*, may be called the pasture season; it includes the period of the greater rains and the time immediately after this, when the fodder has not yet lost its freshness. It comprises, loosely speaking, the period January to April, thus corresponding to summer and the beginning of autumn. Winter, *aob*, or the cold season, lasts from May to August, and thus embraces two-thirds of the autumn and the first half of winter.

Further divisions of the year are based on observations of the moon. The month, known by the same name as the moon itself, *//kaib*, begins when the crescent of the moon appears in the western sky. The phases of the moon symbolize to the Hottentot his own growth and decay.

The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called *ǂkxum//kxūb*, *ǂkxum* meaning "unripe" in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon "revives", is called by a name with that significance, */gūgo //kxūb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gui-//kxūgaira //kxūb*, "the moon which becomes great or old (*gui*)," and *guaira //kxūb*, "the moon which becomes wise (*gūai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as "the dying moon", *//ōra //kxūb*.

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows:—

I. (January) *ǂkxoaxa //kxūb*, "the moon which follows upon the *ǂkxoa* (*Salsola*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gama /aib*, not translated.
III. (March) *//kxai xaib*, "when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *ǂgare /xūnub*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that "the legs blister".
V. (May) *ǂna //kxōna*, the "black month," comes in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) *//kai //kxōna*, not translated.
VII. (July) *ǂkxa //kxōna*, "the month of the Pleiades," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *kharūb*, not translated.
IX. (September) *ǂkoa ǂgaub*, the month "when the leaves are curled up" by the cold.
X. (October) *gui ǂkxoxa*, not translated.
XI. (November) *//gao ǂkxoxa*, not translated.
XII. (December) *//ke ǂgaub*, named from the fact that when, after the first productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young green shoots up, the meadows, *ǂgaub*, appear to be dappled, *//ke*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsâxa*, and the night, *tsâxaub*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsî ǂgūb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of

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805 821 night distinguished is midnight, *tsūxub /gāb*, " the back of the night." On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//goa /aroam* and */uitsūxubab* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named */kxai //goagab*, because about dawn (*//goab*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*/kxai*), and evening brightness, */aba /hobob*, the " red twilight ". " Little children's twilight," */kxam-/goa-/hobob*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/goan*) are born. Afternoon, */uiab*, and morning, *//goagab*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, */uib*, and late evening, */oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

805 177 The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *bekgye hais*, " week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.

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PART IV

CHAPTER XV

The Khoisan Languages

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The Bushmen, as we have previously seen, are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups, to which she applies the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively, in accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them.[1] The Hottentot languages are on the whole strongly akin to those of the Bushmen, but at the same time differ from them all except Naron, in certain features showing an affinity with the Hamitic languages of North and North-East Africa. They have, therefore, been generally looked upon as essentially Hamitic languages, which have become greatly modified by the incorporation of Bushman elements, especially in phonetics and vocabulary.[2] It has recently been demonstrated, however, that fundamentally, they have far more in common with the Bushman than with the Hamitic languages.[3] They must accordingly be included with the former in the same language family, of which they constitute a fourth distinct group.

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Of the Bushman languages the only one at all well documented is */xam*, the language of the Cape Bushmen, which may be taken

[1] "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927) 59–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, 1–6.

[2] This view, already advocated in 1880 by Lepsius, following upon Dr. Bleek's indications, has been expressed most forcibly in recent times by Meinhof, who in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, selects Nama as a type language for illustrative purposes; cf. also his paper on "The Language of the Hottentots", in *Addresses delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and S. African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii, 119–29. For criticisms of his standpoint, cf. Drexel, "Gliederung der afrikanischen Sprachen," *Anthropos*, xx (1925), 81 ff., and Planert, "Die Schnalzsprachen," *Bibliotheca Africana*, ii (1926), 298 ff.

[3] D. F. Bleek, *us cit.*; Schapera, "The Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 835 ff.; *idem*, *Comparative Grammar of the Khoisan Languages*, MS.; cf. also Planert, "Die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner," *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, viii (1905), Abt. iii, 104–76.

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as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of */Khū* (*Kung*) and *//K'au //en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

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The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

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PHONETICS[4]

Except in the case of */Khū* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. Eingeb.Spr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–33, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der ǂKũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwa) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhã Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

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Certain general features of importance shared by them all are readily observable, however. The vowels in many cases have a more or less obscure sound, i.e. they are slurred in pronunciation and their qualities are indefinite, so that several varieties may be heard of what is essentially the same vowel sound. Most vowels occur either long or short, and this length is at times a determining factor between words otherwise alike. Almost all the vowels, further, may be nasalized, and the presence or absence of nasalization is a factor in distinguishing words of different meanings otherwise phonetically identical. Diphthongs, finally, are very numerous.

The consonants are subdivided into emitted consonants and reversed or implosive consonants. In the former class, "in the production of which the whole movement of the speech organs emits or drives the air outwards," velar and alveolar explosives, fricatives, and affricates predominate, which, in conjunction with the "clicks", give the languages a harsh staccato character. The affricate combinations are almost all unvoiced and ejective, i.e. accompanied by simultaneous glottal stop. Nasals are also very often heard in speech. On the negative side may be noted the absence of the labio-dentals *f* and *v* and the semi-vowel *l*, except occasionally in words incorporated from European languages.

The reversed or implosive consonants, "in the production of which the whole or a portion of the movement of the speech organs reverses or draws the air inwards," are the famous and much-discussed "clicks". They are produced by rarefying the air between some outer closure or point of tongue articulation and an inner closure formed either at the velum or the glottis, and then releasing the outer closure so that the air is sucked in sharply. The inner closure is subsequently released for the following vowel. The position of the outer closure varies with the different kinds of click. Four different positional types of click are used in all the Khoisan languages: dental, customarily represented by the symbol /; alveolar, ǀ; palato-alveolar (sometimes called cerebral), ǃ; and lateral, //. Each of these may be pronounced unvoiced, voiced, or nasal, and in various combinations with other consonants. In the Southern Bushman Group there is further a bilabial unvoiced velaric click ("kiss click"), ., not met with elsewhere, while *!Khū* also has a fifth type of click, the retroflex.

The grouping of sounds and the character of the syllable follow the same principles throughout. Single vowels, diphthongs, nasal

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B H 194 consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

B H 193 Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

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the suffix *-kən*, *-gən* or *ŋ* found in the Southern Bushman languages (the different forms are due to phonetic sound changes). This suffix is separable from, i.e. is not always part of, the radical element, but can never occur by itself as an entity: when it does occur, it always forms part of a word. With substantives it is used to form the emphatic nominative. It is also used, however, with verbs, but in such cases it is by no means clear what function it fulfils. Similarly we find words in all the languages which invariably occur with the suffixed endings *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ro*, *-ru*, and so on, but here again no definite significance can as a rule be discovered for these suffixes.

Certain suffixes must now be regarded as *passive*, i.e. they occur only in certain words, never in any others, even although no special meaning can be ascribed to them. In */Xam*, e.g. there are very many words always found with what is clearly the suffixed ending *-ru*, as in *//kuru*, stone knife, */xuru*, crow, *thuru*, to pluck; but the suffix here does not seem to have any determinate significance, nor is it actively employed to modify other radical elements.

Opposed to these we have the *active* suffixes, i.e. suffixes which can be added freely to any radical element, and which have a definite significance. In */Xam*, e.g. the suffix *-ko* has an alternative function: */aiti*, woman, */aitiko*, another woman; *tuu*, mouth, *tuuko*, another mouth. In */Khũ* the suffix *-ma* is used to form the diminutive, e.g. */kaŋ*, tree, */kaŋma*, little tree. In *Hie*, *-re* is used to form the plural, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Nama* the endings *-b*, *-s*, and *i* are used to indicate the sexual gender of the substantive, e.g. *khoib*, man, *khois*, woman, *khoii*, human being. These selected illustrations will serve to indicate briefly how the suffixes are employed.

An interesting feature is the fact that suffixes which are passive in one language may be active in another. Thus, while *-ru* is passive in */Xam*, in *Nama* it may be added to verbal roots to indicate returning motion, as in *//a*, to go, *//aru*, to go back, to return.

Active suffixes are employed in all the languages with both substantives and verbs, as well as with other parts of speech. In substantives they are used to modify the meaning of the radical element so as to express such concepts as plurality, diminution, agency, sex (in *Nama* and *Naron* only), and negation: while in verbs they are employed to denote duration, mood, reflexion, reciprocation, etc. It is only in exceptional cases (as in */Xam* and *Hie*) that they are used for forming tenses.

This extensive use of suffixes is one of the most characteristic

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features in the grammatical mechanisms of the Khoisan languages, and the number of different suffixes as well as of the variety of uses to which they are put is exceedingly great.

(2) Reduplication of the radical element of a word is also of frequent occurrence. As an active grammatical process it is most marked in the Southern Bushman Group, especially in */Xam*, where it is the principal mechanism for forming the plural of substantives, and is also used with verbs to indicate causality or to give them a transitive meaning. In the Northern and Central Bushman languages and in *Nama* its chief function is to give the verb a causative significance; it is hardly ever used as a means of forming the plural. In all the languages, however, many words also occur in a permanently reduplicated form, where no apparent significance can be attached to the reduplication, i.e. it has become passive.

(3) Composition—the uniting into a single word of two or more radical elements—is another frequent mechanism. Its most usual form of occurrence is verb + verb, the second verbal root modifying the meaning of the first in some way, generally so as to indicate some sort of direction. Thus in */Xam* the two roots */kau*, to cut, and */hiŋ*, to go out, can be combined to form the new word */kau/hi(ŋ)*, to cut out, while in Nama we find similarly */guŋ*, to stride, and *bee*, to move away, combined into */guŋbee*, to go away; *uri*, to spring, and *ǂga*, to go home, combined into *uriǂga*, to leap into; and so on.

(*b*) Another characteristic feature of the Khoisan languages lies in the extensive use of grammatical words or auxiliary particles as a grammatical mechanism. These particles are most generally used to modify the significance of verbal roots, and two classes may be distinguished, according to their mode of occurrence and function.

(1) The verbal root is as a rule unaltered, save when such concepts as duration, mood, reciprocation are to be expressed. In such cases, as already indicated, suffixes are added to the radical element. Tense, however, is most frequently indicated by particles preceding the verbal root. These particles can never be used alone; they always occur before a verbal root, and their function always is to indicate tense. Thus in *Auen* the root of the verb remains unchanged throughout, and when used alone without any qualifying particles denotes the present or indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by the use of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal root, e.g. *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *ore* (continuous action), etc. Similarly in */Xam* we have *haa* (past tense), */ne* (in narrative), *se*, *ka* (future), while in

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Nama there are *ta* (present time), *go* (recent time), *ni* (future), *gje* (perfect), etc.

(2) The second class consists of what may be termed *post-positions*, i.e. they invariably follow the word whose meaning they qualify. Their main function is to indicate direction. Thus in */Khũ* the particle *daŋ*, when it follows a verb, means "under"; */hare*, between; */a*, in front of; while in *Naron* we have */oo*, among, inside, *k'e*, on, upon, etc.

The number of these particles is extremely great, and their functions manifold. As a mechanism they are extensively used, and much of the difficulty in translating the Khoisan languages lies in the very abundance of them. It should be noted that they differ from prefixes or suffixes in that they do not immediately precede or follow the radical element whose meaning they qualify, but may be separated from it by the intervention of other words.

(*c*) Word order as a mechanism is more marked in some of the languages than in others. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups, and to some extent in *Hie*, word order is of great importance in determining meaning, as there is here no formal distinction between e.g. substantives and verbs, or between cases. In *Naron* and *Nama*, on the other hand, where such distinctions do occur, the order of words is not so significant.

There are two features perhaps calling for special mention in this connection. These are (1) the distinction between junction and nexus, and (2) the expression of the genitive or possessive relationship. The significance of word order in the first instance is best seen in */Khũ*, where, in junction, the attribute precedes the substantive, e.g. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, while in nexus the order of words is reversed: *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. The other languages usually add auxiliary particles to indicate nexus, but we may compare, in *Hie*, *//koo hü*, the large tree, with *hü e kwa //koo*, the tree is large.

In the genitive relationship the rule in all the languages is that the word denoting the possessor precedes the word denoting the object possessed. Generally a connecting particle is interpolated between the two words. In the Northern Bushman Group, however, there are no connecting particles, the relationship being indicated purely by apposition; hence, in */Khũ*, we have *gaoxa ʧu*, the chief's hut, but *ʧu gaoxa* would be "the hut's chief". In */Xam* also the connecting particle is omitted before certain kinds of substantive, so that we get simply *toi /ku*, ostrich's feather; cf. Nama, *//gũb /ons*,

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father's name. Here the importance of word order in determining meaning is clearly shown.

Syntax

Parts of Speech. There is no formal distinction between parts of speech in any of the Bushman languages save *Naron*. It is generally impossible to determine merely from the form of the word what part of speech it is, although it may be noted that clicks most often occur in substantives and verbs, and that pronouns, auxiliaries, and words in perpetual use rarely have them. It is chiefly from the position of a word in a sequence that we are able to distinguish its nature. Often the nature of the suffix, if there is one, enables us to some extent to determine whether a word is a substantive or a verb. Thus, in *!Khũ, igaŋma*, little tree, is recognizable as a substantive, because it has the diminutive suffix *-ma* used only with substantives; on the other hand, *s'aagwe*, to hear one another, is recognizable as a verb, because of the reciprocal verbal suffix *-gwe*. These distinctions, however, are due to secondary factors, and it is evident that from the form of the actual radical element no such distinctions of parts of speech can be made.

In *Naron* and the Hottentot languages there is the same lack of formal distinction between parts of speech. In these languages, however, substantives are nearly always recognizable by the fact that they have the sex-endings added to them. All substantives must have one or other of these endings, according to their gender, so that their nature can readily be recognized. In other parts of speech, however, it is not possible to distinguish between words save by their position in the sentence or by the presence of formal elements having a grammatical function peculiar to certain parts of speech.

Gender. Distinction of sex is formally recognized and expressed only in the Hottentot languages and in Naron, where there is a regular classification of all substantives into three grammatical sex-genders: masculine, feminine, and common. The gender is shown by the form of the suffix. In *Naron* the suffixes employed are *-ba* for the masc. sing. (shortened to *-b* in proper names), and *-sa* or *-se* (shortened to *-s* in proper names) for the fem. sing. There is no special suffix for the com. sing. Thus *kwe*, human being; *kweba*, man; *kwesa*, woman. In *Nama* the suffixes are *-b* for the masc. sing.; *-s* for the fem. sing.; and *-i* for the com. sing. Hence *khoii*, human-being; *khoib*, man; *khois*, woman. These suffixes in both languages change

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for the dual and plural. The forms they then assume will be noted under "Number".

In all the other Bushman languages there is no sex-gender of this kind. To distinguish sex, when necessary, the word for "man" or "woman" is used to qualify the primary substantive. In the Southern and Northern Bushman languages these qualifying words follow the substantive. Thus in */Xam*, *toi*, ostrich → *toi gwai*, cock ostrich; *toi /aiti*, hen ostrich; in */Khũ*, */kui*, ostrich → */kui //gɔ*, cock ostrich, and */kui di*, hen ostrich. In *Hie* they precede the substantive: *tʃo*, person → *kautʃo*, man, and *//gaitʃo*, woman. This mechanism is occasionally employed in *Nama* also where it is necessary to indicate sex in substantives having the common gender; e.g. */gwai*, child → *aore /gwai*, boy, and *tarare /gwai*, girl.

The Naron and Hottentot classification of substantives according to sex is, strictly speaking, found only in such cases where there is a natural distinction between the sexes, i.e. in the case of persons and animals. Other substantives, where no natural sex distinction is present, make use of the same suffixes, but here the classification is based on a different principle, which may be defined as that of quality. All substantives denoting objects which are strong, big, tall, or narrow take the masculine ending, while those denoting objects which are weak, small, low, or broad take the feminine ending. Thus in *Naron*, *hi* is any plant, but *hiba* (masc.) is a tree, and *hisa* (fem.) a low broad bush. Similarly in *Nama*, *gõab* (masc.) is a sword or big long knife, while *gõas* (fem.) is a pocket knife; */úib*, mountain, but */úis*, hillock, koppie. The same distinction between objects according to quality is found in */Xam*, although the mechanism for expressing it is different. Thus *toi gwai* may mean "big or strong ostrich" as well as "cock ostrich", and *toi /aiti* "weak or small ostrich, as well as "hen ostrich".

Number. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups and in *Hie* only two numbers are clearly recognized; in *Naron* and in the Hottentot Group, however, there is also a dual number. The distinction of number in all these languages applies almost entirely to substantives and pronouns only, and in a few cases to adjectives also; the verb as a rule remains unaltered in form, no matter what the number of the governing substantive may be.

In the method of forming plurals, */Xam* differs considerably from all the other Khoisan languages. Its plurals are formed chiefly by

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reduplication of the singular, either in full or contracted form; e.g. */kou*, stone; */koukɔn*, stones; *ti or tikɔn*, thing → *tikɔntikɔn*; */!go*/*!go*, whirlwind → */!gogɔn*/*!gogɔn*; */kwitɔn*, jackal → */kwi*/*kwi*. In a few cases a plural ending is added either to the root or to the reduplication; such endings are *-gu*, only used for people (e.g. *mama*, mother → *mamagu*) *-dĩ* or *-de*, *-kɔn*, *-gɔn*, or *-ten*. A very few substantives remain unchanged in the plural.

In all the other Khoisan languages (including the other members of the Southern Group) the bulk of the plurals are formed by adding a special suffix to the singular. The chief plural suffixes are: in *Auen*, *-si*, e.g. */num*, stone, */numsi*, stones; in */Khũ*, *-siŋ*, *-ŋ*, e.g. *gaoxa*, chief, *gaoxasiŋ*, chiefs; in *Hie*, *-re* or *-ra*, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Naron* and *Nama* the form of the suffix differs with the gender of the substantive. In *Naron* we have *-ʃi* or *-*//*kwa* (masc.; the latter is used only with men or personified animals); *-ʃi* (fem.), and *-ni* (common). Hence *kwe*, person → *kwe*//*kwa*, men, *kweʃi*, women, and *kwene*, people. In *Nama* the plural suffixes are: *-gu* (masc.), *-ti* (fem.), and *-n* (common), so that *khoii*, person → *khoigu*, men; *khoiti*, women; and *khoin*, people.

In all the Bushman languages the plural ending may be dropped with the numeral "two"; e.g. in */Khũ*, *gome*, ox → *gomesiŋ*, oxen, but *gome tsa*, two oxen. Only in *Naron* and in the Hottentot languages is a special dual ending added; in *Naron* this is *-ʃera-* (masc.), *-ʃera* (fem.), and *-khara* (common), e.g. *kwetʃera*, two men, *kweʃera*, two women, and *kwekhara*, two people; while in *Nama* it is *-kha* (masc.) and *-ra* (fem. and com.), e.g. *khoikha*, two men; *khoira*, two women; *khoira*, two people.

Person. All the Khoisan languages recognize three classes of persons, corresponding to the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, which they express by means of personal pronouns both singular and plural (in *Naron* and Hottentot also dual). There is no verbal declension in any of these languages; the class of person is ascertainable only from the personal pronoun. The Southern and Northern Groups and *Hie* make no distinction in the form of the pronoun according to the sex of the person; the first and second personal pronouns, that is, may be either masculine or feminine, the third personal pronoun masculine, feminine, or neuter, the gender being determinable only by the context, not by the form of the pronoun. The only exception recorded to this rule is in *Auen*, where the personal pronouns have no forms for the

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masculine and feminine in the singular, but distinguish them in the plural, thus:

mihi, mi, I	*e !ka*, we (masc.)	*aha, a*, we (fem.)
ahi, a, thou	*i !ka*, you (m.)	*ihi, i*, you (f.)
hai, ha, he, she, it	*si !ka*, they (m.)	*sia, si*, they (f.)

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In *Naron*, on the other hand, there are really only four fundamental forms for pronouns, viz. *ti* for the first person singular, *si* or *ʃi* for the first person plural, *sa* for the second person, and *xa* for the third person. Features such as gender and number are denoted by the addition of special suffixes similar to those employed for the same purposes with substantives.

In *Nama*, again, it would seem that a fundamental distinction is made between persons present (i.e. speakers and hearers) and those not present and spoken of (third person), for in the former case the radical element is *sa* or *si*, person, number, and gender being distinguished by the use of special suffixes, while in the latter it is *//ēi*, which is treated just like a substantive, i.e. to it are added the regular substantival suffixes for gender and number.

In the Southern Group and in *Nama* there are two forms for the pronoun in the first person plural, one form including the person addressed with the speaker, the other excluding him. In */Xam*, e.g., the inclusive form of the pronoun is *i*, the exclusive form *si*; while in Nama, where we have the following forms,

Dual masc., *sakhu.n, sikhum*; fem. *sam, sim*; common, *sun, sin*
Plur. m., *sagye, sigye*; f., *sase, sise*; c., *sadi, sida*

the forms beginning with *sa* are inclusive, those with *si* exclusive.

This distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms does not appear to exist at all in any of the Northern and Central Bushman languages.

Possession. The possessive relationship in all the Khoisan languages is indicated by the fact that the qualifying substantive (possessor) precedes the primary substantive (possessed). In the Southern Group the two are connected by one of the particles *ka, ga, sa*, according to the sound following; in the Northern Group there is no such possessive particle; in the Central Group it is *dhe* in *Hie*, but is more often omitted, and *di* in *Naron*, just as in *Nama*. In certain cases these particles may be omitted, usually when the possessive relationship applies to relatives or parts of the body. The following renderings for "the man's hut" in the different languages will illustrate the general uniformity in the mode of expressing this relationship:

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/Xam.	*gwai-ka //naiŋ* (but *gwai k'a*, the man's arm).
Auen.	*/kwa tʃ'u.*
/Khũ	*/ku tʃ'u*
Hie	*kautso dɤu.*
Naron	*kwam-di /nuusa.*
Nama	*khoib-di omi* (but *khoib //gũb*, the man's father).

In each case the word for "man" precedes that for "hut"; in */Xam*, *Naron*, and *Nama* there is a connecting particle, but not in the other languages.

A few words may be added regarding the modifications undergone by the personal pronominal forms to indicate the genitive relationship. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no special form for the possessive pronoun, which is treated just like the substantive, e.g. in */Xam*, *ŋ-ka //neiŋ*, my hut, but *ŋ oa*, my father, and *ŋ k'a*, my arm; while in */Khũ* we have *ha tʃu*, his hut. In *Hie*, however, there are special forms for the third personal pronouns: instead of *ehe*, he, she, it, we find *em*, his, her, its, and instead of *ere*, they, we have *thau eko*, their. In Naron the possessive pronouns for the first and second person singular are the radical forms for the personal pronouns, *ti* and *sa*, used as a rule without any ending. The possessive pronoun for the first person plural is either *sita* or *sita-di*, irrespective of gender; the second person plural would probably be formed with *-di*, although it hardly occurs, while the third person is treated in the same way as a substantive, always forming the genitive with the connecting particle *-di*. For example, *ti hooba*, my husband; *sa /kwa*, your child; *sita /nuu*, our country; *xam-di /nu*, his hut. In *Nama* there is sometimes no alteration of the pronominal form, save that in the first and second persons sing. the shortened forms *ti*, my, and *sa*, your, are used instead of *tita*, I, and *sats* or *sas*, you. Sometimes, however, a special possessive pronoun is used, formed by adding the personal suffixes to the particle *ã*; thus, *ãta*, my; *ãts*, your (masc.), *ãs*, your (fem.), etc. There is no modification of the pronominal form to agree with the sex or number of the object possessed, except in certain cases where the first personal possessive pronoun is placed after the substantive it qualifies. As a rule the possessive pronoun precedes the primary substantive, sometimes in direct apposition, without the connecting particle, as in *sa haab*, your horse, sometimes, however, with it, as in the alternative form *sa-di haab*.

Junction. The relationship between substantive and adjective is generally expressed by pure apposition, but there are variant forms in the different languages. In */Xam* the rule is that the attribute

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follows the substantive it qualifies: */k'e /kwiija*, the clever man. Often, however, the attribute is preceded by the relative particles *aa* (sing.) or *ee* (plur.): */k'e aa /kwiija*, the clever man (lit. man who clever). Most attributes have the same form in sing. and plur., i.e. they undergo no modification for number; but attributes of size have separate forms in the plural: *//kho /kuiija*, the large bag, but *//kho//kho /kuii/kuiita*, large bags; */k'e //kxowa*, the tall man, but */kwitsn //kxo//kxoka*, tall men.

In *Auen* the few adjectives follow the substantives they qualify, and are not declined: */nwi ʒee*, new moon; */nwi ʃesi*, full moon. So, too, in *!Khū*, they generally follow it, as in */ganu dʒee*, new arm-ring, *tʃi /naa*, big thing; but sometimes they precede it, as in *gai gaoxa*, good chief. They undergo no modification in form for the plural: *gai gaoxasiŋ*, good chiefs.

In *Hie* the attribute invariably precedes the substantive, and remains unaltered in the plural: *//koo hii*, a large tree; *//koo hire*, large trees. In *Nama*, and apparently also in *Naron*, the attribute generally precedes the substantive, and in such cases undergoes no modifications in form: */kxuha khoib*, a rich man; *gei tarás*, a big woman; *gei khoigu*, big men. If, however, it is desired to emphasize the attribute, it may follow the substantive, and in such cases takes the corresponding endings for gender and number: *aob geib*, a big man; *khoigu geigu*, big men; *tarati geiti*, big women.

Tense. The notion of time in all the Khoisan languages is to a very large extent expressed mainly by means of special auxiliary particles, which generally precede the verbal root, except in *Naron* and *Nama*, where an inverted form is found, of which mention will be made below. In a few instances the verbal stem itself may be modified by the use of special suffixes to indicate tense, but such occurrences are rare.

In */Xam* the verbal stem as a rule remains unmodified. Suffixation is, however, occasionally found, the main temporal suffixes being *-i*, indicating continuous action, and *-a*, *-ja*, or *-wa* used to denote completed action. Generally tense is expressed by means of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal stem; thus */ku* expresses continuous or repeated action, */ne* is used as a narrative past, *se* and *ka* express futurity, *siŋ* completed action, *haa* the remote past, *oa* corresponds to our pluperfect, etc.

In *Auen* there are no suffixes for tense. The root of the verb always remains unchanged, and used alone signifies present or

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indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by verbal particles preceding the root, such as *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *o*, *ti* (narrative), *a* (repetition of tense in preceding clause), *o* (present, or an unfinished action). In */Khũ* only one temporal suffix seems to occur, *-a*, which denotes habitual action with all tenses. Otherwise auxiliary particles are used which precede the verbal root: *o*, *ti* (present narrative), *go*, *gu* (past), *ga* (future).

E.g. (Auen) *mihi /nĩ*, I stay.
e o /goo, we are sitting.
ka ko su kurikwa, he has gone to Kurikwas.
ka ka ts'a, he will sleep.
(!Khũ) *na ti u*, I go.
na go sig, I saw.

In *Hei* there appears to be a clear distinction between completed and incompleted action, seen by the fact that in the former case the suffix *-aha* is always attached to the verb. Closer distinctions in tense are, as in the other languages, made by means of particles preceding the verb: *ka . . kwa* (past), *na* (future), *kwa* (narrative).

E.g. *tsi kwa //gam*, I love;
tsi na //gam, I shall love;
ka tsi kwa //gam, I loved;
tsi //gamaha, I have loved;
tsi ka //gamaha, I had loved;
tsi na //gamaha, I shall have loved.

Apart from this suffixing of *-aha* there is no alteration of the verbal root for tense.

In *Naron*, similarly, verbal roots do not alter for tense, which is expressed by placing auxiliary particles before or after the verbal root. Thus *tira ma*, I give; *tira ko ma*, I have given; *tira ka ma*, I shall be giving; *ma ra ko*, I am giving; *ma ra ka*, I shall be giving. The inversion of word order found in the last two examples is an alternative form, which can be employed with all the tenses; in such cases only the ending of the pronoun is used, not the full form, and the verbal root stands at the head of the sentence. This usage is not found in any of the other Bushman languages, but also occurs in Hottentot.

In *Nama* the employment of suffixes to denote habitual or continuous action is well marked, but it should be noted that the suffixes are attached not to the verbal stem, but to the auxiliary particles; e.g. *-ro* is used for the imperfect: *tita goro mũ*, I used to see; and *-re* for the perfect and pluperfect: *tita gjere mũ hã ĩ*, I had the habit of seeing. The following is a list of the more important particles:

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ta (present time): *sats ta mũ*, you see. After a vowel, *ta* → *ra*: *tita ra mũ*, I see.

go (recent time): *tita go mũ*, I have seen. The order of words is sometimes reversed, as in Naron, the verb being placed first in the sentence: *mũ ta go*, I have seen.

gje, *gjegje* (perfect): *tita gje mũ*, or *mũ ta gje*, I saw.

ni (future): *tita ni mũ*, or *mũ ta ni*, I shall see.

hã ĩ, when placed after the perfect form of the verb, forms the pluperfect: *tita gje mũ hã ĩ*, I had seen: when placed after the future, it forms the future perfect: *tita ni mũ hã ĩ*, I shall have seen.

In addition to these auxiliary particles there are in all the languages adverbs which have a temporal significance, and which are roughly equivalent to our "soon", "later", "yesterday", "to-day", etc. There do not appear to be any formative elements present in these words. Their occurrence should, however, be noted, as indicating that temporal concepts may find expression in other ways than by the use of special particles or suffixes; but these words belong to the vocabulary rather than to the grammar. The idea of time is implicit in their meaning, and is not indicated by any formal process.

Nexus. (*a*) *Copula.*—

In */Xam*, as has been shown, the attribute in junction generally follows directly upon the substantive, with no connecting particle. In copula the order of words is the same, but there is as a rule a connecting word, which may be either the particle *a* or *e* ("verb to be") or one of the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *hi /ku /hoakɔn*, they are black; *ha xukɔn siŋ /hoaka*, his face was black. In the present tense, however, there may frequently be no connecting particle at all: *si kx'ao*, we are cold; *h̃ akɔn*, they are handsome. Where the predicate is a substantive there is always a connecting particle: *//kxaŋ e /kwi*, the lion is a person.

In */Khũ*, and apparently also in *Auen*, the predicative attribute always follows the substantive: cf. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, with *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. Where the predicate is an adjective there is no connecting particle at all, but where it is a substantive there is a special connecting word, *ua*; e.g. *na ua gaoxa*, I am a chief; *gaoxa ua ba*, the chief is a father.

In *Hie*, when an adjective is used predicatively, the primary substantive is connected to it by means of the personal pronoun and the auxiliary of tense; cf. *//koo hii*, a large tree, but *hii e kwa //koo*; *dgunje abare*, black dogs, but *abare ere kwa dgunje*, the dogs are black.

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That the connecting words may not always be present is seen from the following examples, but it will be noticed that the attribute always follows the primary substantive:

kxuinje njaa, a cold wind; but *njaa kxuinje*, the wind is cold.

haie dom, a swollen throat; but *tʃi dom haie*, my throat is swollen.

Where the predicate is a substantive, the connecting words are invariably present: */garo e kwa /kam*, the ostrich is king.

In *Nama* the predicative adjective is unaltered in form, but is always preceded by the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *gei khoib* or *khoib geib*, a big man, but *khoib gje a gei*, the man is big. The particle *a* here seems to correspond with that in */Xam*. Where the predicate is a substantive, it is regarded as an object, and accordingly takes the corresponding case-ending *-a*; e.g. *naub gje gao-aoba*, this is the chief; *nees gje ti haasa*, this is my mare (cf. *gao-aob*, chief; and *haas*, mare).

(*b*) *Predication of Action to Substantive.*

In */Xam* the predicate always follows the substantive and undergoes no modification in form to correspond with the number or person of the subject (i.e. there is no verbal conjugation). As a rule the verbal auxiliaries of tense intervene, but in connected narrative these may be omitted; e.g. */kxwaŋ /ku-g /ne kwi*, the child said; *kaŋ ha /kutm*, he formerly sang; but cf. also, */kxwaŋ kwi*, the child said; *kaŋ tum*, I listen; */kaukakm /kwi*, the children jumped for joy.

In */Khũ* also the verb is always unaltered in form and the order of words is the same as that in */Xam*. The personal pronouns have no special forms when used subjectively, though in the first person sing. the form *ŋa* is generally used in preference to *mi*. The auxiliaries of tense may be used when necessary, but are often omitted, especially in connected discourse; e.g. *ka ti siŋ* or *ka siŋ*, he sees; *ŋa go siŋ* or *ŋa siŋ*, I had seen; *gaoma go gua*, the chief took; *gaomasiŋ go gua*, the chiefs took.

In *Hie* the same principle applies: there is no verbal conjugation, and the order of words is also subject + auxiliaries + main verb. Where, however, the subject is an animate object it often happens that the corresponding personal pronoun is added after the auxiliaries, and before the main verb; e.g. *tʃo ka ebe kwa //gam*, the man loved. The pronoun may, however, be omitted and only the verbal form expressed: *tʃo ka kewa //gam*. Where the subject is an inanimate object, this use of the personal pronoun is never found.

In *Nama* also there is no verbal conjugation. Two usages, however,

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are found with regard to the order of words. In the one, the subject, as in the Bushman languages, precedes the main verb; e.g. *ãisi ra mãi*, I see; *//kĕgu ra mãi*, they see. Sometimes, however, the main verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. In such cases only the shortened form of the pronoun is used. It has already been mentioned that the radical elements of the personal pronouns are only three in number (*ã* for the first person sing.; *a* and *ã* for the second person sing., dual, and plur., and for the first person dual and plur.; and *//ĕ* for the third person), and that the distinctions according to sex and number are made by means of the regular personal suffixes added to these radicals. When the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the radical elements are dropped from the pronominal forms, and only the personal suffixes are used to denote person as well as sex and number; e.g. *mãi ãi ra*, I see; *mãi da ra*, we (com. gender) see. If the suffix consists of consonants only or of one vowel only, it is usually attached to the verbal root; e.g. *mãisi ãi*, you (fem. sing.) see; *mãisi ãi*, she sees; *mãise ãi*, they (com. gender) see. Hence we can say either *//ãĕ go mãi* or *mãĕ go*, he saw. A similar construction is found in *Naron*, but nowhere else in the Bushman languages.

Apart from this special construction the relation of Subject to Predicate is in *Nama* expressed in exactly the same way as in the Bushman languages.

Case. The consideration of case has been left over till now, because, as will be seen, the recognition of most case distinctions depends upon the relation between substantive and verb. What is usually termed the "genitive" case is a category of a different kind, and depends primarily upon the relation between two substantives. Generally speaking, it may be said that none of the Bushman languages has a special form for the objective case, save in a few personal pronouns, chiefly first person sing., but all except *Naron* have a second emphatic nominative. In the Southern Group this is found with pronouns and substantives of all kinds, and is usually expressed by means of the suffix *-kse*, *-gwe*, or *-se*. In the Northern Group and in *Hiw* it occurs chiefly in the personal pronouns, which have a longer form in such cases; e.g. in the Auen pronouns, of the forms *mãki*, *mi* (first sing.), *aki*, *a* (second sing.), *kai*, *ka* (third sing.), the longer forms are the emphatic nominative, the shorter either nominative or accusative. This emphatic nominative is apparently not found in *Naron*, which, on the other hand, has a special form for

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In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no formal recognition of the accusative (objective) case save by rule of position: the object always follows, the subject always precedes, the main verb. The order of words in these languages is almost invariably Subject, Predicate, Object. In *Hiw* there is also no special form for the objective case, and the object can usually only be determined by rule of position, which is the same as in the two preceding groups. In *Naron*, on the other hand, there is no special sequence of words, and consequently it is by no means easy to distinguish between Subject and Object, as they are not formally discriminated in any way. The Object often stands first in the sentence, and the words seem tossed together in haphazard fashion. It is only by the context of situation that the sentence can be correctly interpreted.

In *Nama* there is a distinctive objective case, formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the nominative form of the substantive; thus *khoiß*, man, becomes *khoiba* in the objective: *mîi tu go khoiba*, I saw the man. Here, of course, the order of words is not so significant, as the object can always be recognized by the termination; hence we may find *khoiba tu go mîi* as an alternative form. The personal pronouns apparently take the same case ending. It may be noted that in the copula if the predicate is a substantive it also takes the objective case ending: *naiß gje khoiba*, this is the man. If the substantive which is the object of a sentence is qualified by an attribute, only the latter has the case ending; e.g. *khoiß geiba tu go mîi* or *mîi tu go khoiß geiba*, I saw the big man. In this recognition of a distinct objective case *Nama* differs decidedly from all the Bushman languages, including *Naron*, with which in other respects it has so many points of close resemblance.

In connection with the objective case may be mentioned briefly the *passive voice*, which has a reversive function and makes the grammatical object the most important element in the sentence. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no real passive; in the Central Group, on the other hand, it can be formed by adding the suffix *-se*, *-e* or *-ke* to the active root: thus in *Hiw*, *tsi kwa ||gam*, I love, but *tsi kwa ||gamse*, I am loved; while in *Naron*, *tira xam*, I cut, but *tira xame*, I am cut. So, too, in *Nama* the ending *-ke* attached to the active root makes it passive: *sina ra mîike*, I am seen, etc.

There is no "dative case", but in most of the languages we find

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an "applicative" form of the verb which has an equivalent significance. In */Xam* this is formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to the verbal root; in */Khū* by means of the verbal suffix *-/a*; and in *Nama* by the use of the suffix *-ha*, e.g. *//aa*, to wash, *//aaha*, to wash for somebody. In sentences the "dative" may also be indicated by order of words, the general rule being that the indirect object precedes the direct object; e.g. in */Khū, naa mi //ga*, give me a knife. The English rendering is a literal translation of the Bushman sentence.

The vocative case is formally expressed in all the Khoisan languages except *Hie*, a special suffix being added to the substantival root. In */Xam* the suffix is *-we*, e.g. *ibowe*, O father! */kaukowe*, O children!; in */Khū* it is *doa*, e.g. *tsau-(a)doa*, O woman!; and in *Naron* it is *dye*, e.g. *aragu-dye*, O dog! In *Nama* the vocative is expressed by means of special suffixes in the sing., and in the dual and plural by the alteration of the vowel in the suffixed gender ending; e.g. *khoiß*, man; *khoitse*, O man! *khoiz*, woman; *khoise*, O woman! But *khoikha*, two men, becomes *khoikho* in the vocative; and *khoira*, two women, becomes *khoiro*; etc.

Word Order. Enough has already been adduced to show that the importance of word order differs in the various languages. In the Southern and Northern Groups the sequence of words in the sentence is fairly straightforward: the Subject precedes and the Object succeeds the Predicate. Where there are two objects the indirect generally comes before the direct. Attributes stand close to the substantives they qualify: in most cases they follow it in the Southern Group, while in the Northern Group they generally precede it. In *Hie* the order of words is not so rigid, and the object occasionally precedes the predicate. In *Naron* there is very little adherence to any fixed order: the whole sentence may be inverted, and combinations such as Object, Predicate, Subject, or Predicate, Subject, Object, or again Object, Subject, Predicate frequently occur, although the direct sequence of Subject, Predicate, Object is not impossible. In *Nama* also there is no rigid order of words, but this is compensated for by the fact that there is a special ending for the object, whereas in *Naron* the distinction between subject and object is often difficult to determine.

In all the languages of the Northern Group and in *Naron* the omission of the subject is frequent and confusing at times. If no subject at all is given, remarks Miss Bleek, the first person may be presupposed. "Saw a buck" may usually be translated "I saw a

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back". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

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The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khã* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the //ng//en, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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Map II "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa," has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

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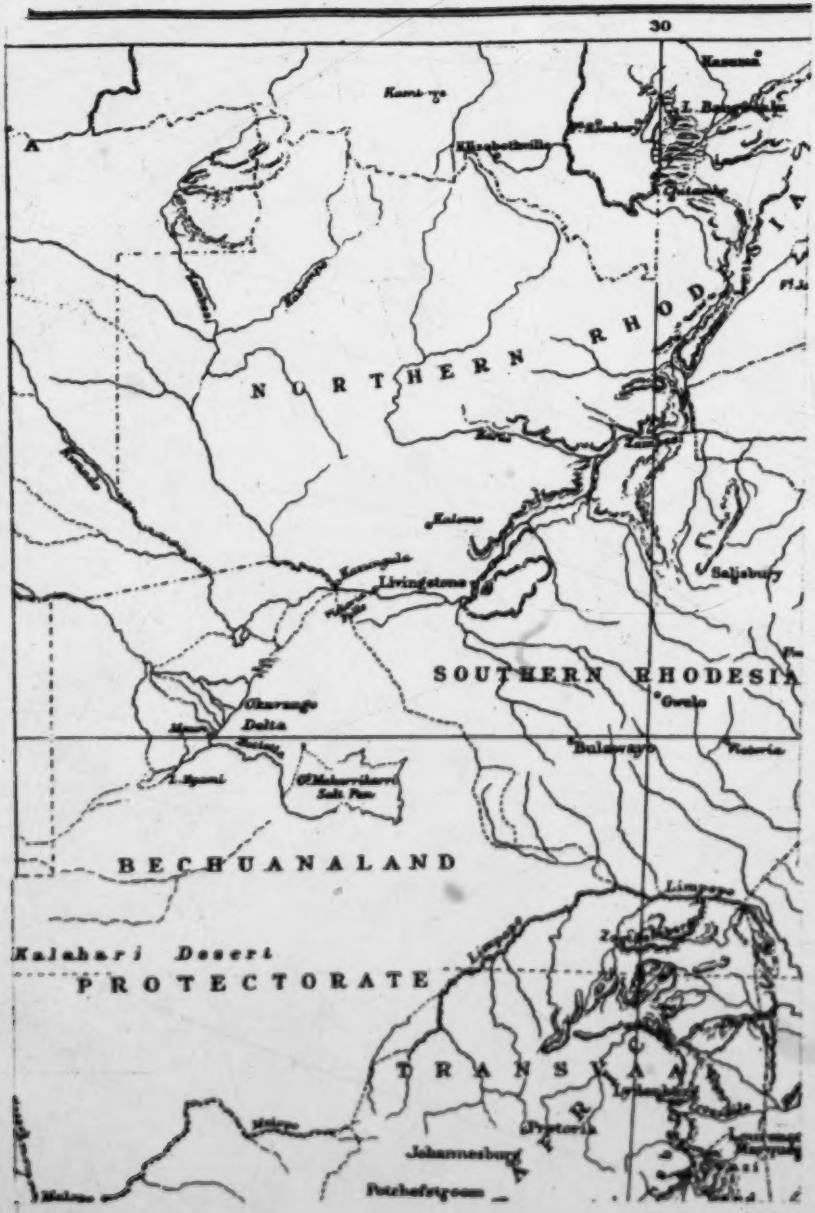

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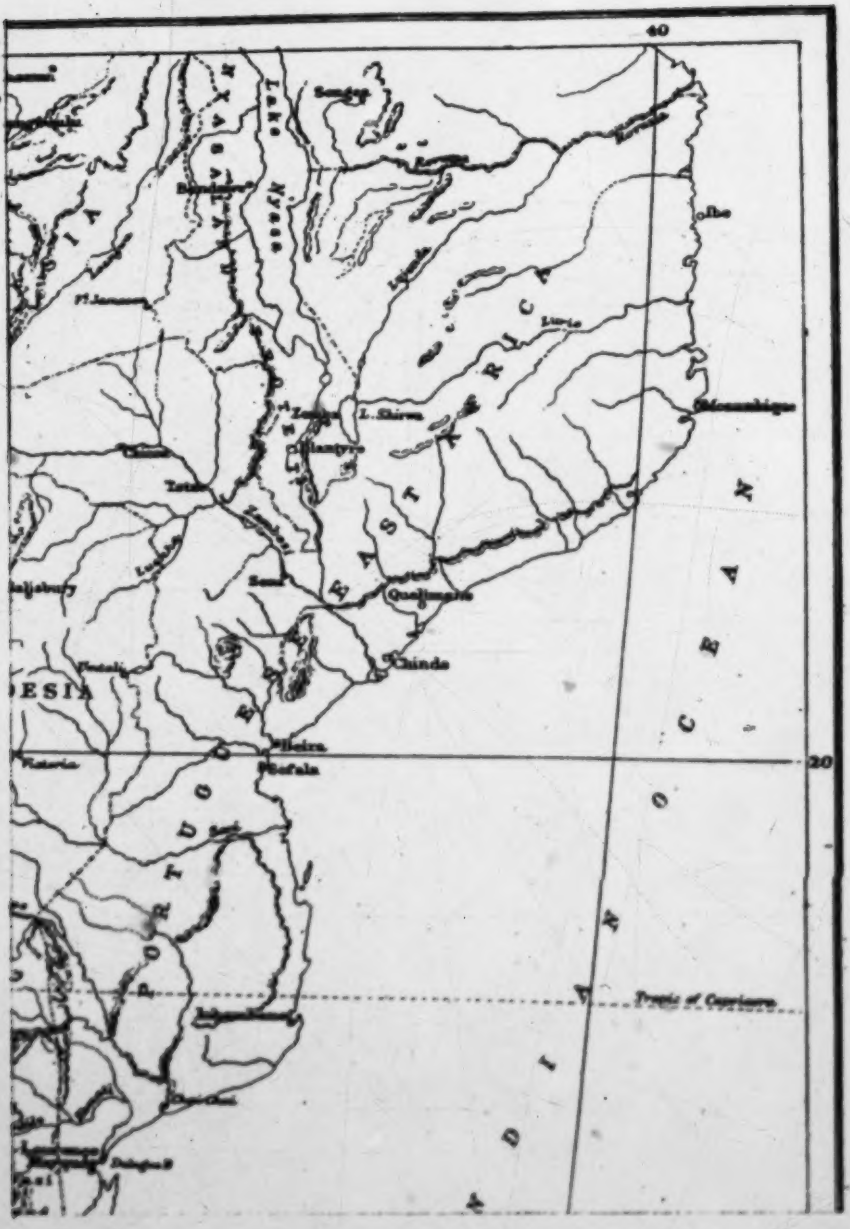

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MAP II C]

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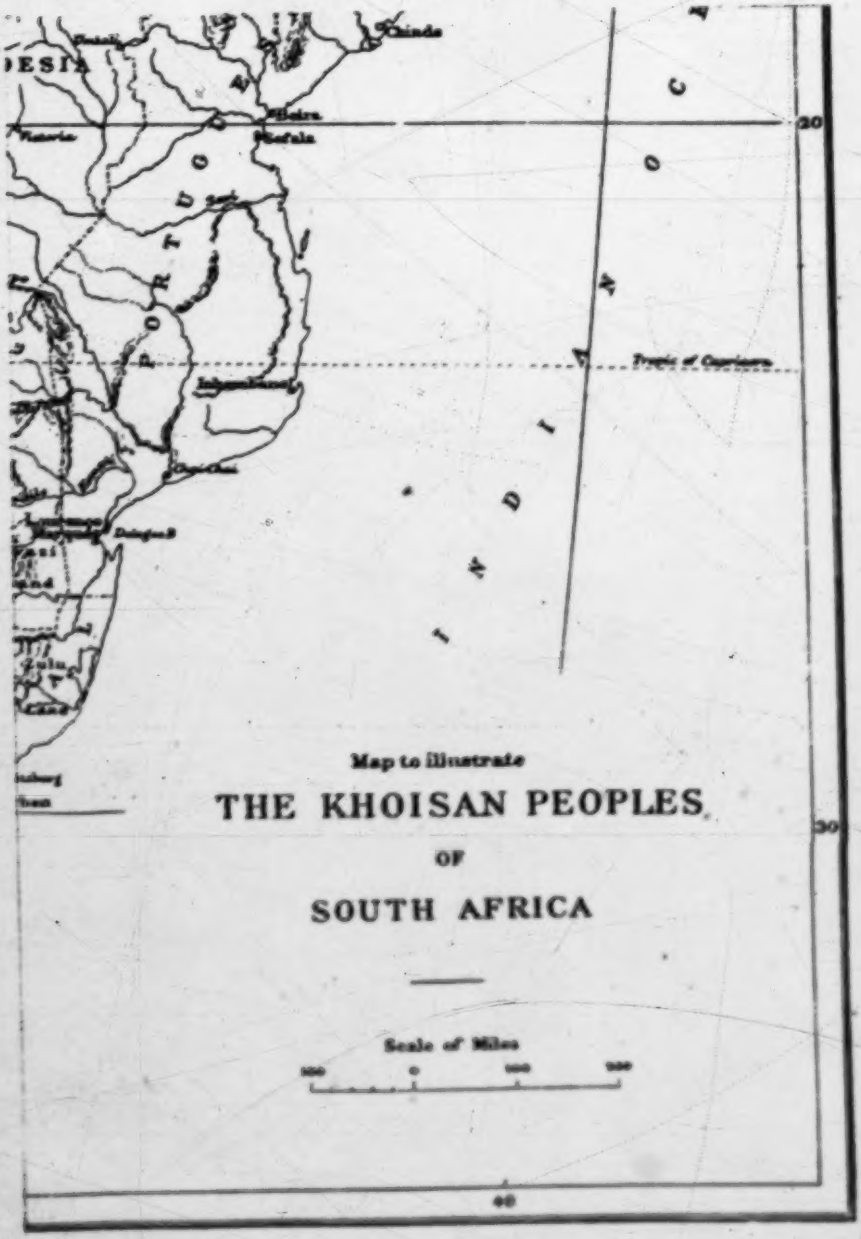

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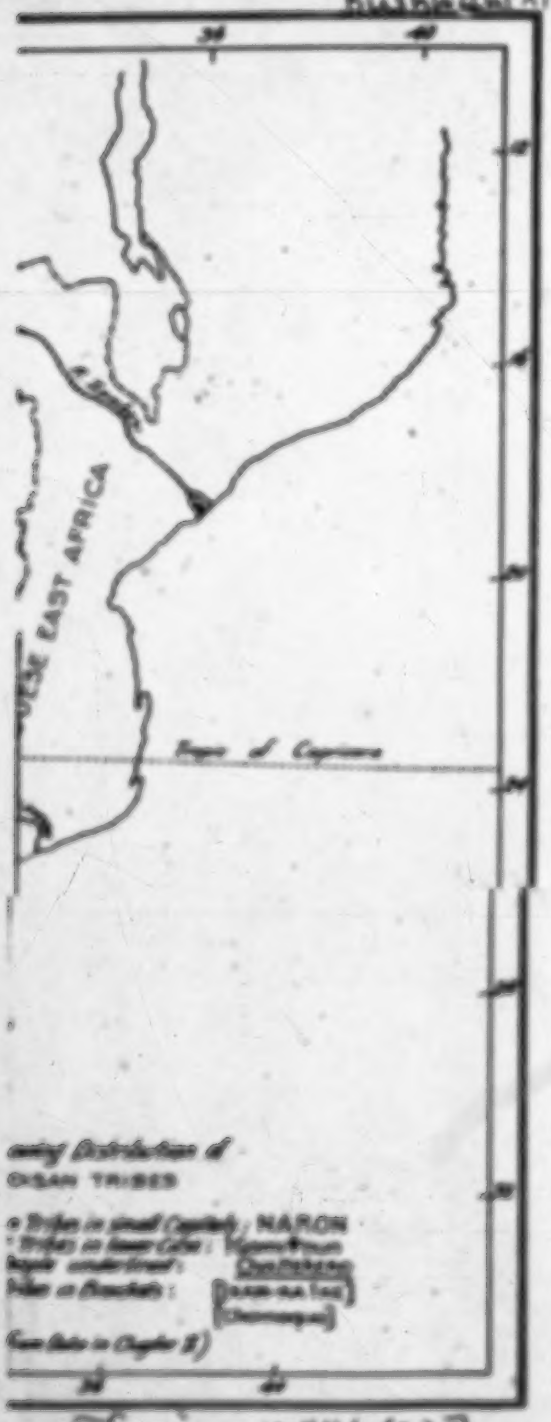

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CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF INAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

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The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of Khamí-ǂaín or Bondelswarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂÂunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hoi /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cowquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Wijnenster district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (rites de passage) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂÂunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortenbuch der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. ŋ indicates a guttural ch, the sound " under a vowel indicates that it is long; " indicates that it is nasalized. A short vowel has no special sign; ' represents the low tone of the vowel; ˉ the middle tone; ´ the high one. The sign ˘ under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ‿ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Bain, Travels in Kaffraria, London, 1888, p. 10.

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114 101 [262] perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous Ixiaria melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

12 18 The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

[79] 115 The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[1] (Auntie was, before she married among the ǂ Āmin, a member of the //Khau-ǂ Gāun tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Khib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidised by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlieb //Āmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlieb was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have known information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[1] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

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matters. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Berseba Hottentots, a very capable man who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable his people to be at less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was therefore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the statements of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke willingly of what he knew. 115

Common characteristics of all transition rites among the Hottentots. All periods of crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admirable illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage." There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis acquires a characteristic unknown in the group to which he has hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and /haruxa;[1] But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclusion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be /haru. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there is a difficulty, for a /haru person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become /haru. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. Some but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called upon to restore the /haru person to the community. But not any old woman or old man will do. It must be one who had the same characteristic as the /haru person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one /haru by reason /haru of wife or husband. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease. Preferably somebody is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better. 796 [783] 796 888 796

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, if we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

[1] "Take care of himself", in this special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

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796 marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by resolving the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of rites, a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The base person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'essence' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the rite, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in connexion, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the rank of hunters, in the treatment of diseases which are regarded as base, etc. For diseases the injection of the essence seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of rites is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the base person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the base person and persons who can no longer become base may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

783 885 Some details concerning the state of base. It has already been mentioned that there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attending to base. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power as long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if times be hard and he is either a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and none in which inanimate

[1] Cf. p. 61, "killing". [2] For such a cleansing the word //amaba is used.

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things, because here without some individual or group of individuals being here. This 783
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly here and some 889
but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262]
one realizes that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realizes how strongly this here influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes here certain things also become here. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is here. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the here person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The here fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a here person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informants denied that water ever became here, but every 778
here person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Hottentot witch doctor, or ǂgâi-khoa, never touches [791]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Berseba in the time of his grandfather, when [281]
a ǂgâi-khoa who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become here, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her ǂgâi, or petticoat, when she was here.

3: Hoernié E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Nama

776 **The rites themselves.** As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of
[[776]] the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old sanctions and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained as long as the Hottentots themselves remain, and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

881 **Puberty ceremonies among women.** In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called *khaxé* or */kobob*. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's eldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (*khaxé ǂoes*), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to !Aunin, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the *khaxé ǂoes* myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, through past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the *khaxé ǂoes*, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the *ubi tarin*.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. Were such a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the berries would scorch up. Once in the *khaxé ǂoes* the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*ǂgoibi*) and closely wrapped about with her *ǂgabeos*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] G. F. Galton, in *Globus*, vol. 12, 1867, p. 307.

[2] Also, "to carry a child on one's back". Perhaps, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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neither must she speak above a whisper. All informers lay great emphasis on these two 88|
points. !Amatin declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts
of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the
hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and
one in front of her, so screen her from view.

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old 88|
days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or 302
root or leaves to make powder (*ǂâp*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the
skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name,
and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a
considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entreated to send [304]
back a special sweet smelling resin which could be had from the people I was going among.
These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount
of her time grinding them. *!Noep*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to
powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The [304]
time during which the girl must remain in the *khaŕi ǂnas* has been differently reported
to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of
time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in
the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the
chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining
skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says !Amatin. Indeed,
immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *khaŕi ǂâp*.
All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's older married brothers if
she has any. Everything killed must be female, and *chief* of all must be a heifer. The
entrails, pluck, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal
or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This *khaŕi ǂâp* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed
through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed
to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Bondei tribe said to me: "That killing
is as great as the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor,
and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took
part only in the feast of rejoicing[2] to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of
all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys
to submit to a part of the proceedings[2] to which they would not nowadays be willing
to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake [84]
of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never 84]

[2] Vide infra, p. 72, and n. 88. [2] Vide infra, p. 72.

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881 [841] [843] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the aké tarée takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the kharé ôms, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is haw and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must ǂkawain for the [799] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the kharé ôms. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

881 [835] As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites take place.

881 First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the haw fire, and is cleansed[8] with moist cow dung (ǂhoep) and hoep from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the ǂgas /uǂip.[9] The aké tarée smears the ǂhoep all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, ǂhoep and /uǂip, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant hoep or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the aké tarée. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the kharé ôms. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the aké tarée and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the aké tarée takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from [372] another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use tinder boxes nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[10] The fire thus lit is now no longer haw. *Nanuhi* ôman ke ǂnâa[9], ǂnâe tari nai ni ǂnaya ("now the

[8] //ân ǂnâman, "the cleansing before going out".

[9] Literally "hay dirt".

[10] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, p. 77.

[9] ǂnâa, "haw" or "right", e.g., ǂnâa ǂnâre "the right path".

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house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an [851]
ǂaysis, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, [491]
each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is
loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She [302]
is anointed all over with the oap which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is
painted in curious patterns with !naop and /gunub ("ground white stone"), and her
body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years
and more,[a] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in
to the newly made ǂaysis. She takes her !khwe doa ("powder puff") full of oap and rubs
their testicles (ǂkhwiis). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. [842.
The full expression for this custom is !khwe doa /o /naro ("to rub gently with a powder 751]
puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous
for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go
eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah,
prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take
part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, [231
are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these 17]
ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that
originally the Hottentots owned no grain, and only acquired them quite late from the
Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the [851
hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[b] Her friends surround 535
her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The
youths start the round dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂaysis in their
midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in
the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring,
the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat
like the English game of *Jolly Miller*. During the dancing the ǂaysis throws oap over the
men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts
often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintro-
ducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she
has been living.

The old Nama must accompany the ǂaysis in all these rites, but often her friends go [851

[a] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. [171]
Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 500.

[b] A ǂaysis is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

881 with her too. First a visit is paid to the cattle kraal where dip is strewn on all the male animals, also on the trees and bushes which they pass by. This was great luck, said one old man to me, and the day after such a girl had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land; "now the white men have come, the rain has ceased, and the people are miserable." Then a cow is milked with the help of the old woman. If possible this is a young cow calving for the first time. The old woman supports the girl's arm while she milks. This milk is !nas, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity. Next a visit is made to the spring. The girl carries her water pot, (//ho-ôs) on her head. Arrived at the spring, the woman with a branch from a tree strikes the water, scattering it over the girl. She then rubs the girl's legs and arms with clay (≠gaiti), fills the pot, and places it on the girl's head. The girl is then free to draw water as she pleases.

Hahn [1] states that when the relatives appear for the last at the end of the seclusion, her nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of the heifer which has been killed, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish. Further,"
[882] the girls who have come of age must after the festival run about in the first thunderstorm quite naked, so that the rain pours down and washes the whole body. The belief is that this causes them to be fruitful and have many children. He says he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.

881 When men are giving an account of this puberty ceremony for women, the chief
783 thing they lay stress on is the !nas dôp, i. e., the milk obtained from the first milking by the girl who has just come out of the khaiti !nas. Indeed, it was in this context that I first lit on the word !nas and all it means. Gottlieb had been describing the ceremony from his point of view, and when he mentioned the !nas dôp and the serious consequences which would follow if any man were inadvertently to drink it, I asked him what !nas meant and he burst out: "What is absent from this !nas? Everything is !nas, or used to be; warriors returning from a battle were !nas, a sick man is !nas, a widow," etc. etc.

783 Should anyone infringe any of the !nas injunctions during these puberty rites, some sort of mental disease would beset him, and this could only be prevented from proving fatal, if he were able to persuade the old lords to intercede and so free him. The method of this intercession, which is much the same whenever it occurs, will be fully described in the next section.

[1] T. Hahn, loc. cit. [2] H. Vedder, Das Volk der Nama, p. 87.

1: Hoerniš E-9 (1912-1913) 1918 FX11 Hottentot FX13
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Marriage ceremonies. So far as I could discover there are no less ceremonies 587
connected with the marriage of two people who marry for the first time. But should a widower marry a young woman, or a widow a young man, or even a widow a widower, great precautions are necessary, and the full influence of !nau can be seen at work.

Should a widower be marrying a young girl, a special animal, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat, is killed for the remarriage feast.* This is a special ceremony following upon the regular marriage feast.* The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut which has been built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the fire and await proceedings. The fire has become !nau now, and the two people themselves are !nau, and in an extremely precarious condition. Great !nau might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan !kawain for them, and see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut. Still !nau would may one who had not undergone the ceremony himself dare to intrude there.

The special animal which has been slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there. No portion of it must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the fire and into this the contents of the stomach and the small intestines* are thrown. The hole is then filled up and must not be interfered with. Any blood that may be spilled during the skinning, must also drop into the hole. Meantime the old woman* who is to do the operation on the couple is in attendance, and must herself be a widow who has been re-married and is now long past childbearing. Further she must not be a relative of the couple. The skin of the animal is given to this old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up in such a way as to leave the pelvic bones intact, as they are to be made use of later. Every scrap of the animal is then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots. While the meat is cooking the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife* and cuts both husband and wife first in front, [304]
two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn blood is cupped from these cuts, mixed together, and some of the blood of the slaughtered animal is added. Next the old woman scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it in with the blood. Finally the mixture is rubbed into all the cuts and the two people are bumped together so that their blood mingles.* They are then considered as duly initiated into the realm of the twice-wed.

* Also ‘strike’ ob.
* Ob.-ob.
* Hoerdi, “intestinal contents”.
* The ceremony may be performed equally well by an old man.
* Formerly it was always a sharp piece of quartz, !garib, which was used at this and similar occasions.
* Ob.-ha, lit. “to throw the blood”.

587 After the ceremony, the guests coming to greet the couple, give them beads or bracelets, or other similar small gifts. These presents are called *do oin*."

[709] The meat of the *lgio oblim oǂo* is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has undergone a similar ceremony, except that pregnant women, menstruating women, and their husbands, may not come to the house where any cutting has been done, otherwise its efficacy is lost. If any unqualified person were to eat of this meat he would die. The newly married couple may eat only of the flesh, not of the plank.

Until the wounds are healed, and the two persons can be //ãn, they remain here, and may touch neither water, nor the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. She herself must eat the flesh of the //oe ("pubis") and when the bones are quite clean and bare, she ties them together and hangs them up in the rafters of the hut above the fire, where they may get the smoke. According to some informers, they are left there so long as the hut stands; according to others, they are removed later when the fire is renewed, and thrust into the hide of some animal.

When the cuts have healed, the man and wife are cleaned by the old woman in a manner similar to that in which the young girl was cleaned.[2] A complete change of clothing must be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets. Finally the animal's tail is taken, threaded on a //aoib ("sinew") which has been saved from the animal, together with the knuckle bone (*tobyoie*) of a hind leg. The whole is tied round the woman's waist. It either remains there until it falls off of itself, or it is taken off after it has become black, and buried with the pubic bones in an animal's hole.

Next the couple must be reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of life. The woman is helped to milk just as the young girl was.[2] She is taken to the water in a similar way, and she must be reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire, which has not been used for cooking since the day of the ceremony. The old woman supports the bride's arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, and finally helps her to lift the pot from the fire. She then removes the fire and lights a fresh one just as was done for the ǂnaxin. When the bride first goes to gather wood, the old woman goes in front of her, striking the ground as she goes with a thorny branch, "to protect the bride from being pricked with thorns." The first pieces of wood gathered must be given to the old woman. Then at last all is well.

The man has to be reintroduced to the cattle kraal as well as to cold water. The night before this ceremony some branches of the shrub "tamarisk," and the //gnaub[a] tree are soaked in water. This water is taken next morning and with it the cattle and

[a] Lit. "throw to the sun".

[b] Called the Dawn Ceremony by the Dutch.

[2] [See calc. 84, p. 72 — Analyst]

[2] [See calc. 84, p. 79 — Analyst]

sheep are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties [words illegible] go, "you are clean" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of tsaru.*

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been married more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Aridi, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terribly spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Bersaba the people professed great indignation at first when they found I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze** has given an admirable account of the Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is /Aigwa, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, //ãe, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though

* The herbs used as medicine and for medicinal purposes, as here, often from tribe to tribe. The date and the //gheib are used by the ordinary.

** L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 351 sqq.

753 among the herbs which are to be found in any particular territory are always some
757 which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective, it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and been cured of it. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.

763 The chief diseases described to me as requiring this treatment are //eaba, "paraly-
755 sis", //ibis, "fever", //ǂaeb, "various veins", and //aeseb, a disease called lupus by my
757 interpreter, which I suspect is cancer. Whether in the old days people with some of these
164 dread diseases were effectively isolated, I do not know, though the Hottentots describe some of them as //ǂi, //ǂi, "contagious diseases". Certain it is that today, especially in Walfish Bay, the people are eaten up with these diseases, though inland they appear to be less prevalent. The treatment, when carried out, is exactly similar to that described in the miscarriage ceremony, except that there is one important point on which I find my information fails me. I cannot say definitely that the "sacramental" meat takes place on these occasions. In one record it is stated that when various veins are being treated, the bicycle of the goat killed is strung on a stave together with the tail of the animal and tied round the ankle of the sufferer, just as in the miscarriage ceremony it was tied round the woman's waist. But whether the goat is eaten in company, I do not know. I regret that my information is not unequivocal on this point.

755 Otherwise the statements are clear enough. Gottlieb says, "when a man is sick
757 (//ǂa) he is lean, and must look after himself. He mustn't touch anyone with his hands, he mustn't touch cold water or the pots. When the roots which have been made to inject medicine are healed (/ari), then the person who cut him must clean him with fat and milk mixed with ewe-dung; then he is taken to the well and has clay rubbed on his legs. He has also to take off all his old clothes, and give them to the one who cuts him. Then they say 'he/she let go'; 'you are clean.'"

/Ariab said, "Paralysis is cured by cutting and putting in the dirt of one who has already had it. It is no simple task to undertake to cure anyone, for if anything goes wrong the people are sure to think something has been omitted or not done right." He spoke feelingly after much experience. Other informants mention ingredients which are mixed with the dirt, the chief of these being //eaba kûip, "paralysis stick", the ground bark of a little plant.

Hannah Amasis had an adopted son, a boy of about eighteen, who had the disease called hamsis (lupus). She was most disheartened about him. She had had him cut four times by different people, on either side of the nose and in the nape of the neck, and had had herbs, together with the grease of these parrots, rubbed in. All of these had had bands and been cured, according to Hannah. When I saw the boy, he had just come from his last treatment, which had taken place some distance inland. He looked very ill.

Some of customs and the ceremonies of this nature are different 70

Ilmavalö said some of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly 755
enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this 757
feared folly has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, (somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging [124]
he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same when I received a piece but all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the "sacramental" meal, the purification meal certainly takes 785
place when the fire is cleared away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "If a Hottentot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'undermasken' is performed by killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to the circumstances of the family"*. This may be a feast similar to the one in which all partake when the Zayein leaves her kloof hut.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The wives of slain connected with 768
death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described. They have been submerged, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp or kraal was moved. My informants state that in the earlier days of their confinement the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Wallich Bay, and one while I was in Damaba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet 764
where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes bare, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and to a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these preliminaries before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

* Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley? London, 1738, p. 105. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Norimberga, 1719).

which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[177] wailed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The animals are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gûnab is mixed in with it. A chopper, /ûp, which has been heated red hot in
[442] the stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man*— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[283] so that they perspire (soaqe). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the women, takes potsherds and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says Ikxaxûn. The cleaning is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potsherd. Some informers say the cleaning is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[543] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

748 How long the widow remained here, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlieb and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged
[749] for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would on no account take the path through the valuable karee plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the
[278] purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleaned from head to foot with sheep or, on the Orange River, with a lotion made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

* None of the woman's relatives take part in the ceremony.

Day, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground horse pips, goats' dung, and fat. 768
Next, her whole body is rubbed with soap, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. [278]
In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which [280 2]
the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the /drup, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "dollo /ahe", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaysin.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by Kabes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "Xarí dama kaure ǂaba ǂaharo", "don't get thin, get fat like the ǂaba onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xarí dama kaure ǂaba ǂaharo", and, filling the water pot, //ho-ts, she puts it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but 768
Gottlieb gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleansed, two 642
cuts are made on his forehead, and //ubus* juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as men- [279]
tioned above, the cut was made with the //gurie, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //gurie. Before he has been cleansed in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleansed, some dabi and //ghnab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become taus, and have to be dealt with similarly. 768

* * *

I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

* A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[1] [ie. A young marriageable woman. See cat. 116, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

observer who could go among the people in a time of plenty, and in an isolated spot where their memory would be freshest and the old time would be most likely to be recalled. Nothing would please me better than to be among them at such a time, when perhaps one might have the good fortune to record some recollections before those who treasure them pass away forever.

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOTS OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA[1]

By A. WINIFRED HOERNLÉ

101 THE people with whom this paper deals live in the territory known to-day as the Protectorate of Southwest Africa. They form one branch of the people known generally as the Hottentots, but from the very earliest days of the Dutch settlement at the Cape this branch of the Hottentot peoples has been called the Namaqua, and Nama is the name by which they call themselves to-day. The meaning of the word is unknown, but it is, according to tradition, the name of a remote ancestor of all the tribes calling themselves by the name. The old form, Namaqua, is probably derived from the dual form, *Namakka*, *Nomab* being the masculine singular, *Nomas* the feminine singular, and *Nomaa* the common plural.

101 131 To the early Dutch settlers two groups of the Nama were known, viz., the Little Namaqua, inhabiting what is known to-day as Little Namaqualand, and the Great Namaqua who inhabited what is to-day known as Great Namaqualand. Both of these groups of people at times visited the settlement at Table Bay,

104 [1] In transcribing the Hottentot words, I have used the system of E. Dulsio's *Woordenlijst der Khoi Khoin*, Berlin, 1909, as this is the system used by the Nama themselves nowadays in their writing. It is not entirely accurate always from a phonetic point of view, especially for the Swartland pronunciation, but it is the conventional script of the Nama, and in this paper which is not concerned with phonetics it seemed best to follow it.

There are three tones in Nama each of which may give an entirely different meaning to an otherwise identical word. ' indicates a low tone, ' a medium tone, " a high tone. In order not to complicate the manuscript, I have indicated these tones only where it is essential in order to avoid confusion in the reading.

= is the sign of nasalizing. - indicates a long vowel; X indicates a harsh guttural *ch* something like the Dutch *ch*.

/ indicates the dental click, ≠ the palatal, ! the cerebral, // the lateral.

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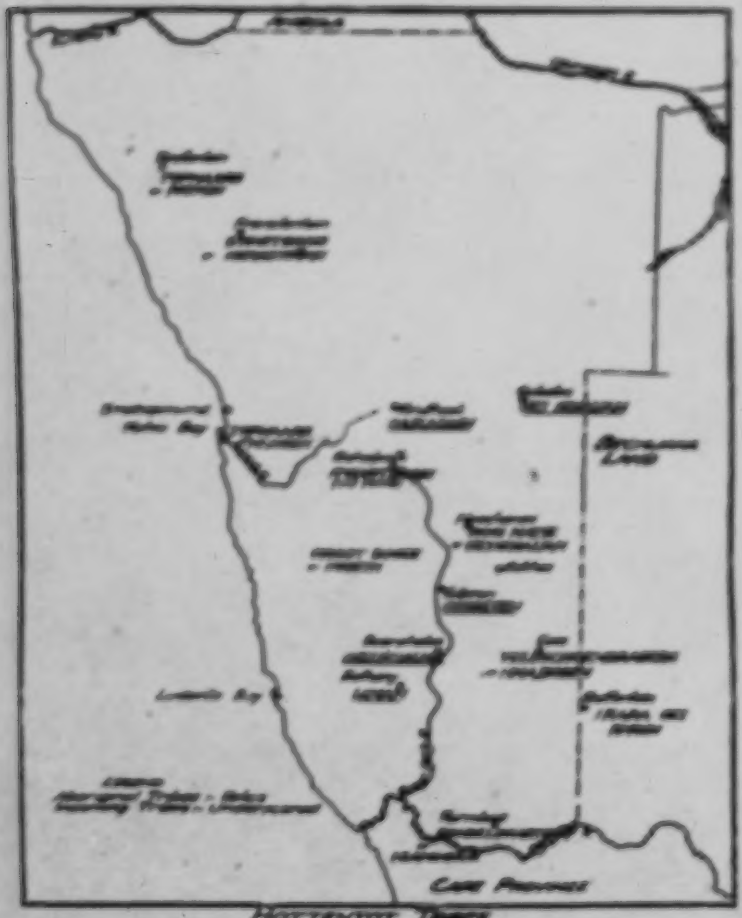
and their area of migration seems to have been a very wide one in the early days. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of the Hottentot peoples, and early in historical times they settled definitely in the country to the north of the Orange river.



HOTTENTOT TRIBES OF THE SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

The whole area of the Southwest African Protectorate is approximately 322,450 square miles, and Great Namaqualand

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occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

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some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are called collectively Orlams by the indigenous people, a name the origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Orlams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aisa //aixa*), the Witbooi (*/Haiseb*), the Bethany Hottentots (*/Awaxa*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khawaxa*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khawaxa*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khawaxa* from the personal name, */Khawab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Haiseb*, from */haiseb* or */haiwa*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

The indigenous people were in historical times divided into seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kafir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1913. There

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were once, so he said, five brothers, each one of whom was the founder of a tribe of the Nama. The eldest was the ancestor of the *Gei //Khauan*, or Rooi Natie, the tribe acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. The other brothers are said to have founded the *!Gami ǂnau* or Bondelswarts, the *//Habobeb* or Veldschoendragers, the *!Khara Gei Khoin* or the Simon Kopper Hottentots, and the *//Khaw /gaun* or the Swartboois, who are said to be the descendants of the youngest brother. According to another legend, the *//Habobeb* are a branch of the *!Gami ǂnau*, and this agrees with the information given to us by the traveller Sir James Alexander, who reports that when he visited the *!Gami ǂnau* in 1836 the *//Habobeb* were still part of the people owing obedience to the *!Gami ǂnau* chief.[1] The other two major groups of these Nama people, the *//O gain* or Groot Doode, and the *ǂAonin* or Topnaars or *!Gumin*, are not linked up with the others in the legend of the five brothers, but they themselves claim to be offshoots from the Rooi Natie, and the Rooi Natie on their side support this claim.

The names of these tribes are in many instances exactly translated by the Dutch names by which they are now chiefly known. Thus the *//O Gain* are the great dead, or Groot Doode as the Dutch has it; the *!Gami ǂNau* are the people of the black bundle or Swart Boodel. Their own legend concerning their name is that they once formed one group with the Rooi Natie; that on the death of an old chief his sons quarreled among themselves, the elder going off with his supporters, while the younger brother stayed behind with his little group of people huddled together so that they looked like a little black bundle. The *//Habobeb* are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch, *Veldschoen*, Nama, *//Habeb* or *//Howeb*). The Rooi Natie and the Swartboois are closely related. As late as 1855 the chief of the Rooi Natie expected the Swartboois to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., but they did not always do so.[2] The Nama names by which these two groups are called still record this close

[1] Sir James Alexander, An Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838. Pp. 187, 197.

[2] Berichte der Rheinischen Mission, 1855, p. 18.

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connection. They mean the big group of //Khauae, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the //Khauae. The derivation of the name //Khauae I do not know. The Topnaars, or the ≠Aunin, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the !Gamie of which I do not know the meaning.

All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Oelams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[4] the chief of the Rooi Nation complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gami nu Khoin.[5] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gami ≠Nun*, or *!Gami ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gami ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[4] p. 188.

[5] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 261. The author spells the name "Cammenaquois."

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At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aonin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Gaun* 1000, *//Hoboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khain* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witbooïs 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

[6] Report of W. Coaton Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 30-'77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

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K1 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

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that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognize these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haos*, and the sibs *!Hao !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haos*, tribe; *ba*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *ti* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Geis; /Gari !Nagumun; /Gari ≠Karis; //Neigumun; Goaman; !Garuxun; //Khou Tanaxu; !Gu ei Tanaxu; !Naiz eis; !Ou Gaan.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Groot Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartbooie. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franzfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Garib* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Geis*) */Garis*, the next (*!Nagumun*) */Garis*, and the little (*≠Karis*) */Garis*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*geib*), the second the next one (*!nagumub*), the third the dark one (*≠nub*) or the light one (*/hoib*) or the tall one (*gaxub*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*≠kharib*) or the young one (*≠ami*).

The legend of the Swartbooie themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khaun*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garis* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khou Tanaxu*,

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the //Naigomon, and the /Gaunin are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the /Gari Gein sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the /Gari !Naqumon. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsumkan, Tsungab, Tsuxuab, ≠Aubib, Huiseb, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then Huiseb's son Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

It is interesting to note that the /Gari !Naqumon are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsuxuan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these Tsuxuan the members of which call themselves /Oa Goon, which means the younger branch of the chief's (good) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

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not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse. 614 551

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *//Haw //Nati*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartboois, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, Hoiseb, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Kaeis* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the */Garoxe* sib there are at least four families, the Swartboois, Gertzes, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Neigwoe* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartboois, the Linders. The *Ou Gaon* are the Petersens, whilst the *Goamon's* are represented to-day by the Oriam family, the *//Khow Tsoaxe* by the Kido and the Brandts families, the */Gari Goin* by only one family, the *Matibis*, and the */Noisi oin* by the Beukes family. [582]

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe. 614 621

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartboois and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

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the north in the Kaokoveld whither it retired after the defeat of the Hottentots by the Hereros in the sixties of last century. The other section lives in the dunes around Walvis Bay and in the bed of the Kuiseb river at various places. The people in the north are reduced to a mere handful and those in the south are probably the most miserable of all the remnants of the Nama, though in Sir James Alexander's time they were described as being fine, handsome people.[1] My information about these people was obtained from the daughter of one of the last chiefs, an intelligent old woman, Khaxas, and from some of the headmen of the last recognized chief of the tribe, Piet //Elbib, who had himself died before I visited the tribe in 1912. According to the information of these old people, the tribe originally lived far to the north in the region to which one branch has again retired. When they first came to Walvis Bay, another Nama people, the /*Namixas*, were in control, one of the sibs of this people being called the *≠Ai* //*Kawasin*. These people were completely defeated and the remnant incorporated in the sibs of the newcomers who called themselves *Mu*//*ova*, so that today no /*Namixas* are to be found. The sibs of the *Mu*//*ova* are the //*Hawaibin Gein*; //*Hawaibin* /*Gaun*; the /*Nawabas*; the /*Ubasas*; and the /*Haibin*. There are today very few of these pure *Mu*//*ova* people left. The Nama population of Walvis Bay consists now of stragglers from all the tribes and of half-breeds of many different nations.

The sibs of the *Gei*//*Khauan* I have been able to learn from the few old men who still represent this tribe. One of these men, !*Gei ≠p*, claims to be the hereditary chief of the people and is so acknowledged by the handful who are left of this once large tribe. Most of the sibs named to me have now no representatives at all. The rest are represented by a few individuals. It is impossible to say whether the list is complete, because the Nama very easily forget a sib or family which has no representatives living.

The sibs are: /*Khabiros*; !*Nuriaia* (*extinct*); //*Nasi ≠nun*; //*Nasi* /*Abas*; /*Hana* !*Gaos*; //*Naobas* !*Garias*; /*Kobus*; !*Hoaro-*

[1] *L. c.*, vol. I, p. 72.

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sin; Gamadamin; //Gubu ≠Kurin; !Khoiun; !Gubu ≠Kurin; //Khau ≠Nun; //Khau Tanasin; ≠Khari ≠Namun.[1] The chieftainship was held by the *//Nami /abun*, the red *//Nanin*. Whether the term Rooi Natie, Red Nation, by which this tribe has always been called in Dutch, is derived from the name of this sib I do not know, but it may be. From the names of the sibs it is easy to see that there must have been many more sibs at one time. Thus, one sib is called the small *//Gubun* which makes it likely that there was at least one other *//Gubun* sib from which it had to be distinguished. Another sib is the small *!Gabun*, and so on. It will be noticed that there are two sibs called *//Khaun*, the *//Khau Tanasin* and the *//Khau ≠Nun*, while the whole tribe is called *//Khaun Gein* or *Gei //Khaun*. One of these sibs, the *//Khau Tanasin*, is the same as we found among the Swartboois, while the Swartbooi tribal name is taken from this same sib name, the *//Khaun /Goan*. The tradition of these two tribes, therefore, that they are originally one tribe, is corroborated by the evidence from the sib structure.

The *//Habobes* tribe is also broken up and scattered now. I have never lived among this tribe and have had to gather my information concerning it from chance individuals living in other tribes. In 1923 I visited a very old man of this tribe in the Windhoek gaol. He had been the chief advisor of the chief who had also been in prison but who had died. Unfortunately, the old man's memory was failing and I cannot be sure that the information from him is complete. The sibs, so far as I have them, are as follows: */Haoen; Dou Gein; !Amen; Garsin; Ourin.* The *Ourin* was the sib in which the chieftainship was hereditary.

The remnants of the */Khara Gei Khoin* are in the Kalahari desert, and none of the men I have met in the Protectorate have been able to give me any information concerning their old tribal structure. At the present day all these people have Dutch names.

The *!Gami ≠Nun*, though one of the old aboriginal tribes, have lived for so long on one of the highways into the Protectorate

[1] Seven of these sibs are mentioned by the first missionary to the Rooi Natie, Vollmer; cf. Rheinischer Missionsbericht, 1866, p. 277.

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614 621 that they have been very much exposed to incoming influences. To-day they have all Dutch surnames. I have, however, been able to collect some of the old Nama names which were in use before the European surnames came into common use. The chief's sib has now the surname Christian, and they call themselves the *!Gomi ≠Nun*. The Matros family have the Nama name *Tsibubis*. The Aprils are the *!Nanis*. The Hackshind family takes its Dutch name from a translation of the old Nama name *!Nanin* (*!Nan*—the heel). Another sib is called the *!Nurubis*; a third the */Ngiaxis*, another the */Aiinun*, who to-day also have the surname Christian. In giving me these names the old headman, Christian, gave me the fountains in the Bondelswart territory which were known as the headquarters of these different sibs.

The Orlam tribes, that is, the tribes who came into the territory from the south, have all surnames taken from Europeans, such as the Isaacs, the Goliaths, the Christians, the Hendricks, and I have found it impossible to get their old Nama sib names from them. In the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 15, 1901, however, there is an account of the sibs of the /Hobesin, given by the then Bezirkshauptmann von Burgsdorff in answer to a questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kohler. According to him there were seven sibs among the /Hobesin:

1) */Khowun* (families: Witbooi, Dragoners, Hanses, Kaisers).
2) *!Amin* (Isaacs, Gertses, Zals, Banks, Vishers).
3) *Dounon* (Jods, Clasens, Stewes, Sewis, Jahrs).
4) *!Noreses* (Jantzes).
5) */Khauon* (Piqueurs, Marius).
6) *!Hawe ≠*Nun (Romans, Jacobs, Links).
7) */Khoris* (Pitters, Fredericks, Jochems, Links).

This evidence from the Witboois is sufficient to show that the structure of these tribes from the south was essentially the same as that of the tribes of the Great Namaqua.

361 The families claiming to belong to a sib still tend to live together, though the old original camping order has long been given up. Information from many sources, however, enables one to reconstruct the old encampment, and this reconstruction agrees

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with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots. 361

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the *!Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbools camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *!Oa Gaon*, the *//Naigaman*, the *!Gurusin*, the */Gari Karin*, the *!Neise ein*. On his right in order came the *Goamun*, the *//Khau Tanasen*, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga ei Tanasen*, meeting the *!Neise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Hornibin Gein*, *//Hornibin /Goan*, *!Noraban*, */Ubuxan*, */Heibin*, starting from the *//Hornibin Gein* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left. 621 614

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the tribe. [622] [623]

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614 582 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 627 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 621 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartboois even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 592 [595] In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *Loc. cit.*, p.

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young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

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terms for cross cousins, corresponding to the special relation in which these people stand to one another.

The following are the terms arranged according to generations in a scheme devised by Professor Radcliffe-Brown, which enables one to get a very rapid insight into the general system:—

Second ascending generation. There is one term, *//Náon*, used for all persons, men and women, of all generations above those of the mother and father. The same word means the tip of an arrow, and so refers to the beginning of the family as it were. The singular masculine form, *//Náob*, is used for men, the singular feminine, *//Náos*, for women. The term *//Náob* is applied to the father's father, and the mother's father, and to the brothers of these, and also to the fathers and the fathers' fathers of all these men. The term *//Náos* is used for the father's mother, for the mother's mother, for their sisters, and for the father's father's sisters.

First ascending generation. My father is *Tatab*, and the term may be applied to my father's brothers, the older ones being distinguished as *Tata Geip*, that is big father, the younger ones being distinguished as *Tata ≠Kami*, young father, or *Tatarob* which is the diminutive of Tatab. The term is further applied, with the proper modifications for older or younger, to the sons of my father's father's brothers, and to the husbands of my mother's sisters.

Other words for father are *Ĩp* and *Êip* which can be used in direct address; *//Gũb* (from the verb *//gũ* to be fertile) which is used only in speaking of the own father and never in direct address; and *Abob*, an archaic word used nowadays only in legends or in the Christian prayers translated into Nama.

My mother is *Mamas* and so also are her sisters, older ones being *Mama Geis*, younger ones *Mama ≠Kams* or *Mamaros*. The term is used also for the wives of my father's brothers.

Mamas is the familiar term for mother. The most dignified term is *Êis*, with its distinctions *Êis Keis* and *Êiros*. Another term is *Is* which can also be used in direct address. *//Gũs* is used only in speaking of the own mother, not in direct address.

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My father's sister is nowadays called *Mugis* (or *Mugiros*, if she is young), but the older men and women deny that this is a pure Nama word. There is a Dutch word *Moeke*, meaning little mother, and it is most likely that this, together with many other terms of kinship, has been adopted by the Nama from the Dutch. My most reliable informants tell me that the old Nama way of addressing the father's sister was *Êis Geis*, that is, big mother. This woman is also called *Tàras* or *Gei Tàras*,[13] the great respected one, and great deference is, or was, due to her. The father's sister's husband is called *Omeb* nowadays, a term most certainly borrowed from the Dutch Om(uncle). It can be used in the diminutive form *Omerob* also. This man may also be addressed as *Tatab* through courtesy, but there is no distinctive term applied to him.

[604]

My mother's brother is properly *//Náob* or *//Náosab*, but he may be called *Omeb* nowadays. His wife is *//Náos*, but she may be called *Mugis* now. The behavior due to this man will be described later.

Contemporary Generation. The children of my father, of my father's brothers, and of my mother's sisters, in fact, the children of all those whom I call *Tatab* and *Mamas* in their own right, are my brother, *!Gāb*, and my sister, *!Gās*. My older brother is *!Gāb Geib*, my younger brother is *!Gāb≠Kami*. The form *!Gāsab* may also be used. Nowadays, the forms *Butib*, *Butirob*, may be used from the Dutch Boetie (brother). My sister is *!Gās keis*, my younger sister *!Gās≠Kams* or *!Gāsas*. These terms are used by both men and women. The term *Sisis* is also in use, especially *Ousis*, from the Dutch *ou*, meaning old, and *Sussie*, meaning sister. The form *Sisiros* is formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*.

Nowadays, further, these relatives are sometimes distinguished as */Ge !Gāsab*, */ge !Gāsas* (from */ge* to have twins), that is, twin brother, twin sister, to distinguish them from the cross cousins who may be called *//Nûri !Gāsab*.

My father's sister's son is my *//Nûrib*. My father's sister's daughter is my *//Nûris*. These forms are used by both men and

[13] This word, *Tòras*, is to be very carefully distinguished from another *Tarás* which means wife.

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601 women. If I am a man, I may call my father's sister's daughter *Tarás*, that is wife, while if I am a woman I may call my father's sister's son *Aob*, husband. Nowadays, these cousins may be called *//Núri!Gāsab*, *//Núri !Gāsas*, but these forms are admittedly late.

My mother's brother's son is my *//Núrib*, or, like his father, my *//Náob*. Or he may be called by a descriptive term, *//Naob* (Nōap's son). He may also be called *//Núri !Gāsab*. A woman speaking may call him *Aob*.

My mother's brother's daughter is *//Núris*, or *//Núri !Gasas*, or she may be called *//Náos*. A man speaking of her may call her *Tarás*, wife.

First descending generation. The term applied to children is *ōan* or */Gōan* (boy *ōab* or */Gōab*, girl *Ōas* or */Gōas*), from the verb *oa*, to bear. These terms are applied to his own children by a man and to the children of his brothers, older or younger; and by a woman to her own and to the children of her sisters.

A man calls his sister's children *//Núrin* (*//Núrib*, *//Núris*), but there is no distinctive term by which a woman calls her brother's children. She uses a descriptive term, *!gāb Ōab*, *!gāb Ōas*, or *Tàrab Ōap*, *Tàrab Ōas*. Here we find the word *Tàrab* which is no longer used in reference to the brother himself but is still used in this combination. *Tāràb* corresponds to *Tàras* and means the one who must be respected.

Second descending generation. The children of any */Gōan* are *//Núrin*. This is, then, the reciprocal term of *//Náob* and *//Náos*.

Relatives by marriage. A wife calls her husband *Aob*. The term is applied also by a woman to her sister's husband and her husband's brother. An old term for husband, no longer used, is *Xáib* (from the verb *Xái*, to have sexual intercourse). A husband calls his wife *Tarás* (formerly *Xáis*). The term is applied also by a man to his brother's wife and to his wife's sisters. The general term for relatives by marriage is */Uin*, or *!Nā Khoin*, from the verbs */ùi* and *!nā* to become related by marriage. Thus, it is applied in the masculine form, */ùip*, to the wife's father, the wife's brother, the sister's husband, the daughter's husband by a man; by a woman it is applied to the husband's father and the brother's

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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

!Oaras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Haboben*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [535]

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602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must
602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most
582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is an indication of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother
602 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they
593 ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful terms. A sister was a *tàras*, that is, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*sou*) in the presence of his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call
[583] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei !Keis*, a great offense. Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a man is his *Gei Tàras*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own
582 generation whom he calls *//Nûrin*. These women are his companions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

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thing at his maternal uncle's *!Hèis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nâri //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[13] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

[13] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1856, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

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601 602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[14] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[14] Drawn up in 1858. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

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THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

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THE NAMA.

BY

DR. H. VEDDER.

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THE NAMA.

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics.

101 1. The Nama nation lives in South West Africa. Its principal seats are in the territory between the Orange and the Swakop rivers. Ethnographically it forms a portion of the Hottentots, once a nomad people consisting of many tribes which wandered over the broad plains of Southern Africa before the arrival and expansion of the Europeans.

141 2. The Nama are mostly of medium height. Some of them attain a height of 1.70 m., which is the reason for the observation made in old reports that the Nama are a tall race compared with the Hottentots of the Cape. Their general height, however, varies from 1·50-1·65 m. Members of both sexes are frequently met with, however, who are less than 1·50 m. in height.

142 3. The colour of their skin is remarkably light. A light-skinned people among the dark races of Africa is in itself an enigma and leads one to the assumption that the Nama migrated with other Hottentot tribes from Northern Africa in prehistoric times. This view gains in probability in the light of linguistic research and is supported by old legends.

The colour of the skin, which on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, is hardly different from that of European races, may be described as pale yellow, tinged, particularly in the case of the old tribe of the Red Nation, with a red undertone. Over the spine there is a darker patch. The membranes of the lips are a pale dull red.

141 142 4. The skull is of peculiar shape. The narrow forehead, which is usually slightly arched, has no bumps. The back of the head is more or less arched and never flat. The cheek-bones are prominent. The receding chin is pointed. The prominent cheekbones and pointed chin give the face an almost triangular appearance, especially in the case of elderly people, whose rounded cheeks have been superseded by numerous wrinkles. The root of the nose hardly protrudes, the bridge has the appearance of having been pressed back and ends in a flat, broad snub nose, the openings of which are clearly visible.

142 5. The prominent cheekbones and the flattened bridge of the nose cause the eye-lids to seem slanted. The glaring sun of the country and the frequent lack of vegetation force the ocular muscles to contract, causing the eyes to blink and this accentuates the impression of slant-eyes. The iris is always

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Hottentot Woman.

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dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells, for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of "peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A number of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

11. To the description of the somatic peculiarities of the Nama may be added a description of the psychic characteristics. The Nama is above all an emotional being. It is not difficult to rouse him to transports of joy and he who is able to rouse his joyous instincts has won his heart. In this state the Nama is willing, kind and hospitable; he will share his last crumb with his visitor and reveals clearly that he is indeed capable of noble sentiments. In this state, too, he is susceptible to religious impressions and the indiscrimination with which he surrenders to his emotions makes him an easy victim and a ready follower of visionaries. It need scarcely be added that dreams, visions, supernatural voices, etc., are fruitful seed in minds of such psychological structure. 152

12. On the other hand, when under the influence of disagreeable passions the Nama presents an altogether different and almost unrecognisable aspect. He is then sulky, unapproachable, impudent, faithless, unmerciful and cruel.

13. Both in his good and bad moods he is impelled by the desire to play the great man, to earn as much as possible with the least exertion. Yet he consumes his earnings in the most uneconomical manner and loves to preen himself in the grandest of attire. 156

14. Contrary to the descriptions of the older historians, the Nama is nowise slow of thought. He knows how to use his senses and he is able to translate for his use with great rapidity of thought, whatever his eye, ear and sense of smell have communicated to him. As far as rapidity of thought and imagination are concerned, the Nama takes the first place in South West, leaving the Hereros, Bêrg Damaras and Ovambos, even the so-called Bastards, far behind. He is musical, but the beauties of nature make no impression whatever on him. He is a great teller of tales and listens to tales with great attention, but for the past history of his people he has little interest, preferring a foreign language to his mother-tongue. 153 517

15. Will power, which gives character its type and reliability is but slightly developed in any of them. Principles count for little and a Nama will never fall back on a principle to explain his actions. It may be taken as an axiom that when the Nama acts under the influence of his agreeable instincts, the good qualities of his nature become evident in a surprisingly beautiful manner; but when he acts on his disagreeable impulses he can no longer be trusted and is capable of quite unsuspectedly evil actions. 152

H. Sching, with whose judgment of the Nama I agree, writes of them: "They have their virtues and vices like every other people, but in order to judge them, we must descend from the pedestal of civilization, often so artificial, and place ourselves in their past, their environment and 181

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181 their mode of thought. Only then may we hope to obtain a clear impression of their psychic condition. Anyone who for any length of time has travelled in the company of Hottentots and has suffered starvation and thirst with them, has shared their joys and sorrows, will doubtless discern under that rough exterior a good heart, will learn to appreciate them and inevitably admit that their good points outweigh their bad."

II. Divisions and Distribution.

101 1. The origin of the tribal name "Hottentot" has not yet been cleared up. The old reports spell the name in different ways: Ottentoo, Hottnot, Hodmodod, Hottentott. It is assumed that the meaning attached to the word by the old settlers was "a stammerer" and that the name had reference to the peculiar clicks of the language, which give its speech a distinctive character. At any rate the name is not of Hottentot origin, nor had the Hottentots a distinct name to include all their tribes. Old reports state that they also called themselves "Quaiqua" or "Khoi-khoin"; but these names differ merely in spelling, not in meaning. He who knows the language sees at once that the word Quaiqua is an effort to fix the word Khoigua in writing. But Khoigua merely means men, while Khoin is the word for "people," and Khoi-khoin means people of pure race, *i.e.*, excellent people.

174 2. In all probability the Hottentot tribes migrated from the region of the Central African lakes in prehistoric times and moving westwards, crossed the Kunene, and then entered present-day South West Africa, passing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. It is impossible now to say with any degree of certainty what the cause of the migration may have been, but it may be assumed that the numerous Bantu tribes pressed them southwards. In the case of a nomadic people, other causes, however, are also possible. At the time of the Hottentot immigration, South West Africa must have been well-nigh uninhabited, for the Herero had not yet occupied the land. In all probability the Bergdama laboured as herdsmen or servants for the nomadic Hottentots, whose language they had adopted, and first came to South West with their masters.

The traces and paintings of the Bushmen on rocks betray that in all probability they were the first inhabitants of the vast territory, which was to become the grazing and hunting ground of the most varied African tribes.

3. While the great majority of the Hottentots moved South with their herds, until they reached the utmost point, the very //Hui-ǂkeib, *i.e.*, place of the snakes, where Cape Town now lies, some tribes settled in South West and led a nomadic life between the Orange and Swakop Rivers.

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Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of these Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex" — an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gochoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kaplidens."

(v) Gorona, also written Goraqua, Gorachonqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc. They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainouqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniga, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hancoumqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

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(xii) Charigurigua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua = *i.e.*, the small (=ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib = sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Griqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Griqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaun, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Áwa-khoin = Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaun or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Games, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes. 175 619

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmannsche Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) !Kara-!ôan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawoben whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Ameib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Groot-doden. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Amboland in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ǂOunin, also called !Gomen or !Naranin, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ǂOunin, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1825, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Gami-ǂnun or Bondelswarts who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonisation of the Cape Colony by Europeans progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

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175 619 European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilisation and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams."

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Mansvelt traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Nama who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Oorlandse mense" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Nama would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin; who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

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missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witboois after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witboois observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Nama were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witboois?

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amraal Hottentots, who settled at Nausannabis and in the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Broekkaross.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaagas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of the //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂganis in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amraal Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Nausannabis and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the +Kari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Broekkaross in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicha-//ain = angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, !Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hôa-/arab and Titus.

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After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

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1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. [728]

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

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175 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to
721 Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker
[728] Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartboois ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero. 175 721

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror. [728]

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

175 At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle
721 was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witbooi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treaties by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganised for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. There not only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognise him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

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drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

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175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] [797] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

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According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

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415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baske-

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Lqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Tuma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gauhab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gauab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

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773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-782 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions 535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious 178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

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782
been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon- 535
light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up 178
here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama 771
religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754] in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775
their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves con- 764
jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 776
and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- 763
son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or 769
points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 787
the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761
an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, heads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [84] [843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch [64] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this [145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are 758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin 764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep, 177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

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"De taal der Hottentotten is voor de Europeanen verdrietig te horen, onmogelijk te leren, en aan de Hollanders tot verder voortzetting van den Handel en uitvinding der landen zeer hinderlijk: want zij klappen met ieder woord, dat zij spreken, even als wanneer men met de vingers een knipslag maakte, zodat haar mond als een klap of zweep gaat, omdat zij met die tong overluid slaan, en ieder woord bijna een slag is." 197

Holsteiner, in his book of travels, says:

"Uit hare taal kan men nauwelijks horen dat zij menschelijk is: zij is schier als het geraas van de Calicutsche hanen."

Merklin, in his book of travels, adds:

"Zij klokken met hunne taal bijna als de Indiaansche hoenders."

Peter Kolbe, whose book was published in 1719, took a great deal of trouble to arrive at the secret of the Hottentot language. He made a contract with a Hottentot, promising him in writing that he would give him ten rix-dollars if he taught him the language; but, after the first lesson, both master and pupil were quite tired out. In connection with this he wrote:

"Ook verdroot het mij, wegens mijne kromme tong, liet hom gaan, na dat ik zijne moeite betaalt hadde. Wat mij aangaat, ik ben 't enemal van die gedachten, ja daar waar selfs een halve eeu verlopen, eer men een gedruksblad daar van zag, wilde men ook alle zijne moeite en arbeid alleen daar aan te koste leggen. . . . Genoemen, dat een vreemdeling deze taal in eenige jaren kan lezen. . . zo ontmoet te eerste deze zwarigheid zich weder, dat hij se niet kan overzetten en vertalen. De oorzaak is, om dat zijn meester zelf met een kromme tong in die duitsche taal spreekt. Hij kan niet zeggen, dat hij op deze of gene wijze de tong moet dragen om deze of genen slag te doen. Indien hij hem zulks ook aanwijzt, zo heeft hij tog maar om zo te spreken, eene trap overwonnen, welke ten eersten weder van anderen gefolgt word, namelijk wanneer hij gade slaat, hoe dat hij alle slagen met die tong en met den mond, op 't nauwste bij zich zelven zal onderscheiden, om in 't vervolg bij aanroering der karakters of letters, die wederom een lange tijd, en een verder nadenken vereisschen, dezelve fijn onderscheiden, en aan den leergierigen aanwijzen zal. Die nu alle deze Zwarigheden nevens nog vele anderen, die onderweegs en midden in 't werk ontmoeten zullen, overkomt, en geen ander hulpmiddel heeft, gelijk en geen andere zijn, dan die hij van de Hottentotten hebben kan, die zal zeker niet meer zeggen, dat de taal van de Hottentotten licht is, maar hij zal zonder twijfel

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197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zoodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the lan- [214] guage have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, 197
until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention.

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged 197
from the language and its grammatical construction as well 153
as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa.

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by 177
missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables 538
treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever 153
superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal.

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary 538
products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables.

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last [875]
year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising.

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. 533
The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more 517
than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har-

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533 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and con-
517 tinued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art
517 of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the represen-
643 tative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all
645 public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the
693 same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the
[643] passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[691] 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and
692 injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

South West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property. 692

3. In earlier days and in some tribal unions still to-day the procedure in a law-suit is as follows: The complainant lodges his complaint with the magistrate who at the same time exercises the powers of a policeman. The magistrate then summons the judges; and the complainant and accused are summoned by messengers. The sitting takes place in the open as a rule. The complainant has to provide sufficient food for the judges as long as they sit. Generally he delivers some goats in advance in payment of the legal expenses. If the accused is unwilling to appear he is brought by force by strong men duly authorised in such circumstances. The complainant as well as the accused stand at a distance from the place where the court is held or squat down on the ground till they are called. The summoned witnesses also remain within a reasonable distance. The magistrate then lays the case before them. The eldest person amongst the judges, who is chairman, then gives the complainant the word. Thereupon the accused is heard. Care is taken that only one person speaks at a time; for the rest absolute freedom prevails. If the case has been sufficiently investigated the complainant and the accused together with the witnesses have to withdraw. The judgment is passed unanimously when possible and pronounced by the chairman. If punishment is to be inflicted it is executed at once and the accused has to replace the goats paid for expenses by the complainant. 695

4. The methods of punishment in olden days were: Death, executed in many ways according to the nature of crime. He, who had slain someone, was beaten to death with clubs and sticks. When one had shot another, he also was shot. Other sentences were: Fines, payable in goats; corporal punishment in the form of flogging or branding and, lastly, confiscation of property or the declaration of such people, who have been found to be a danger to the public, as of unsound mind. These were then outlawed and could be done away with, without being punished. To-day a sentence of death can only be passed by the Government and duly constituted law-courts. Punishment among the Nama to-day is confined to flogging, fines and fees payable in goats. 681

5. Rules for the degrees of punishment were never, and have not yet been, definitely fixed. Nevertheless no rule was allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of 681 685

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681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[388] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

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their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643]
by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

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177 immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

177 797 3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelzwarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

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civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently. 177 797

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 6 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the 177

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177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 871 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

000 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the short period of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

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THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

MRS. R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, B.A. (*née* MISS A. W. TUCKER).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

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NOTE.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalised *a* for the same reason.

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Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water. 312 823 192

Besides the !Ab, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáma, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xorás, or Xorábes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgās, the deeper well. Further, we have the //gardib, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ā̀p, or vlei, and the !khowis, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //gardib, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the gēi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa!nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the 789 796

* "Geographische Bezeichnungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—65.

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789 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to
796 tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of such rains since the white man came into their country. I have given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,* and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could, gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this guriba ‡ap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

182 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely
823 important to the Naman, I wish to show that they believe it to have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the powerful protection which society gives them. Thus the social character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Naman. Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown† writes: "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being." The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the necessaries of social life provided for him by others.

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* *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

† "*The Andaman Islanders*," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V. p. 364.

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might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, " he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs; and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, " are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members. 182

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Naman, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it " cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. 823 764

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hei /Nûn, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among 753 774 761

* *Ibid.*, p. 264.
† *Ibid.*, p. 264.
‡ *Tsui-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

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753 774 761 the Naman, either themselves, or through the !Gèi Aogu, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Heí /Nūn, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Heí /Nūn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Heí /Nūn come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Heí /Nūn were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelzwart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, " //Gán osi, !uri ǂkóp gúiba ta go mu " (no flesh, a white bone alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.* Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Heí /Nūn that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water.

823 821 [753] The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Sarés, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Rooi Natie, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old //Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. " In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, ' Phu—u, bé re, taës ǂā hū kun !kun !kun phu—u ' (Phu—u, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in its path. ' This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Naman, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

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* See p. 524.

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The other name for Sarés, the whirlwind, is //Gãuab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gãuab. In the mythology of the people //Gãuab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Nama and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gãuab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be, //Gãuab is also connected with the /Heí /Nũn, in fact, /Gãunagu in the plural is simply another name for /Heí /Nũn, and old David Zwartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Heí /Nũn were simply //Gãuab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Heí /Nũn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Heí /Nũn or //Gãuab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that those precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Núon, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:

'Tí //Náoxan !Hutse, (My ancestors' territory),

!Gãise !khoi !ón te re. (Run nicely to meet me),

Then all would have been well."

eibe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

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751 823 182 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Heí /Nūn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life

754 756 823 [797] The next example is a little different. In the old days, there were among the Naman !Gèi Aŏgu, witch doctors, men who could cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gobo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Heí /Nūn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by //Gāunb.* or the /Heí /Núm, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

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ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //A !naip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: " A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye huí te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams !na ni áo ǂgā tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

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* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter. p. 419.

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823 271 782 Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 125.
* *Tsuni ||Goam*. p. 77.

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three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Kharú, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

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841 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful 823 married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled [272 to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares, 177] formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gàra 823 dama góure ǂhaba ǂhabare"* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as [844] the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will [755] be the older women who have looked after her who will free her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When 823 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a 841 neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain: it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* ǂHabas is *Fockea damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 95 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

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white people and who told me that they were now sickly, and never got any children, because they had been made to work with cold water, when they should not have done so. 823 841

The sea as the greatest accumulation of cold water is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. I was given a very graphic description of a tragedy that occurred not so very long ago. Three young girls were walking along the beach at Swakopmund very happily and merrily, when all of a sudden the sea became angry and seemed to be on top of them. Two of the girls calling out, " Who here has her period? " rushed up the beach in safety, the third just had time to shout out, " I have," when she was dragged under by the waves and drowned! The woman who told me this lives inland from Walvis Bay. The other woman who had been with her was afterwards my cook far north in Franzfontein, and she confirmed the story of the drowning. In these degenerate days, the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, only they must not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be !Khai !na, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things, and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she kharus. If she is !Khai !na, the sea will rush out towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food, or the milk she had milked. For there is this great difference between most things a woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water. Cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, be she !kai !na or not, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them !nõu, taboo. Thus, if a girl should kharú out in the veld when she and her companions are gathering roots and berries, her companions contrive turn by turn to carry her back to the kraal, for if she walks among the bushes she will scorch them, the succulent roots will shrivel up, and the leaves wither from the bushes. If she milks a cow, its milk will turn to blood. (I am told that a cow does sometimes give a reddish fluid instead of milk.) If she cooks a meal those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Always after a girl has been reintroduced to the water, she and the old woman take a branch which they dip into a bucket of water and scatter it over the whole kraal, bushes, pens, sheep, goats and cattle.

We have dealt now with the cases in which water is a protection against dangers, and with those in which water itself is dangerous. There are just two other little rites connected with water which seem to me a little different. 823 852

Both in Walvis Bay and in Franzfontein I was told that babies are taken out into the first rainstorm which occurs after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, that is, after

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823 852 the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, " Hei-a Hei-a Tú gaba tsi " (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

823 881 [842] Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: " The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: " I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

823 182 Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

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* *Tsuni //Goam*, p. 87.

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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

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Read 4 July, 1928.

Abstract.

753 755 757 Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step [787] was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. [562] There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

164 [171] After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore [846] breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which 757 retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding [824] item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

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argument, be a good " blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; " there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai* aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloom. Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of " scientific " and " sympathetic " lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

*For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus :—D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aie jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

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Massage.

757 755 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common [841] use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation [842] of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then [278] cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull 232 calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently 142 referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentot, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

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Kolben describes the operation of bleeding. First a thong was tied around the limb, and the vein opened below it. When enough blood had been drawn off, the incision was closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Alexander says that they were fond of bleeding, and the backs and sides of many were thickly scored with the knife. They were not over-particular about having a horn for cupping, the mouth frequently being used for that purpose. 757

The Nama cupping horn, as still in use, is a carefully prepared tip of ox horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is applied to the scarified skin and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established he bites the resin and so closes the aperture. The horn is left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. An exactly similar mode of using a similar instrument occurs in India. [[71]]

Cupping is used for colics and pains in the stomach. The patient lies on his back and the horn is first applied dry, that is, over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified. If the pain moves to another area, the part is rubbed with hot fat and again cupped. If this fails, an infusion of herbs is given to drink. In the old days, cupping horns were carried to draw out the poison from arrow wounds, and also a little bottle or horn of oil with which to wash the injury, but scarification and suction applied by the mouth was also in favour. Scarification and cupping are also used for the relief of madness and epilepsy.

Preventive Medicine.

Preventive medicine was an important and extensive section of Hottentot medical lore and took the form of charms and incantations. When a child lost a milk tooth, he took the tooth, and standing facing the rising sun repeated the two lines:— 751

" P/gko c/gkoup Ba-ooe D/kooee
D/ghumba ma dae."

which may be translated, " Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth." The Dassie is the rock rabbit, so here there appears to be a double magical significance.

The remainder of the subject of charms, including those magic necklets to prevent attack by wild beasts or to prevent effect of witchcraft, can be considered correctly only in a separate article. But it is necessary to remember that there was no activity of Hottentot life which was not affected by signs, portents, charms or ritual, which he employed to foretell or warn of coming ill-luck, and which enabled him to prevent or remove the ill effects of them and of any other bad influence, whether induced by act of God or practice of witchcraft. 789

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Toxicology.

825 757 The snake stone has been a famous antidote in all countries. The South Africans imported them from India, but few farmers could afford to purchase this remedy because of the expense. Barrow examined specimens and pronounced them to be pieces of firm bone charred round the edges leaving a white speck in the centre. When thrown into water, a snake stone caused bubbles to rise and this test was a proof of genuineness. It adhered to the snake bite, sucked out the poison, and was cleansed by soaking in water which it turned blue. Country people believed that it was obtained from the head of a snake. The snake stone of the Hottentot is quite a different matter, 825 though it also is believed to be part of a snake. A young Richtersvelder gave this description: "I saw a snake's light. If you see it afar off it looks like a person's fire, but I know that there are no people there. Go nearer, and then it is seen that the light walks about. Then I keep away. I have heard that if a snake's hole be closed with earth that the snake then bites himself to death. Next day the snake stone is found in front of the hole where he dropped it when he went away."

Sam, two hundred miles south of the last informant, says that at night a twinkle is seen on the rocks, and that is a snake stone; and it is seen because the snake is away at the river. Then, to procure the snake stone it is necessary to keep a good look-out, and to approach cautiously with a handful of beast dung, which is to be thrown so that it puts out the light. Thereupon the absent snake becomes blind and cannot see, and can only creep aimlessly to and fro. Next day the dung is picked up and the snake stone, which is the snake's strength, taken away. He is ordinarily a strong-tempered fellow, but after losing his stone he becomes weak, and cannot sit up to bite. The stone is used by the Natives together with bush medicines for poisonous swellings. Probably it is one of the numerous quartz crystals, loose or embedded in the rocks, which occur in profusion all over Namaqualand, and that reflect light at evening time.

278 759 Jacob Klaas, whose father was a full-blooded Nama, is the Poison Doctor for the Northern portion of Namaqualand. He learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been taught by his father. He states that a boy must be strong to begin with, that is, he must have a good constitution. His father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, and into them rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom that contained several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery." This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until the size of a pin's head was reached. Though now about forty years old, Jacob still takes his daily dose. The only venom

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not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his 759
father told him that it rots the flesh.

The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra 752
is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so [224]
paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed 278
with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up 752
by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to congeal the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipsweet or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

The gecko lizard, the D/ung D/ung, is by all, white and 825
black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only 136
poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after 278
eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and 752
run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor head cloths.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kaboo, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In each case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

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278 752 patient. On the spot where a snake has lived for many years, the Natives say, a slimy patch develops that is almost cement like. This is used as an antidote for all poisonous bites, and is also given to dying people.

Abstract of Hottentot Herbal.

278 In discussing the various herbs used by the Hottentot medicine man, the following plan has been adopted:—

The Nama name is first given for the purposes of reference, then, in some cases, reference by travellers or other observers, and when modern uses are discussed the Nama name (if known), the Afrikaanse name and the scientific name are given.

Medicines.

Kanna. Kanna is a Salsola, of which there are several species. Graevenbroeck mentions that it was used similarly to hemp, and that the leaves were roasted in ashes and used as food. Paterson states that a certain district around the Kromme River was called Channa by the Hottentots because of the quantity of the plant which grew there.

Namaquas in 1662 accepted presents from the Dutch, and in return gave fat-tailed sheep and Kanna, which the Commander pronounced to be similar to the Chinese Ginseng. The Cape root was scarce and was considered valuable, and possibly is the channa mentioned by the traveller Paterson in 1779. During the early days of the settlement at the Cape, a Hottentot would perform any task willingly if he knew that the reward was to be a piece of kanna. It would appear that certain of these 278 writers confuse the root ningin or kanna with kaawgoed, the 276 leaves of a Mesembryanthemum, because they described properties which are certainly those of the latter. It was chewed and retained in the mouth for a while, when their spirits would rise, eyes brighten, and faces take on a jovial air, and they would commence to dance. But if indulged in to excess it robbed them of their senses and they became intoxicated.

278 Kaawgoed, *Mesembryanthemum tortuosum*. Leaves chewed for toothache and pains in the stomach. Has a strong narcotic effect due to alkaloid, mesembrine. Will make a child sleep. Used to-day for sand in horses.

Slasi, *Mesembryanthemum Crystallinum*, Nama N/aboo or N/ngboop, is used for taking hair off skins, and is still in use among farmers.

[276] Karremoer, *Mesembryanthemum stellatum*. One of the beer making roots, a deliriant and intoxicant with an earlier stimulant action.

278 757 Krampsiekbosch, *Cotyledon Welchii* or *Lessertia annularis*. Stem is pounded and used for poultices on abscesses after spine and bark have been removed. When dry has somewhat the appearance of ginseng.

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Buchu barosma, Letolina. Nama Sab (Tyndale). P/nkaou (name given to writer). Two varieties known in Nama as D/nhora, D/khoasa or Haas buchu, and P/kabourie. Considered by Hottentot to possess great virtues in curing disorders, and rarer forms are valuable to the Native. In powder used for dusting, for fire and sunburns. Baby powder made of D/nhora kept in tortoise shell puff box, roasted with fat and dropped in ear for earache. Powder also mixed with C/ghoonsbi, an acacia thorn sucker, and then considered a high class powder. The second rate powder used for babies was mixed with ground acacia thorn bark, and is named O/kai. D/nhora Buku is roasted with oil and fat, mixed with mother's milk and dropped into the ear for earache. P/nkaou is rare and valuable, and a thimblefull is worth from a sheep to an ox. It is obtained in mountainous districts and when used is pounded and tied in a cloth over which hot water is poured. Is this a method due to exercise of economy?

P/thon danoep, or sweet honey, a sticky soft-leaved sweet tasting plant, is also used for powder making.

The thorn tree sucker was put to many uses. The Bushmen used its ashes to blacken his face. To-day an oil not unlike cajeput is expressed and used for rheumatic troubles.

Xghoria or Xhoua, which means "smells strong," is a plant so far not identified. The whole plant is ground up and strewed on dead bodies, and is also applied to the living body when it has an unpleasant odour. This powder is also used as a snuff to keep away the smell of the dead "so that it doesn't strike in."

Bitter Roots. Many roots are known to-day under the name of bitterbosch, or bitter wortle, that is, bitter bush or bitter root. The chief are the blue bush, *Royena pallens*, *Xysmalobium undulatum* (*Asclepias crispa*?) and the Sand-Bitter hood, a tall bush found in the mountains. These are so much used by the present white population that the Afrikaanse name has quite ousted the Nama one. The blue-bush root is also known as the black root, the wonderful emetic-purgative. These roots are powdered and boiled, and the decoction is used for pains in the stomach; if used for diarrhoea, then the stems of the plant are included. The liquor so prepared is greenish in colour and is exceedingly bitter, with a *Nux vomica* type of bitterness.

Daggra. Two species are recognised: wilde dagga, *Leonotis leonurus*; and klip dagga, *Leonotis ovatis*. Graevenbroeck mentions its use. The powdered leaves, he said, were made into a little cake no bigger than a Rijksdaler, a coin about the size of a modern shilling, which the Hottentots chewed, even as the Indians and Chinese chewed opium. In 1750 its use, mixed with tobacco introduced by the Europeans, is mentioned. A decoction of the roots is used for headaches and for bronchitis. An ointment made from raw fat and pulverised dagga

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278 leaves is used for pains in the eyes. Its growth for commerce
757 is now prohibited by law. It is still used with tobacco for
[276] smoking. A decoction of seeds boiled and allowed to stand is used for bronchitis and headaches.

Kraalbosch, D/kooi dabee, Kraal bosch, *Galenia africana*, is chewed for toothache in small quantities. If too much is used it blisters the mucous membrane of the mouth. This bush is now used in a mixture in decoction with Aister bosch for toothache and also for venereal disease.

Sages. Aromatic sage, Afrikaanse Salie. Rhodeblom, *Salvia africana* and *Salvia paniculata*. Geelblom or strand salie (sand salie), *Salvia aurea*. Decoction of leaves used for coughs and colds and also for women's troubles. Wittle blom. *Nuxia congesta*. Salie prout. Leaves resemble those of a sage. *Buddleia salvifolia*. *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*.

Stink sali, (small grey whitish leaves), dried leaves used in decoction for common colds and externally as a lotion for sores. Berg salie, or mountain sage, green or dried leaves in decoction for coughs and colds, is evidently an expectorant, as it is stated it makes the cough ripe. Also used in decoction for washing sores. To-day these salies are used in combination with Katakruie and plein hout and vaal bosch for fevers, such as measles.

Wild olives are used to make diaphoretic mixtures, or sweating draughts. One species, named in Nama, P/koem, is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and also the leaves are used as a plaster. The most prized is the sand olein houd, the Nama D/koubi, a decoction of the leaves of which is administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid.

Klein koorts bosch, little fever bush, *Grassula lycopodioides* L. is used in decoction as a diaphoretic.

[844] Taaibosch, L/ or P/guaru, *Rhus* sp. or *Rhus undulata* Jacq. The leaves of this plant are boiled and the liquor given for the troubles which arise after parturition. Of the two species of bush, long and short, the latter is preferred.

Vogelent, *Viscum capense* Lin. Nama Aie L/ kwoe, a Taaibosch parasite, is used as an emmenagogue. Barend uses it for amenorrhea, mixed with P/au, wild celery. By the Cape Boers it is used for epilepsy, chorea, and diarrhoea.

757 L/aiser, a bush not identified, is used in decoction for puer-
844 peral fever. It is strongly purgative, and as the Native doctor
278 says: "works the fire out of the stomach." It is never used for the young, but only for adult women. One informant states particularly it is used, when the patient is delirious, to "work it out."

Faierrank, Nautsi amma (Nama), a red tipped faier rank, *Mesembrianthemum edule* or *acinaciforme*, is used for delayed labour, or retained after-birth. It is stamped and given as a pulp.

1 [i.e. Dagga leaves — Analyst]

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757
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Haakiesdoorn, P/ahbi, is also an emmenagogue.

P/ngoona, a thorn bush, *Sarcocaulon* sp., pounded whole and boiled, is a successful abortifacient according to many. Barend says that it is exceedingly good, but that he uses it only for parturient troubles in sheep. Klip melk bosch, *Euphorbia restituta*, given for tedious labours. When the treatment is continued for two or three days it "helps and strengthens."

Roode rabassam. Pappe, in his "*Flora Capensis*," mentions two Pelargoniums that are used medicinally in the Cape and Namaqualand, *Pelargonium antidysentericum*, in Nama D/kanie, which is boiled in milk and used as an astringent, and *P. anceps*, known to the Coloured and Afrikanders as *Roode rabassam* and used by the Cape Malays to produce abortion or for helping on a confinement. In Namaqualand this is known as rabass, which appears to be the original Nama name for it, or a corruption. The Afrikander names it rooi wortle or rooi storrm. It is used for anaemias and weaknesses and repeated doses are given during fevers. The Boer uses it boiled or "set op brandywijn." Baviaan's oor, Baboon's ear, Bol (Nama), *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, used as a cold poultice on bruises and cuts, is considered good. The colour in each case appears to have been the chief attraction.

[847]

Kalkoen blom, or turkey flower, *Sutherlandia fructescens*, was used in decoction for washing wounds and given as drink for fevers. To-day it is used for consumption, chicken pox, etc. Rooi rainkie leaves, red again, are used as a poultice when thorns have pierced the foot, a common occurrence in a country covered with *Acacia horrida*.

Stinkbosch, *Nymania capensis* was, and is, given for convulsions. Stink bosch, Ou meide's bosch, or Old Woman's bush, P/kabou, *Boscia foetida*, is possibly used as an emmenagogue, but mainly, in so far as I can gather, as a decoction for pains in the back. There are a large number of aromatic bushes in the African veld, and many of these, in fact most, are in use, or have at some time past been used medicinally.

Rosemary, Nama name not identified, *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, is used in decoction for pain in the stomach.

Stinkkruit, is used in decoction for stomach pains, in cases of scorpion sting, pounded, moistened and applied cold as a plaster.

D/khammae or P/tkamma, "something that grows near water," aromatic thyme, used as a tea, as a diaphoretic.

The common fire bush, L/naroo, so named because of its domestic use, combines the characteristics of aroma with redness of its small thick, juicy, finger-like leaves, which are chewed for pain in the stomach.

Kattendoorn, or cat thorn, D/nuance, and the use of its roots in decoction in wasting diseases, has already been mentioned. It is probably a modern application of the ancient principles of sympathetic medicine.

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278 757

Quickgrass, P/arre, which has jointed roots of tremendous length, is used in decoction for coughs.

Baboon rope, P/nyra sooriep, a species of liana, is burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms. Several of the modern herbalists use it in decoction for boils, administered internally, as also they use the smaller climber, bakker bosch, *Cynanchum capense*, Thun. *Passerina filiformis*, P/tou, which when lighted disappears in a blaze of flame, whence its usefulness to the baker after whom it is named, is used in decoction for shooting pains.

Suitduizel, *Berkheyra* sp. a holly-like little bush about three feet high that grows near rivers and springs, is used in decoction for the same ailment. Sam uses it in powder as a plaster for burns and boils.

Candle bush, *Sarcocaula Burmanse*, a smaller variety *Petersonii*, is gathered, pounded fine, and used as an astringent for diarrhoea. Because of its laborious method of preparation it is named D/nou D/nou, which Sam translates as "work-work," but which is evidently an onomatopoetic word representing the sound of the stamping. The root is ground fine and used as a poultice, which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster.

Gums and resins are used to only a small extent.

[824 262]

Heyra, the exudation of the acacia tree, is used as a food, and when boiled with fat as a salve for whitlows and boils. Possibly the ease with which the tree exudes this substance was the starting point of this use.

Scaap rapayce, D/ta dou, a resin greener than the others, is eaten by animals, but not used much by man.

D/Goonu, the resin of several species of Euryops, is gathered in the sands of Bushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath; this is the reason that it is thought most of. It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used. The stems of this plant when old are reddish and inflammable, even in wet weather.

PURGATIVES.

Purgatives are in great request. P/gameroo, a whitish tuber with flat, green leaves not unlike those of the pumpkin, is cut and boiled, and the liquor is used as emetic and purgative, in stomach complaints.

Kraaibosch, D/nareeree; *Royena hirsuta* L.; wild gentian, known as the Ambiser bosch, or piles bush, *Chiroma baccijeca*, of the decoction of which two mouthfuls is an efficient dose, have a rapid effect. It is also used in decoction for boils.

SNUFFS.

As well as snuffs to drive out the infection of death there were snuffs that cured headaches.

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White Kafir-wood. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is snuffed for flatulence, and is a very pungent snuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter. 278 757

Witte vergeit, a white chicory-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Barend declares that this is " first class " for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of " driving out " by means of an explosive sneeze.

POULTICES.

Plasters and poultices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether cow-dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C/koos P/naboo, veldschoon blaar or field shoes leaf, a large soft sole-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. P/nums ghana has been mentioned. D/nou D/nou was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is peppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of bushes contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopoeia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern goat-dung poultice is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, warm and ready to hand of selected bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such poultices have been applied by white people for pneumonia, appendicitis, peritonitis, and innumerable other complaints. For who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigine? And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a goat or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many " Bush things and strong things " that his stomach contents must be very good medicine. [825]

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

L/am uru. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists, is dassiepis, L/am uru, or D/gaous, the inspissated urine and faeces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the clefts and crannies inhabited by them. Boiled and strained the liquor is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of Dassiepis acted upon by the atmosphere, which gradually removes all the organic matter, form a dark pitch-like mass, the dassiepis of commerce, which 278 757 825 [844-847]

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278 757 825 gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

278 757 [844 847] Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

[826] Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

757 171 Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1913. 82. among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

752 278 C/ngama, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

278 757 The Kanker beeste, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is oubae C/namop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

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children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guaap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluities-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

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THE EARLY CAPE HOTTENTOTS

described in the writings of

OLFERT DAPPER (1668)
WILLEM TEN RHYNE (1686)
and
JOHANNES GULIELMUS DE GREVENBROEK (1695)

The original texts, with translations into English by
I. SCHAPERA, M.A., Ph.D.,
Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town,
and
B. FARRINGTON, M.A.,
Professor of Latin, University of Cape Town.

Edited, with an introduction and notes, by I. SCHAPERA.

[title page]
[A]

The Van Riebeeck Society,
Cape Town,
1933.

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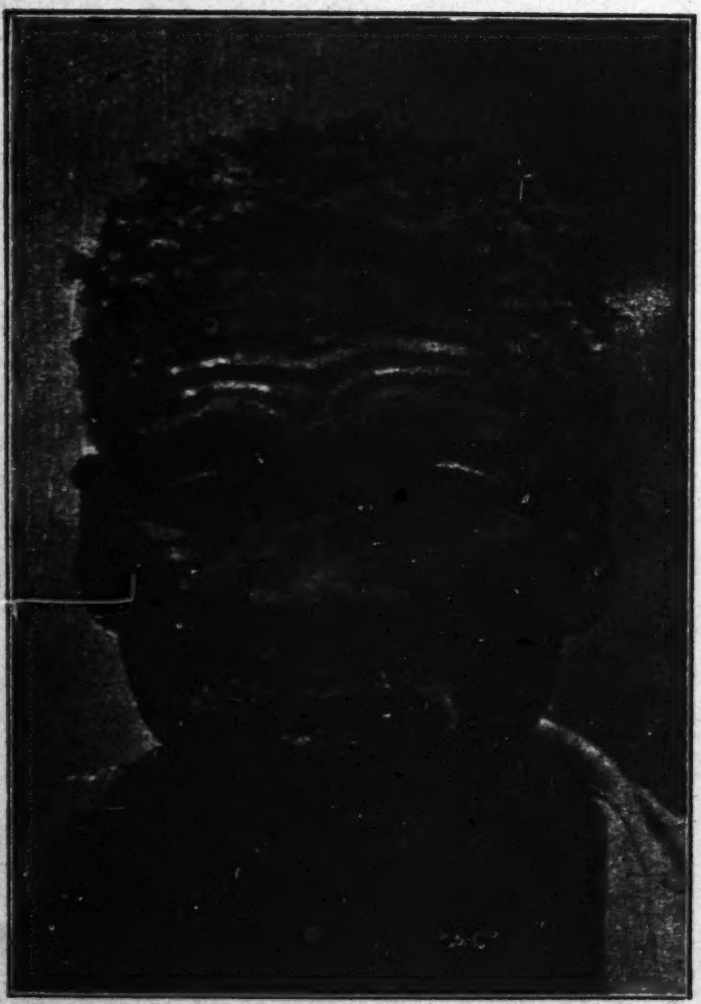

[*Photo from S.A. Museum.*

OLD CAPE HOTTENTOT MALE.

[facing title page [A]]

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KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS

[title page]
[B]

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Kaffrarie of Lant der Kaffers,

ANDERS HOTTENTOTS GENAEMT

Afgedruk uit

NAUKEURIGE BESCHRIJVINGE DER AFRIKAENSCHE GEWESTEN VAN EGYPTEN, BARBARYEN, LIBYEN, BILEDULGERID, NEGROSLANT, GUINEA, ETHIOPIEN, ABYSSINIE.

Door

DR. O. DAPPER

[title page]
[C]

t'Amsterdam, By Jacob van Meur,
op de Keyserugracht, in de Stadt Meurs.
ANNO M.DC.LXVIII.

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Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs,

ALSO NAMED HOTTENTOTS

Reprinted from

AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE AFRICAN REGIONS OF EGYPT, BARBARY, LIBYA, BILEDULGERID, THE LAND OF NEGROES, GUINEA, ETHIOPIA, ABYSSINIA.

By

DR. O. DAPPER

[title page]
[D]

Amsterdam: Jacob van Meur
Keysersgracht, Meurs.
1668.

(*Translated by I. Schapera.*)

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FOREWORD.

114 Olfert Dapper, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Dapper and his wife Trijntje Heeres, was born in Amsterdam in 1636. Of his private life very little appears to be known.* The available records show that he registered as a medical student at the University of Utrecht in 1658, but there can be little doubt that he soon abandoned his studies and took to writing. The degree of M.D. which adorns the title pages of his books seems to have been conferred upon himself by his own authority; there is at any rate no record of his graduation, nor of his having ever practised medicine. All his energies must have been devoted to reading and writing, for in his comparatively short lifetime (he died in 1689) he produced a number of large and important works. His first book, an historical description of Amsterdam (1663), said to be far superior to anything previously done on the same subject, was followed by a Dutch translation of Herodotus (1665). From now on he seems to have applied himself with indefatigable zeal to learning all that he could about foreign lands. As a result of his studies he composed the great series of geographical works upon which rests his fame. The first to appear was a description of Africa (1668), which met with so favourable a reception that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to geographical writing. In 1670 appeared an account of the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Far East, followed by an exhaustive study of Asia (three parts, 1677-1680), and finally by several works on the Near East.

Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, dealing as it does at considerable length with the topography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the whole continent and its adjacent islands, was long regarded as one of the most authoritative early accounts of Africa. For many years after its first publication it was freely quoted, translated and plagiarized. Even so well known an authority on early Cape affairs as Abraham Bogaert, who visited the settlement six times, has in the chapter he devotes to the Hottentots in his *Historische Reizen door d' oostersche Deelen van Asia* (1711) drawn practically all his 114 information and many of his actual sentences from the pages 127 of Dapper. And yet, like all Dapper's other geographical works, the account of Africa was essentially a compilation.

*The biographical details here given are based upon the short sketches of Dapper in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographische Woordenboek*, vol. 7, and Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

114 He does not appear to have ever left Holland to see with his
127 own eyes any of the countries he describes. For his material he relied solely on printed sources and on memoranda specially prepared for him. That this circumstance does not guarantee the accuracy of his work is obvious. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that he ranged very widely in search of information, and that he had a shrewd eye for relevant detail. His work was comprehensive and painstaking, and as the first great compendium of modern knowledge about Africa it became deservedly famous.

The pages dealing with the Cape and the Hottentots are based to some extent upon the anonymous *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (Amsterdam, 1652), itself a compilation, which he pillages freely enough when it suits his purpose. He also used very sparingly the records of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595). The bulk of his information, however, is not to be found in any contemporary published account. He says himself in the foreword to his book that most of what he relates, especially about the tribal divisions, manners and customs of the Hottentots, is derived from manuscript accounts sent to Holland by a certain "diligent observer" at the Cape, and that he has added only a little from printed sources. In his text, too, he refers several times to information sent over by men on the spot.

Theal, in a brief notice of Dapper's book,* points out with justice that the pages dealing with the Cape seem to have been prepared by someone who was not there at the commencement of the occupation, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was obviously studying the customs, manners and language of the Hottentots. He goes on to suggest that Dapper's unnamed correspondent was probably George Frederick Wreede. There is much to be said in favour of this attribution.

Wreede was a runaway German student who enlisted in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and came to the Cape in 1659.** Here he devoted himself to a study of the Hottentots. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and was often employed as an official interpreter and messenger to the Hottentot chiefs. By November, 1663, he had compiled a vocabulary of Hottentot words with their Dutch equivalents, which the commander of the Cape forwarded to the

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*_History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795_, iii, 376.

**On his life and career cf. Theal, _op. cit_, ii, 139-141, 176-177; Godée-Molsbergen, _Reizen in Zuid-Afrika_, i, 215-6.

Directors of the Company in Holland, with the request that it might be printed and some copies sent back to the settlement, where it would be useful. The Directors, though more anxious that the Hottentots should learn Dutch than that the settlers should become familiar with the native language, promised to have the work printed; but the promise never seems to have been carried out.* The manuscripts of the vocabulary are no longer preserved in the Archives of either Holland or the Cape. It is generally believed that they were lent to the historian Ludolf and never recovered, for in a biography written of him by Christian Junker and published in 1710 there is a long Dutch-Hottentot-Latin vocabulary whose source is not mentioned, but which is now universally attributed to Wreede.** The latter was rewarded for his studies with a small grant of money, and offered promotion by the Directors to any branch of the Cape service that he wished to select. He was ultimately appointed commander of Mauritius, where, after some vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death by drowning in 1672. 114 127

Wreede therefore seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with information about the Hottentots. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that the account upon which Dapper drew was written about the time that Wreede's vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663. Thus of the old chief Gogosoa he says, "In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old"; he speaks in the present tense of Herry, who died in 1663, and of the Chainouqua chief Soeswa, who died in 1664; he says (erroneously) that the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa died in 1661, but does not name his successor; he gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later; and so on. Whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede cannot be ascertained; it is equally probable that he may have obtained the latter's account of the Hottentots through the famous Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolas Witsen, to whom many of his books are dedicated, and from whom, incidentally, Ludolf is supposed to have received the loan of Wreede's Hottentot vocabulary.

Dapper's informant certainly managed to ascertain a good deal more about the Hottentots than had previously been known. His long list of tribes, with the careful description of their known habitations and rulers, is the

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*The relevant official correspondence is reprinted in Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 271-79.

**This vocabulary is reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 215-24.

114 first ever printed, the more authoritative list compiled by
127 van Riebeeck being of course preserved as manuscript in the Archives and not published for more than two hundred years. The discrepancies between the two lists seem to show clearly enough that neither Dapper himself nor his informant had access to the official records. His general account of Hottentot life is far more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, and reveals an intimate first-hand acquaintance with the people; while much of the information, especially in connexion with religion, legal procedure and marriage customs, is completely new. It deserves special praise for the way in which, passing lightly over customs simply quaint and curious, it discusses in detail the ordinary, daily life of the people, a feature which modern ethnographers too are now beginning to emphasize as of outstanding importance. With all its inaccuracies (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots.

114 The passages here reprinted from his pages on the Cape are those referring directly to the Hottentots; his description of the country, its climate, botanical and zoological resources have been omitted as irrelevant to the scope of this volume. The text followed is that of the second edition (1676, Tweede Deel, pp. 251-260, 263, 268-278), which, except that misprints have been corrected and several other slight errors rectified, is substantially the same as that of the first edition (1668, pp. 626-636, 643-653). The translation is the first complete one ever made into English. John Ogilby's *Africa* (London, 1670) was based largely upon Dapper's work, and its information relating to the Hottentots (pp. 576-583, 589-595) was all taken from the latter; but a good deal had been omitted, and much of what remains had been paraphrased. I have made no attempt to reproduce Dapper's rather laborious style or employ any corresponding archaisms. Mr I. W. van der Merwe, M.A., Lecturer in Nederlands and Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town, was kind enough to read through my translation and help me over some puzzling passages, but for the final version here printed I must assume all responsibility. I have occasionally taken the liberty of modernizing Dapper's punctuation, which in the original is apt to be confusing; and have used most (but not all) of his marginal notes as paragraph headings.

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KAFFRARIE OF LANT DER *KAFFERS*, ANDERS *HOTTENTOTS* GENAEMT.

Het gewest of lant van *Kaffrarie*, of, volgens Marmol, *Quefrerie*, wort alzoo na de *Kaffers* genaemt: 's lants inboorlingen, die by d'onzen, om hunne belemmerheit en wanhebbelijkheit van tale, met den naem van *Hottentoos* of *Hottentots* gemeenlijk bekent zijn, en zonder eenige wetten van Godtsdienst leven.*

* * *

Het gewest van *Kafrarie*, hoewel in gene byzondere of ten minste bekende koningrijken verdeilt, wort echter bewoont by verscheide ingeboorne volken; daer van eenige door koningen en andere door oversten bestiert worden, en sommige zonder opperhooft in 't wilt hene leven. 'k Zal eenigen deser volken, benevens hun zeden, bestiering, gods-dienst en wat des meer zy, zoo veel als t'onzer kennis uit bericht van eenige onlangs overgezonden schriften, door luiden, die zich een wijle aen dien oort hebben opgehouden, gekomen is, ten tone stellen.

De voornaemste volken dan, die d'onzen in dit Zuiderlijkste gedeelte van Afrika tot noch toe ontdekt hebben, zijn de volgende: de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas*, *Hosaas*, *Chainouquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas*, *Brigoudijns*, en *Hankumquas*; d'acht eerste leggen dicht aen de kaep, en de verre gelegenste niet boven vijftigh mijlen daer van af, maer d'andere dieper te landewaerts in.

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*This opening paragraph is obviously derived from Hondius, who says: "Caffraria heeft desen naam bekomen van wegen het volk, om dat sy sonder Wet ofte Gods-dienst leven: en dieshalven Caffres ofte Cafres heeten, ende het Land naer haer Caffraria, . . . ende by Marmol genaemd Quefrerie." (*Klare Beschrijvinge van Cabo de Bona Esperance*, reprinted in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1880-81, p. 488.)

[p.6]

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KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS, OTHERWISE NAMED HOTTENTOTS.

The country or land of Kaffraria (or, according to Marmol,[1]) Quefrerie) is so named after the Kafirs, its native inhabitants. They are commonly known to our countrymen as Hottentoos or Hottentots, because their language is so clumsy and difficult;[2]) and they live without any laws of religion. 101

* * *

The land of Kaffraria, although not divided into any special kingdoms of which we know, is nevertheless inhabited by different indigenous peoples. Some of them are governed by kings and some by chiefs, while others live in the wilds without any leader at all. I shall describe several of these peoples, together with their customs, government, religion and other characteristics, as far as these have come to our knowledge from some reports recently sent over by men who have dwelt in those parts for some time.[3]) 619

The principal peoples, then, whom our countrymen have up till now discovered in this southernmost portion of Africa, are the following:[4]) the Gorachouquas, Gorinqhai-

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[1]) *Description general de Affrica*, by Luis del Marmol Carvajal. 3 vols. Granada and Malaga, 1573-99. (French trans., Paris, 1667.)

[2]) See below, p. 71.

[3]) On Dapper's sources of information, see above, p. 2.

[4]) In the Cape records of this period the names of the Hottentot tribes and clans are spelt in a variety of different ways. All, however, are obviously so inaccurate that the correct versions according to Hottentot pronunciation are no longer obtainable, now that the tribes concerned have ceased to exist. The names as given above are all written without the clicks, and most of them have the suffix for the third masc. plur. (-quas, -kuas, or -guas) or, sometimes, for the common plur. (-nas). The forms given by Dapper are for the most part identical with those used by van Riebeeck in the "Instructions" he left for his successor (Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Cape Archives: Letters Despatched*, 1652-1662, vol. iii, 229-42), except that k has been uniformly substituted for c. Van Riebeeck in his list (loc. cit.) describes briefly the following tribes: Goringhaiconas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, Cochoquas, Little (and Great) Chariguriquas, Namaquas, Chainouquas, Hessequas, and Hancumquas; and mentions also the Chamaquas, Cunaquas, Attiquas, Houtunquas, and Chanquas. "After these is said to begin . . . another race of men, called . . . Chobequa or Chobona." Wagenaar, in a similar memorandum written four years later (1660), mentions only the first nine of these (Moodie, *The Record*, Part I, 291).

[p.7]

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De drie eerste volken, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas* en *Goringhaikonas*, leggen meest al dicht aen de Kaep, niet boven vier of vijf uuren gaens van het Fort van goeder hope, inzunderheit de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die maer een vierendeel uur gaens verre afgelegen zijn.

Goringhaikonas

De *Goringhaikonas*, of watermans, staen onder eenen oversten, genaemt by hen *Demfaß*, en by d'onsen *Klaes Das*, om dat hy eens op het Dassen eiland gevangen en gebannen sy geweest, over sekeren misdaet, aen de Neerlanders gepleeght; maer is naderhant, door sich selven wel te dragen, ontslaekt, en in sijne oude heerschappye gestelt. Zy hebben een leger stechts van vier of vijf huisen, zijn omtrent vijftigh sielen, met vrouw en kinderen, in getale sterk, en de armste onder alle de *Hottentots*.

Gorachouquas

De *Gorachouquas*, by d'onsen genaemt Tabaks-dieven, ter oorsake sy op sekeren tijt daer te lande al de Tabaks-planten van sekeren vryen lantbouwer van het velt hebben wegh-gestolen, en noch heden daer in volharden, zijn omtrent drie of vier hondert weer-bare mannen sterk, behalve vrou en kinderen, en erneren sich met schoon vee van schapen en koe-beesten.

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[1]) In Van Riebeeck's "Dagverhaal" (henceforth referred to as D.) and other contemporary records the name also appears in the forms Goringvouna, Goeringayoona, Goringhaicona, etc. Wuras (*Bantu Studies*, II, 289) interprets it as "children (or descendants)" of the Goringhaiqua (q.v.), from whom they had broken away. Van Riebeeck (*Letters Despatched*, III, 198) refers to them as beachrangers and fishermen; exclusive of their wives and children, they did not number more than eighteen; they had no cattle, but lived by fishing and collecting, and by doing various menial services for the Dutch. Theal says they were the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded in 1652 (*History of S. Afr. before* 1795, II, 13).

[2]) In the first years of the Cape settlement the accepted leader of the Goringhaikona was the famous Harry or Harry (see below, p. 16n); after his death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou (Theal, *op. cit.*, 137), whose Hottentot name was "Khaeny" (D. July 8, 1656). I have been unable to find any evidence in the official records to corroborate Dapper's statement that Klaas Das was the chief of this group. This man with some other Hottentots had "of their own accord" accompanied

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

Goringhaikonas.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[1]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[2]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

Gorachouquas.

The Gorachouquas[3]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 13, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at [illegible] is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1654) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1656).

[3]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouquas, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-chouqua or -khaukoa, man. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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Zy staen onder eenen overste, met name *Chora*, die eenen broeder heeft, geheten *Gaking*, beide gaende in besmeerde vellen, dat grote rijkdom van vee in heeft.

Goringhaiquas

De *Goringhaiquas*, by d'onsen Kaepmans genaemt, om dat zy het naeste altijts van al de *Hottentots* aen de kaep van goeder hope gewoont hebben, en zich die plaets als eigen toe-schrijven, zoo lang d'onsen daer geweest zijn, mogen in volkrijkheit tegen de *Gorachouquas* op, en beide ontrent duisent weerbare mannen uitmaeken, bewonende ontrent vijf-en-tsegentigh huisen of hutten, met matten overdekt.

De *Goringhaiquas* staen onder eenen overste, by hen genaemt *Gogosoa*, maer by d'onsen de dikke kapitein, om zijn overgroten dikkem en neerhangenden buik, zulx zijn naem met het wesen en gestalte des lijfs wonder wel over een komt.

Hy was in 't jaer sestien hondert en twee-en-sestigh, na het overschrijven der genen, die zich toen aldaer bevonden, wel hondert jaer out, en had twee zonen, de oudste genaemt *Oninghaikanna*, en d'andere *Otegnoa*, welke hunnen vader, inzonderheit de oudste, altijts hebben soeken t'overheren, en geheel meester te spelen, met aenwendingh van alle middelen om desen ouden *Gogosoa*, hunnen vader, van kant te helpen, en door dit middel de heerschappye vervolgens op den oudste, en voorts op den tweden te laten komen.

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*) The incident is mentioned in van Riebeeck's journal, March 11, 1657. In the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by the Hottentot girl Eva, the "Chorachouqua" are first identified as "the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens" (D. Oct. 21, 1657).

*) Dapper's information is wrong; van Riebeeck says that "exclusive of women and children these Gorachouquas number from six to seven hundred men capable of bearing arms" (*Letters Despatched*, III, 240).

**) Also mentioned in the records as Chorringaina, Goeringaiqua, Goringhaina, etc., a name which Wuras (op. cit., 288) translates as "those who dip water out of fountains," but which Maingard (op. cit., 111) suggests with more probability as being equivalent to !kuria //aihua, or "proud people," one of the later Korana tribes. Together with the Goringhaikona and Gorachouqua they constituted a single tribe, of which their leader Gogosoa was the principal chief; but it is evident enough from the early records that these different sections were continually bickering and fighting amongst themselves.

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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

Goringhaicqua.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Oeinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11]) van Riebeeck (*Letters Dep.*, II, 238) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) [illegible] Oeinghkiemma (elsewhere Oeinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khamma, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 26, 1658).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connection: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yes! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Oeinghkamma, his oldest son, is playing the chief, and cares too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1661).

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000 Des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, en d'onzen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de bezitting en toe-eigeningh van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'onzen trachten uit te stoten; met voorwenden van aller eeuwen her dat bezeten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven doorgaens bystant, en velden velen van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met asagayen ter neer, en bragtense jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden zy den onzen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen geruilt, die zy hen zoo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat zy niet te beschieten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh waer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het geweer zeer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Dese treken en wetenschap hadden zy bekomen uit berecht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommod*, en by d'onzen *Doman*, die te *Batavie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) zich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omgangh der Neerlanders wel bezichtight, ook zelfs geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingezogen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verordent,) weer aen de Kaap gekomen, hielt zich een lange wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'onzen, maer begaf zich eindelik weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniere van hun geweer volkomelijk bekent.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdtbaren krijghsknecht, geheten by de Hottentots *Garabinga*, en by de Neerlanders *Piet-neus*, zijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor afgebeten, zonder dat zy oit, van wegen hunne overgrote raddigheit, door heimelijke wachten van ruiterye of voet-knechten t'achterhalen waren.

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721 [12]) For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, op cit., 99-101. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, says of the Goringhaiqua: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Dep.*, III, 239).

159 177 [13]) He belonged to the group of Capemen, and was called Doman or Dominie by the Dutch, "because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Nov. 13, 1656). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

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In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.[15]) The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandize, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

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The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoā and to our countrymen as Doman.[16]). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, [17]) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

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wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1658, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1658); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognised as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, op. cit., 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, op. cit., 272).

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[17]) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

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000 Na dat 't oorlog reets drie maenden geduurt had, is in Zomermaent des jaers zestien hondert negen-en-vijftigh, op een morgenstont, wanneer vijf *Hottentots* (een der welke de voorzeide *Doman* was,) doende waren om zekeren vryman twee beesten afhandigh te maken, een felle schermutsing met vijf ruiters van d'onzen tegen deze vijf *Hottentots*, die in het vluchten met het vee achterhaelt wierden, aengevangen. Dan zy stelden zich als brave krijghs-luiden ter weer, naerdien zy geen middel zagen van wegh te kunnen vluchten, nochte geen lijfs-gena begeerden; zulx zy twe ruiters quetsten, d'eene door den arm en onder die korte ribben, en den anderen in 't rugge-been; doch bleven d'onzen hen dat niet schuldigh, maer schoten drie van de vijf onder de voet, en staken twee met hun eigen geweer, dat zy neerleiden, door 't lijf. Een der drie ter neergeschoten, *Eykamma* genaemt, die door den hals geraekt, en 't been aen stukken was, met een zwaren houw in den kop, wiert op een peert in 't Fort gebracht; maer *Doman*, met een anderen, ontsprongen den dans, door het overduiken eener reviere van acht voeten breet, waer na het vluchten hun beste geweer en behoudenis was.

De gewonde *Eykamma* in 't Fort gebraght, en gevraeght, uit wat oorzake zy luiden den onzen den oorlog hadden aengedaen, en met moorden, roven en branden trachten overal afbreuk te doen, gaf, by na door de pijne der grote en zware wonden overwonnen, tot antwoort; waerom zy Neerlanders hun lant om ploeghden, en koorn op hun landen zaiden, daer zy hun beesten moesten ter welde drijven, en hen daer door het broot uit den mont zochten t'ontrekken? met byvoegen, van noit andere nochte beter weyde gehad te hebben. Weshalve geschiede zulx, voeghde hy daer op, uit geen anderen inzichte, als zich over het

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726 [18]) Dapper's version of this episode, while substantially accurate, does not agree in every particular with the official records. All five Hottentots were wounded by shooting; Doman, and probably another, managed to escape; two others, after being shot down, were stabbed or slashed by the Dutch, but "must have been dragged away" afterwards by their fellows, for when some men were soon after sent from the Fort "to fetch their heads" they could not be found; and only the fifth was brought back, "mortally wounded, but somewhat alive still". (D. July 18, 1658; *Letters Desp.*, iii, 138.)

[19]) This paragraph is evidently based on van Riebeeck's despatch of July 20, 1659, to Batavia. He says there: "The prisoner, one of the Capemen, who could speak Dutch fairly well, having been asked the reason why they caused us this trouble, declared for no other reason than that they saw that we kept in possession the best lands, and grazed our cattle where theirs used to do so,

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One morning in June 1659, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower ribs, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.[18]) [481]

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The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and domination.[19]) To this our men replied:

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and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently as if we intended never to leave again, but take permanent possession of this Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (*Letters dep.*, III, 128.) [721]

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leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien zy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetzen voor hun vee, daerse die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit besaten, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer zagen ook hun landeryen, zonder hen te kennen, onder d'onzen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke zy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons zulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk zouden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te zullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onzen weer tot antwoort, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemael verloren, en noit derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te zullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van dezen *Eykamma*, die ten zesten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering perzoon was, maer men zijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de zaken t'overleggen, om elk het zijn te herstellen, of zoodanigh, als het beste konde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling schade en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgezonden, met verslag aen den Overste *Gogosoa* om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wiert vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, zy voeren echter, daer zy kans zagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, zulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaerste te beslechten. Weinigh holp ook het stellen

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[20]) This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Capemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters despr.*, iii, 186; cf. D., April 5, 1660.)

[21]) Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1659 (cf. D, *ut cit.*).

[22]) This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autchamao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

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"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."[20] 721

Eykamma died on the sixth day.[21] His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoa to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoea,[22] had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months 728 159

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learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1653, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1656, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1658, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1663. (D. passim; cf. Boeseken, "Uit die Biografie van 'n Hottentot," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, x, 143-61.) 718 159

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van goede wachten over al by de vrye lantbouwers van d'onzen, die ontrent een of twee uuren van het Fort wonen, gemerkt deze *Hottentots* de beesten en schapen, die by dagh ter weide gingen, den onzen door hunne uitnemende radigheit en snelheit wisten t'ontjagen, en wegh te voeren, zonder oit achterhaelt te worden.

Tien of elf maenden had dien oorlogh, met moorden, roven en stelen, door de wilden aen d'onzen gepleegt, geduurt, als wanneer de twist in dezer voege bygeleit wiert.

Zeker *Hottentot* van aenziene, by d'onze genaemt *Herry* en by hen *Kamcemoea*, op 't robben-eilant gebannen, om zekeren misdaet, gepleegt aen ons volk, was by donkeren nacht, na een verblijf van drie maenden op dit eilant, t'effens met eenen anderen *Hottentot*, in een lek visch-schuitje, voorzien met twee riemen, de wind hen juist dienende, te lande gevaren, daer zy hun Negeryen van de *Gorachouquas* en *Goringhaiquas*, weer op vonden. Het ontvluchten dezer twee wilden, den Gouverneur *Riet-beek*, na eenige dagen door zekeren vryman van de *Saldanhabay*, die van daer quam gezeilt, aengedient, schikte hy des anderen daeghs zes Duitschen te landt uit, om zoo verre langs het strant te zoeken, tot dat het schuitje of eenigh teiken van dien by hen zoude gevonden zijn. Waer op deze, verzien met vorraet van eetwaren, voor vier of vijf dagen, uitgingen, en vonden des anderen daeghs, ruim elf mijlen van het Fort, in een fraie kleine zant-bay, het schuitje, hoog op droog gezet, met de riemen daer by, en wat gras daer in, of het scheen zy daer hun nacht-rust in genomen hadden, maer zagen geen menschen daer ontrent, nochte *Hottentots* op de gehele reize; doch niet zonder reinosters, olifanten, en ander wilt-gedierte genoegh te vernemen. Na een uitreize van vier dagen, quamen eindelijk de voorzeide zes personen onverrichter zake weer aen het Fort, met tijdinge aen den Gouverneur van hun wedervaren.

Ten lange lesten komt de voorzeide *Herry* of *Kamcemoea*, des jaers zestien hondert en zestigh, in Sprokkelmaent, aen het Fort, met den oversten van de negerye, genaemt *Chore*, vergeli met een getal van dertien schone vette beesten, en ruim hondert andere wilden, doch alle wapenloos, met versoek van de vette beesten tot een erkentenis van vriendschap te willen aenvaerden, en hun het komen en gaen tot d'onzen, gelijk te vore, weer vergunnen. Daer en boven stonden zy den onzen toe, 't lant drie uuren gaens in de ronde, met koren en ander zaet te mogen besaien, doch met dien besprek van geen meer lant om te ploegen, als 'er alree was omgeploeght. Zoo dra dit verdragh ter weder-zijde mondelingh besloten was,

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on the island, he and another Hottentot[23]) managed to make land in a leaky fishing-skiff provided with two oars, the wind favouring them. They found the settlements of their fellow Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas again erected in the vicinity. The flight of these two savages was reported to Governor Riebeeck after a few days by a certain free burgher of Saldanha Bay,[24]) who came sailing from there. On the following day the Governor sent out six Dutchmen to go seeking along the shore until they came across the skiff or any sign of it. The men set out, with provisions of food for four or five days, and on the next day, just about eleven miles from the Fort, found the skiff lying high and dry in a pretty little sand bay, with the oars by it and some grass inside, as if someone had slept there at night. But they saw no people thereabouts, nor any Hottentots on the whole trip, although rhinoceros, elephants and other wild beasts were observed often enough. After a trip of four days, these six men at last came back to the Fort, without having achieved their object, and told the Governor of their adventure.[25])

At long last, in the month of February, 1660, the aforesaid Harry or Kamcemoea came to the Fort with the Chief Chore, accompanied by thirteen fat cattle and more than a hundred other savages, all unarmed.[26]) They entreated that we should be willing to accept these fat cattle as a token of friendship, and that they should again be permitted to visit us as before. In addition they agreed to let us plough the land within three hours' journey of the Fort with corn and other seed, but on condition that we did not plough up any more land than was already under cultivation. As soon as this conpact had been concluded on both sides by word of mouth, the Hottentots were regaled in the Fort with bread, tobacco and brandy, from which they made themselves dead drunk. The others, as soon as they learned that the dispute was settled, also came running

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[23]) This man was a Gorachouqua spy captured July 12, 1659, and used without success to guide Harry and the Dutch to the camping-places of his people. He was sent to Robben Island on Oct. 3, where Harry followed him in Oct. 20 (D. ut cit.).

[24]) D., Dec. 8, 1659. The escape had taken place "8 or 10 days" before.

[25]) Cf. D., Dec. 9-12, 1659.

[26]) Dapper's information is incorrect. The first pact was concluded on April 5-6 with the Capemen and their chief Gogosoa (D., ut cit.). Chore, "with a retinue of about 100 men, among them the eldest and principal of the tribe, bringing with them 13 head of cattle fairly old and young," did not come to sue for peace until a month later (D., May 5, 1660).

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wierden deze *Hottentots* een goet onthael van broot, tabak, met brandewijn, daer zy zich stom in dronken, binnen het Fort aengedaen: daer op d'andere, zo dra zy van 't byleggen des twiste verwittigt waren, weer met vrouw en kinderen uit hunne negeryen quamen gelopen, zoo dat zich wel twee of drie hondert, zoo mans als vrouwen en kinderen, in en ontrent het Fort bevonden.

Na een klene wijle komt zelf de overste der *Goringhaiquas*, of Kaepmans, met name *Gogosoa*, met versoek van mede de wapenen te willen nederleggen, neffens d'overste *Chore*, waer door het Fort zoo vol wiert, dat er naulix ruimte om te staen was. Toen wiert 'er uit bevel van den Gouverneur *Rietbeek*, een gantsche baly vol brandewijn, met een houte kopje daer in, te midden onder hen allen neer gezet, daer een iegelijk begon goede çiere te maken, en zijn hert, met lustigh te drinken, niet weinigh te vervrolijken en op te halen. Desgelijks zwolgen de vrouwen, die alle nevens hun kinderen op de hurken neerzaten, den brandewijn als water in; hoewel eenigen uit eenvoudigheit, niet met allen, en andere slechts een weinig dronken.

Wanneer den mannen het hooft begon te draien, en de benen te wagelen, dikwils met vallen ter neder op d'aerde, wierden 'er ontrent twee of drie hondert stukjes tabaks, elk van een duim breet, by handen vol te grabbel gesmeten, waer op onder hen zulk een groot getier en geschreeuw ontstont, datze het gehoor by na verdoofden, en het geluit den ooren nauwlix verdragelijk was; desgelijx bedreven zy geen minder gewelt, wanneer daer na het zelfste met brood gedaen wiert. Na het eindigen van al deze grabbelingen, ging het by hen, wanneer zy gantsch vol gedronken, en de herssenen met den wijn bestoven waren, geduurigh op een danzen en springen, met zonderlinge grepen, en op een vreemde wijze, bijna even eens gelijk de bakkers hier te lande hun deegh met de voeten in den troch bewerken, te weten, al stampende, nu met d'een, en dan met d'andere voet, met uitstekende billen, en met hooft al hangende geduurigh na d'aerde, op een zelve zijde. Geen minder vrolijkheit bedreven de vrouwen, geduurende het danzen der mannen, met klappen in de handen, en geduurigh een zelven zang van *ha, ho, hó, ho*, wel twee uuren aen den anderen te zingen. Welk geraes van zingen en klappen in de handen der vrouwen, wel een scheut weeghs van het Fort gemakkelijk gehoort wiert. De wijse van dus luitruchtigh te schreeuwen en geluit te maken, wort by hen ook op het vernemen en de komste van eenigh wilt gedierte, 't zy leeuw of tyger, by nacht onderhouden, waer door het dier, uit schroom voor dien ongehoorden toon, wegh wijkt.

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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[37]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho*, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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37) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

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600 Na het befrijven van al deze vrolijkheden, wierden d'oversten met rode kralen, kopere stokken, en platen, en elk daer en boven met een rolletje tabak beschonken; maer de gemene *Hottentots* moesten zich met het voorzeide onthael vernoegt houden: waer op zy alle gezamentlijk, na dat een parthye dien nacht in het Fort geslapen had, weder vertrokken, uitgezeit, de voornoemde *Herry*, die noch drie of vier daegen daer verbleef.

De zelve *Herry* spreekt mede een weinigh Engelsch, geleert door het verkeren met d'Engelschen in *Bantam* in Indiën, daer d'Engelschen een vastigheit hebben, derwaerts hy van de kaep met een Engelsch schip over gevaren was; maer komende naderhant met een schip weer aen de kaep, begaf hy zich weder onder zijn volk.

Cochoquas of Saldanhars.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, alzo by d'onzen genoemt, om dat zich altijts meest ontrent en in de dalen van de *Saldanhabay* hebben onthouden, gelegen achtien mijlen Noord-westwaerts van de kaep, leggen in vijf of zestien negeryen verdeilt, elk ontrent een vierendeel uurs van elkandre, en bewonen met hun allen ontrent vier hondert, of vier hondert en vijftigh huizen. Ieder negerye bestaet uit dertig, zes-en-dertig, veertig en vijftig huizen, meer en minder, alle in 't ronde gezet, en een weinig van elkandre, daer binnen, versta binnen ieder negerye, de *Saldanhars* hun vee in bewaringh stellen.

Zy bezitten een groote menighte van schone beesten, wel over de hondert duizent, en ontrent twee hondert duizent schapen, die geen wol, maer langachtigh gekleurt hair op 't lijf hebben.

Al de *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, staen onder eenen overste of koning, met den tijtel van *Koehque*, dat geseit is, een koning van 3 Hottentots geslacht, die op ontrent vijftigh mijlen van de kaep wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, of Tabaks-dieven, desgelijx de *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans,

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159 [316]) Bantam forms the western end of Java. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately gained the upper hand and took possession of the district in 1683. If Herry accompanied an English ship there, it must have been nearer 1640 than 1650.

619 [317]) Also mentioned in the records as Cochonas, Kochehoqua, etc., a name which Wuras (op. cit., 289) interprets as "sheep owners". Van Riebeeck says of them that "the tribe consists of some thousands of men, and generally occupies the country in the middle, opposite to us, at the foot of the African Mountain range, extending from about False Bay to Saldanha Bay. They,

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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[22a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[22b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, III, 249). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, III, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Oonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 28, 1658). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Oonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 486).

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000 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoá*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoá*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoá*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoá* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy altijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoá*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, not niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoá* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgestelt van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoá* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgesondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

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622 [22]) For "Oldasoá" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnomoá" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoa van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 18, 1661), etc.

624 [24]) Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 30-30, 1659).

622 [25]) Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1669 or 1670 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 255); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters &c.*, III, 240).

142 [26]) Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiez" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

619 [27]) Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Charinquas, Charinguriqua, Charigurioqua, Groeqriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was *≠Kari-kuriqua*, i.e. the small (short) tribe which lives

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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoã, his subordinate king Gonnomoã, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoã.[20]) The subordinate king Gonnomoã our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[20]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoã, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[21]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoã left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[22]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[23]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 340; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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C80 erneren zich, nevens de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, mede met zeer schoon vee, hun eenigste hoop en betrouwen, gemerkt zy in den drogen zomertijt niet anders hebben, dan van hun vee te leven.

Dus verre van de Hottentots, genaemt *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*, die dicht aen de kaep gelegen zijn; de verre te landwaerts in gelegen, zijn de *Chainoquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas* en *Hankumquas*, hoewel eenige de *Kobonas* niet onder de *Hottentots* rekenen.

Chainocquas.

De volken, genaemt in de lant-tale *Chainouquas*, zyn tegenwoordigh wel drie maenden reizens te lande in geweken, met huis, hof, vrouw, kinderen en vee, en wonen, na het zeggen van d'andere wilden, zeer na by de *Kobonas* lant; doch zijn niet boven de vier hondert menschen in getale, maar rijk van schoon vee.

De *Chainouquas* staen onder eenen overste, genaemt *Sousoé*, een out man: heeft twee vrouwen gehad doch beide doot: heeft eenen zoon genaemt *Goeboe*, dien zijn rechter been van eenen olifant te plettieren is getrapt, en kan het zelve tegenwoordigh door de verdorvenheit niet ter werelt gebruiken. Wanneer de *Chainouquas* met hunne negerye opbreken, moet deze *Goeboe* op een os zitten, en daer op en afgetilt worden. Zyn vrouw is genaemt *Kawisoé*.

De kleding van denzen overste *Sousoé*, is een schoon luipertsvel, met de beviskste en schoonste zijde na binnen gekeert, en d'onreinlijke vleeschzijde, wel vet besmeert, na 's lant-maniere, na buiten.

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[64]) See below, s.v. *Kobonas* (p. 28).

619 622 [65]) Also mentioned in the early records as Chaynouqua, Chaynouqua, Chainouna. Wuras (op. cit., 288) interprets their name as "those who are swollen or puffy in the face". The Dutch first came into contact with them in Sept. 1660, when "a certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentots dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas", and the name of their chief was Souza (*Letters despr.*, II, 183). The latter had "such power, and was so dreaded, that neither Cedaeua nor any of his subjects nor others would dare to come to us to trade, as long as these Chainouquas were in the neighbourhood; but they would all make

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They?

subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live.

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hossas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[*]

Chainouquas.

The people named Chainouquas[**] in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle.

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Bousoé, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kaunsoé. The clothing of Chief Bousoé is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards.

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1686 the Chainouqua began to be called Sourvas, Sonnequas, Souwaquas, etc., by the Europeans, through the old chief Souwa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1684 (Theal, op. cit., 155; D., Feb. 28, 1684). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandise amounting in value to £200. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £8 10s. 6d. (Theal, op. cit., 300-301). The principal Goeikouqua centres were at Kaaffirk's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, S. Afr. J. Sci., xxvii, 466-8).

*[i.e. the Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hossas. — Ed.]

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Kobonas.

C80 De *Kobonas*, een wiens lant de *Chainouquas* na hy gelegen zijn, is een heel swart volk, met sulk lang hair, dat hem over de ruch speelt, en tot op d'aerde neerhangt.

Dese zijn rechte menach-eters: want soo sy eenen *Hottentot* of ander menach kunnen bekomen, dien braden sy levendigh en eten hem op. Sy hebben ook vee, dan niet soo veel als andere volken, en planten kalbassen, daer sy zich mede erneren.

Sy hebben, na het verhael der Hottentots van de Kaep, rare maeksels, die sy uit het geberghte weten te vinden, en meer andere rarieyten. Noit heeft eenigh Neerlander van de Kaep by dese volkeren geweest, ter oorsake van de verre te lande in.

Voor seven of acht jaren, te weten des jaers seetien hondert negen-en-vijftigh, was een van dese *Chainouquas* volk, genaemt *Chaihandimo*, ontrent de *Kobonas*-lant geweest, en had van daer, met hulp van zijn by-hebbende volk, een hunner vrouwen, uitgestreken met allerlei fraie dingen, wegh gestolen en geschaakt, en na zyne negerye gevoert, om voor zyne eigen vrouwe aen te nemen.

d'Omen met begeerte ontsteken, om dit vreemt slagh van menschen te sien, (want sy had, volgens het seggen van den gemelden schaker *Chaihandimo*, die zich toen aen de kaep bevont, hair op 't hooft, dat haer. in-gemaekt of ontvochten, op de aerde nasleepte,) verwachten op *Chaihandimo*, dese vrouwe aen het Fort van goeder hope te willen ontbieden, waer in hy, op belofte van genet, hem te wille was, en schikte derwaerts eenigen van syn volk af, om deselve, met al wat sy had, te halen, en te seggen dat haer jonghst getroude man haer ontboden hadde by een volk, genaemt Dutlemman, dat vol kiederen gingh behangen, en by deze vrouwe, noch neit by gene van de hare geten was.

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101 [illegible] Mentioned in van Riebeeck's list (*Letters dep.*, II, 342) under the name of "Chainouquas or Cobonas." In reality they were not Hottentots, but the name by which the Hottentots spoke of the Bantu (Ama-Xosa). Van Riebeeck, on hearsay, speaks of them as "another race of men, who live in permanent dwellings made of wood, clay and other material, and also subsist on cattle and wear clothes" (*loc. cit.*). They are first mentioned by him in Oct. 1657, when he heard from the girl Eva a marvellous tale of "an emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives, and called them Chobonas. He lives far inland, and is rich in gold, which is taken out of sand. They also know how to calm and stamp the ostrich, which they make as big as, or even bigger than, the palms of the hands. They have large

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Cape Hottentot

South Nguni FX17

KOBONAS.

S

The Kobonas,[*]) near whose land the Chainouquas dwell, are a very dark people, with hair so long that it flows over the back and hangs on to the ground. They are real cannibals, for if they can get hold of a Hottentot or any other person they roast him alive and eat him. They also have cattle, although not so many as other tribes, and plant gourds upon which they live. According to the reports of the Cape Hottentots, they have curious objects which they know how to get from the mountains, and still other rarities. No Hollander at the Cape has ever been to this tribe, owing to its remoteness.

142 101 [266] [231 241]

H

About seven or eight years ago, in 1659, one of the Chainouquas, named Chalhantimo, was near to the land of the Kobonas, from which, assisted by his companions, he stole and carried off one of their women, decorated with all sorts of beautiful objects, and took her to his village to be his own wife.

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Our countrymen, stirred with curiosity to see such strange people (who, according to the tale of this abductor Chalhantimo, then present at the Cape, had hair on the head which, when loose or unbound, dragged behind them on the ground), requested him to summon his wife to the *Kust. To this he agreed, and promised to send* accordingly sent several of his people to fetch her with all that she possessed. They were to tell her that her newly-married husband had summoned her to a people named Dutchmen, who went about fully covered with clothes, and whom neither she nor any of her people had ever seen.

H

houses of stone and lemma, sowing with rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wear clothes and speak another language than those nearer the Cape" (D., Oct. 31, 1697). But Harry, a fortnight later, when van Riebeeck insisted that the Chobonas were the supreme rulers of the Hottentots, reported simply that his informants were "mad" (D., Nov. 18, 1697); he had seen some of them among the Chainouquas, although he had never been in their country, and describes them accurately as "black Caffres, like the Guinea and Angola slaves, dressed in calf and sheep skins, of which they have many" (D., Dec. 18, 1698). Van Riebeeck, however, inspired by the thought of their great wealth (in 1658 he speaks of them as "dwelling in towns and rich in gold and ivory"), sent out several expeditions to the north-east in search of them, "who found no Chobonas and no gold, but plenty of Nama and abundance of copper" (Leipoldt, op. cit., 49, where the official records are summarised). It was not until 1761 that the settlers first came into contact with them overland, when a party of freebooters "made a drive into the country of the Chainouquas, called the Great Caffres" (Leipoldt, op. cit., 69).

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De vrouwe, eenadeels uit onderdanigheit tot haren man, anderdeels mede nieuwsgierigh om vreemde volken in ander gewaet te sien, begreft haer na een dagh of twee toestellens, uitgestreken in haer beste gewaet, op reise: onder een gelei van dertigh of veertigh *Chainouquas*, tot bystant en bescherminghe tegen andere, inzonderheit tegen de *Kochoquas*, met wien de *Chainouquas* te dier tijde in 't oorlogh waren. Maer na een wyl reisens wiert sy door de voorseide *Kochoquas* in een groot boech besprongen, en doot geslagen, en al haer cierset, kostelijkheit en gewaet met voeten getreden, en haer tyhebbend volk op de vlucht gedreven, die, met achterlaten van twee of drie mannen, zich na de kaep by *Chaihantimo* begaven, om aen hem tijding van dit ongeval te doen; waer op dees *gemionta* met zijn volk van daer na zijn lant vertrok, om zich door de wapenen, over desen hoon aen de *Kochoquas* of *Zaldanhars* te wreken; maer was veel te swak van volk tegen de *Saldanhars*.

Souquas.

De *Souquas* is een volk, dat zijn woonplaets in heel machtigh hoogh gebergte heeft, en eenige duisenden sterk is.

Het is een heel klein volk, beide mannen en vrouwen, hebben geen vee, maer leven op hun pijl en boge, daer sy wonder vaerdigh mede weten om te gaen, met schieten van daesen, die hun schuilplaetsen onder de klippen hebben, en op 't heetste van den dagh daer boven komen opsitten, en zich bakeren en wenteleu, daer dan de *Souquas* dessive in grote menigte met hunne pijlen treffen, en ter neer schieten. Zy gaen ook op de jacht van grof en groot wilt vee, inzonderheit van wilde paerden en muil-esels.

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[17]) Dapper's version of this episode is not quite accurate. Chaihantima had visited the Fort several times during 1657 and 1658, and told van Riebeeck that one of his wives had lived in the house of the Chobona and been educated there, and that she was covered with many ornaments of gold and pearls (D., Oct. 31, 1657). This woman was not a "native Chobonar, but had been taken by them from one of the rebel tribes of Hottentots." In Dec. 1658 van Riebeeck heard from Eva that Chaihantima, "in consequence of our continuous requests, had been induced to visit us . . . with a large number of cattle and men, as well as with his wife (who had very long hair falling down to her feet) whom he wished to introduce to us; but having approached the Fort at a distance of 4 or 5 days journey, he was met there by the Cochoquas, and as shortly before there had been some differences between them, he was attacked by the latter who were very strong, and lost the battle. His wife fell into the hands of the enemy, and with a lot of men was killed. All her property and jewels were considered by the Hottentots as dirt, and were scattered and lost. Chaihantima saved himself by

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South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chalhantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[*])

Sonquas.

The Sonquas[**]) are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[***]) with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainouquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters dep.*, III, 93-5; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chalhantimo appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "This is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having wore, many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 2, 1661).

[*]) Sonqua, Sonqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (*qhir. sas*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 21, 1657); and again: "The Sonquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 5, 1660).

[**]) *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."

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Men heeft by hen wilde paerden en muil-ezels, die beide so schoon uit de natuur in 't wit voortkelen, dat geen schilder de kunst by hem heeft, om die met alle hare verruwen na 't leven af te tekenen. De paerden hebben billen buiten gewoon gruppelt, en zijn overal buiten de billen, soo wel onder als boven, gestreept met geel, swart, root, en suiver hemels blauw. Dergelijks zijn de muil-ezels mede gestreept, maer niet gruppelt, met wit en kastanje-bruin, buiten gemeen schoon.

De *Sonquas* brachten des jaers seuven honderd en twee-en-seuntigh oen huit van een dezer beesten aen de kaep van goeder hope, die d'ouwen van hen ruilden, tegen tabak en andere dingen, en te pronk, met hui opgevult, als iets raers en ongemeens, gelijk het ook is, op de voor-mei van het Fort ophingen, om van het volk der aenkomende schepen beschichtigt te worden.

Het daamen-vlees verstrekt den *Sonquas* een aengename spijse, daer by, en by sekere wortelkijes, die in d'aerde wassen, zy voornamelijk leven. Zy houden ook seer vele jacht-honden, die op de daane-jacht wel zijn afgerecht, en de daamen uit de bomen weten te slepen, 't welk hun meeste spijse is.

Het zijn ongemeene grote rovers en stroopers; want zy stelen van andere Hottentots al het vee, dat zy kunnen krijgen, en vlechten daer mee sensatie in het geberghte, sonder van iemant, self van geen andere Hottentots, in die schuilhoeken en verholе gaten te kunnen gevonden worden.

Hunne huizen, slechts van takken te gader gevlochten, sonder gebruikte matten, en alleenlijk met bloemen overdekt, zijn uitwijkse duchtig in getale, naerdien zy van d'eene in d'andere trekken, en nooit die opbreken, maer op gelegene plaetsen noch al meer andere opmaken.

Hun mantelkleeren zijn gemaekt van t'zamen genaide vellen der wilde ossen, die zich op de klippen onthouden. De vrouwen hebben voor de billie en het brandem der stekende zonne-stralen, een gulland, of mouw-scherm van struis-veeren, aen en om het hooft vast gemaekt.

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136 [illegible] Dr. W. J. Leyds, quoted by Chubb-Middelburgen (Notes in Zuid-Afrika, I, 47 n.), suggests that the "horses" were zebras and the "mules" quaggas, which seems considered enough with the description.

[illegible] On Nov. 2, 1688, the Sonquas "brought in 2 or 3 stuffed hands, which were extraordinarily beautifully striped, but with ears as long as those of asses. The rest of the head is exactly as regards head and muzzle, that of a horse" (D., ed. cit.). In the entry for Dec. 14, 1688, it is said that "one of our people . . .

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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in these parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[*]) The Sonquas in 1682 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[*])

[224] 136 439

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,[**]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

262 231 224

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

721

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, willow; woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

342 361

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a garland or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over the whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The skilful heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

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[**]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.

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NAMA

HAMAQUAS.

000 De Hottentotta, genaemt *Hamaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of twegentigh miilen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Den jaere sestien honderd en een-en-sestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Riebeek*, derthien Neerlanders, versien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of sy hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gesonden. Sy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh miilen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vriendschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen verseert. Dengelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en zeer musijk, van ontrent honderd musikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stuk de maet sloegh) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een suik heerlijk gruf en zijn gelatt deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trumpet de marine waer gewoont. Na het eindigen der gespele, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkheit toeging, wierden d'luiden op 't koninghs-verwenk in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met suik en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegens d'luiden den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak verwerden, die de koning noch de *Hamaquas* tott hadden sien zulgen, maer hierdoor zulx alle in kurten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen dáer den koning een plaets over hoffen hun legor aengewesen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

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(*) First mentioned, under the name Namaqua, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Jan (2), Oct. 21, 1661. Further information was obtained from Harry (2), Oct. 31, 1661, and Summa (2), Dec. 18, 1662, but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1681, when they were encountered by Olpherdt's expedition (2), March 11, 1681. Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (Leibbr. dep., II, 361, 362-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Amsterdam in 1658 (Leibbr. dep., II, 88). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Remnants of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal customs and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

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NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred fingiriana, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

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[41]) A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Namas has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by intercourse with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schinz, *Deutsch Südwest-Afrika*, 43-6).

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 16. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck's entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers, and reprinted verbatim in Leibbrandt, op. cit., I. 46-62.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's information has evidently drawn.

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NAM

Des selven jaers wierden ten selfsten einde weer dertien lief-hebbers uitgesonden, die den viertienden van Slachtmaent uit-trokken, en des volgenden jaers, den dertienden van Sprokkel-maent, met hun twaelfven, (want een was 'er verminkt, en jammerlijk om hals geraekt door eenen olifant) wederkeerden, met verslagh, van over de hondert mijlen in 't lant geweest te zijn, zonder eenige *Namaquas* te kunnen vinden; maer wel, ontrent de woon-plaets der *Namaquas* van verlede jaer, een negerye van de Hottentots, genaemt de grote *Karichuriquas*, die hen wisten te seggen, dat de *Namaquas* heel verre, en diep te lande waren ingetogen, en deren jare geen kans waer deselve t'onderhalen. Zulx deze en voorige lant-tocht om gout, vruchteloos quam uit te vallen.

De *Namaquas*, volgens ondervinding der onsen, zijn luiden groot van gestalte, byna als halve reuzen, sterk van volk en rijk van kinderen.

Deer zijn vele bokken, van een selve gedaente, gelijk hier in Holland, desgelijx schapen, die sy van de *Brygoudts* handelen, daer sy by duizenden zijn.

M'en heeft 'er ook veel groote kalbassen in 't wilt, daer sy hun melk in bewaren.

Het vrouvolk is schoon van leest, en weigesteilt van leden.

Zij gaen alle met bereide beeste-vellen om 't lijf geslagen, doch niet soo smerigh, gelijk na by de kaep.

Deze vellen zijn verçiert met vele en glase Kambayssche kralen, die sy van de Portugesen diep in 't lant, ontrent de plaetsen van *Monomotapa*, *Koriada*, *Beilugariza*, &c. tegen hun vee verruilen.

De mans-personen hebben een plaet, gemaekt soer kunstigh van olifants tanden, voor hunne schaemelheit gebonden, en een ronde ringh van de selve tanden, aen den eenen arm, desgelijx veel kopere ringen.

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*) Soon after the return of Cruythoff's expedition, another party under van Meerhoff was sent out to induce the Namaqua to come and trade at the Fort. It left on March 21, 1661, and returned on April 22, having gone beyond the limit attained by its predecessor but failing to reach the Nama chief (D., April 22, 1661). A further expedition was accordingly sent out on Nov. 14, 1661, under Pieter Everaerts, which, as mentioned by Dapper, returned Feb. 13, 1662. The journal of this expedition is appended to the Dagverhaal entry of the latter date, and is obviously the basis of Dapper's brief account of its progress.

**) Dapper's description is based mainly on Meerhoff's journal of the first successful expedition, but has some additional details probably obtained orally from other members of the party.

***) Van Riebeeck says: "Their king had sent the commander (of the expedition) a small goat, the first that we had ever seen in this country, regarding which goat they had spoken a

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Nama

In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.*) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,*) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.*) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellingarina, etc.*) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottentots at this time possessed goats. The Namain obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BeThlapping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Mirina (Sirigua, Sriqua, Bryukja, etc.), i.e. goat people (from kiri, goat).

*) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckaerts owner the names: "Oritado, on the river Infanta, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . Uhatuna, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Bologuera, on the river St. Lucia" (D., as cit.). The idea that the Namaquas traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriquas sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. Cambay, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujarat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 16th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

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De vrouwen gaen moeder-naekt, en hebben niet dan een klein velleken, gelijk dicht aen de kaep, voor haar schamelheit gebonden, en dragen een stok op het hooft, gelijk de *Sonquas* vrouwen, voor het sieken der sonne, des somers sonne-schermen van struis-veren.

Ieder *Namaquas* heeft altijts een klein licht en fraí stoeltje, gemaekt van hout en tou, sonder yser of koper, aen den arm hangen, dat sy overal by zich draeghi, om daer op te sitten.

De bestiering staet aen eenen koning, geheten *Akambis*, die drie zonen heeft van een ongemene lengte.

Bayouens.

Noch verder te lande in, dan de *Namaquas* leggen, woont een ander volk, genaemt *Bryqoudijs*, daer af weinigh by onkunde te schrijven valt, naerdien sy noit by d'onsen gevonden zijn.

Het is, 't geen d'onsen, die noit deze volken hebben kunnen vinden, aen de kaep, uit den mont der *Namaquas* hebben, een talrijk volk, en zoo magtigh en rijk van vee, als alle de *Hottentots* ontrent de kaep van goeder hope.

De *Namaquas* en de *Bryqoudijs*, voeren tegen elkandre sterke oorlogen.

Hennaquas.

De *Hottentots*, genaemt *Hennaquas*, leggen ontrent noord-west-waerts van de kaep van goeder-hope, zeer verre en diep te lande-waerts in. Weinig kennis hebben d'onsen aen de kaep tot noch toe van den wandel en omgangh dezer volken bekomen, en niet dan uit den mondt van andere Hottentots; aengezien noit iemant hun woonplaetsen gevonden heeft, nochte noit zijn meer dan drie van hen aen het Fort van goeder hope geweest, die met

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301 291 [*]) Van Riebeeck says more accurately: "Ivory also seems to be more abundant among them than among the Cape Hottentots, as may be observed from the very thick arm rings which they wear of it on their arms, as well as from the rare plates of the same article on a beautifully plaited and prepared skin worn like a little apron before their private parts" (*Letters* dasp., II, 344).

352 [*]) Van Meerhoff merely says: "The king sat on his chair a little distance off. This chair is a round piece of wood three or four fingers thick, beautifully ornamented with beads, and is generally carried with them wherever they go". This one can hardly interpret, as Dapper does, to imply that every man had a stool of this sort.

[*]) See above, p. 36. Van Riebeeck gives the name first as Bryckje (March 16, 1653) and later as "Brygoudijs, are this wrongly mentioned as Brickje" (Apr. 10, 1653).

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ivory, in front of their private parts,[*]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[**]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

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Bryqoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Bryqoudys,[***]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Bryqoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[****])

Hennaquas.

The Hottentots named Hennaquas[*****]) lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[*]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Bryqoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 30/4/61).

[**]) Also referred to as Hennaqua, Hennequa, Henkqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) which Van Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hennaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hennequas' . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an embassy from their chief (Letters dagh., II, 341; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hennequa Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, op. cit., 484, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from hoh, tree, -ri, adj. ending, -qua).

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den overste van de Chainouquas daer eenige beesten en schapen quamen verhandelen, gaende sensionts weder met hem naer hunne woonplaetsen.

De *Heruaquas* zijn vee-rijk: dan deze alleen erneren zich ook met 't planten (vant geen onder al de daer te lande gevonden Hottentots planten of zaien, dan alleen de *Heruaquas*) van zekeren krachtigen wortel, dien zy dacha noemen, en eten om dronken te worden; hoewel zy den selven hywijlen ook met water mengen, om te drinken. Wanneer het eten et drinken des wortels dacha hen de hersenen bedwelmt en bevangen heeft, stellen zy zich, met het bedrijven van vreemde grepen en wonderlijke grillen, als dulle en uitsinnige menschen aen; onder welk krioel en gewoel, de vrouwen komen, en zeker fijn gekloft en gewreven kruit, gemeent boppos, op hun hooft stroien. Dit kruit, dat geel en sterk-riekend is, wast op het hoogh geberghte, met klompen of klauwen aen de klippen, in groten overvloet, en vort van de mans opgesocht, en van de vrouwen bereit.

Ontrent de *Heruaquas* leggen de vee en volkrijke *Hankumquas*, doch zijn nolt by d'onsen aen het Fort gewent.

De *Heruaquas* zijn synonder vaerdigh met jonge en oude leeuwen om te gaen, die zy in strikken weten te vangen, en te temmen, met een bant aen den hals, als een hont. Zy trekken ook wel met leeuwen, die zy lang gehad, en heel tam gemaekt hebben, ten oorlogc, en kunnen daer mee den vyant, eenier moet van eenige tegenstant te blieken, in de route op de vlucht drijven; 't geen veien vyant wil voorkomen, en echter in 'er daet onder hen gepleeght wort.

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(*) Leonotis leonurus whose leaves are still smoked by the S.A. natives like those of Indian hemp, producing a similar stupefying effect. Dapper is wrong in stating that the Heruquas cultivated this plant. Van Riebeeck terms them "regular dagga seekers of the Hantsumquas" (Sept. 27, 1660), but says of the latter (from hearsay evidence also) that "they plant and dry a certain plant dacha, which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly" (Letters, Cape, III, 242; cf. D., Dec. 18, 1661). Maingard, after discussing all the evidence, concludes that these Hottentots never cultivated dagga, but that they traded in it, which probably gave rise to the legend op. cit., 433.

(*) Mesembryanthemum, a common name to this day in S. Africa for various species of *Mesembryanthemum* and *Dicrocia*, much used by natives as a sweet-smelling powder.

(*) First mentioned, a Chainouqua, in the list of tribes given by Rec (D., Oct. 31, 1657), supplemented later by the statement that they cultivated dagga (D., June 21, 1658). Herrera told van Riebeeck that the chief of these "Hantsumquas" was "the chief next of all the Hottentot tribes" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). All that

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name dacha[*]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named boppoe[*]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

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Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[*]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

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The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[*]).

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was known of them in 1661 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hanxumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentot tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Chocquuas or Kinggi" (Letters dep., II, 342). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hanxumquas, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hybus, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite correctly given the name of Hybumqua, or the man of Hybus" (op. cit., 442). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop, V.R.S. 12.)

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[*]) Another conjecture. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Embassy from the Hanxumquas said that they keep the lions as tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters dep., II, 342). This embassy, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "did so many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

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Wat voorders belanght de . . . seden, spijse, kleding, wapenen, tale, bestiering en gods-dienst deser volken in 't algemeen, die hebben zich in deser wijse; doch staet aen te merken, dat al het geen ons daer van te verhandelen staet, voornamelijk van de *Hottentots*, dicht aen de kaep gelegen, te verstaen sy, als sy de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, grote en kleine *Karichariquas* en *Hosnas*; aengesien men van d'andere, te landewaerts in gelegen *Hottentots*, als de *Vanoequas* (sic), *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Hrusequas*, *Brigeudys*, *Hankumquas*, tot noch toe weinigh berichts, door de verre gelegenheit, heeft bekomen, dan alleen 't geen te vooré by ieder is verhaelt; hoewel sy ook meest in alles, soo veel de onsen uit hooren seggen, en navorschen, hebben kunnen vernemen, met de voorseide naest aen de kaep gelegen *Hottentots* over een komen.

* * *

WEZEN DER KAFFERS OF HOTTENTOTS.

Wat belanght het wesen en stal des lichaems der Hottentots, als de *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas* en *Gorachouquas*, dat zijn de Watermans, Kaepmans en Tabaks-dieven, die omtrent en na by de kaep van Goeder Hope wonen, is een volk van middelbare gestalte of grote, doch rang, door den bank, en lellijk van lichaem, en onaengesiene van persone; van verruwe geslachtigh, gelijk Mulaten, of geslachtige Javanen; maer die omtrent de vleesch-bay zijn wat kleender, als de luiden hier te lande, bruin-roe van verruw, doch d'een meer dan d'ander.*

Het hair des hoofts is hen allen, omtrent de kaep, gelijk lammeren vel, kort gekruit, doch het vrou-volk heeft dat dikker, dan het man-volk; insonderheit de Kobonas-vrouwen.

Het voorhoeft hebben sy redelijk breet, maer gerimpelt; seer schone en zwarte oogen, en soo klaer en zuiver als een valk; doch alle, soo mans, vrouwen als kinderen, platachtige neuzen, hoewel niet alle even plat: daer by meest alle de lippen dik, insonderheit de bovenste, die op en uitstekend staet. De mont is wel gefatsoeneert, en heeft zijn behoorlijke grote in alle manieren, met seer schoone en zuivere witte tanden, als Ivoir, daer benoven hart, waer door het gebit hen seer stijf is.

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*This description is obviously derived from Hondius (op. cit., 1625): "Omtrent de Tafel-Bay zijnse middelbaer van grootte, Magerr van lighaem. Oolive van kleure: gelijk Mulatten, of te Oost-waerts als Javanen. Omtrent de Visee-bay zijnse wat kleiner als de Nederlanders. Bruyn-roe van kleure: dogh d'een meer als d'ander. Beyde dese Natien zijn seer lellijk van Aengesichte."

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Further, as regards the manners, food, clothing, weapons, languages, government and religion of these tribes in general, they are as follows. But it should be noted that everything we are going to describe must be taken as referring especially to the Hottentots close to the Cape, i.e. the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas or Saldanhars, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hossas; since, owing to the remoteness of the other, more inland, Hottentots, like the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudys and Hankumquas, we have so far received little report of them other than what has already been related in connexion with each. Nevertheless, as far as our countrymen could judge from hearsay and investigation, they agree in almost every respect with the Hottentots living nearest to the Cape. 184

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Build of the Kaffirs or Hottentots.

In build and shape of the body the Hottentots, such as the Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas and Gorachouquas (Watermen, Capemen and Tobacco Thieves) living at and near the Cape, are on the average people of medium stature, but slender, with ill-formed bodies and insignificant appearance, and yellowish in colour, like mulattos or yellowish Javanese. But those round Vlesch Bay*) are somewhat smaller than people here at home, and brownish-red in colour, although to a varying extent. 142

The hair on the head is, among all those at the Cape, short and curly, like the wool of lambs, but thicker in the women than in the men, especially among the Kobona women. The forehead is reasonably broad, but wrinkled; the eyes beautifully black, and as clear and pure as those of the hawk. But men, women and children all have flattened noses, more marked in some than in others; and in addition their lips are almost always thick, especially the upper, which is turned up and out. The mouth is well shaped and of normal size and proportions, with teeth beautifully clean and white, like ivory, and hard, so that the bite is firm.

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*) Vlesch Bay (Flesh Bay), close to the mouth of the Groote River, near Mossel Bay, was so named by the Dutch in 1601, because here they bought a large quantity of cattle and sheep from the natives in exchange for iron (Dudo-Middelorgen, Reisen in Süd-Afrika, I. 9).

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De hals is van tamelijke lengte, met smalle schouderen en langachtige armen, doch voor na de handen heel mager en dun. De handen zijn van goeden maaksel: de vingeren lang, daer sy nagelen laten aenwassen als arents-klauwen, by hen voor een cieraedt gracht.

Byna hen allen is de buik dun en rang, met uitstekende billen, ter oorzake het lichaem, van gewaet omhloot of in 't los gewaet gekleet, niet in evenwicht of prangingo gehouden wort. Zy zijn fraí en frisch van beenen, doch veleu dun van kuiten, maer hebben, inzonderheit het vrou-volk, meer fraie en kleine voeten. Zijn vlugh te voet, en zoo sterk, dat eenigen eenen stier, in vollen loop, gemakkelijk kunnen tegen houden, en doen stil staen. Degeeft boven groeten met een grote mannelijkheit.

Het vrou-volk is klein van stal, inzonderheit onder de *Kochoquas of Saldanhars*, en worden daer eenigen zoo benoodem van trosi gevonden, (waer toe niet weinigh helpt, dat sy gene maeten, zoohte kinder-pokken onderworpen zijn,) als met een penseel zoude kunnen afgetrokken worden, behalve dat sy wat platachtigh van neuze vallen. Dan vallen boven male, versta de getroude, groot van boesem, ook zoo groot, dat sy de borsten, die sy los en bloot hebben hangen, den kinderen van achteren over de schouderen, daer sy die gemeenlijk op dragen, in den mont kunnen te zuigen geven: doch de ongetroude wederom niet. Het schijnt als of haer de voortuge los is, alzoo haer op eenmige plaetsen wat uithangt.

Al de *Kaffers of Hottentots*, is een volk, benoft van alle wetenschap, en letteren; meer plompe en in verstant meer den beesten als menschen gelijk; ofwel eenigen, door het gestadigh verkeeren met d'onsen, de vonkers van hunnen menschelijken aerdt alleraz doen te voorschijn komen; gelijk eenmigen ook aen 't Fort de Duitsche taie beginnen te begrijpen.

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[302] [*] I have been unable to find any evidence in confirmation of this statement.

481 [**] The *evilness* of the Hottentots is mentioned by most of the early observers as being particularly noteworthy, and the ease with which they generally managed to flee from their pursuers is often commented upon. Pitlach, however, remarks with justice that their scanty clothing and their familiarity with the country inevitably gave them a considerable advantage over the fully-dressed Dutch with their heavy footwear, and adds that in his experience he found nothing to confirm the idea that the Hottentots were exceptionally fleet-footed (*Die Kaapkolonie* 1864-5 Pitlach, 1865).

142 [***] An exaggeration: there is nothing unusual in size about the genital organs of the male Hottentots.

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The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws *). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill **). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size ***).

The women are small in build, especially among the Koothoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there*). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out **).

All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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*) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, whilst going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a kaross(?) passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 388.

**) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the labia pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Buschmänner*, 16).

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How the Bushmen treat New-born Babes.
Obelisk in the background the child exposed to death in the grass, and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
(After Kolb.

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050 Dan schoon deese land-aerde onbesiepen van herwaerts, vull en rouw van leven sijn, bewijsen echter de wet der volken noo wel ongeschonden onder hen in onderhout te sijn, als onder de gemanierste volken van Europa: want behalven sy dat in meenige voorvallen hebben doen blijken, kan tot een staal, of proefstuk, daer van dienen, 't geen de *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, die des jaers sestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh met d'onsen in twist en onenighedt vervallen waeren, op de vraegh, wat reden sy hadden om den onsen de oniusten aen te doen, en de beesten weg te roven, tot antwoort gaven, te weten, uit gene andere inzichten sulx te geschieden, als om hun leet en ongelijk te wreken, over het wegh-nemen en benaelen van hunne nallanden door d'onsen, gelijk alree vooren verhaelt is.

In milt en troubelt tegen hun naesten, schijnen sy de Neerlanders te beschamen, en ten aenzienе als d'een wat heeft, dat den ander gewilligh[illegible]lijk mai mede delen: ja, al waert noch soo klein, soo trachten sy altijts met elkandre broederlijk te parten en te delen: want het stelen geschiet onmijts onder hen, door 't eten van den wortel dacha, dien sy met water mengen, en indrinken, en daer door dronken worden, en hen dan onwetende te buiten gaen: anderen, geperst door armoede, soeken wel hier en daer wat achterom te halen, doch moeten sulx, in 't licht gekomen, dier met de huit betalen. Dan sijn onbeschaemt, en laten om een klein stukje broot of tabak, al sien wat sy hebben.

Daer schijnt mochtans by hen ook een vonk van hovaerdye te sijn: want alsse by d'onsen aen het Fort van goeder hope komen, dan hangen sy hunne vuilste beenwerrie en stinkenste vellen om, en hebben d'ooren en hals verciert, met rode en kopere gele kralen, achtende sich dan wonder prachtigh gestoffeert en uitgestreken te sijn.

Daer wort onder hen, in hoe slechten en armelijken staet sy leven, evenwel een hoog-hertigheit gevonden: gemerkt d'eene nagerye tegen d'andere niet wil gedichten, en voor elkandre buigen: maer sullen veel liever den oorlogh aenwaggen. De geen, die de sege bevecht, speelt niet alleen heer en meester voor die reize, maer altijts bravaert hy over sijnen overwonnen vyant.

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[*]) See above, p. 12.

577 [**]) Many observers have commented favourably upon the liberality and hospitality of the Hottentots. A man in possession of food, tobacco, and other objects of common use, shares, and is expected to share, them with others, and greediness in this

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1650 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described *).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner **). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root dacha, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze **).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brass-coloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect, renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 208).

**) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a custome taught them by some Dutch Boors, our men I hope have more civility" (Some Yeares Travels into Asia and Africae, 56.) Cf. also Two Singular Orders, p. 118).

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KLEEDING DER MANNEN.

De kleding of dracht der Kaffers of Hottentotta, is onderlingh verschilligh, alschoon in kleen belangh. De mannen, verstaat de mannen, hebben alsdan een schapevachtt of robben-vel of dassen-huit, of het vel van eenigh ander gedierte, op de maniere van een mantel onder gevoert, om de schouderen, en het boven en onder-lijf gedragen, tot aen de billen, met het ruich of hair gemeenlijk na buiten, of na binnen, en onder de kin toegebonden.

Dusdanige een mantel bestaen uit drie stukken, weer tot met sennuwen van beesten, in stede van garen, aen elkandre genaeit, gelijk by het in plaetse van staele of yzere naelden, een hart scherp doorntje gebruikt wort, daer sy sich, by mangel van staele, bysonder mede weten te behelpen.

De *Hevenquas* gaen een weinigh anders gekleet, als de Hottentotta aen de kaep van Goeder hope, te weten, hun manteltjes, gemaekt van vellen, alzo vel strooppjes, en met riemtjes bemaelt en behangen.

Behalve deese kleding, de gewoonlijke draght, hebben sy, wanneerse uit of op de reise gaen, noch een ander schapen vel, met de wol of ruichte na buiten, over de voorseide onderste vachtt hangen.

Het hooft-deksel is een mutsa, gemaekt van een jong lammeren vel, met het ruigh na binnen, en boven met een knoppe, die sy des nachts, of als het regent, op-setten.

De schoenen zijn gemaekt van een reinosters of nenboeses vel daer by geen veraijtjen aen is, en bestaen uit een gantsch platten lap, achter en voor even hoogh, met een kruis van twee leere riemen op de ruich der voet vast gemaekt, en achter met een hielbant, gelijk de Kapoutjoen dragen.

De schaemelheit wort bedekt, en behangen met een klein veltje van een wilde kee-kat of beesten tyger, of jakhals, achter met twee neerhangenden riemtjes toegebonden.

KLEEDING DER VROUWEN.

De dracht der vrouwen is mede een mantel, gemaekt gemeenlijk van schapen vellen, over het boven lijf, met de wol na binnen: doch dragen die wol langer als de mans, en hebben daer benaven een vel om het onder-lijf gebonden, tot bedekking van hare naekte billen, en een vierkant veltekeh voor hare schaemelheit.

Op 't hoof dragen sy mede een wel lange en wijde mutsa, gemaekt van een schapen, dassen of robben vel, die sy met een breede schapen vellen riem om 't hooft toebinden, by na op een selve maniere, gelijk de Vrieschе of Molquese vrouwen een lakenschе wijde muts of lap dragen, met een

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CLOTHING OF THE MEN.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or seakin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Hounaquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape; their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down. 291 [294] [184]

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned. [484]

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-straps, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The gentlals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild bush cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

CLOTHING OF THE WOMEN.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

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brede zelfkant los toegebonden. Zijn anders van de mannen in kleding niet te onderscheiden, gelijk haer schoenen mede van een zelfste maeksel en stoffe zijn, als die van de mans. Gelijk hun kledingh slecht en slordigh is, zoo bestaet mede het optoisel en çieradje des lichaems meer in een slordige, dan nette sinnelijkheit.

CIERAERDEN.

De mans hebben het hair verçiert met kopere plaetjes, duite, witte horentjes en grote kralen, en scheren dat op sommige plaetsen wat af, en laten dat hier en daer wat staen, byna op een selve wijse, gelijk hier te lande de waterhonde geschoren worden.

De mans plukken al het hair om de kin uit, en beschilderen of bestrijken het aenzicht met zwarte verruwe, om zich zwart te maken, 't welk by hen voor een grote çieraet gehouden wort; desgelijx besmeren sy hun lichaem en aenzicht met smeer en vet; zoo dat sy in alles beestachtig, wilt, ruig, en vuil van leven zijn*; en daer uit siem als ofse noit gewassen waren. De strantlopers, dat zijn de Hottentots, die dicht aen de kaep op strant wonen, en gewoon zijn aen de schepen der Neerlanders te komen, vervoegen zich datelijken by de koks ketel, en besmeren en bestrijken zich met het vet en het zwart van de ketel; gelijk ook zelfs de oversten, dus uitgestreken te zijn, voor een çieraet houden.

De sommigen hebben tot çieraet hun eigen huit met kerven en sneden doorhakkelt, daer sy eenigh vet of ongel insteken, waer door sy seer komen te stinken, en zulk een hange en sterke ruik van zich te geven, dat men hun aenkomste op honderd treden gewaer wort.

Vee-rijke luiden, beide mannen en vrouwen, hebben de buitenste zijde hunner manteltjes, desgelijx de mutsen, wel vet en zacht besmeert, 't welk een teken van vee-rijkheit in heeft: aengesien noit geen Hottentot, een bysonder persoon, en arm van vee, met een besmeert manteltje gesien wort, maer draegt dat mager en onbesmeert, gelijk al de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die geheel en al geen vee hebben, en seer arm zijn, schrale en onbesmeerde manteltjes aen hebben; uitgesondert hun overste, met name *Choro*, die, nevens zijnen broeder, met besmeerde vellen om 't lijf behangen gaet. Desgelijx gaen byna al d'oversten en koningen, 's konings dochters, als de koningh der *Kochoquas*, onder ander, zijn onder-koningh, en derde

*cf. Hondius (op. cit., 562): "zoo dat zij in alles zeer ongeregeld zijn en in alles beestachtigh, wild, Ruyg ende vuyl van leven."

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sheepskin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Molqueror women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men. 291

Ornamentation.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, dolls, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, when they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,[66]) into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away. 301 302 304

Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Chore,[67]) who, like his brother, has greasy skins 291 556

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[66]) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, not for decoration but in connexion with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 72).

[67]) *Sic.* Chore was the chief of the Gorschouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

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(760) persoon in 't rijk, en zijne dochter Namis, met een seer vet beestaert achajen-vel omhangen.

De beide ouwen zijn hem verçiert met grote bossen kralen, hun voornaemste çierset en rijkdom, die sy van d'onsen tegen beeste handelen, daer onder sommige bossen, negen, tien, en elf strengen dik zijn, ieder streng wel een vierendeel ponts zwaer.

Vee-rijke Hottentots, inzonderheit, hebben den hals verçiert met rode en gele kopere krale kettingen, die sy daer selfs maken; en dragen om de armen een elpenbenen ringh, en voor na de hand ringen van koper, (want hun voornaemste çierset en pronk is meé koper) of van een sinke tjnochen gout en silver, die soo dicht daer op sluiten, dat d'armen daer van smarten, en tywijlen zich tot zweren setten; sonder evenwel die af te leggen. Sy dragen mede tot çierset darmen van eenige beesten, met vet met al, versch en stinkend, twee of driemael in elkandre gevlochten, soo wel des daeghs als des nachts, wanneer sy slapen, om den hals; dengelijks hebben beide mannen en vrouwen, de benen vol gedroogde darm-ringen hangen, eensdeels om voor het scherp steken der doornen bevrijd te zijn, anderdeels om, wanneer sy met dansen vreught bedrijven, wat geschals en gerass daer door te maken. De mans verbergen in de darmen, die sy om den hals hebben, tabak, pijpen en andere snuisseryen, in plaets van een zak.

Sommigen hebben om den hals ook eenige wortelijes hangen, die sy diep uit het lant, uit den gront der rivieren halen, en onder het reizen op eenige gevaerlijke plaetsen van leeuwen, luiperden, of wolven, by het vuur (ontsteken, ter plaetse, daer sy vernachten, tot af-keering van dit wilt gedierte) kauwen tot kleine stukjes en brokjes; welk kauwsel sy dan rontom uit den mont blasen en spuwen, met vast betrouwen, dat daer sulk een kracht by is, dat geen dier die reuk en smaek, (hoewel deze wortelen reuk en smakeloos zijn,) kan verdragen, nochte kracht hebben, om op hen aen te komen, soo dat sy alle des nachts daer op gerustelijk gaen nederleggen.

In het uitgaen hebben sy gewoonlijk een vogel-struis-veer, of een stokje, met een wilde katten-stert, soo in hun tale genoemt, overtogen, in de een hant, om daer mede in plaets van een neusdoek het stof en zant, en de vliegen, daer het

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hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Koehoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Nanzie.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.**) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.**)

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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**) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

**) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 294).

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900 lant wonder wel af is, uit neus en oogen te vegen en af te kammen; en in d'andere hant een sierlicke aengaye."

De vrouwen gaen naeckt uit, wonder een lere vierkantje nat, daer onder een elck elinde een hantch quasten by voorhangt, op dat sy ruich te hebben; alsijn opgevult met d'veste of d'andere kleinigheden of snuisteryen; somwijlen noch wel een kint daer by, tot groote belemmering van haren gang en wandel.

Wapenen.

De wapenen dewer volcken bestaen in pijl en boge, en schichten of sierlicke aengayen, welke zijn stockjen van drie, vier, en vijf voeten lang, op het een elinde met een broet yser beslagen, dusdi voor scherp, dat sy wille weten te snoeden, en daer te maken. Tamelijk weten sy die te hantieren en daer mee te werpen; en hebben gewoonlijk in het uitgaen, in d'eene hant ruik een aengaye, en in d'andere een stockje met een kallen staert overlogen, gelijk aenstonts gemelt is. Schiet-gewer is tot noch toe by hun in geen gebruik.

Spyse.

Wat hun spijse belanght; sy eeten weinigh graenie, dan alleen seker slagh van ronde wortelijen, hun dagelix voetsel, van grote als aerd-eksloen, die de vrouwen dagelix uit de reviere, en andere plaetsen gaen graven, en dan gekookt of gebraden, na de lust strekt, op eeten. Sy slachten geen vee om 't eeten, of moet door kranckheit, onderdoen, of verbeentheit onbequaem zijn, om den trop te volgen; dewelijk geene schapen, uitgenomen, wanneer twee in den echten staet verweenigen. Sy eeten hun voedsel, gelijk andere wilden, niet te bereiden, noch toe te maken, maer vallen op de gestorve beesten gelijk honden, en eten dewelve met het ingewant en darmen, de drek ten reigsten daer uit gesnoet, of met de tanden uitgedwet, rauw op, en weiden gekookt."**

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*Cf. Hondius, op cit., MS: "Sommighe hebben in d'een hand een sgharp stickjen . . . uijtde een scorie van haar aengayen. In d'ander hand hebben sy een kleyn stickjen daer een wasem of kallen-staert of diergelijcke overtogen is, ofte in plaete van dien hebben sy Pijpsmen van Struys-vogels, 't welck sij voor een aengenck gebruycken om 't swaet daer mede af te vegen, ofte om de vlegen daermede af te keeren, daer het Land tot verwonderinge toe vol af is."

**Another plagiarism from Hondius, who says: "Sy eeten haar voedsel, gelijk veel andre wilden niet toe te maekens of te bereyden, maer vallen op de gestorven beesten gelijk de Honden. . . . Alle Ondieren eten sij met het Ingewand met al op, de darmen alleen wel uit-gesuyvert sonder wassen nec als het gedagt of gevroden is eten sy al rauw met vellen met al op" Op. cit., MS.

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tied to it (called sew in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[1]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as [illegible] just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[1]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[1]) Malingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 713 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[1]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachcombing Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 226.

(CDD) Wanneer sy geen dode beesten vinden, soeken sy de dode visch by strant, desgelijx klip-krouwen en allikruiken en mosselen. Sy vinden ook groote smaek in 't vleesch van seehonden of robben, die sy 's nachts (want dan komen deze beesten by duisenden aen strant, en blaten als kalven,) met stokken doodslaen, en raeu, of half gaer en ongewaschen in 't vuur gebraden op eeten; gelijk sy mede hier vreemt van het spek van walvischen en andere zee-gedrogten zijn, die soo nu en dan komen te stranden. Het is geberurt, dat sy de traen van een gestrande walvisch, aen de soute reviere, doer de zon daer uit gebraden, met hele handen vol daer uit scheptten, en soo in slorptten, en stukken daer uit smeden, en onder het sant begroeven, om naderhant te eeten. By wijlen rukken sy stukken van hun herde schapen of robbevellen mantels, met hun tanden, en eeten die, slechts een weinigh op kolen gebraden, op. De Strant-lopers, dat zijn de Hottentots, die dicht aen het strant, en de kaep van Goeder hope wonen, en aen de schepen der Neerlanders komen, vervoegen zich aenstonts by de koks-ketel, en nemen, soo sy kunnen, het vet, dat boven op de vleesch-ketel drijft, met hele handen vol daer af, en slingeren dat sonder broot in 't lijf. Groote smaek hebben sy in ons broot, daer sy willig beesten aen verruilen. De *Saldanhars* of *Kochoquas*, en andere omtrent gelegen Hottentots, leven in den drogen somer-tijt by hun vee, maer des winters by zekeren wortelitjes, die in dem regen tijt in d'aerde groeien. De honingh, die daer in de boomen valt, eeten sy met waech met al, gelijk op. Hunnen kranken geven sy gemeenlijk kools, witte kees, en mostaerts bladen, met een weinigh gekloft spek daer onder gekookt, t'eeten.

Hun drank is water, of melk van hun beesten; dan smakken en zijn seer gretigh na brandewijn en Spaensche wijn, desgelijx na tabak; doch worden van een weinigh zat en smoor dronken; als wanneer sy groot misbaer met schreeuwen en raisen bedrijven.

Hantwerk.

Sy bemoeien zich byna met geen hantwerken en kunsten, dan met biesen te bereiden, daer van sy matten maken, om hun huisen te bedekken;* en met de verhoedery van koe-beesten en schapen. Zoo veel echter hebben sy den onsen afgeleeken, dat sy het scherp van hun flitsen en aagayen van oudt yser, dat sy hier en daer van d'onsen verworpen vinden, zelfs kunnen smeden; dan gebruiken daer toe niet, als een steen tot een ambeelt, en een hamer, en maken het yser smijdig met houts-kolen.

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*Cf. Hondius (1631): "Wat haar Hanteringe belanghd soo is haar voornaamste Werk Biesen te bereyden, daar van sy matten maken om haar Huysen te bedekken."

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raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[1]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[1]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[1]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

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Erneering.

080 De *Goringhaikonas* of Waiermans, die dicht aen de kaep wonen, erneren sich met vischt te vangen, (naerdien sy geen vee gelijk d'anderen hebben,) die sy uit armoede aen d'onsen voor brood en tabak verhandelen. Al de meeste anderen hebben geen kennis van vischt te vangen, noch eenige vaertuigh om de zee te gebruiken; zulx al hem reisen, te lande, te voet geschiet, wanneer sy van plaets willen verwisselen, of hun mede-maekers besoeken. In stede van peerden hebben sy groote ossen, daer op sy hunne ommslagh en goederen van d'eene plaets tot d'andere doen vervoeren, en leiden en besturen dezelve door middel van een hout, door de neus gedaen, als met een toom.

De *Kochoquas* of *Soldanhars* erneren sich alle met de vee-boedery, en hebben over de hondert duisend beesten, alle even schoon, en wel eens noo veel schapen, niet met wol, maer met langachtigh gekleurt hair. De kleine en groote *Karichariquas* en *Hoocas* erneren sich mede, gelijk hunne geburr-volken, de *Kochoquas* of *Soldanhars*, met veer schoon en meenighvuldigh vee, hun eenighste hope en vertrouwen; want deze volken hebben in den drogen somer-tijt niet anders, dan van hun vee te leven; maer 't winters, gelijk gezeit is, in den regentijdt, groeien daer zekre wortelijes in d'aerde, hun gewoonelijke spijse. Geen onder al de Hottentots zaien of planten, dan alleen de *Heusoquas*, die sich met het planten van den wortel dacho erneren.

Velen, inzonderheit de *Goringhaiquas*, of Kaep-mans, erneren sich met den jacht, die by hen in deser wijse geschiet; wanneer sy by nacht eenigh wilt gedierte vernemen, 't zy olifanten, elanden, reinosters, leeuwen, tigers, bokken of peerden, dan springen alle weerbare mannen uit, en maken luitruchtigh een groot geschreen en geluidt, waer door het dier uit vreze wijkt; maer soo by dagho eenigh verscheurend wilt-gedierte verschijnt, dan springht al uit wat wapenen kan voeren, wel tem getale van twee of drie hondert, elk vermen met twee of drie assagaien, en vervoegen sich alle in 't ronde, om het gedierte, met schrikkelijk te roepen en schreeuwen, soo lange tot dat het wilt sich uit de ruichte op de vlucht begeeft: als dan past ieder wat te raken, om niet gequetst of vermielt te worden, gelijk zulx bywijlen wel geburt, en het wilt te treffen. In

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325 [1]) Wagenaar, in the memorandum left for the information of his successor, says in this connexion: "To sell them thin square bar iron, as the Cochoquas would have recently wished, is by no means advisable, as they know how to beat it into pickpoers, or sharp points for their arrows and assegais, and to harden it very tolerably; so, that, should they come again to ask for this iron,

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THE GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[*])

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichoriquas and Houssas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heumaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[1]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, 201.)

[*]) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 207).

[1] [The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, cat. 116. — Am.]

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door wijze trekken de Kaep-mans, inzonderheit op den wilt-vangst der voorhoende dieren.

Rouw.

Wanneer een persoon door liefde op d'eene of andere dochter ontsteken is, versoekt hy aen zijnen vader, om dezelve te mogen trouwen, en gaet dan, na bekomen verlof, hy den vader en de moeder van de dochter, met zeer ernstelijk verzoek van d'eere te mogen genieten, om met haere dochter in den huwelijken staet te treden. Zoo wanneer nu d'ouders in dien voorslag des minnaers bewilligen, bevint de dochter haer genoodzaekt, 't zy met wil of onwil, hem in liefde aen te nemen, en geeft haer bruidegom in plaetse van een goude keting een vetten koedarm om den hals, dien hy so lang moet dragen, tot dat dezelve door slijtinge komt af te vallen; 't welk so veel als de bevestinge der trou is.

Dan worden twe der vetste schapen uit de gehele negerye gemeenlijk, en voor dit nieuw ge-echte paer geslacht, en eenigsins gemeden, anderdeels gebraden op-gedischt: daer ook niemant dan deze twee luiden en de ouders mogen van eten; gemerkt anders het huwelijk niet voor bondig en wettigh gehouden en aengenomen worden. De vellen, aen kleine stukken gesneden, en 't hair daer afgeschraept, worden op hete kolen gelegt, en dan, doch eerst op een steen geklopt, by hen met grote smaek opgegeten. De bruiloft duurt niet langer, dan dien eenen dagh, nochte geene andere plechtelijkheden worden onder trouwen of bruiloft houden gebruikt.

Aengaende de trouhertigheit en liefde tusschen getrouwde en ongetrouwde, die is, gelijk hier te lande, verscheide. Men vint 'er mannen, die naulix hun vrouwen een half jaer gehadt hebben, of den niet eens meer daer na om, en laten haer lopen voor 't geen dat zy zijn: sulx d'onderlinge genegentheit daer door t'eenemael komt af te sterven. Anderen in tegendeel dragen sulk een grote liefde tot de vrouwen, als by eenigen Neerlander gevonden kan worden, van gelijken de vrouwen weer tot hare mannen. Tot bewijs van onderlinge troubertige minne-liefde onder deze wilde menschen, dienen twee merkwaardige stukken, gebeurt aldaer voor eenige weinigh jaren; het een van een weduwe, die door droefheit en rouwe over de doodt van haren man, in een kuil vol hout, en in brant gestoken, sprong, en haer zelve verbrande; het ander van een jonge dochter, die haer uit mistroostigheit van eenen steenrots te bersten liet vallen, ter oorzake de ouders haren vryer, over het beslapen van deze dochter, in hun wederwil, strengelijk met doornen doen geselen hadden.

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try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

Marriage.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage"). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

") Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 261).

080 Onder de gezonden wort zeldzaem weinigh jaloerscheit bespeurt, niet tegenstaende wel een paert by dinker in een onrechte stal komt te raken. Dan grotelix wort d'overtreder, indien zulx in 't licht komt, uit bevel van den overste gestraft.

Overleiden.

De *Kaffers* of Hottentoten zijn seer lang-levend; want de meeste, zoo mans als vrouwen, bereiken den trap van tachtig, negentig, honderd, honderd tien, twintig, en meer jaren.

De gestorvene Hottentoten worden al zittende, moeder-naekt en zonder eenigh gewaet aen, in een diepe put graet, daer na aerde over 't hooft gestelpt, met een groie hope stammen daer boven op, om door het wild gedierte niet uit het graf (want sy willen de lijken niet verslonden hebben) gehaelt te worden.

Wanneer een man of vrouw overleden, en het lijk ter aerde is besteet, dan moeten al de vrienden, tot wel in den derden graet, schoon het maer een kint van een vierendeel jaers was, volgens een oud gebruik, de pink der linken hant af-kappen, om in 't graf by den dooden gelegt te worden: dan zoo d'overleden by zijn leven veertijk sy gewoont, en eenige vrienden nalaet, op wie dit vee mocht komen te verzierven, het sy d'eene ruster van d'andere; de moeder van de groot-moeder; de dochter van de moeder (want dit maer alleenlijk aen het vrouw-volk gepleegt wort,) moeten desselve van ieder pink een lit verliesen, eer sy het vee, sonder uitterste wille, mogen na zich nemen: want de kranke vermagh niet het minste op zijn dood-bedde wegh te schenken, als aen den genen, die het erfelijk toekomt.

Dan niet geerne zien sy, dat iemant komt te sterven, en doen, zoo dra iemant in eene krankheit stort, eenen heel-meester halen, die, gheel en al geen gereetschap, nochte de minste zalve by zich heeft, als een scherp aen wederzijde snijdend mesje, met een lang yzertje, voor met een kopje. Deze dan komt den kranke besoeken, en met het mesje in den ruch ader-laten; en doet op d'armen, met

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145 [*] The apparent longevity of the Bushmen and Hottentots is still a matter of popular comment in newspapers, but while it is true that individuals may occasionally reach a ripe old age, there is actually no reason to believe that longevity is a general characteristic of the people. It should also be noted that among them the skin, owing to paucity of adipose tissue, readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people, so that individuals may often look much older than they really are. Cf. Ten Rhyne's remarks on the same topic, p. 128, below.
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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

Death.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very long-lived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the age of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[77]).

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

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[77]) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 180 ff.)

[78]) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72).

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000 het gheryvend yserijtje gebruyt, eenigh kruit, daer te lande waessende, met verach gekookte zoete melk druipen. Deese moeders zijn kennelijk aen hunne veelvoudige wortelijen, keurijen, en veel andere moeiseryen en kleinigheden, die sy om den hals hebben hangen, van gelijken ook de moeijvrouwen.

STRAFFEN DER MISDAADEN VAN DIEFSTALLEN.

De gevaen, die sich over eenige diefstallen misgrijpen, en elkandre eenige beroemlingen, leuren of moeiseryen ontnemen, worden, daer op betragt, door hunne koning of choequa selven, met een stick geslagen, sonder eenige zwaerder straffe den selven aen te doen. Dan die elkandren grof en groot bestelen, te weten dee machts in den slaep elkandren den rijkdom (die sy hen in kralen bestaet) van den hals en uit d'ooren nemen, worden, soo sy hun de dieverye en d'aenrechter in 't licht koemt, zwaerder straffe aengedaen: dangelijk lijden de gevaen, die den eenen of den anderen zijne beesten of schapen af-stelen, en die weder een anderen verhandelen, deselve straffe, als over den diefstal der kralen, in volgender wijse. De misdadige wort eerstelijk eenen dagh, handen en voeten vast gebonden, sonder eten of drinken gelaten: dan gaen den anderen dagen eenigen der ouderen aen de choequa, om te vragen, of met het recht ('t welk geschiet sonder eenig verdoemming of verwijtinge, hoewel niet sonder bewijs, doch sonder een letter op 't papier te stellen) sal voort gevaren worden: waer op de koning met een groot gevolgh van volken, die hem als lijfwachten, doch sonder wapenen, vervelschappen, ontrent eenen boom verschijnt, daer hy dan gebiet den misdadigen voor hem te brengen. Deese wort dan aen den boom gebonden, en wel strengelijk gegeselt over 't gantsche lijf, te weten, van achteren, dat hem 't bloet by sijn lijf tappelings op de voeten komt te lopen. Aenstonts na dus gegeselt te sijn, wort hy anders om, met het gesicht na den koning wel vast gebonden, en neder slagh van siedende hete gom of hers, in een pot gesmolten, over sijn blote lijf van den hals over het herte gegoten, dat hem het vel soo dadelijk van 't naekte lichaem gaet, en met lappen daer by hanght. Na dit gedaen is, wort hy weder los gemaekt, en wat eiens gegeven, en dan weder handen en voeten gebonden, en drie dagen sonder eeten gelaten, en eindelijk, na het uitstaen van al deese smerten, somtijts noch wel gebannen, en uit de negerye verstoten, sulx hy als een slaef van eenen ander moet leven.

Wanneer iemant in overspel wort bevonden, dan worden sy beide (als elkandre niet in bloede bestaen) gegeselt, en soo voorts met een straffe afgeleght: maer bevinden

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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain kind herb mixed with freshly-sucked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous reeds, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks[77]). 757

Punishments or Theft.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or chooqua himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable shell beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping fellow-countrymen, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the chooqua and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else. 685

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant. [684] 836

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[77]) For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 340, 341 below.

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d'ouders van zulke twee verliefde minnaers, dat se elkandre van staet en rijkdom wel gelijken, dan wort toegelaen, hen beide met den band des huwelijx te binden; ingevallen zulx niet geschiet, wort zoo langh gewacht, of de dochter ook mochte bevrucht zijn; want zoo de dochter zwanger is moet het huwelijk, schoon de vryer noch zulk een slecht persoon was, evenwel zijnen voortgang hebben, tot herstelling van d'eere des dochters; naerdien het daer een groot affaen geeft, een onecht kint te hebben, hoewel zulx somtijts noch wel gebeurt.

Blootschaemte.

Wanneer een persoon, hoe rijk of arm hy zy, komt bloetschande te begaen, 't zy een zoon met zijn moeder, of broeder met de zuster, of vader by de dochters, of anderzints elkandre in bloede bestaende, wort zulx heel bullen gwoon zwaer by hen opgenomen, en rekenschap gemaekt, dat zulke twee luiden niet te zwaer kunnen gestraft worden, aengezien het, na hun seggen, een onvergeeflijke zake is, hoewel zy niet weten, dat daer eenige zonde begaen is, of Godt (dien zy niet kennen) vertoornt is; maer hebben allenxlijk d'ingeboorne kennis, dat zulx een groote misdaegh en qualijk gedaen is. d'Overtreders dan worden met de volgende straffe ter doot gebraght.

Eerstelijk wort de man, de handen en voeten alle vier met een strik aen elkandre getrokken, in eenen kuil geworpen, tot 's anderen daeghs, en de vrouw daer by geset. Dan wort de man 's anderen daegs daer uit gehaelt, en, noch even vast geknevelt, onder eenen boom geset, en aen den hals by eenen sterken tak, dien eenigen naer beneden halen, en neer houden, vast gemaekt, en als dan weer gelaekt, en lit voor lit afgesneden, tot dat het lichaem, na het uitstaen van zoo veel martelens, gantsch doot is en geen mensch meer gelijkt. Daer na latense den voorseiden tak weer om hoogh springen, met het geknotte lichaem daer aen, dat ten spiegel en kenteken van andere quaetdoenders dus blijft hangen.

Na de man in dezer wijze ter doot gebraght is, wort de vrouwe ook daer uit gehaelt, en in een ronte van meenighten droge kreupel-bosschen, wel bewerkt, de handen en voeten mede vast by elkandre gebonden, te midden in geset, en tot assche verbrant. Weshalve kan hier aen bespeurt worden, dat deze blinden heidenen noch weten, dat zulke lijfstraftbare zaken ten hoogsten straftbaer zijn, niet tegenstaende by hen geen onderdanigheit kan bespeurt worden, als aen eenen *'s Huyms*, gelijk hier na gemelt sal worden.

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Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur. 836 848

INCEST:

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:— 684

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain *'s Hemme*, as will be related below.

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Ontrent over vijf jaren is 't gebeurt, dat zeker persoon, een groote vrient en na-meeghebaep van den *Koekoqua* of Koning van de *Saldanhars*, in hinderlandse was vervallen, doch deed evenwel, sonder aensiehen op zijnen persoon, recht over den selven, maer raekte nogtans door groote voorspraek met een roode gewelling, en ontnomen van al zijne beesten, en hallingschap vry, en begaf zich by de Goringhaikonas, by het Fort van goeder hope, verlaten van al zijne vrienden, met beloffte echter, dan soo hy zich als te voore weder wilde dragen, al dan weder in genade soude aengenomen worden. Een teeken van noch eenige tucht onder deze wilden.

STRAFFE DER DOODSLAGEN EN QUETSUREN.

Wanneer iemant den eenen of den anderen, door gramschap of toornigheit, komt doot te slaen of te steken, zulx wort hy hen mede voor een gewichtige zake opgenomen, insonderheit indien een persoon van aensiene, redelijk van wijsheit, staet en rijkdom, zulx gepleeght heeft; overmits zy seggen, zulk een persoon, met meer verstant als een ander, beter behoorde te weten, en eenen anderen met goede exempelen, (aengesien hy mede een vermis-wijser is) wijselijk voor te gaen. Weshalve wort zulk eenen de hals aen eenen boom toegevoeght, en doet in het naeste graf by den doden gelegt; daer in tegendeel andere onnoosele hymmdere luiden 't selven door vee, en geringer straffe beter kunnen afmaken, dan een groote wijse (of, soo gemeent wort) raetgever. Sommigen misdadigen, die de doot verdient hebben, worden de knien doorsnagelt en met een yseren penne aen de schouderen vast gebecht, en dus met een langsame doot gestraft.

HUNNE.

Wat hunne huizingen belangt, zy leven als d'Arabers op 't veld, in hutten, gemaekt van enkele krom gebogen stokken, in 't ront geset, en met biese-matten, die zy zelfs meer net en aerdigh weten te vlechten, overdekt; de sommigen zijn wel soo groot, dat bequamelijk tien of twintigh man, met vrou en kinderen, daer in hun verblijf kunnen houden;

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68 [illegible]

**) Dapper's account of Hottentot legal procedure and method of punishment is much fuller than that of most other observers, so that its accuracy cannot be easily estimated. From such other information as is available, however, it seems that offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery and sodomy were all regarded as crimes punishable by death, and were tried by the chief and his council. The court sat in a circle, with the accused in the centre, where he could hear all that

695 [illegible]

696 [illegible]

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It happened about five years ago that a certain man, a great friend and kinsman of the *koehque* or King of the Saldanhars, sank so low as to commit incest. But justice was done upon him as well, without regard for his person. He managed nevertheless by pleading hard to get off with a whipping, the confiscation of all his cattle, and exile; and betook himself to the Goringhaikonas at the Fort, deserted by all his friends, but with the promise that if he should conduct himself as before then he would again be taken into favour. This shows again that even to these savages discipline is not unknown.

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Punishment of Homicide and Assault.

They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some ill-doers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end.**)

682

Dwellings.

As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts

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was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser stated his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Schapera, *op cit.*, 209 ff.)

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hoewel ook veel kleinder, door den bank, en eenigen zoo klein, dat zy die selfs kunnen opnemen, en daer mede weglopen.* Het vuur of de haert-stede leit in 't midden van 't huis, doch maken geen schoorsteen, daer de rook optrekt, 't welk de huisen altijts vol rook maekt.

Vuur weten zy met sonderlinge behendigheit te maken, namelijk een houtje, daer een klein holletje in is, onder de voet te leggen, en dan met een ander houtje in dat holletje zoo stijf en langduurigh te draien, tot dat het vonkt.

TALE.

Al dese Hottentots, insonderheit d'aen strant-gelegen, spreken een en deselve tale of sprake, die t'eenemael belemmert, en by d'onsen om de moeielijkheit der uitsprake niet te leren is, tot merkelijk nadeel van het verder opspeuren der gelegentheit des lants, en handeling met deze volken. Hun sprake gaet gedurigh met klokken, als de kalkoensche hanen, klappende, of klatsende over het ander woort op hun mont, gelijk of men op zijne duim knipte, zoo dat hun mont byna gaet als een ratel, staende en klatsende met de tonge overluit; zijnde elk woort een byzondere klats.

Sommige woorden weten zy niet dan met heel zwaere moeite te uiten, en schijnen die als van achteren uit de kele op te halen, gelijk een kalkoensche haen, of als de luiden in Duitslant aen d'Alpes doen, die door het drinken van sneeuwater krop-zwellen aen den hals krijgen: waer over d'onsen hen ten opmerke van deze belemmering, en ongehoorde hakkeling van tale den naem van *Hottentots* gegeven hebben, gelijk dat woort in dien zin gemeenlijk schimpswijse, tegen iemant, die in het uiten zijner woorden hakkelt en stameit, hier te lande gebruikt wort. Zy noemen nu ook zich selfs met den naem van *Hottentot*, en zingen by d'onsen al dansende, *Hottentot brokus*, *Hottentot brokus*: waer mede zy willen seggen, geef Hottentot een brok broot. Wijders, *kakou*, is in hunne tale te seggen, zit

*Cf. Hondius (*op cit.*, 1633): "Ende wat haer Huysinge aen gaet, sy leven als de Arabiers in 't veld, in Hutten dewelke staan twintigh of meer in 't ronde, als kleine verkens kotten; zijnde van gedaante als een Bakkers oven boven rond, en met matten van riesen bedekt, ende sij zijn soo groot dat sij de selve konnen op nemen en daer mede wegh konnen loopen."

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How the Hottentots honour the Moon. [*After* Kolb.

[Facing p. 70]

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342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they
354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of
372 it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

Language.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these
194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck.
101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[41]) They
192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[41]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kroikoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

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neder, *bou* een os, *ba* een schaep, een *kori* yzer.* Alle of de meeste *Hottentots*, te weten, die dicht aen het Fort van goeder hope wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, en *Goringhaikonas*, spreken door het daghelix verkeren met d'onsen de Duitsche tale, gelijk eenigen, die by d'Engelschen in *Bantam* zijn geweest, wat gebroken Engelsch stamelen.

Handel.

Tot eenige handelinge hebben zy geen grote genegentheit, nochte houden geen gemeenschap met eenige vreemde volken. Linnen, wollen, spiegels en bellen wierden voorhene by hen niet geacht, maer wel yzer, en by die aen de tafelbay liever koper, hun voornaemste çieraet**. d'Onzen, op de schip-vaert na Indien, onder het opper gezagh van Jan Jansz. Molenaer, des jaers vijftien hondert vijf-en-negentigh, verruilden aen deze volken voor een quaet houmes, een schonen os; voor een staef yzers van zeventigh pont, in vijven gebroken, twee ossen en drie schapen; voor een krom mes, een bijl, een schop, een korte yzere bout, en sommige stukjes yzer, drie ossen, vijf schapen, een voor een mes een schaep. Dan houden heden, als wijzer geworden, door het verkeren met d'onzen, ten andere door den overvloet dier dingen derwaert gevoert, hun vee op veel hoger prijs; zulx by hen niet meer die voorige eenvoudigheit te vinden is.

De liefste en begeerste waren, daer tegen zy hun vee heden 's daeghs willen verruilen, is tabak, brandewijn, kraël-werk en koper; dat zy zeer gerne hebben, doch hoe geelder hoe liever. Voor vier stukjes koper, ieder zoo groot als de palm van een hant, ruilt men noch twee koe-beesten, doch moet ten huidigen daghe, tot een toegift, gemeenlijk een stukje tabak daer by gedaen worden.

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*This famous passage is for the most part a direct copy from Hondius, whose actual words are: "Alle deze volkeren is haar spraake zeer belemmerd, klokkende als kalkoensche Hanen, ofte als de lieden in Duydsland bij de Alpes doen, die door de Hardigheyd van het Sneeu water dat zij drinken de kroppen krijgen, het welke geheel vremd is, klappende over d'ander woord op haar mond gelijk oft men op syn duym knipte, soo dat haar mond gaat als een ratel, slaande met haar Tonge overluyd. Waar over men haar ter opmerkinge van haar Taal den naam van Hottentot geeft. Zy noemen nu ook haar selven Hottentot, singen ook al dansende, Hottentot Brokwa, Hottentot Brokwa, &c. Waar mede zy willen zeggen, Geeft Hottentot een brok broot: en voorders is bij haar te zeggen kahow kahow zit neder, Bou een os. Ba een Schaap, ende Cori Yzer, &c." (*op. cit.*, 561.)

**Cf. Hondius: "Linnen, wollen, Spiegels en Bellen wierden by haar niet geacht, maar 't Yser wel, en by die aan de Tafel-bay liever het Koper, dogh voornamelijk de Tabak, ende Brandewijn de liefste dingen van allen" (p. 561).

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"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *ba*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

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TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[82]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

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The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[82a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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[82]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckxz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[82a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 23).

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De meeste rijkdom der *Kaffers* of *Hottentots* bestaet in hun vee en kraelwérk, dat zy van d'onzen tegen beesten handelen. De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars* worden gezeit over de duizent stuk vees te hebben en wel eens zoo veel schapen, alle met gekleurt hair in plaets van wol.

Bestieringh.

De *Kaffers* of Hottentots worden bestiert zommigen door koningen, als de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars;* anderen door oversten, als de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven, *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. d'Andere Hottentots, dieper te landewaerts in gelegen, worden mede bestiert of door eenen overste, als de *Chainouquas*, of leven zonder opperhooft in 't wilt, als de *Sonquas;* of staen onder een koning, als de *Namaquas* en *Heusaquas*.

Godsdienst.

By al de *Kaffers* of Hottentots of strantlopers, heeft noit iemant, hoe nau ook onderzocht, een teken van eenigen godtsdienst kunnen bespeuren: nochte dat zy Godt of den duivel eenige eere bewijzen; niet tegenstaende zy wel weten, dat 'er een is, die zy *'s Humma* noemen, die de regen op d'aerde doet neerkomen, de winden waien, en hitte en koude geeft, zonder evenwel hem aen te bidden: want waerom, zeggen zy, zouden zy dezen *'s Humma* aenbidden, die den eenen tijt dubbele drooghte, en den anderen tijt dubbel water geeft, naerdien zy het liever matigh en van pas zagen: dat het gras, zeggen zy, behoorlijk kon groeien, en hunne beesten en schapen rijkelijk en weligh ter weide gaen. Ten anderen beelden zy zich zelfs in, de regen te kunnen doen ophouden, en de wint van gelijken; 't welk zy in dezer wijze trachten uit te voeren. Eerstelijk, om regen te doen ophouden, leggen zy een klein kooltje vuur op een spaentje in een klein kuiltje, in d'aerde gegraven, en op dat kooltje een klein vlokje hairs uit het hooft getrokken, en dekken de kuil, als 't begint te stinken, met zant weder toe: waer over zy dan hun water maken, en lopen met groot geschreeu alle wegh. Om de wint te doen neerleggen en stillen, houden zy een der beszneerste vellen op een lange stok om hoogh in de wint,

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GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king[83]).

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RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them *'s Humma*[84]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him; for why, say they, should they pray to this *'s Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[84a]). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

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83) On the political organisation of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. VI.

84) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama */homi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits *'s Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

84a) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Naman until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

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000 tot dat de wint het vel van boven neder heeft gewait; en als dan menen zy ydelijk dat de kracht van de wint op dat vel is gestuit.

Het schijnt evenwel dat zy eenigh waengeloof aen d'opkomende nieuwe mane souden hebben: want wanneer die begint gezien te worden, zullen zy gemeenlijk met hele troepen t'haerwaerts keren, en den gehelen nacht met groot gejuich, zoo met dansen, springen, zingen en kloppen in de handen, als prevelen binnen 's monts, overbrengen.

Zy hebben dan ook een pot, met een velleken stijf overtrokken, van fatsoen gelijk hier te lande de vastel-avont rommelpotten, daer geduurig met de eene hant op geslagen wort. Daer is by hen noch een ander speeltuig in gebruik, met een snaer, op de wijze van een boog, met een gespleten penneschaft aen het een einde, daer zy dan mede op blazen, en klank geeft zonder strijkstok, doch geen hart geluit, niet tegenstaende zy sterk genoech met hunnen adem uitblazen en weder van gelijken ophalen: desgelijx ziet man by wijle vrouwen en kinderen voor opgerechte stenen knielende neerbuigen. Dan hebbende gene kerken, nochte houden de minste vergaderingen.

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788 [88]) This custom is discussed more fully below, p. 138.

534 [89]) The musical bow to which Dapper refers is the famous !gowa, an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies* v, 89-109, illus. The "rommelpot" is the instrument known to the modern Korana.

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high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[85]).

They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[86]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[87]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

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as */khais*, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185.

[87]) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1655 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

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V. Cl.
WILHELMI TEN RHYNE
Daventr.

Ampliss. Soc. Indiae Or. Medici, & a consiliis Justitiae

Schediasma de Promontorio Bonae Spei;

ejusve tractus incolis

HOTTENTOTTIS.

accurante, brevesque notas addente

HENR. SCRETA S. a ZAVORZIZ.

SCAFUSII.
Impensis Joh. Mart. Meisteri.
Typis Joh. Mart. Oswaldi.
MDCLXXXVI.

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A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope

AND OF THE HOTTENTOTS WHO INHABIT THAT REGION

By the renowned

WILLIAM TEN RHYNE

of Deventer,

Physician of the most noble East India Company and member of the Council of Justice.

Corrected and briefly annotated by

HENRY SCRETA S. a ZAVORZIZ.

SCHAFFHAUSEN.

At the expense of John Martin Meister.

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FOREWORD.

114 Ten Rhyne's account of the Hottentots, unlike that of Dapper[1] is the product of personal acquaintance with the people. Although typical in some respects of the many descriptions compiled by transitory visitors to the Cape, it is well above the average in regard to the value and amount of information it contains. He nowhere states explicitly how long he was at the Cape, but it appears from the official records that the ship on which he must have arrived, the *Ternaten*, reached Table Bay on October 15, 1673, from Amsterdam, and departed for the East on November 10, after a stay of nearly four weeks. During this time he seems to have inquired fairly industriously into the natural resources of the country and the manners of its native inhabitants; and although his primary interest was obviously botanical, he also managed to learn a good deal about the Hottentots. It is evident from what he himself says that his information regarding the latter was obtained from all the available sources, his own observations, discussions with local European residents, and conversations with such Hottentots as could understand Dutch, of whom he names especially the famous Eva.

When stripped of its verbiage and classical allusions, his account of the Hottentots can by no means be regarded as detailed. Nevertheless his remarks on their mode of life, warfare, cattle trade and medical practices are particularly valuable additions to the scanty information previously published on these topics, and he also has some useful observations on their physical peculiarities and bodily mutilations. His list of tribes, too, is of considerable importance. It shows how within twenty years from the foundation of the settlement the groups in its immediate vicinity had degenerated into mere hangers-on and followers of the Dutch, how tribal distinctions were being lost and individual leaders coming into prominence, and how only the more remote tribes still retained their original character. It is significant too that he gives pride of place to the Hesequa, then valued as the principal market from which cattle could still be bartered in large quantities. On the other hand he says little that is new about Hottentot clothing, dwellings, food and social customs generally; his comments on their religion and system of government are distinctly weak; and occasionally he indulges in some rather fantastic statements suggesting a lack of critical ability or at least a naive credulity.

[R81]

[1] [See 8: Dapper, this File. - Analyst]

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114 Of the man himself but little appears to be known.* He was born in Deventer about 1640, and studied at Leyden under the celebrated Dubois de la Boë. After practising in Holland for a while, he was appointed physician to the Dutch East India Company's settlement in Java; and it was on his way there in 1673 that he passed through the Cape. In Java he worked hard at his professional duties, also making a voyage to Japan, where he successfully treated the emperor for a grave illness. But he devoted himself especially to studies in natural history, above all botany, collecting numerous specimens of the exotic Eastern plants which he sent back to Holland. Of his later career hardly anything can be ascertained, not even the date of his death, but it appears from the title page of his book on the Hottentots that he was a member of the East India Company's Council of Justice. The British Museum Catalogue lists six works from his pen, all, save that on the Hottentots, dealing with medical and botanical subjects. A description of the plant collections he made at Saldanha Bay and the Cape in 1673, together with some other botanical observations of his, can be found in *Plantarum Exoticarum Centuria Prima*, published by the botanist Breyn in Danzig, 1678.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The Latin text of the present edition is reprinted exactly from a copy of the small octavo volume printed at Schaffhausen in 1686 and now in possession of the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

This 1686 edition was made from a MS roll and was provided with corrections and annotations by the editor. It is not easy to say what the annotations provided by the editor were, as most of the footnotes seem to belong to Ten Rhyne himself; and the text is still in need of correction. In my translation I have silently ignored errors of punctuation. Slight verbal errors have been corrected in footnotes. In the few places where I suspect a deeper corruption I have not suggested any emendation. The grammar may be bad, but the sense is clear enough, and a critical discussion of the text seems uncalled for.

The translation is not the first that has been made in English. Within twenty years of the publication of the original an anonymous version was printed in England (*A Collection of Voyages and Travels, etc.*, printed by H.C. for Awnsham and John Churchill at the Black Swan in

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*The few details here given are drawn from the biographical sketch in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

Pater-noster-Row, London, 1704; vol. iv, pp. 829-45). This version contains a few happy phrases, some of which I have been glad to borrow. It is, for instance, to the anonymous translator that we owe the description of Aeva as "a civil, modest body, of rational discourse." But his is on the whole a poor version, full of mistakes and omissions, quite unfit to be reprinted. 114

As is characteristic of the time, the Latin of Ten Rhyne is somewhat laboured and affected, often conveying simple information in a pedantic and allusive fashion. But the style is, nevertheless, graceful and sensitive, and the translator feels challenged to render not merely the matter but the manner of the original. However little Ten Rhyne succeeded in learning about the Cape in his brief stay, he was alert and interested and his narrative has freshness and charm.

On the scientific value of the information he has to give it is not for me to pronounce. But I have been at pains to set forth in the footnotes his naive dependence on his classical models for many eloquent sentences supposed to be descriptive of the Hottentots. The curious may find some instruction and amusement here. It is always worth while to impair the authority of print.

A point of general scientific interest in the present work is the attack on Descartes. It is worth noting in this connection that Ten Rhyne had imbibed his hostility to the *à priori* method of interpreting natural philosophy from an early work of Greek science that has attracted much attention in modern times. In 1669 and again in 1672 Ten Rhyne published discussions on the Hippocratic tract On Ancient Medicine.

B.F.

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Inclvto atque Inlustri Viro

000

J. JAC. WEPFERO

Medicae Artis Antistiti, Plur. Septemviror. Ducum, Principum, Comitum, Rerumpublicar., a Sanitate S.P.Q. Scafusiani Archiatro, Pio, felici, sapienti, has eruditas pagellas ex India Orient. advectas

D.D.C.Q.

Henr. Screta Schotn. a Zavorzis.

III. Eidus Novembreis, MDCLXXXV.

Quum nuper, Te apud exteros viros principes commorante, dilectissimus filius Tuus, haut infimae notae medicus convolutas praesentis libelli chartas e Belgio a Gaspare Sibelio a Goor, percelebrato Daventriensium medico, missas mecum amice communicaret; easdem, propter argumenti raritatem, litterarum mox prelo subjiciendas esse censebam: quod & reliqua auctoris hujus celeberrima scribta, cedro dignissima, ab omnibus sapientiae ingenuis professoribus permagni aestimari noverim. Impetrata igitur venia, nil prius mihi curae fuit, quam ut exemplum concreditum ab illabsis librariorum mendis repurgatum luci publicae sisterem, illudque nulli alii, quam Tibi, Vir plurimum Venerande, cui quoque transmissum erat, dedicarem: quem meum conatum aequi bonique consulas rogo. D.O.M. Te in longam senectam vegetum incolumemque servet; quo serus in coelum redeas, qui, ne innumeri mortalitatis senectutem immaturius exuant, auctor es. Vale.

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To the renowned and illustrious

JOHN JAMES WEPFER *

Master of the Art of Medicine: Officer of Health to various

Councils, Dukes, Princes, Counts and Commonwealths:

Chief Physician to the Senate and People of Schaffhausen:

Pious, Happy, Wise:

These learned pages brought from the East Indies

are dedicated by

Henry Screta Schotn. a Zavorziz.

November 11th, 1685.

Lately when you were tarrying abroad at the homes of distinguished citizens of foreign States, your beloved son, a doctor of no mean repute, was so kind as to present me with the scroll which I now offer you in the shape of this little book. It had been sent from Belgium by a celebrated physician of Deventer, one Gasper Sibelius a Goor. The curiosity of the matter inclined me to have it printed forthwith; for I knew that the other renowned works of this author, which are most worth of immortality, are held in the highest esteem by all honest lovers of wisdom. I therefore, after obtaining permission, made it my first business to purge the copy that had been entrusted to me of the mistakes of the scribes and to put it before the public. And to whom should I dedicate it but to you, Most Venerable Sir, to whom also in the first instance the manuscript was sent? I pray that you will smile upon my attempt. And may the great and good God keep you in activity and health to a green old age, and may you who are the cause to so many mortal men that they have not fallen untimely on old age and death yourself return late to Heaven. Farewell.

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* Wepfer (1620-1695) was a famous 17th century physician and anatomist, and author of many scientific works contributing greatly to a knowledge of the human body.

[p. 85]

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600

Wilhelmi Ten Rhyne

Schediasma diarii, in quo de

Saldanhaco sinu, Daxinsula,

& praecipue de

Promontorio Bonae Spei,

huiusque tractus Incolis *Hottentottis*

appellatis, agitur.

Relatio adventus.

Sexto Iduum Octobris, anni MDCLXXIII. Sereno coelo, nebuloso tamen, uti ad telluris limbum assolet, horizonte, flante circio (hoc est Z.Z.W.) cursuque in tractum ex meridionali ac orientali medium instituto, maris profunditatem metientes, centum & viginti orgyiis fundum attingere impotes, hortante laetitia primo terram (monstrante nostro ὑπεμπόρῳ) ad triginta duos latitudinis gradus conspeximus. Verum adverso repulsi flatu, post varia consilia & anhelam de refociliatione exspectationem XIII° demum ejusdem mensis in semilunarem exordio Sinum Saldanha, aere tranquillo, levicule subludente vulturno (Z.O.) in arenosum fundum jecimus ancoram: ubi peregrini litoris sinum ex mapparum lineamentis cum αὐτοψίας fide pensitabamus, pictoris incuriam, vel relatoris inscitiam protinus culpantes. Id enim ferme unicum cum mappis analogum habebat genuina situatio, quod utrinque eminenti exstaret colle ostium. Caeterum *Insulae* & numero (tot enim non aderant) & situ (quatuor super nauticam pyxidem discrepante lineis) in chartis differebant, multiformibus ac coloribus frequentissimae [a]) *Laris.* Istic defessum itineris gravaminibus animum nova telluris amoenitate recreare impense satagens, primum *Africae* vestigium impressi, *navarcho* pariter ac *mercatore* nostris, cum remigibus quibusdam comitatus. Hic in orbem

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a) *alibi a me describtis,* described by me elsewhere. (See chap. iii.) (*Coloribus* is for *multicoloribus.*)

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The Journal

of Wilhelm Ten Rhyne

in which is given an account

of Saldanha Bay and Dassen Island

and principally of

The Cape of Good Hope

and the Natives of that Place called Hottentots.

The Arrival.

On the 10th of October 1673, under a clear sky but with clouds at the horizon as is usual near shore, with a south-south-west wind blowing and holding a course between South and East, we took soundings and failed to find bottom at 120 fathoms, but soon had the great joy of first sighting land at a latitude of 32 degrees, the factor pointing it out to us. Driven back, however, by a contrary gale, after various shifts and much anxiety how to reprovision ourselves, on the 13th of the same month we made Saldanha Bay with its crescent-shaped entry, in a calm air with a gentle South-East wind breathing, and cast anchor in a sandy bottom. 133

When we examined the bay in this shore to which we had so newly come and compared the outline in our maps with the reality as presented to our eyes, we had immediate cause to blame the carelessness of the draughtsman or his informant. There was but one feature which the map had in common with the reality, to wit, a hill on either side of the harbour's mouth. For the rest, the islands differed both in number and position: they were fewer than represented in the map, and differed in position four points in the compass. They were thronged with sea-birds of varied form and hue.

Here, because I yearned to refresh my spirits, wearied by the hardships of the voyage, with the charm of a strange land, I for the first time set foot in Africa. With me came the captain, the factor, and some few oarsmen that managed our boat. The hills spread out in a great circle, the mountains drew our eyes in all directions over the

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effusis collibus, & per immensum spargentibus oculos, coelum montibus suspensa terra diversissima *plantarum* gratia praedivites *Semiramidis Alcinoive* hortos, aut *Elysios* in ipso deserto campos aemulari videbatur: ubi cumulatissimam earundem ilico conquisivi sarcinam, ut viva exemplaria *botanosophis Musis* imposterum offerrem. Miratus praesertim ingentem *gummosae aloes* copiam, quae millena aliquot *amarissimi succi* pondera industrio quotannis expromere posset. Tum ad valetudinariam & jam pene agonizantem navim revocabat vespera *venatores*, petrosum maris tegentes* in reditu litus, multivario *ostracodermatôn* genere conspersum. Inde fortuitis nos subducentes periculis (quippe *Belgae* octo *hippopotamorum* venationi insudantes, miserrime nuper ibidem ab *Hottentottis* confecti erant) sublestam repetiimus acatio ratem; qua postridie, propitio extra sinum argeste (N.W.) solvimus; a meridie praeternavigantes [b] *Daxinsulam*, paucis servatam excubiis [c] *marinorum cuniculorum* capturae, *oviumque* pastioni ab *Illustriss. orientalium Indiarum societate*, decore ac praesidio nostro summo, designatis.

Pridie Iduum Octobris, sub noctem tranquillus ad litora nos impellebat mesolibonatus (Z.T.W.) ad viginti tres profunditatis orgyias ancoram fundantes.

*) I conjecture legentes.
b) Dassen Eylant.
c) Robben.

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* This collection was sent from India to the botanist Breyn, and forms an appendix to *Plantarum exoticarum Centuria prima*, published by him in Dantzig in 1678 (B.F.)

1) This refers to a party of eight freemen who had gone with the governor's permission, in June 1673, to shoot big game for the needs of their families. They crossed the Berg River at a ford near Riebeeck's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-Four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's Kochoqua, who after detaining them for several days murdered them all. (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 212; cf. D., June 29, July 11, July 14, 1673.) Soon afterwards four men in

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vast expanse of heaven, and earth with the varied charm of many plants seemed to rival the rich gardens of Semiramis or Alcinous, or to present a vision of the Elysian fields in the midst of a wilderness. Of these plants I forthwith collected a generous supply that I might afterwards make offering of the actual specimens to the Botanical Muses.* I specially admired the enormous abundance of gum aloes, capable of an annual yield of thousands of pounds of bitter juice if cultivated. Then the approach of evening recalled us from our hunting to our ship where there were many sick men already almost at the last gasp. On our return we skirted a stony beach covered with a rich variety of shell fish. Then escaping without hurt from the dangers that might befall us (I must explain that eight Dutchmen recently who were hunting the hippopotamus perished wretchedly at the hands of the Hottentots on this very spot)[1]) we regained our crazy bark in the dinghy. Next day we weighed anchor, picking up a fair N.W. breeze outside the bay, and in the afternoon we sailed past Dassen Island, which is occupied only by a few posts established by the Illustrious East India Company, our great glory and protection, for catching seals and pasturing the sheep.

On the 14th of October at the fall of night a gentle S.W. breeze carried us to the shore and we cast anchor in 23 fathoms of water.

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charge of the Dutch post at Saldanha Bay were also murdered by Hottentots of the same tribe. A punitive expedition under Ensign Hieronymus Cruse was despatched from the Fort at Table Bay, but the Hottentots could not be got at, except for one slight skirmish, although 800 head of cattle and 900 sheep were looted from them and brought back to the Fort. The war which started in this way dragged on for four years, the Dutch, assisted by the Capemen and other local Hottentots, sending out several expeditions against Gonnema, who with his men always managed to escape in time, although not without the loss of his cattle and sheep. Peace was finally restored in June, 1677, when the Hottentots submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Dutch. (Theal, *op. cit.*, chaps. 30, 31, passim; D. 1673-1677, passim.)

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000 Ipsis Octobris Idibus, Suave spirante coro (N.W.) [d] alteram, in aspectu longe sperati *bonae spei promontorii*, praetervecti fuimus *insulam*, V. ab arce, a Daxinsula VIII. ac XV. circiter a *Saldanhaco sinu*, juxta mappas, milliaribus distantem, atque excelso montis praecipitio (inibi enim tantulus sese exerit colliculus) non exaltatam, *exulum* concremandae pro novo *fortalitio* calci *conchylia* comportantium carcerem. Hic fertiles degunt *chamaeleontes*, Indicis minores, ac omnis generis *insecta*, *reptiliaque animalcula;* ita pugno magnitudine sua aequiparandae aluntur ibidem praeter varios *serpentes* [e] *araneae venenatae* &c.

Pomeridiana quarta [f] Mensalis sinus nos excepit multiplici funere deformes, ac altera die post *gubernatoris*, viri sine pari, mensa; quam dum ad tubae sonitum petimus, [g] *fuci marini* permagna species (vix enim tota unicam plantam vexisse posset nostra minor cymba) nostram liburnam ad arenosam *Africae* actam impediebat. Caeterum *Caput bonae spei*, appropinquantibus repentini eventus index, sicuti & subalbidae, pusillaeque sunt, *gaviae*. Placebat rerum novitate tractus, eo attentiorem pervestigationis industriam suscitans, quod [h] horum [i] *incolarum* res *auctoribus* etiamnum incognitae sint. Ferunt enim (& nihil amplius) quendam *Imperatorem* a *Montibus lunae* ad *caput B.S.* seu extrema *Africae in* quatuor regna distributum *Monomotapae* dictum, imperium protendisse.

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d) Robben Eylant.

e) quas describit Charles de Rochefort in syn historie van de vooreylanden van America (described by Charles de Rochefort in his account of the islands off the coast of America).

f) de Tafel-Bay.

g) Drombassen vulgo.

h) Videatur Hornii orbis politicus. (See Horn's Political World.)

i) Imo maximae partis Africae, de cujus extensione &c. haesitanter admodum veteres. Resp. Aristot. lib. de mundo, c. 9. & Apul. lib. de mundo. Adeo exigua & manca sunt, quae de Africa, quam illi Lybiam dixerunt, scivere iidem. (One might say "of the greater part of Africa," concerning the extent of which the ancients speak with so much hesitation, Aristotle, *de Mundo*, chap. 9, and Apuleius, *de Mundo*, so slight and defective is their knowledge of Africa, which they call Libya.)

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On the 15th, with a gentle N.W. wind blowing, when we were rejoicing in the distant prospect of the long-desired Cape of Good Hope, we sailed past another island, Robben Island, distant according to the maps five miles from our fort, eight miles from Dassen Island, and about fifteen from Saldanha Bay. It is not made conspicuous by any lofty mountain peak; as a matter of fact only a low hill rises there. It is used as a prison for convicts employed in gathering shells to be burned for the lime for the new fort.* Here are many chameleons, smaller than the Indian variety, insects of every sort, small reptiles, various snakes, poisonous spiders as big as a man's fist, etc.

At four in the afternoon Table Bay received us, having lost abundance of men in this voyage, and on the next day the table of the Governor, an incomparable man.[2]) We were summoned to his board by the sound of the bugle; and while rowing ashore our long-boat was hindered in reaching the sandy beach of Africa by a species of very large seaweed, commonly called *drombassen*. The whole of our smaller ship's boat would scarcely have sufficed to carry one plant. This seaweed is a sign to those approaching the Cape of Good Hope of their speedy arrival, as is also the presence of a species of sea-bird, an albatross of a whitish colour and small size. The place delighted us by its strangeness, the interest of the observer being excited to a livelier attention by the fact that the circumstances of the inhabitants of this part are still unknown to writers. For they say (and this is all they tell us) that a certain emperor spread his sway from the Mountains of the Moon to the Cape of Good Hope or the extremities of Africa; that his realm was divided into four kingdoms, and called Monomotapae.[3])

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*The present castle, founded 1666, occupied 1674 (the year after Ten Rhyne's visit), and finished 1676. (B.F.)

[2]) The Governor at this time was Isbrand Goske (1672-76), the first to bear the title Governor in place of Commander. He had been sent out specially to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked by the English or French, with whom the Netherlands were then at war, and the building of the castle was completed during his tenure of office.

[3]) Ten Rhyne hardly does justice to Hondius, Dapper and other earlier Dutch writers whose accounts of the Hottentots should have been familiar to him. Legends of Monomotapa and the vast wealth of this Empire were still current in his time, but of the Cape itself a good deal of accurate information was already available in published works.

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Heic non ab ovo historiam exordiar, intra *diarii* limites commoraturus: nam num hae *gentes* a *Chamo, Noachi* filio (praeter *Arabes* nonnullos stirpis *Sem, Africam* postmodum ingressos) originem duxerint? An vero *Barbarae in Africa gentes* multa sobole increverint, quod in occulto solo frugales vixerint, & hinccine terrae infelicitas numerosa* populo alimenta negarit, ut saepe novas sedes quaesituram juventutem dimiserint, atque inde forsan incogniti hi in extremis *Africae* oris profluxerint? tanti non interest scire; modo eorum mores cognoscamus & commercia. Sed in antecessum tantisper perspiciamus *loci* indolem & situm.

Cap. I.

De situ Promontorii bonae spei.

Promontorium bonae spei appellatum, qua longitudinem (quae hic novem & triginta gradibus, ac viginti quintae scrupulis absolvitur) a *freto Gaditano,* qua latitudinem (quam triginta quatuor gradibus trigintaque minutis metiuntur) a [k]) *Promontorio Hesperio* & *Guardasu* ultima *Africae* portio est. Anno 1498, a *Vasco di Gama* tutela *Johannis, Portugalliae Regis,* detecta, Olympipetis excelsa montibus, infoecunditate hominibus valde infestis. Infelices etenim hae gentes proventibus, & malignis illustratae sideribus; terrae sterilitas arenis, merisque eremis informis ac vasta, crudo horret aere, nulla vegitabilium bonitate gaudens, & magis amica *sentibus tribulisque,* atque asperis *paliuris,* nisi longa culturae sedulitate, pastui facilis reddatur, perpauci tum ferax frumenti. Caetera vastissimos & petrosos montes habet, raras planities. Hinc memorabilis quidam locus est trium circiter milliarium circulo extensus in aequor; cui ob cruentam illic olim habitam pugnam hoc

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*) I conjecture *numeroso* (B.F.).

k) Lusitanis & nostratibus nautis Cabo verde. (Called Cape Verde by the Portuguese and Dutch sailors.)

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Here I shall not attempt to relate a regular history, my intention being to confine myself within the limits of a journal. Did these people spring originally from Ham, the son of Noah, with the exception of some Arabs of the stock of Shem who entered Africa later on? Or did the native races in Africa increase and multiply, and living frugally in a place unknown to fame, and denied sustenance for their numerous population by an unproductive soil, frequently send out their youth in quest of new lands to settle, until, it may be, these emigrants, spreading far and wide unobserved, finally settled in the remotest shores of Africa? These questions are not so important for us to answer; let us content ourselves with learning their ways of life and their dealings with others. But as a preliminary to this we must inquire for a little while into the nature and situation of the land they occupy.

CHAP. I.

The Situation of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Promontory known as the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the southernmost point of Africa. Its longitude, in respect of the Straits of Gibraltar, is 39 degrees, 25 minutes; and its latitude, in respect of the Hesperian Promontory and *Guardasu* (?) is 34 degrees and 30 minutes. It was discovered in the year 1498 by Vasco di Gama, sailing under the protection of John, King of Portugal.[38]) Its mountains tower up to heaven, but are barren and very unfriendly to man. The tribes here are little blessed with crops, lying under the influence of niggard stars. The barren land stretches out vast and formless in pure sandy deserts, with bronze ore thrusting through the surface, unrelieved by the blessings of vegetation, but friendly rather to thorns and thistles and rough briars, unless by assiduous and prolonged cultivation it be made to yield pasturage, which even then is but scant. Apart from the sandy wastes it consists of huge stony mountains with here and there a plain. Worthy of note, then, is a certain wide level expanse with a circumference of about three miles, where a bloody battle once took place, and which is called in consequence

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[38]) The Cape of Good Hope was first "discovered" by Bartholomeu Dias in 1487, and doubled again by Vasco da Gama in 1497, on his famous voyage to India, the first by the Cape sea-route.

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nomen. l) *De Bachaley plaets.* Alter ab illo nostratibus *dicitur De Buffels-jacht*, in accesso *) eminens monte, ultra quem pianane an montosa sit regio? etiamnum ignoratur. Verum quis omnium alta montium, flexa collium, ac porrecta camporum emetiatur? Fortalitio propinquorum excelsissimus a m) *mensa* vocatus *mons* est, nomine a plano cacumine deducto, qui ex altitudine sua hunc petentibus portum *Pharus est.* Ejus vestigium quinque leucis** a fundamine distare perhibetur: ad illud saltem arduo valde ascensu sudans perveni, praeter *variarum plantarum* myriadas, paludosum *palmitidum* (quarum elegantissimae reticulatae radices sunt) lucum ad montis, per medium bifidi, pedem pertransiens, densaeque ac horrendorum vociferanti *arctopithecorum* cohorti, multisque in vespertino reditu occursans *meteoris*: quaquaversum enim in aere tripudiabant *scintillae*, quarum primus intuitus socios, has flammantia audacissimi hic leonis lumina ominantes, terrebat; donec me manu illas prensare volentem fugerent, postea edoctum *meteora* illa limoso sui succo (micante in obscuro), a n) bolidibus non differe. Alter olim loco nomen impertiens a nativa effigie, non vero a o) saevientium ventorum rugitu p) *Leonis mons* appellatur: ad cujus, supra dictum, caput duo semper in statione sunt excubitores, navium adventum praemonentes.

Praeruptos atque nivales, queis tota haec regio obvallatur, montes flumina, ut umbra corpus, sequuntur. Praecipia sunt 1. q) *Butyrosum* 2. r) *Obscaenum* 3. s) *Montanum*, quod reliquis manifestius e montibus scaturiat. 4. t) Ἀτελεύτητον

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l) Corruptus Malaycismus est, idem quod dimicationis locus. (A corrupt Malay phrase, meaning "place of battle.")

m) De Tafel-Berg.

*) I conjecture *inaccesso*. (B.F.)

**) A leuca is a French measure = 1,500 paces (du Cange). *Vestigium* seems to be put by mistake for *fastigium* (B.F.).

n) Sternschot; sic cujusdam ex notis meis calceis esse adfricuerat dictum bolidis referens indolem. (This sentence seems to me corrupt. B.F.)

o) Ut vult Mercator in Ptolom. de Africa, quam ab hac parte ita procellosam statuit, ut navigantes hoc, non nisi necessitate coacti, appellant Promontorium; accomodus nostris refocillationis locus, congruumque diverticulum, ingentibus nihilominus expositum flatibus. (As Mercator says in his *Ptolemy on Africa*, alleging Africa to be so stormy in this part that sailors never put in at the Cape unless forced; but our men find the place most convenient for revictualling and a suitable port of call, although exposed to mighty winds.)

p) De Leeuwenberg.
q) De Boter-Rivier.
r) Kaffirkuls rivier.
s) Berg rivier.
t) Rivier sonder eynde.

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Bakkeley Plaats.[4]) There is also another plain, called by our countrymen De Buffelsjacht,[5]) perched on a mountain difficult of access, beyond which it is not yet known whether the country is flat or mountainous. But who could measure all those mountain heights, winding hills, and spreading plains? 133

Of the mountains near the Fort the loftiest is called Table Mountain, from its flat top, and from its height it is a beacon for those seeking this harbour. From base to summit it is said to measure five *leucae*.* And certain it is that it was after a very stiff climb and the loss of much sweat that I succeeded in scaling it. There were myriads [137] of different plants; and at the foot of the mountain, which is cleft through the middle, I passed through a marshy grove of palmitides, with sharply reticulated roots. Once [136] we met a terrifying troop of yelling baboons; and during our descent in the evening saw many "meteors." Sparks were dancing in every direction in the air, and the first sight of them terrified my companions, who supposed that these must be the blazing eyes of lions, noted here for their daring. But when I tried to catch them in my hand the sparks fled; and I learned subsequently that these "meteors" resemble in their marshy juice, which glows in the darkness, the meteor *bolis*. Another mountain which formerly gave its name to the place is called Lion Mountain, not from the roaring of the savage winds, but from its natural shape. On its summit are always posted two look-outs to give warning of the approach of ships.

The sheer snowy mountains with which all this region is hemmed in are naturally associated with rivers as a body is with its shadow. The most important are: 1. Bot river, 2. Palmiet river (?), 3. Berg river, which springs more obviously than the others from the mountains, 4. River Sonder End, rising among the mountains but of extent unknown as yet, 5. Breede river, a shallow stream, very

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[4]) Bakkeley Plaats is near the village of Vredendal, west of Van Rhynsdorp. The name is derived from the Malay *barkelehi*, to fight, and refers to a skirmish which took place here in May, 1668, between the Dutch stationed at Saldanha Bay and some Namaqua who had stolen some cattle and sheep from them and from other Hottentots. (D., May 17, 1668; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 134).

[5]) Probably the Buffelsjagt R. in the district of Swellendam, to which cattle-trading expeditions were often sent from Hottentots Holland. The country beyond was not fully known until after Schryver's journey of 1689.

* See note on opposite page. The height of Table Mountain is 3,582 feet, so that Ten Rhyne's estimate is somewhat generous.

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seu *sine fine flumen*, ex montibus ortum, hactenus, quousque se extendat, ignotum. 5. [u]) *Latum*, ex adsitarum arborum ordine amoenissimum, minime profundum, 6.[v]) *Paludosum*. Hi, quibus abunde irrigatur ille tractus, fluvii dulci & percocto latice suo plerique saltem saluberrimi sunt.

XVI. Kalendarum Novembris spatiosissimum [w]) Ampliss. Societatis *Hortum* novam adventantibus navigiis annonam copiosissime suppeditantem, nec non *limoniorum, citriorum, arantiorumque malorum* viridariis, densis *Rorismarini* septimentis, & suaveolentis *laureti* apricitatibus (proceram sua altitudine exaequantibus arborem) laetum, rivuloque e radice montis orto, ac jucundissima ubertate in eum exudante divisum, hoc est, ipsam inter medios *paliuros* sterilesque *dumos* viriditatem, visi. Inde oculos in contiguos diffundens montes, euronoti (venti Z.O.) originem evidenter eminus licet spectabam: cum enim propinquorum juga montium alta, sensimque declinante vestiuntur nube, adsunt procellosi praeludio vulturni (pro nubis raritate vel spissitudine, magnitudine vel parvitate, denique ascensu descensuve, vel magis minusue impetuosi) quem saepius ad oculum de *mensali* decidere *monte* vidi. Hunc magno plerumque turbine, & fere semper spirantem ac si *Aeolus* huic regno imperitaret, conspexi. Attamen licet astra certis itineribus semper teneant cursum, non eosdem aeri motus infundunt. Ita hic alius terris, nec sibi undique similis, alius eodem momento aquis, bivariam, imo trivariam in hoc sinu divisus, atque etiamnum extra eundem aliorsum ductus, dominatur ventus; idque diversus montium respectus efficit. Nam etiamsi admodum tranquillus alibi sit aer, *Mons* tamen Mensali maxime continuus, semper eructat flamen [x]) *diabolicus* inde dictus.

Quodcirca si locorum situs ad experientiae lumen accuratius examinaretur, forsitan non ita incertis vagaretur finibus navigatio; ubi incertitudinis ignorantiam abditis imputant aestibus undarumque pressuris artifices. Ast unde secus [y]) stati dependent venti, nisi ab altis & nivalibus

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u) Bree-rivier.
v) Moeras-rivier.
w) De E. Compagn. Thuyn.
x) Duyvelsberg.
y) Passaet-winden.

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pleasant by reason of the trees along its banks, 6. Elands Kloof river.* These rivers, with which the region is copiously irrigated, are, for the most part at least, very wholesome with their sweet sun-warmed waters. 133

On the 17th October I visited the extensive gardens of the noble Company, the abundant source of fresh supplies to visiting ships. It was a lovely sight with its plantations of lemons, citrons, and oranges, its close hedges of rosemary, and its laurels, equal in height to a tall tree, all fragrant in the sun. Through it runs a river that rises at the foot of the mountain, the waters of which are the cause of its smiling fertility. It is the very essence of greenness set in the midst of thorns and barren thickets. From there I ranged with my eyes over the neighbouring mountains, and could plainly see, though at a distance, the source of the S.E. wind. For when the summits of the mountains in the vicinity are covered with a deep bank of cloud gradually creeping down, then comes the stormy South-Easter, its greater or less violence being in accordance with the rarity or density of the cloud, its largeness or smallness, its rise or fall. This cloud I have often seen with the naked eye descending from Table Mountain. I have noticed that this wind generally comes in great gusts and that it is always blowing, as if this were the kingdom of Aeolus. For although the stars keep ever on their way with unvarying course, they do not impart the same motions to the air. So here, while one wind, and that not a steady one, prevails on land, another at the same moment is found on the sea, blowing in two or three directions in the bay, and in still a different direction outside it. The cause lies in the various physical features of the mountains. For even if the air be quite still elsewhere, yet the mountain which is continuous with Table Mountain is always vomiting forth a gale, and is hence called Devil's Peak. 132

In this connection I might remark that if the physical features of different places were examined more accurately in the light of experience, the art of navigation might not wander within such ill-defined limits. At present the exponents of the art attribute the ignorance arising from their uncertainty to mysterious currents and wave pressures. But on what else can trade winds depend, if not on lofty snow-capped mountains, especially if you remember that these winds blow at the time of the melting of the snows? Where the quarter of the wind is unchanging, or changes but once a year, the only possible operative 000

* There is room for doubt as to the identification of rivers no. 2 and 6 in this list, Ten Rhyne's information is so slight. See *Journals of Bergh and Schrijver*, ed. Mossop, V.R.S. 13, Appendix C. (B.F.)

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montibus tempore quo nives solvuntur praesertim spirantes. Verum ubi perpetua, vel semel quotannis inversa ventorum statio est, solus montium respectus, solisque cursus annuus id praestenţ opus est. Caeterum & a magnis paludibus, saltem ab amplissimis vaporum promtuariis, hae mutationes procedere possunt.

Idcirco regionum situs ac natura, aeque ac maris aestus a *Navarchis* cognosci deberet; veluti in Gallico litore, inter *S. Malo* urbem & *insulam Wigth*, quas inter periculosa *Pila in Normandia* (quae *C. de la Hagne* dicitur in Mappis) exstat, expertus sum. Sed difficultatum plenissima haec inquisitio, a propinquis non modo, sed etiam a longinquis locis, saepe a solis ascensu descensuve & recessu intensio & remissio, ab anni tempore inversio stati venti derivanda est. Ast magis in occulto latet perennium ventorum caussa, & certe ipsus haud interpretetur Oedipus, ex quali montium ad planities relatione dependeat euronoti (Z.O.) per pleraque orbis partes vulgatissimi, & hujus *Promontorii B. S. possessoris*, perpetuum spiramen.

Si haec similiaque experiundi opportunitas *Renato philosophorum Coryphaeo* fuisset, hic solam lunam non invocasset tutelarem suae sententiae Deam. Quippe generalibus obligari se negat natura legibus, ubi expertae inductionis artificio opus est. Ita fluxus & refluxus maris non ubique ad [a]) *des Cartes* se flectit hypotheses: alius enim in *mari Ligustico, Tyrrheno & Baltico;* vehementissimus in *Golfo de Jaqueta;* hinc in *nova Francia* **Le passage courent*, & in *Mexicano sinu Canalis Bahame*. Plures de vi magnetica eidem imputari possent hallucinationes. Sed ne extra pomoeria! Caeterum circumjacentia exactius perspicerem loca, flumina, montes. Sic quinque extra *fortalitium* leucis [b]) *salipromus* exstat *sinus*, cibarii fertilissimus salis, qui fossilis, ideoque potius *gemmae*, quam *maris*, *sal* dicendus: inconcisam servat figuram; frustula plerumque

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a) Princip. Philos. part 4 § 48 &c. Isaac Vossius de motu marium & ventorum; cujus ve[illegible] plerique nautarum se opponunt, qui primus illis Sacterones est. (Isaac Voss on the motion of the seas and winds. Most sailors are opposed to his paradox.) (The word *Sacterones* is unknown to me. B.P.)

* I have not identified *Le passage courent*. B.P.

b) De Sout baey (Salt Bay).

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causes are the physical features of the mountains and the annual course of the sun. Not but what we must also admit the possibility that these changes should arise from great marshes, which are very ample store-rooms of vapours.

For this reason the physical features of places should be studied by captains just as much as the tides and the currents. I have myself had experience of this on the coast of France between the town of S. Malo and the Isle of Wight, where there is a dangerous ridge on the coast of Normandy called on the maps Cape de la Hagne. But the enquiry is full of difficulties. The freshening or slackening of a trade wind depends not only on near but on distant places, and often on the rising or setting and recession of the sun; while its change of direction depends on the season of the year. But the cause of winds that blow throughout the year is still more obscure, and Oedipus himself could scarcely solve the riddle of the relationship of mountain to plain on which depends the perpetual blowing of the South-Easter, a common wind in many parts of the world, a permanent possessor of the Cape of Good Hope.

If Descartes, the prince of philosophers, had had the opportunity of experiencing these and other like phenomena, he would not have invoked the moon alone as the presiding deity of his thought. Indeed Nature refuses to be bound by general laws, where there is need of induction based on experience. Thus the ebb and flow of the sea does not everywhere obey the hypotheses of Descartes. It is different in the Ligurian, Tyrrhenian, and Baltic Seas, it is very violent in the Gulf of Jacqueta; in New France we have *le passage courent;* and in the Gulf of Mexico the Bahama Channel. To Descartes also many ravings about the force of the magnet can be attributed. But I must not stray beyond bounds. Let me rather describe with more care the adjacent localities, rivers, mountains.*

Five leucae from the Fort there is a salt-producing bay, Salt Bay,** very rich in edible salt. This salt is mined, and is therefore to be called rather a crystal salt than sea salt. It keeps its shape if not broken up. The pieces are generally large, but can easily be ground to a fine powder.

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* What Ten Rhyne is protesting against in this paragraph is the *à priori* approach of Descartes to natural philosophy. It is peculiarly interesting then to note that Ten Rhyne had made a special study of the Hippocratic tract on Ancient Medicine. (B.F.)

** Salt Bay (i.e. Riet Vlei, beyond Milnerton. B.F.)

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magna, sed in tenuissimum facile terenda pulverem. In ipsa albicat matrice, quamvis & niger reperiatur; ast cum ingenti adurit aestu canicula, sponte prorumpit facie micante albida, nostratium *commune sal* acrimonia tantisper antecellens, congruumque ciborum condimentum. Num quod, si quis in Africa (ut *Aristotelis*[c]) tempore jam compertum) prope mare infoderit, aquam principio dulcem, post brevi salsam inveniet?

Cap. II.

De Brutis.

Montosa haec salitudo *feris brutis*, quam *hominibus* aptior habitatio est: hic enim nocentissimi armentis *leones*, *elephantes*, *rhinocerotes*, [d]) *tigrides* seu potius *pantherae*, *lupi*, *alces*, [e]) *hippopotami*, *agrestes equi*, *bubali*, *apri*, *orestitrophi*, *napes*, *arctopitheci*, *histrices*, *echini*, *putorii*, *lynces*, *cervi*, *dazi*, *meles*, *lutrae*, *lepores*, & pulcerrimi coloris *onagri*, ac si nigro corio albas ordine inseruisset *strias* pellio: *capreae*, *rupricapreae*, *ibices*, cum maculosi tum cinerei: *hirci rupisultores*, *feles silvatici*, tigriformes atque cani; *vulpiumque* quaedam species, quam Belgae *zachhaise* dicunt; rariores [f]) *Tamandua-Guacu*, a *Brasiliensibus* sola magnitudine diversae. Ingentem sane beluarum copiam illic hospitari necesse est; cum millena aliquot brevi temporis intercapedine captorum, praesertim *hippopotamorum*, *alcium*, *ibicum*, consimiliumque pondera, a paucis venatoribus *Gubernatori* producta sint. Unde patet, quam graviter lapsus sit [g]) *Aristoteles*, ubi *in Africa* (ubi equi [h]) *non de-est belua dentes ad mortes pretiosa suas*) non *aprum*, non *cervum*, non *capram silverstrem* inveniri tradit.

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c) Lib. Problem. Sect. 23 probl. 31. (Aristotle's Problem is stated thus: "Why is it that in Libya, if one digs a hole near the sea, the water that first comes is drinkable, but afterwards quickly becomes salty, but this happens less elsewhere?" B.F.)

d) Premit advena dentes tigris, ut bibat humanum populo lugente cruorem. Petron. Satyr. (The stranger tiger snaps his jaws, that he may drink human gore while the people mourn. Petronius, Satyrae.) (The reference is to 1119, lines 14-15. The quotation is garbled. B.F.)

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It is white even in its natural deposit, although black specimens are also found. But when the dog days scorch it with their tremendous heat, of its own accord it splits and shows a gleaming white surface. It surpasses the common salt of our country somewhat in pungency of taste, and forms a most agreeable accompaniment of food. Can this be the reason why (as already known in Aristotle's time) if one digs near the sea in Africa, one first finds sweet water, then, after a little, salt?

CHAP. II.

Animals.

This mountainous desert is a fitter habitation for wild beasts than for men; for here are to be found lions, the cruel enemies of flocks and herds, elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers or rather panthers, wolves, elks, hippopotamuses, wild horses, buffaloes, boars, mountain-bred *napes* (?), baboons, porcupines, hedge-hogs, *putorii* (?), lynxes, stags, rabbits, badgers, otters, hares, zebras of a most beautiful colouring, as if a furrier had inserted white stripes at regular intervals in a black hide, goats, mountain goats, ibexes, both spotted and ash-coloured, springboks, wild cats, shaped like tigers and grey, a species of fox which the Dutch call *jakhals*, and more rarely *Tamandua-Guacu* (?), differing only in size from the Brazilian variety. In truth an enormous supply of animals must harbour here, for in a brief space of time a few hunters brought the governor several thousands of pounds weight of animals they had taken, chiefly hippopotamuses, elks, ibexes, and similar creatures. Hence we can see into how serious an error Aristotle fell when he says that in Africa (where there is no lack of that beast whose teeth are precious at its death) the boar, the stag, and the wild goat are not to be found.

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e) Prodigiosae magnitudinis beluae, a me non semel conspectae, quas saepe cum vitae periculo venatum eunt nostrates: videatur Plin. lib. 8. cap. 25 & c. 26. (Beasts of enormous size seen more than once by me. Our countrymen often go to hunt them at the peril of their lives. See Pliny, Natural History, bk. 8, chaps. 25 and 26.)

f) Quas Marcgravius describit sub nomine Mienen detdera. Hist. quadrup. lib. 800 8. cap. 4. (Described by Marcgravius under the name Mienen. *History of Quadrupeds*, bk. 6, chap. 4.)

g) de hist. anim. lib. 8 cap. 28.

h) Petron. in satyr. (The reference again is to Petronius *Satyrae*. §118, lines 15, 16. *Equi* seems to be corrupt. The passage in Petronius concerns the elephant. B.F.)

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CAP. III.

De Avibus.

000 Inter aves frequentes satis, & diversicolores, i) *struthiocameli*, *pavones*, *grues*, *ciconiae nigrae*, *ardeae*, *anseres*, *onocrotali*, *anates*, *penelopes*, *querquedulae*, *glaucia*, *mergi*, *urinatrices*, k) *fulicae*, *boscades*, *penguini*, *perdices*, rubicantes & cinerei *phasiani*, *vanelli*, *ficedulae*, *gallinagines minores*, *ululae*, *cepphorum myriades*,l) *apodes*, ac variae tincturae *hirundines*, m) *colibrydes*, seu *verticillatae* cujusdam *plantae* suctores, & *pelicani* quaedam species, quam *Galli* n) *les Flammants*, nostrates a Lusitanis id docti *Flaminken*, variegatis erectis plumis.

CAP. IV.

De Piscibus.

Hic quoque mare fluviique suas dant feras, *leones*, *cuniculosque marinos*, *guapervas Brasiliensium*, o) balaenas, levesque *galeos*, *thynnos* (mensae decus) *salmones*, *rajas*, *mugiles*, *musculos*, *auratas*, *decumanas*, *anguillas*, binasque e genere *cyprini* species, *Incolae* nuncupant *Hottentots vis*, hi quippe illis delectantur, cum squammosi, saxatiles grataeque carnis sint; altera permagna mensarum dapes est, *steenbraesem* vocitata: Tum *Caniculae* speciem, quam *Lusitani* p) *Cassaon* appellant: *ostreas*, *cammaros*, *cancros*, verasque *torpedines*, *turbines*, *sepia* & viriformes *conchas*, quas inter *Pareo* dictus *natator Plinio nautilus* est.* Sed ire per omnes vetat propositi compendium; unum tamen addam in epilogum. Cum oram curvi molliter litoris leni unda tusam legerem, in ejectaneos sciscitaturus maris foetus, quaedam *animalcula*, scopulis firmissime adhaerentia inveni, *multipeda* vitalium fibrarum exsertione rosas eminentia, unde Belgicum vulgus *Kliproosen* vocat.

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i) Huc transferatur locus Esai, cap. 13. v. 21. (Cf. Isaiah, 13: 21.)

k) vid. Charles de Rochefort lib. cit. p.m. 123.

l) Non apodes, licet Plin. lib. 10. c. 39. hoc nomen illis indiderit, & sine pedibus describserit; uti veteres paradisi dictas aves apodas putâre perperam. (They are not footless, although Pliny, bk. 10, chap. 39, gives them this name and describes them as being without feet. The ancients also believed, falsely, that birds of paradise, as they are called, are without feet.)

m) Alibi a me describtae vid. idem Rochefort p.m. 141. Quo & referri poterit Brasiliensii Guaimumbi, quam Marcgravius, bioemenspecht interpretatur, cujus ille novem recenset species, ego ex repertis tantum tres alibi describsi. (Described elsewhere by me. See Rochefort, p.m. 141. To this may be compared also the Brazilian Guaimumbi, which Marcgravius translates *bioemen-*

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CHAP. III.

Birds.

Among the birds, which are plentiful enough and of varied colours, are ostriches, peacocks, cranes, black storks, herons, geese, pelicans, ducks, penelopes, querquedulae, glaucia, divers, urinatrices, coots, boscades, penguins, partridges, red and ash-coloured pheasants, vanelli, figpeckers, the lesser gallinago, screech-owls, myriads of cephi, martins, swallows of various hue, colybrides, or suckers of a certain verticillated plant, and a certain kind of pelican called by the French *Flammants*, and by our countrymen, who learned the name from the Portuguese, *Flaminken*, with upstanding variegated plumage.

CHAP. IV.

Fish.

Here the sea and also the rivers yield their own wild creatures, sea-lions, sea-rabbits, guapervas of Brazil, whales, small sharks, tunnies (the glory of the table), salmon, rays, mullets, mussels, gilt-bream, decumanae, eels, two species of carp (the inhabitants call them Hottentots' fish, since the Hottentots delight in them, because they are scaly, and haunt the rocks, and have a tasty flesh). Another large table fish is the *steenbras*. Then there is a species of dog-fish, which the Portuguese call *Cassaon*. Also oysters, lobsters, crabs, the true torpedo, turbines, cuttlefish, and viriform shells, among which is the Pareo, called by Pliny the sailing nautilus. But to enumerate all is impossible within the narrow limits I have set myself; I shall merely add one to conclude. When I was skirting the edge of a gently curving shore beaten by quiet waves in order to prosecute my researches into the offspring which the sea casts forth from her womb, I discovered certain animalcula firmly attached to the rocks, which by the innumerable living fibres they thrust out present a rosy hue, and are in consequence popularly known among the Dutch as rock-roses.

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specht, and of which he enumerates nine species, while I from my own observations have noted but three, described elsewhere.)

n) vid. eundem p.m. 123.

o) Balenae quaedam species hic frequens Belgice wont-kapers & vin-vissen. (A certain species of whale common here, called by the Dutch *wont-kapers* and *vin-vissen*.)

p) vide Maregrav. lib. 4. c. 12.

q) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 47.1. (B.F.)

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CAP. V.

De insectis & venenosis Animalibus.

Non horum, nec insectorum hic ullus esset finis; publica sunt variformes *cantharides*, *papiliones*, *mordellae*, q) *cicindelae*, variaeque scheseos *locustae*, plurimi *curculiones*, & diversicolores *millepedae* r) *araneae*, pugno magnitudine aequiparandae, ac variae *formicae*, quae grandibus pabuli acervis (quos parcissime ad novam arcem exstruendam calce posse substitui autumabat a *Fisco Dominus*: illos ego divulsos multis *formicarum* myriadibus suffertos detexi) in vicinis montibus se ipsas inhumant.

Communia ex venenatis sunt *serpentes*, effigie, magnitudine, & loco discrepantes, *viperae* duplo quam in Gallia repperi, majores; *salamandrae*, *scorpiones*, *scolopendrae*, *lacerti*, *bufones*; de quorum origine cum *Gubernatore*, viro ab experientia incomparabili, disserens; mirabar eorundem illic loci imaginem; cum patriis triplo majores praelongis a tergo pedibus, attarum instar, terram potius verrerent. Hoccine miraris, regerebat *Ille*, protinus adferri jubens de *Holothuriorum* genere *pisces bufoniformes*, extra ventrem gestantes pedes. En! hi nostratium bufonum conceptacula sunt; veluti ipsemet postea observavi, ex hoc nempe pisce bufonem progigni; tum etiam talem exenterans coram *Gubernatori piscem*, singula ferme intestina, praesertim pulmones, quibus large instructabantur, uti in *bufonibus*, *ranisve* consimilia reperi.

Caetera animatorum genera vel visum non subiere meum, vel visa tantillo tempore, quo illic morabar prosecare non potis fui singula, hic in *Stagiritticam* proclivis sententiam; s) In *Asia* nempe efferatiores, in *Europa* fortiores, in *Africa* multiformiores bestias provenire: Unde natum proverbium: t) *Africam* semper aliquid novi proferre. Cum aquarum indigentia beluas, levandae sitis gratia convenientes, illic convocet, ut promiscua venere coeant. Quod in desertissimis forte verum est locis; secus indefinita *Africum* perfluunt flumina.

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q) De quibus dictus Rochefort p.m. 123.

r) His analogam dat figuram Rochef. p.m. 129. (Rochefort gives an analogous shape for them.)

s) loco supra citato (see former citation). (Hist. of Animals, viii, 28.)

t) Aristot. dicto loco & lib. de generat. anim. lib. 2. cap. 7.

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CHAP. V.

Insects and Poisonous Creatures.

Neither of the poisonous creatures nor of the insects could there be given any complete enumeration here. Among the latter are common various beetles, butterflies, mordellae, glow-worms, locusts of different sorts, many weevils, millepede spiders of various colours, comparable in size to a man's fist, and several kinds of ant, which bury themselves in great heaps of food in the neighbouring mountains. The Treasurer asserted that these ant-heaps could be sparingly substituted for lime in the building of the new fort. I broke some open and disclosed myriads of ants swarming within. 136

Among the poisonous creatures snakes are common, differing in shape, size and habitat. There are vipers twice as big as I have found in France, salamanders, scorpions, scolopendrae, lizards, toads. Of the origin of these I discoursed with the Governor, a man of incomparable experience; I expressed surprise at the appearance of the toads in that place, which were three times the size of our native ones and had very long hind legs like (?) , with which they swept the ground. "You are surprised at this," said he in reply, forthwith ordering some specimens of toad-shaped fish of the genus Holothuria (water-polypes), with feet below their bellies, to be brought. "Look, these are the source from which our toads are born." And this I myself afterwards observed, to wit, a toad produced from this fish. I also disembowelled a fish of this sort in the presence of the Governor and found all the internal organs, especially the lungs with which they are generously supplied, to be like those of toads or frogs.

Other classes of living things I either did not see at all, or, if seen, in the very short time of my sojourn there, could not examine minutely. But I am inclined to adopt the opinion of the Stagirite, that in Asia the most savage, in Europe the strongest, in Africa the most various wild animals are brought forth. Hence has sprung the saying: Africa always produces something new. Aristotle gives as the reason that the lack of water gathers together different animals to relieve their thirst with the result that they copulate promiscuously. But this must be understood of the deserts of Africa, which otherwise is watered by many great rivers. 000

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CAP. VI.

De Plantis.

Verum Botanicum me mage cepit studium, quippe hoc sterile etiamsi solum, omnigenis scatet *plantis*, quibus peculiarem describtionis locum dicavi. Sive enim litori quis inambulet, ludentem faventemque vegetabilibus naturam, ubi ego herbae *kali* (de cujus *sale* tantum veteres, plus tamen strepunt novaturientes) aestimabam copiam. Sive per plana vagetur, immensam earundem varietatem, praesertim elegantium *ericarum*, multiformium *sedorum*, luxuriantium *Ornithogalorum*, *narcissorumque* (quorum bulbi humanum etjam caput magnitudine exaequant, jam dudum ad curiosos in *Hollandiam* missi) *geranij* noctu odori &c. suaveolentiam. Sive per montes currat, arborum (quas inter species quaedam omnes alias frequentia antecedit; ejus lignum prae duritie *Belgis yserhout*, usque huc Vulcano soli dicatum) fruticumque silvas, & in collibus frugiferam *aloem* probandamque *scammoneam*, uberrime offendet; & in hortis [u]) *solanum Indicum*, quandamque [v]) *Melonum* speciem, mirandam ex longo itinere adventantibus diuretica sua virtute refocillationem conciliantium. Tum transvectam *torrida zona Musam* (*Piran Malay*, *Arabes Amusas* vocant) de quibus expertorum fide constat, *Illas*, uti & *Cocos*, tantum intra, nunquam extra *tropicos* efflorescere, atque loca aequinoctiali linea propinquiora & plures & majores horum fructus, juxta declinationem ab Aequatore per gradus gradatim quoque numero & magnitudine decrescere, & tandem evanescere; sic raram & sine frugibus *Musam* ad *Caput B. S.* reperi; & in *Bengala* extra *tropicos*, *mala* ac *pyra Hollandica*, *Cocci* vel *Musae* nulli: verum *Mesquetti*, in eodem *Bengalae regno*, & in *Persia* a *tropici* initio fructus hi, sed sine succo nascuntur, in appropinquatione ad lineam, succulentiores, grandioresque. Verum aspera & inculta regio arboribus, alibi mollescentibus, dum* inspirat indolem; subtiliorque quam patrius est, aër intensiores vires.

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u) Spaens-Spec of Ritsies.

v) Nostrates perperam waterlimoenen: Hos delineat Rochef. p.m. 104. (Our countrymen wrongly call them waterlimoenen. See sketch in Rochefort, p.m. 104.)

*) Read *suam*. B.P.

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CHAP. VI.

Plants.

To botanical studies I devoted greater attention, for this soil, barren though it be, abounds in plants of every sort, to the description of which I have set aside a special work. For, in the first place, if one takes a walk upon the shore one encounters conditions that produce a luxuriance of vegetable life. Here I myself have seen quantities of the plant kali, about the salt of which the ancients spoke so much and the modern pundits speak still more. Or, on the other hand, if one strolls across the flats, there is again an immense variety of plants, especially comely ericas, house-leeks of various kinds, luxuriant Star of Bethlehem plants, and narcissi. The bulbs of these often equal a human head in size, and specimens were long ago sent to Holland to satisfy the curious. There are also geraniums that smell sweetly by night. Or, again, if one ranges the mountains, there are woods full of trees and shrubs. Among the various species of tree one is more common than all the rest. It is called ironwood by the Dutch, but up till now it has been dedicated solely to Vulcan. And in the hills there is a fruit-bearing aloe, and good kind of scammony. In the garden there is the Indian nightshade, and a certain species of melon, which wonderfully restores the health of those who arrive after a long voyage by its diuretic quality. Then there is the Musa brought from the torrid zone (the Malays call it Piran, the Arabs Amusas), with regard to which we have it on the authority of those who have tested the matter, that they, like the coco-palm, flourish only inside, never outside, the tropics. Places which are nearer the equinoctial line have more and larger specimens of these fruits, which gradually decrease in number and in size according to the various degrees of declination from the Equator, and at length disappear. Thus it was only rarely that I found the Musa at the Cape of Good Hope, and always without fruit. In Bengal, outside the tropics, there are apples and pears of the Dutch variety, no coco-palms or Musae. But at Mesquetti, a place in the same kingdom of Bengal, and in Persia from the beginning of the tropic, these fruits grow, but without juice. The nearer they get to the line, the juicier and larger they become. A rough and uncultivated region imparts its own natural qualities to trees that are elsewhere soft and delicate, while an air more fine than their native air intensifies their strength.

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CAP. VII.

De Anni Temporibus.

Hic horrida non valde saevit bruma, nec toties increpant grandines, neve glacie congelantur flumina, maximum pruina conferente frigus: Hic enim non in quatuor, sed in duas, veluti in *India* vestra, periodos dividitur annus. Hiemen pluvia facit, aestatem siccitas, utraque furentibus concitata ventis. Ita ut cum in patria *Sirius* aestuat, riget hic nimbosus *Orion*.* Cum enim in patria appropinquat *aequatori* sol; hic inverso cursu ab eodem recedit. Tum si unus eligatur ex *Hollandia* locus *Amstelaedamum* V. G. hoc *bonae spei Promontorium* 17 gradibus & 51 minutis, qua latitudinem praeponitur; postponitur vero 11 gradibus & 30 scrupulis, si longitudinem spectas: Octobri enim mense (qui hic aestatis initium efficit) cum in patria arborum raduntur comae, vegetantia hic primum pullulascebant.

CAP. VIII.

De hujus Eparchiae Incolis Hottentottis.

Nomen est in varias nationes divisis;

1. Quarum princeps illa, quam *Essequaes* faciunt. Natio, cum ex multitudine tum corporis proceritate (semigigantes enim putaveris) & robore fortissima; ideoque a suis nunquam impune lacessita. Si enim *Namacquas* &c. duas tresve pecudes abstulerint, illico in eos bello saeviunt, penitiora cogniti a nostratibus tractus ad CL. & paullo plus milliarium distantiam incolentes, ad insolitum nostrorum armorum expaventes visum; aliâs cum illis, qui consuetam ad *Caput B.S.* sedem tenent, moribus convenientes. Quorsum una quotannis vice jussu *Gubernatoris*, ex *tabaco*, *araco*, & *aeneis torquibus*, quibus illi ex diutina exspectatione impensius inhiant, mercimonia, commutando lucroso pecori, transferuntur.

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*) From Virgil, *Aen.* I, 535. (B.F.)

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CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 51 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:—

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Essequaes*.[6]) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, though inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting.

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[6]) The Hessequas (see above, p. 39) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 135.

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2. Alteram *Namacquaes* constituunt, hunc sibi peculiarem in vestitu servantes ritum: quod ubi alii vulpino, caprinove corio, hi ex elephantino dente contextis canistellis pudenda tegant, vix penetrabilibus aliis tutiores in bello scutis.

3. Hos sequuntur *Sousvas*, ejusdem cum nostris Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Hinc *Sonquas*, quibus sontica* de caussa a nostratibus ereptae sunt pecudes, ut silvis degentes alimoniam ex desertis, ferarum praesertim venatione petere cogantur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregoriquas*.

6. Inimicum agmen claudunt *Honnimas*, quibuscum nostrates ob dira municipum homicidia bella gerunt. Quorum *praefectus supremus*, *Honnima* dictus, claudus etiamsi senex; strenuus tamen miles est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros securi arcem frequentant, auxiliares in terrestri bello copias componunt. Eorum praefectus generalis *Claes* appellatur, & ab illo secundus *Capteyn Cuyper*, egregii uterque & vafri milites, non semel a me visi, mera cum nudipeda plebe mendicabula: sic huic, sex stipatoribus comitato, emendicatum *tabaci* frustulum pluries dedi, Gallice tantillum cum eodem locutus.

* Ten Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 90) about Table Mountain and the table of the Governor. B.F.

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7) See above, p. 34.

8) A misleading description; the garment referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully pleated and prepared skin" (see above, p. 38). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the Cape Hottentots wore goatskins, for none of them possessed any goats.

9) Van Meerhoff describes these as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 58).

10) The Chainouquas (see above, p. 26), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Souswa.

11) Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1669 Cruse encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandize, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 26, 1669: Moodie, *Record*, 303-4).

12) Called *Karichuriquas* by Dapper.

13) *i.e.* Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 23). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 88).

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Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Sousvas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[14]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1666, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1672, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (!) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

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CAP. IX.

De Connexione cum aliis.

Quinam vero *Hottentottis* contermini sint populi, necdum ita planum est: auriti plures quam oculati testes sunt, qui de w) *Nigritis* mussitant. Sic aliis persuasum vult decurio quidam nostras; se ab ultimis (ad quorum emissus erat fines, sextuplici consortio stipatus) *Hottentottorum* nepotibus, a caeteris vita & moribus plane discrepantibus, & nondum speciali nomine notis praecepisse, inter se & *Nigritas* spatiosum quoddam interjacere flumen, quod cymbis ex arborum cavamine fabrefactis, permutandis mercibus trajicerent. Caeterum Hottentottis x) inter se nulli fines.

CAP. X.

De Corporis habitu.

Uti universo hominum generi, praeter patriae indolem, proprius quidam connascitur instinctus; ita non minori miraculo per tot secula & tot populorum nomina, unicuique hominum sua, & ab aliis deflexa, lineamenta *natura* invenit, quae tam vultus, quam animi indices, ineffabilem inter mortales differentiam efficiunt. Sic *Hottentottorum* plerique quasi sole adusti fusca undique cute inumbrantur, sanguine sicco calidoque communiter praediti; nonnullorum tamen subcandicans vultus a patria ferrugine recedit. Quamvis nigerrimi illis pulcerrimi; ac dum versicolores terras vel capillis inspergunt, vel adipe mixtas facies illinunt, semet cosmeticae maximopere indulgere censent; Invenitur enim in hac regione colores promens mons, laboriosa sedulitate

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w) Vulgo Kaffers.

x) Ut de Scythis, quos hodie Turcas appellamus. Just. lib. 2. histor. (As with the Scythians, whom today we call Turks. Justin, bk. 2 of the history.) (His actual words are: *hominibus inter se nulli fines.* B.F.)

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CHAP. IX.

Their relations with other peoples.

Who the people are that neighbour the Hottentots is not yet known; those who venture a word about the negroes (popularly called Kafirs) depend more on hearsay than on the witness of their own eyes. Thus one of our officers would have it believed that he learned the facts I shall now mention from the most remote branch of the Hottentot family, to whose territory he had been sent with a guard of six men. These Hottentots differ widely from the rest in their ways, although they are not yet known by a special name; and they told him, says our officer, that between them and the negroes lies a broad river which they cross in boats made out of hollowed tree-trunks in order to exchange goods [15]). The Hottentots are separated from one another by no boundaries.

CHAP. X.

Physical Characteristics.

The human race as a whole, apart from local and national peculiarities, is provided at birth with a character proper to itself; but no less wonderful is it that every single individual of the species, down through the ages and among so many peoples, should be supplied by nature with his own personal lineaments, distinct from those of other men, expressive alike of the inner and the outer man, and constituting an indefinable difference between one individual and another. Thus the Hottentots as a race have everywhere a dark and swarthy skin, as if scorched by the sun, and are generally endowed with a dry, warm blood. Yet the faces of some show much fairer, departing from their native dusky hue. Nevertheless the blackest are the loveliest in their eyes, and they think themselves never so finely adorned as when they sprinkle divers coloured earths upon their hair, or rub them, mixed with fat, upon their faces. For in this region there is a mountain that produces colours, which if carefully worked might perhaps be profitable.

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[15]) I have been unable to identify this officer or the journey to which reference is made. It may possibly refer to Hieronymus Cruse, who with fifteen men landed at Mossel Bay in 1668 and went eastwards overland as far as the Gouritz R., bringing back reports of the Attaquas, "a tribe similar to the Cape Hottentots, but well supplied with copper and beads, *which they obtain from another nation dwelling further east and somewhat darker*" (D., Nov. 28, 1668).

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forte lucrosus. Omnes quos mihi saltem videre contigit, gracili ac elaborato corpore, congruenter concisis artuum lacertis, simo (qualis *Africanorum* ac *Asiaticorum* plerisque conatus est) naso, depressa fronte, chilones, crispo, languinoso, & in varias deraso formes capillo, nudi incedunt, tectis tantum levi corio praecordiis. Feminas a maribus deformitate distinguas; Illae hoc sibi a caeteris gentibus peculiare habent, quod pleraeque earum dactyliformes, semper geminas, e pudendis propendentes appendiculas, productas scilicet *Nymphas* (ut raro in nostratibus exemplo prolongata conspicitur *clitoris*) gestent, quas tuguriola (illi suo idiomate *krallen* vocant, mulieribus fortuito referta) intrantibus magna cum gesticulatione, coriaceum elevando supparum, videndas praebent.. Sic strangulatam nuper prosecavit amicus *chirurgus viraginem Hottentotticam*, in qua digitalia haec *Nympharum* tubercula, e verendis procidua, duas in una mammilla papillas, variosque in [17]) pancreate calculos observârat. Imo vero, adjiciebat probatissimae fidei *Gubernator*: *Et ego calculum ex medietate virilis testiculi exsectum, propter adamantinam pelluciditatem annulo insertum possedi; ast eum superstitioso & ingenium de eo amuleti vim ventilanti, Nigritarum Regi donavi.* Id vero cum *Nigritica, Aethiopica* &c. gente commune habent; quod ubi hi oleo, illi pecorum adipe corpora, sed praesertim verticem, illinant, cineribus ex concrematis herbis (quos *Bouchòu* vernacule appellant) in eundem conspersis: quod officium uxores maritis praestant. Aurium lobos transversim lateque secant, aperturam bacillo, vel *tabacifuma* fistula, vel quod illis solennius, *corallinis* inauribus pandunt.

17) Sic tandem omnem dubitationis aleam evaderet dictamen hoc; posse etiam in omnibus corporis partibus calculos produci. (This statement need not labour under any suspicion of doubt: stones may be produced in any part of the body.)

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16) On this well-known characteristic of Hottentot women, see above, p. 62.

17) The word *kraal* is not of Hottentot origin, but was taken over by the Dutch from the Portuguese *curral* and applied to the *settlements* of the Hottentots, not to their *huts*.

[i.e., see 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 62. — Ed.]

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All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom[17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled[18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[18]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

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CAP. XI.

De Vestimentis.

Lanae a) iis usus ac vestium ignotus, quanquam ingenti frigore saepe urantur; pellibus tamen ferinis (*bovinis ovillisque*) utuntur. Coriaceae ergo primatum aeque ac plebejorum masculae vestes unico constant, ex *bovino ovillove* corio, *colobio* (ipsis *Karos* dicto: quod & *lectuli*, & *arculae* & omnis fere suppellectilis vices supplet; eoque imbrium hiemisque caussa teguntur) ita tamen ut illi quandoque ex *pantherarum caprearumve* pellibus confectum gerant; atque ubi gregarii *vulpina*, optimates de *lutra meleve* membrana pubem velent. Neque enim ipse *Hercules*, tot gentium invictus domitor, & jam Diis ascitus, cum terras peragraret, una pelle vestitior, neque uno baculo comitatior fuit.* Cadente pluvia coriaceo, stricteque aptato vertici, pileolo, in apiculum erecto, utrinque aures vestiente segmento, caput obtegunt. Collo sacculum (quo telorum cuspides plerumque condunt, aliàs *tabaco* implent) suspendunt. Brachia pone cubitos ex *elephantino* dente armillis ornant, queis suas peras saepius alligant, caetera nudi; nisi quod aliqui quandoque ex siccatis *bovini* corii plantas tegant soleis, quas urgente necessitate coctas assatasve comedunt, ac renovant per damna famem.

Femininus vero vestitus constat ex pelliceis *ovium* scilicet, cum *amiculo*, tum *supparo*, quo verecundas in publico, sollicite magis quam viri aperiunt** partes feminae; quae consimili *mitra* comam continuo cingunt. Arefactis ex viminibus *orbiculis* (quos aliqui exsiccata pecorum exta, alii membranaceas, ex boum recenti corio rotunde convolutas, ansas putant) sibi arcte super impositis, caligarum loco pedes muniunt, raro calceatae.

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a) Just. de Scythis ibidem. ((Justin on the Scythians.) (The reference is bk. II, chap. 2, where the following words occur: *Lanae hic usus ac vestium ignotus, quamquam continuis frigoribus urantur; pellibus tamen ferinis ac marinis utuntur.* Ten Rhyne's information about the Hottentots seems to be sometimes supplemented by references in ancient authors to various savage peoples. B.F.)

*This passage about Hercules comes, with some alterations, from Apuleius, *Apologia*, 22. (B.F.)

**) This must, I feel sure, be a mistake for *operiunt*. (B.F.)

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How the Hottentots build their Huts.
(In the background is a representation of a kraal.)
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p. 116]

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CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a *colobium* or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [622] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [301] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, [262 261] under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[88])

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[88]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the inside out look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.R.S.* I, 59).

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000 Communia ornamenta sunt vel capitis, vel quod uti nos villosos tondemus canes, in plenilunares, semilunares, stellares &c. figuras radunt; frontalibus coralliis, serratas *conchulas*, *nummos aeneos*, connodulatos *saccorum* &c pilos &c. appendunt. Omnes fere, nisi pauperrimi, diversis ex *coralliniis*, *vitreis*, *aeneisve* globulis colla circumdant monilibus; quae cum *Illustriss. Societate* opimo commutant pecore. Cubitos *elephantinis*, carpos *caprels* plerumque brachialibus ornant.

CAP. XII.

De Aedificiis.

Praeter pa.va [b] *tuguriola*, [c] nec domus illis ulla, nec tectum aut sedes est, armenta & pecora semper pascentibus, & per incultas solitudines errare solitis. *Casulae* hae unica patent antica, earumque *tectum culmenve* & *parietes* ex foliis caulibusque *Africani* Gladioli (cujus [d] *Bulbos* panis loco manducant) tam solide contexta sunt, ut a pluvia aliisque aeris injuriis protegant incolentes. *Columina*, *imbrices*, *scandulaeque* ex arborum ramusculis fabrefacta; *vestibulum* arcuatum, inflexum est. In pavimentum quisque cavernam effodit, cui, tanquam *lectulo*, *ocellam* insternit pellem maritus, simili involvendus, ita ut vel caput pedesve vel manus extra eandem non animadvertas, servans, quem naturaliter foetus in utero situm; femina ad conjugis antri limbum altius dormit. Angustissima haec *casula quindecim*, quandoque plures, hospites capit. Haecce *mapalia* in collibus campisve, vel fluminum ripis inter arbusta collocant, atque in orbem disponunt quinos vel senos distantia invicem passus; atque ita armenta, his inclusa septis, a ferarum potius quam hostium invasione defendunt: ubi vero *Praefecti* in alia commigrandi loca indicant, subjectos magnis ignium incendiis commonefaciunt; solae feminae totum peculium, omniaque utensilia (quae alias in coriaceum injecta saccum ipsasmet humeris comportant) colligunt, & cum gurgustio gestatoriis impenunt bobus, belligeras in sequentibus copias viris.

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b) Krallen vocant. (They call them kraals.)

c) Justin. loco citato. (Justin as before.) (The words nec domus to errare solitis are Justin's. R.P.)

d) Hottentots hereof appellant rootkrakas.

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They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so coslly that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

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CAP. XIII.

De Supellectili.

000 Si quis in supellectilis partes inquirat, antiqua opus est mente revolvat secula; ubi *) *Thebanum Cratem* populo rem familiarem donasse, & solitudinem delegisse, arbores plurimas & frugiferas prae uno baculo spreviase, ac villas ornatissimas una perula mutasse comperiet. Sola quippe pera & baculus olim *Cynicae*, nunc *Hottentiotticae* gestamina familiae sunt; quae olim *Diogeni* & *Antistheni*, ea nunc *Hottentiottis*, idem quod Imperatoribus paludamentum, quod Regibus diadema, quod Pontificibus galerum, quod lituus auguribus, sunt. Neque in hoc *Diogeni*, cum magno *Macedonum Rege* de regni veritate certabundo, *baculoque* sceptri, & *vasculo* solii vice glorianti, cedunt, semper sua sorte contenti. Utuntur tamen nonnunquam pocalis, ex collectis in litore *conchyliis*, vel ex comestarum prius *testudinum* (quas *Stirpeos* vocitant, & in cineribus tostas edunt, ac pro *tabaci* frustulo peregrinis divendunt) operimentis: quibus si careant, cavata manu cum *Cynico* aquam hauriunt. Cibum quandoque rejecta in testa, alias sub cineribus apparant, secus cruda vorantes. Attamen peculio ditiores exquisitas ex argilla ollas, coquinae destinatas, alii ex arborum truncis cibarios *alveolos* oblongos conficiunt.

*) Vide Apulejum in apol. pro se ipso. (See Apuleius, *Apologia*.) (Chap. XI. The whole passage from *Thebanum Cratem* to solii vice *glorianti* is taken, with slight adaptations, from this chapter of Apuleius. B.F.)

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415 **) Cf. de la Loubère, *Description du Royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1691), vol. II, 189: "When we offered them brandy, they picked up as receptacle the first suitable shell they saw lying on the ground, and after blowing through it used it for drinking".

323 **) The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it appears that the most common form was that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord was passed for purposes of suspension. Other pots of the same style were quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base was slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot.

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CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[21]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *strigoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[22]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[22])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 312.) Grevenbrock (see below, p. 251) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

[22]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 314.

[See 10: Grevenbrock, this File, cont'd, p. 251. — Ayala]

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CAP. XIV.

De Indole.

000 Enimvero nativa barbaries & otiosa solitudo illorum animis voluptatum omnium ac vitiorum genera miserabilis virtutum inscitia subjicit: f) levitate quippe, & inconstantia, mendaciis, fraudibus, perfidia ac infamibus omnis libidinis curis turpissime exercentur, nequissime sanguinarii; nec enim imbelles satis est prostrasse, dum trucidatis multis etiamnum insultant telis & baculorum ictibus; ita durissima indole omnem eluctati humanitatem, in majorum feritate perseverant, furto deditissimi: alter enim alterius fraudulenter saepe ditatur pecore. Humaniores & mage casti fuerint *Africani* illi, qui tibi triumfale nomen imposuêre, *Africane Scipio*! magnum urbanitatis & castimoniae exemplar! Praeter flagitiosi luxus veternum luxuriosam sibi cudunt inertiam: quippe g) agrum non exercent, nihil serentes, nihil metentes, h) nunquam solliciti quid esuri vel bibituri? Ast naturae vi suis sordibus addicti jacent. Quare, si quis eorum famulitio uti velit, esurientes, nunquam saturos, mandare debet, nihil promittens, quod imposterum non praestet. Unde praematura senectus libidinosa, & ut plurimum enervia corpora occupat. Verum cum negligentissimi vel potius nulli, in observanda aetate sint, de diuturnitate vitae nil certi statui poterit: quicquid enim effraenis illis demit luxuries, coacta restaurat ex egestate temperantia, vegetabilium pabulo alitis. Namque num quidam ultra seculum superstites sint? dubitant nostrates. Atque hinccine antiquos virisse diu? hallucinan-

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f) Uti Hornius in Arca Mosis de Africanis testatus. (As Horn declares of the Africans in his *Ark of Moses*.) (I have not been able to consult Horn's book to see how much of Ten Rhyne's description is borrowed from him. B.F.)

g) Just. de iisdem ibidem. (Justin again.) (*Agrum non exercent* is an exact quotation. B.F.)

h) Ut volucres coeli, Matth. 6. (Like birds of the air. Matth. 6.) (Verse 26. It is surprising to find their obedience to Christ's command numbered among their worst sins. B.F.)

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CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

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000 tur [f] aliqui. Hi porro *tabacum* ab unguiculis (nam octimestribus minores infantulos fumantes saepe numero videre est,) adeo enormiter appetunt, ut, ubi legibus servitioque soluti degunt perpetuo, servire tamen malint, quam *tabaco* egere, toto saepe die pro exigua *Nicotianae* herbae portione ad nutum heri famulantes, prodigi ac insatiabiles helluones. Feminae autem & parcius vivere, nec *bubulam*, nec *lac dulce*, *ovillam* quandoque gustare coguntur: hae enim adeo despectui illis sunt. Sed illorum ingeniosa gula est; quippe boni malive memoria mirabiliter pollent impavidae ad periculum mentes, suique securae, atque facto contentae suo; etiamsi extrema pauperie premantur, vel fertiliori grege abundent, semper iidem. Si tamen notorum aliquis vivat egenus, levi quadam commiserationis specie tanguntur (atque haec inter tot enormia vitia coruscat virtus) *ovemque & vitulum* pecoribus orbato impertiunt. In alias transire sententias, queis semel imbuti videntur, difficillimi.

[h] Aurum & argentum non perinde ac reliqui mortales, appetunt; quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido, ubi & usus. Imo in his plus saepe proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in aliis virtutis cognitio. Atque ita sub molliori coelo immania posse esse ingenia, patet.

[f] Ut Beverovicius in thesaur. sanit. &c. alique. (Beverovicius, for instance, in his *Treasury of Health*, and others.) (Joh. van Beweryck's *Wercken der Genees-Konste, bestaende in den Schat der Gesontheyt*, etc. Amsterdam, 1672. On page 8 we read: In dien tijt hadden sy noch een sake, die haer mede te langer dede leven, dewelcke ons nu veel ontbreekt; te weten, groote matigheydt in Spijs en Dranck, en van beyde luttel verscheydenheyt. B.P.)

[h] Just. de Scythis (Justin on the Scythians.) (The whole passage from *aurum* to *virtutis cognitio* is taken, with only the slightest verbal alterations, from Justin. B.P.)

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159 [24] This well-known figure of the early Cape settlement was a niece of the equally notorious Herry (see above, p. 17) and a sister-in-law of the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa. Her native name is given as Krotoa. She was taken into the service of the van Riebeeck family soon after the Dutch settled at the Cape, and there learned to speak Dutch so well that she was used not only as informant about her people, but also as an interpreter. In 1657 she was said to be "about 15 or 16 years old". She was baptised soon after the arrival of Commander Wagenaar (1662) and married (June 5, 1664) to the explorer Pieter van Meerhoff, the Commander providing them with a bridal feast and promoting the bridegroom to the rank of surgeon. Her subsequent career disappointed all the hopes of the local officials, and is best summarised in the obituary record made in the official journal on her death, which took place the year after ten Rhyne's visit. The entry reads: "This day departed this life, a certain female Hotten-

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The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[24]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

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000 Inter hoc saevum corruptumque genus plerique vafra subtilitate pollent: Sic tribus *Hottentotticis* locutus sum feminis, alteri *Aevae*, quae urbana, casta, eloquens, *Belgicam* ac *Lusitanicam* satis accurate callens linguam, plurima gentis hujus mysteria mihi aperiebat; alteri *Corneliae*, impiam cultus ignorantiam Christianismo mutavit, nostrati quodam nupta *chirurgo*, culpandam agit vitam, saepius exul; tertiae l) *Sarae* nomen fuit, quae desperabunda laqueo vitam finivit, quod quidam ex nostratibus ganeo, ut lasciviae liberius indulgeret, connubiale vinculum pollicitatus, promissis cecidisset.

CAP. XV.

De Moribus.

m) Exleges hi *Barbari* & cacoetici *Ethnici* haec tantum, in quae caecus naturae impetus eos unice impellit, imitantur: eundem in sedendo, quem matrum uteris inclusi foetus, modum tenent, in genua caput, ulnis complexum, incurvantes. Muliebris sexus contemtui illis est. Mortuos triduano ejulatu deplorant, maribus feminisque defuncti casulam circumsedentibus. Cadaver effossa inhumant caverna, & lapide tegunt. Singulis libidinibus deditis, a posteriori placet Venus; femina viro altius collocata in latus, marito cubiculari incubante antro: sicque bestiarum more in mutuos ruunt amplexus.

l) De qua sup: quam amicus chirurgus dissecuerat. (Concerning whom see above. She was the one my friend the surgeon dissected.)

m) Degeneres humani ritus inquit de Atlantibus Plin. lib. 5. c. 8. (Pliny in connexion with the Atlantes has described the ways of degraded humanity, bk. v. chap. 8.)

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159 25) This must be the woman of whom Valentyn says (*op. cit.*, 106): "In 1705 I spoke to an old Hottentot woman named Cornelia, who after living for many years in the home of the first Cape Commander, Heer van Riebeeck, went back again to her own people, where she still is. She spoke excellent Dutch, and apart from her native dress and animal skins was so civil and well mannered as to call forth astonishment. She then appeared to me somewhere between 80 and 90 years old, and could recall all the Cape governors by name." The description Ten Rhyne gives of her is more in keeping with the known reputation of Evn than of this woman, and I am inclined to believe that he has confused the two.

159 762 26) It is unfortunate for Ten Rhyne's reputation that he did not consult the official records before claiming to have met this woman. She committed suicide in December, 1671, almost two

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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[25]); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[26]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori;* the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 215-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the sermonising reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'cabaij' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) *Three weeks later* the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

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CAP. XVI.

De modo vivendi.

Natura quamvis ingluviem, desidiosa tamen egestas temperantiam edocet. Nunquam enim dubia illis mensa est; sed erutorum n) paludibus tumulisve o) *gladiorum* (ex quorum foliis tecta casarum fabrefecere) p) *bulbis*, loco *panis*, utuntur, feminarum industria effossis (illae enim viris pabulum conquirunt; hi ligella servant, & armenta secus bello inservientes) nisi singularem matrimonii, puerperii &c. offerat fortuna casum, tunc *bovem* vel saltem *ovem* mactantibus, instituendo ex amicis convivio, ni se praeda cujusdam ferae dederit. Praeterea multiformium q) *sedorum* folia consumunt. *Vaccarum oviumque* pascuntur *lacte;* quod feminae statutis aurorae *) crepusculisque momentis emulgent, & eleganti artificio in *butyrum* redigunt. *Avem* namque pelle exuunt, eamque invertunt, ut plumae interna spectent, hanc fistuloso applicant bacillo, atque ita concutiunt, ut in *butyrosam* ac **) cerosam substantiam *lac* secernatur: illa caput illinunt; hanc potant, *Caseum* tamen conficere nesciunt, neque illo gaudent. Potus praeterquam aquae & lactis nullus est; nullosque nisi squammosos manducant pisces, non anguillas, non rajas &c. nec quicquid conchis nascitur ostreisve. Verum dulcissima quaedam r) *Bramae* species est

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n) Sunt enim, praeter indefinitas species, vel terrestres vel aquatici. (Over and above the various undefined species there is a division into terrestrial and aquatic varieties.)

o) Quorum varias species delineavi alibi. (I have illustrated the various species elsewhere.)

p) Belgicum vulgus vocat Hottentots broot. (Commonly called by the Dutch "Hottentot's bread".)

q) Juxta Batavos wilde of Caepse vygen. (Called among the Dutch wild-figs or Cape-figs.)

**Crepusculique.* B.F.

** *Serosam.* B.F.

r) Nostrates vocant Hottentots vis. (Our countrymen call it Hottentot's fish.)

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CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[27]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[28]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[29]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[27]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hotnotsvyg* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (=*Mesembrianthemum edule*).

[28]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 247) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauhen Sack, in welchen unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, leder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, biss Butter wird, als denn lossen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich zuerachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 237).

[29]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 57).

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squammosa, quâ impense delectantur. *Tabacum* infantes aeque ac senes, feminae ac mares, in maximis deliciis habent, ita ut quamvis suis invidiosi, fumantem tamen fistulam sociis per vices distribuant. Crescit in his oris s) *Ari Africani radix*, tanta pollens acrimonia, ut linguam non modo adurat, sed & acerrime lancinet, venenis merito accensenda. Hanc *Hottentotti* coquendo mitigant (igne nocivum expellente *sulfur*, volatilem simul & acrem ligante *salem*) ut esui apta sit haec radix, t) *erinaceorum* (qui hic mirae effigiei sunt,) dapes. Nonedulibus, veluti arefactis & pulverulentis *pellibus* (queis pro calceis saepe diu fuere usi) quin & *excrementis*, modo non solis, vescuntur incompositi omnes ad unum, etiam non excluso *Rege*, vilissima mendicabula, ut singuli ferè *Nigritae* sunt.

CAP. XVII.

De Modo Bellandi.

Nihil est hac plaga infestius, ubi tempestatibus atrox coelum, saxeique montes incolarum ingeniis congenera sunt; unde asperae & in flagitia astutae mentes cum molli nostratium indole haud conveniunt, bellum levissima de causa suscipientes. *Arma* illis sunt praeter coriaceam *lacernam* (qua clypei loco utuntur) *arcus & tela*: Haec vel u) *projectoria*, queis adeo accurate ad scopum collineare sciunt, ut ad quadraginta passuum distantiam, propositum offendant punctum, quosque prono jaciunt brachio; vel *jaculatoria*, quibus bipennibus magno nisu ad artem vibratis, hostes transverberant. Ea plerumque impuro veneno hunc in modum inficiunt: viperum aliudve infestum

s) Alibi a me delineati. (Illustrated by me elsewhere.)

t) Quorum figuras alibi quoque dedi. (I have given drawings of these elsewhere.)

u) Vulgo Assagayen.

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[411] [825] [136]

30) The use of poisoned weapons is more generally associated with the Bushmen, but there is sufficient evidence that the Hottentots also knew and practised it. Ten Rhyne's description of how the snake poison is applied need not be taken at its face value. A more reliable account is given in the descriptive notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's journey to the Koperberg (1685-6). On one of the plates is figured a snake, called *hamachou* by the Hottentots (and rather doubtfully, and inaccurately, identified by Waterhouse as the mamba). The accompanying note says: "The natives set large traps for this snake and poison their arrows and assegais with its powerful venom. They first remove the skin from the upper jaw-bone, and disclose beneath it a small oblong bladder, full of little glands.... They

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Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[30]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera, op. cit.*, 129 ff.

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genus serpentum, irritant, iratae bestiolae oculo teli cuspidem iterato infigunt, ligata, ne excidat telum, irata, ut toxici vim exasperent, colla praescindunt: quippe ex maxillaribus vesicis viperae eructant virus (quod etsi innocue queat deglutiri, vulnerata mortificat) nostratibus crebro lethale: quo si illorum quisquam percutiatur, affectum locum baculo feriunt diu (& hoc praesentissimum veneno infectis hic remedium est) & fortiter v) sugunt. Nostrates acuta eorem stratagemata saepius suo damno experti sunt. A w) Leonibus, hic admodum frequentibus, edocti, ut nimbosa tempestate, quae nostra stiopeta corumpit, vires animumque minuit, dum illi scelera insidiis mandant, se senticetis, lentisque condentes arbustis, ex quibus tela promunt, ac hostes insequuntur, sicque superfuso imbre felicius, quam armis pugnant: verum in campestriis, coelo sereno pluries x) clamore sublato fugam petunt, dilabentes in proximas silvas tumulosve *palluraeos*, quaerendi ut vincantur feri & silvestres homines, sagittis formidabiles. Ast si ingens eorum copia exiguum e nostratibus manipulum obruat, invicta rabie & impetu, quem pro virtute *Barbari* habent, quibus horrendum jungunt boatum, hostes invadunt. Attamen nostratium stiopeta proximare vix ausi; quamvis inter se belligerantes pressissime semet appropinquent. Itaque quod de *Insubribus Gallis* y) *Florus* reliquit praeconium, *Hottentottis* ad amussim competit. His animi ferarum (*Annaei* verba sunt) corpora plus quam humana sunt, sed experimento deprehensum est, quippe, sicut primus impetus eorum major quam virorum est, ita sequens minor quam feminarum. Montana corpora inter humentes educata nubes habent quiddam simile cum nivibus suis; quae mox calnere pugna, statim in sudorem eunt, & levi motu, quasi sole, laxantur.

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v) vide infra.

w) quos Gamma vocant (which they call *gamma*.)

x) ut de Balearicis Barbaris Florus lib. 3. c. 8. (As Florus, bk. 3, chap. 8, says about the natives of the Balearic Islands.) (The passage will be found in Bk. I, chap. xliii of the Loeb edition. As usual, Ten Rhyne has pillaged it freely. The words of Florus are: „.....clamore sublato petiverunt fuga litora, dilapsique in proximos tumulos quaerendi fuerunt ut vincerentur." B.F.)

y) lib. 2. cap. 4. de bello Gallico. (The long passage here taken verbally, with acknowledgement, will be found in the Loeb ed., Bk. I, chap 20. B.F.)

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HOTTENTOT DANCES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(1. Gom-Gom; 2. Rommelpot.) [*After Kolb*

[facing p 132]

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the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they beat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.[31])

Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the lions, which are here very common [32]). In rainy weather, which puts our muskets out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on cunning for their criminal success, the natives bestow themselves in thickets and tough undergrowths; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. But in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to raise a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of them encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the invincible ardour which barbarians mistake for valour, meantime shouting horribly. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Florus made about the Insubrian Gauls finds a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Florus) and bodies more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The bodies of a mountain folk bred amidst moist clouds have a resemblance to their native snows: they warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a sweat, and are dissolved by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the flinty rocks and shuddering woods match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots hang about the mountains, scouring every part of them by night and day.

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31) A further description is given below, p. 151.

32) A more rational explanation of these tactics is given by Dapper. See above, p. 13. Ten Rhyne's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records, cf. e.g. D. July 25, 1673; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 353 ff.

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Caeterum praeduri cautes & horridae [a]) silvae cum genuina eorum feritate consentiunt. Ut plurimum etiam circa montes pendent *Hottentotti*, noctu aeque ac interdiu singula explorantes*. *Praefectos militum* nostro more *Capitaneos* appellant, qui quod ad vestitum, ab aliis solo nitore colobii, armis parum (nisi quod *gregarii* milites nodulatum in apice, *praefecti*, sine nodo baculum gladiorum vice, gestent) mandato & stipatorum numero plurimum discrepant, semper enim quinque sex pluresve ex senibus satellites comites habent *Capitanei*. Quiritum more, qui consilia senibus, juvenibus arma addicebant. *Amplissimae Societatis* hostis unicus nunc est *Honnema* cum suis: a quo paullo ante nostrum adventum, jussu *Gubernatoris* plus quam mille *boum vaccarumque* praeter *ovium* &c. praedam nacti sunt nostrates, qui inde animum cepere, brevi forsan in eosdem mittendi. Bini namque auxiliarium praefecti *Cap. Claes & Cap. Cuyper*, in hunc finem copias, nostris jungendas, congregabant. Hunc belli ritum tenent: Feminae *legatorum* vices obeunt, quae si capiantur, absque ullo pretio redimuntur.

CAP. XVIII.

De Modo negotiandi.

Cum eorum omnes in armentis divitiae constent, nullum, nisi de pecore cum hisce *Barbaris* commercium exercemus, idque hoc pacto. Mercaturae peritum, quandoque plures cum aliquot militibus ad eos delegat *Gubernator* nostras cum *tabaci*, vel [b]) *Virginiani*, sed admodum parce (nam hunc nonnisi dono petunt) vel *nigri* ac *vilioris* (quem

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a) ut de trucibus Thracibus idem lib. 3. cap. 4 (Florus. The reference in the Loeb ed. is Bk. I, chap. xxxviii. B.F.)

*Florus, Bk. I, 7. 15, of the Gauls who took Rome in 390 B.C. "Sex mensibus barbari—quis crederet—circa montem unum pependerunt, nec diebus modo, sed noctibus quoque omnia experti". Thus even this little detail has its source in Florus and not in observation. B.F.

b) Boubaes toebak illis dicti.

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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35] See above, p. 111.

[36] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 900 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37] In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

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678 praestantiorem censent) *coralliorum*, ex *vitro* vel *aere* conflatorum copia, additis quibusdam *adusti potus* amphoris: (plerique enim αἰρόφιλοι sunt) his itaque mercibus, *boves, vaccas & oves*, aliquando *pantherarum* &c. pelles ita commutant. *Primo* magnam *tabaci* portionem, duas plerumque spithamas longam, pro permutando *bove* vel *ove* exporrigunt, semper quoddam addentes [c]) frustillum (secus se non obligari tenere contractum ex consuetudine censent) & saepe *adusti vini* portiunculam exposcunt. *Tum* pedetentim diminuenda *Nicotianae* herbae portio est ad summum quadruplo. In primo adventu, praesertim ad potentissimos *Essequas* (ad quos quotannis semel tantum emittit suos *Gubernator*, ut ex tanta temporis procrastinatione eo avidius *tabacum* &c. expetant: Tumque nostratibus e longinquo obviam eunt *mercatoribus*, [d]) opimum conferentes *vervecem*) aliqua dictae plantae donatio fieri debet, quam talis *vervecis* munere compensant: hacque una vice centum ducentosve, praeter oves, boves mutare possunt nostrates. Sed cavendum, ne illi mercimonii copiam conspiciant, inde quandoque necis periculum nostris immineret; uti ab *Essequas* Regis fatre edocti fuere, qui, ni ipse senex Rex (cujus filius impraesentiarum regno potitus, patrem in amore nostri aemulatur) id impedivisset, omnes luc[re] caussa interfecisset. Singuli album nunquam commutabunt bovem, vaccamve (quem forsan ab Aegyptiis, qui sub imagine candidae vaccae Isidem colunt, in eadem orbis parte cum hisce viventibus hausere ritum) qui illis inaestimabilis dux gregis est. Quin summum illorum votum est; ut *Magnus Capitaneus* (*Deum* indigitant) album ipsis impertiatur bovem.

Solitae, quas hi Mercuriales viatores absolvunt, stationes ab Arce sunt 1. ad [e]) *Equitum excubias*, ultra quas nullus nostratium fundus est. 2. ad [f]) *Antra*: abhinc ad primum in [g]) *Hottentottica Hollandia*, quae sub *Augustissimae Societatis* ditione est ultima, fluvium. 3. Trans *altum* in eadem *montem*. 4. ad [h]) *Flumen obscaenum*. 5. ad [i]) *Tuguria alliaria*. 6. ad [k]) *Flumen butyrosum*. 7. ad [l]) *Fluvium* ἀντλεύτων. 8. Sextidui itinere ab *Arce* ad [m]) *Jacobi Ragens*

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c) Kortom nuncupant.
d) Etom schaep dicunt.
e) de ruyterwacht.
f) de kuylen.
g) Hottentots Holland.
h) Kaffenhuls rivier.
i) Knoflochs krallen.
k) Botter rivier.
l) Rivier sonder eynde.
m) Jacob Ragens boom.

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for this except as a gift, and black and cheaper stuff, which they think better; also of glass and bronze beads; and, in addition, a few jars of brandy, for most of the natives are great drinkers. For these goods they get in exchange oxen, cows, and sheep, sometimes panther skins, etc. At first the traders display a big portion of tobacco, generally about two spans long, for the ox or sheep that is to be exchanged, always adding a little bit (this they call *kortom*), otherwise the natives do not think themselves bound to keep the contract. The natives also often demand a tot of brandy. Then the portion of tobacco must be gradually reduced to at most one quarter.

On their first arrival, especially to the powerful Essequas —the Governor sends his men to them only once a year, so that by means of the long delay they may be the more eager for their tobacco, etc., and on these occasions they come a long distance to meet our traders, bringing with them a prime wether (they call it *etom achsep*) — a portion of the tobacco must be given as a present, for which their return is the gift of the wether. On an occasion like this as many as 100 or 200 oxen, in addition to sheep, may be acquired by our men. But care must be taken not to let them see the supply of merchandise; otherwise our men would be in instant peril of death. They were taught this lesson by the brother of the King of the Essequas, who, if the old king himself had not prevented it, would have killed them all for the sake of plunder.[**]) A son of the old king is at present on the throne, and rivals his father in his love for us. None of them will ever exchange a white ox or cow, which they look upon as an invaluable leader of the herd.[**]) This observance they perhaps adopted from the Egyptians, who worshipped Isis in the likeness of a white cow, and who inhabit the same quarter of the globe as they do. Their first prayer is that the Great Chief (for they pray to God) should send them a white ox.

The usual halts which these disciples of Mercury make on their journeys from the Fort are: (1) de Ruyterwacht, beyond which none of our people owns a farm; (2) de Kuylen, hence to the first river in Hottentots Holland, which is the limit of the control of the Noble Company; (3) across the lofty mountain in the same; (4) to Kaffenhuis

[**]) I have been unable to find any official account of this incident.

[**]) No other contemporary writer, as far as I am aware, mentions this special reverence for white cattle, nor is it found confirmed in the works of later authorities.

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arborem. 9. ad *) casas exercitus. 10 ad *) *flumen* lutum. 11. ad paradisum, locum propter amoenitatem ita appellatum: ubi ex argillaceae terrae, aquas inquinantis, copia magna boni laticis inopia est. 12. Ultimo denique ad *) concharum sinum, qui cxxxvi. circiter leucis a *Propugnaculo* distat.

CAP. XIX.

De modo saltandi.

Tripudiis, quae miris gesticulationibus exerrent, summopere gaudere videntur: cum, si vel minimus in illis religionis sensus sit, illam saltationis ritu maxime peragant. Quamprimum enim luna exsurgit, undique concurrunt. Mares prono corpore pedibus fortiter pulsant humum, unisono, sed vel remissione vel intentione, ejulatu hoantes, vultu semper aeque gravi; ubi feminae circumsedentes manibus plaudunt exsentes. Quod si forte in nostratium aedibus *speculum* offendant, ridiculo gargalismo animum titillant, propria cum *Narcisso* delectati forma, mimicis gestibus in effusos dissolvuntur saltus, ut saepe defessi prosternantur; sicuti saepius ab *Hottentottio* juvene, in nostro hospitio famulante, conspexi.

CAP. XX.

De Religione.

Barbara licet & plane brutalis haec natio, ut inter eas *) gentes, quae legem etiamsi non habent, naturae quae legis sunt, faciant, recenseri non possit exiex. Attamen *summi* cujusdam *Entis* vel levissimam cognitionem habere videntur, saepe de *supremo* quodam *Capitaneo* memorans:

*) de gente kraiten.
*) breda river.
*) Mouri-baay.
*) Roman. cap. 2.

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*I take this to be a mistake for Kaffertuils river. Mossop (V.R.S. 12, Appendix C) identifies Cuiffer Kuils river (doubtfully) with Palmiet River in the Caledon district, which suits this passage. Mossop's notes to his translation of Schirjver's journey to the East (*op. cit.*) give the best information available on this whole itinerary. (R.F.)

**) Most of the early writers on the Hottentots state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking. None of them, however, declare explicitly that the Hottentots worshipped the moon, except for Kolb, who says that they looked on the Moon as their visible

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River;* (5) to Knoflocha Krallen; (6) to Botter River; (7) to Rivier Sonder Eynde; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragen's Boom; (9) Ganse Krallen; (10) Breede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charm, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 136 *leucae* distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they most show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, lustily chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fixed expression of seriousness on their faces; the women sit round in a circle clapping and singing.(1)

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is numbered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

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God, which they called *Gounja*, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Ross and Marais, in 1782, also record an invocation to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in association with the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the Moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 213-4.

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000 ubi enim corrugat aerii frontem spissus coelum, ut tonitrua mugiant, vel frendentia ruilent fulmina, fulgurave praemicent, inquiunt illi, *summus* ille iratus est *Capitaneus*. Tum ubi quis ex illorum amicis in bellis a nostris conficitur, atque superstitum aliquis ejusdem necis intentatur minis, haec corrupto *Belgicismo* affatur: Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman alyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doet makom: Maaby doot, Icke strack nae onse grote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme. Quae ita verbotenus donantur latio: *Age! quid facitis? Belgae semper afunt; Ego interficiam Hottentottos; Eja occidite! Ego si moriar, statim ad summum nostrum Capitaneum proficiscar. Vir ille memet albis donabit bobus.* Hi quippe sacra armentorum ornamenta illis habentur: ubi vero serenus micat aether, dicunt: Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme; h.e. *Optimus est ille Capitaneus, albis qui nos impertiet bobus.* Sed haec fortuito pronunciant rogati. Aut ordinarius eorum cultus cum omnibus fere antiquis gentilibus, quarum primi in ea sententia fuere *Aegyptii*, in hoc convenire videntur, ut r) *Solem & Lunam* pro *Diis* suis habeant. *Soli* hunc cultum deferunt: s) illum orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur; quandoque ad fluvium consident ex proxima argilla totos glomerorum cumulos conficientes, quos magno cum strepitu in aquam projectant, idque, ut illi praetexunt, in *Solis* honorem. *Lunam* vero, ut dictum saltando veneranter.

r) videatur Plato in Cratylo &c. (See Plato, *Cratylus*, etc.)

s) ut Plinius lib. 5. cap. 8 de Atlantibus. (As Pliny, bk. 5, chap. 8, says about the Atlantes.) (His words are: "solem orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur". B.F.)

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776 821 ss) Similar statements are made by such reliable authorities as Valentyn and Hahn. The former speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourros* (i.e. ǂ *Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thakwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui-||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, If it thunders, the Great God is angry with us." Almost verbatim the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, If it is thundering, the Lord is speaking; he is scolding them." (Quoted by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 281.)

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Heaven thickens and gathers its airy brows into a frown so that the thunder peals or the red bolt falls crashing down or lightnings flash, then they say the Great Chief is angry.[42]) Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doot: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme." Which words may be thus rendered: "Come! What are you doing? Dutchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen." These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

But when the sun shines clear, they say: "Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme." That is, "Great is that Chief who will give us white oxen." But these words they pronounce perhaps only when asked. Their ordinary worship seems to agree with almost all the pagans of antiquity, among whom the Egyptians were the first to adopt the opinion that the Sun and Moon are gods. To the Sun they offer this worship, that at his rising and setting they gape on him with dreadful cursings[43]). Sometimes they sit down by a river and from the nearest clay they make whole mounds of little balls which, with a great noise, they hurl into the water: this they allege they do in honour of the sun. The moon, as has been said, they worship by dancing.

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[42]) Hahn quotes from Baar (1671) the following statement: "One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, when the day dawns, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens," upon which he comments: "This is nothing else but the *Tsui-‖goab* worship" (*Tsuni-‖goam*, pp. 46, 89); adding further on (*op. cit.*, 134) "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: 'Oh, Tsu ‖goa, All-Father'". In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Ten Rhyne is mistaken in regarding the "worship" he records as directed towards the sun: its object is rather *Tsui-‖goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. (Cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 376 ff.)

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CAP. XXI.

000 **De Magistratu.**

Quilibet casularum vicinus suum *Praefectum*, & ille plerumque superiorem, quos uno nomine *Capitaneos* vocant, agnoscunt. *Essequas*, tamen, sed soli, *Regem* habent. Juxta horum magnatum placita gubernatur omnia; ita ut subjecti nil magni suopte praestare ausint, ad nutum *Capitanei* semper paratissimi. Migrandum cum est, a *Praefectis* monentur; inire matrimonium cum volunt, a *Capitaneo* libertatem petere coguntur, summa cum observatione dicto ejus obedientes.

CAP. XXII.

De Jure gentium.

Quamvis non *Numinis* neve pudoris vinculis adstricti sua se lege exsolvant, [1] sibi ipsis saepe sunt lex, ea quae fecere majores, caeco impulsu, consuetudine magistra, imitantes. Ita si gemellos pariat mater, masculum & femellam, hanc jure gentis occidunt in cunis. In eo fere tantum a *Scythis* dissimiles, quod hi in *Amazonum* regno mares interfecerint; dissimiles in eo priscis in *Africa* [2] *Carthaginensibus*, qui vivos praesertim pueros, & innoxiam aetatem *Saturno* sacrificabant. Omnes vero quotquot nascuntur masculi alterutro castrantur statim a navitate testiculo; ne in frugifera terra, plures, quam alere possit, incolas recipiat; atque ut illi addunt, quo tanto velocius possint currere.

[1] Roman, eod. cap.

[2] ut de Scythis Justin. (Bk. II, 4, 10: *Si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant.* Bk. II, 2, 5: *Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* B.F.)

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845 [a] Oppenbroek describes this custom somewhat more fully. See below, p. 181. A

304 [a] Many of the early writers on the Hottentots mention this
856 practice, some saying that it was done in early childhood, others that it was a puberty rite, and still others that it was performed upon a youth before his marriage. Kolb actually gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Maxwell, more soberly, says: "Being inquisitive to know the truth of this I had the curiosity to search several of 'em (who will readily suffer you for a double stiver to do it), in two of which I could find but one testicle, they I suppose being married, as the rest who had two were not; which however shows the mistake of Nieuhoff and others who assert that the Hottentots cut out one of the testicles of all their male children

a A [See W. Oppenbroek, 4 is File, CAT. 84 p. 181. — Ann Lyst]

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CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognizes its own chief, and the chief generally recognizes a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequas, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [44]). In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [45]).

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as soon as they are born (according to Nieuhoff) or at the age of 9 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Soc. 5, 51). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb [and also Maxwell] may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (*op. cit.*, 233-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were monorchs.

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000 Uxoribus, quot habuere viros, tot digitorum articuli a primo minimi digiti incipiendo abscinduntur. Polygamiae, *Muhammedorum* more, indulgent. [a]) Industria* gentis hujus ingeniis culta, non legibus. Sola vindicta illis est homicidii poena; ubi trucidati cujuscunque consanguinei percussorem persequuntur; neque quiescunt, nisi ultionem fecerint; repertumque itaque fustibus caedunt, telisve transverberant, occisum multis etiamnum ictibus ferientes. Caetera, sive adulterium, sive furtum, vitia non nisi talionis lege puniunt. Denique id sibi peculiare habent: si juvenis inter eos aegrotat, pinguem mactant bovem, futuri delicias convivii, atque, quae maxima opima sunt, exta cum omento aegrotantis collo appendunt, usquedum putrefacta decidunt, quae senex quisquam devorare debet. In successionibus haereditarium jus apud eos, praesertim apud *Essequas*, valet.

CAP. XXIII.

De Matrimonio.

Conjugium inire volentes suos *parentes* sollicitant, illi *Praefectos*, ut sibi integrum sit, ducere virginem; etsi nunquam, nisi bajulum, ad minimum unum, *bovem*, transportando cum suppellectili tugurio, unam alteramve lactariam *vaccam*, emulgendo *lacti*, *ovesque* decem vel duodecim, celebrandis sponsalibus repotiisve &c. possideant. Qui vero locupletiores, *Turcarum* ritu polygamiam exercent: atque iis si connubium non arriserit, nubtam

*I feel sure *industria* is a mistake for *iustitia*. Ten Rhyne in this sentence is simply transcribing Justin. See note [a]), p. 142. B.F.

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304 [46]) This form of mutilation has already been discussed, see above, p. 83. A

628 [47]) Blood vengeance. ‖ *Kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots, down till within fairly recent times. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act (cf. discussion in Schapera, *op cit.*, 245-6).

755 [48]) The treatment of sick people is described more fully by Grevenbroek, see below, p. 243.‖ A similar observation to that of Ten Rhyne was recorded in 1710 by Commissary Cnoll, who learned from some Hottentots, near the present Houw Hoek, that "in case of the very worst diseases, it is their custom to place

a [See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 63. — Analyst]

b [See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, cat. 116, p. 243. — A.]

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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [46]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [47]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [48]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

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repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.F.

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49) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

50) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

51) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203) was at least eight days.

52) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. —Annlyst]

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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

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CAP. XXV.

De Artificiis.

OOO Quot in hara gemmas, tot in hoc degenere populo reperias artes. Cum tamen acu consutas gestent pelles, non tamen ἄτεχνοι sint oportet; *acus* ex ferro (fodinas quippe habent, ubi* ego harliolor, locupletissimas) vel ebore, bestiarum nervis pro *filamentis* utuntur. Tum quoniam capillos acutis artificiose radunt *cultris;* ut praeter *sartoriam* & *tonsoriam* quoque calleant v) *ferrariam* artem. Inde φιλαντίας quadam prurigine lacessiti sibi placent, rudes equidem & expertes artium, nisi sordidarum. Ita ex eorum *Capitaneis* quisquam *horologium* contemplatus, & a possessore intelligens ejus usum, ajebat: quidni & *Hottentotti* simile conficerent? quidam *instrumentum musicum*, effigie & usu *fistulae* fabricant, eodemque ludunt. Sunt etiam qui *Leucanthropian*** somniant. Hinc quoque fistula canendo pisces aucupari ominantur.

CAP. XXVI.

De ratione faciendi medicinam.

Si a *brutis* multos curandi modos didicerit humanum genus; w) A *canibus* ἐμετήρια ; ab x) *ibide*, *Aegyptia* volucri, *clysmata;* ab y) *hippopotamo* (in his sat frequens locis) *phlebotomiam;* a) a *capris dictamni;* b) ab *hirundinibus chelidoniae;* ab *anguibus feniculi;* a c) *bufonibus* angustifoliae *plantaginis;* a *mustela rutae;* a *ciconia origani;* ab *apris hederae;* a *cervis cinarae* praestantiam; d) ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστι, τούτων διδάσκαλον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν. Quid itaque mirum, si & hae gentes tametsi brutales, quandam medendi rationem habeant? quae veluti in e) *Trojano* bello *Podalirius*

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* *uti.* B.F.

v) uti Americani ex aeruginoso ferro cultros acumine nostris praeferendos conficiunt. (The Americans make out of rusty iron razors to be preferred to ours in sharpness.)

** An incorrect transliteration of the Greek λυκανθρωπία. B.F.

w) Teste Plinio. (See Pliny.) (Bk. viii, chap. 28, ff. B.F.)

x) Plutarch, de Brutorum solertia. (Plutarch on Intelligence in Animals.)

y) Cicer. lib. 2 de nat. Deor. (Cicero, De Natura Deorum, bk. 2, 126.)

a) testimonia ejusdam qui tamen capras Cretenses recenset. (Cicero in the same passage with reference to Cretan goats.)

b) Aelian. lib. 4 c. 49. (Aelian, bk. iv, chap. 49.)

c) Helmont, de pestis xenexto (sic).

d) Plutarch, in dial. brut. (Plutarch on Intelligence in Animals.)

e) vide Homerum. (See Homer, Iliad.)

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CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [53]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [54]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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53) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

54) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35, - Analyst]

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atque *Machaon*, non tam in pestilentia, omnibusve morborum generibus auxilium adferunt, vulneribus praesertim mederi soliti [f]) *Celsi* verba sunt. *Suctio & inunctio* remedia *Hottentottorum* primaria, quin universalia sunt, *bestiarum telorumque venena* tantum formidantium: quibus si iciantur, laesam partem tamdiu *bacillo tundunt*, donec sensu privetur; tum *scarificant*, atque ita vehementer *sugunt*, ut sanguinem pene cutis sequantur. Hic tamen curandi modus (quem ad *efficacem* suam *chirurgiam* referat *Severinus*) pro *veneni* diversitate cum *pulsationis* diuturnitate, tum *suctionis* efficacia differt: quippe *Scorpio* non tam alta, quae quidem *millepeda*, toxici vestigia relinquit; ille etenim his in locis [g]) non ita venenatus est. Si ejus cauda paullo supra spiculum fortius comprimatur, limpidissimam guttulam adunco sensim emittit aculeo, nisi forte paullo ante ferierit, nostratibus apibus paullo nocentior, ac veneni vim tardius recuperans, quo si quis percutiatur, putat se lapide tangi. *Millipeda* vero caustica ferocia virus imprimit. De *viperis* diximus [h]) supra. Si *mali moris* sit *vulnus*, levissimae etjam *gangrenae* indicium *acutis telorum cuspidibus resecant*, & si late serpserit, *infectum* omne *tollunt*. *Contusionibus* omnibus *illinendo* (*ovilla* vel *bovina* adipe, nec enim aliud *unguenti* genus noverunt) tum *scarificando*, tandem fortissime *sugendo*, ut *cruor* cum *cute* solvatur, medentur. *Arthritin* eadem methodo tollunt, nisi quod inunctum* *adipe* partem *igni* obtendant, ut, si subopimae partes sint, *pinguedinem assando*, extorqueant, illico *suctioni* incumbentes. Praeter ea paucissima cognoscunt ex vegetabilium classe *medicamina*, sed *electa;* quae ut jam memini, nullo ab ipsis

f) in Prooem. lib I. (In the preface to bk. I.)

g) longe minus quam in Hispania, Italia vel Gallia. (Far less so than in Spain, Italy or France.)

h) de modo bellandi. (See the chapter on *Their Mode of War.*)

* *inunctam.* B.F.

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752 ss) There is an interesting confirmation of this statement in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal. On Feb. 20, 1657, van R. called at Herry's camp, where he found that "a Hottentoo had been stung by an adder in his foot, which was much swollen; he had the leg under the knee tightly bound in two places, and

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the poison of wild animals or of weapons. If they are wounded they beat the injured part with a stick until it is deprived of feeling, then they scarify it, and then suck so vigorously that the skin almost comes off with the blood.[53] This method of cure, however, (which Severinus* compares with his own effective surgery) differs, according to the various poisons, both in the length of time for which the beating must be carried on and in the efficacy of the sucking. The scorpion, for instance, does not leave the traces of his poison so deep as the millipede. Indeed the scorpion in these parts is not so poisonous. If you press his tail hard a little above the sting, he gradually emits a clear little drop on the barbed end of the sting, unless he happens to have struck a little time before. He is but little more injurious than our bees at home; he is slow in recovering the force of his poison; one that is stung by him thinks that he has got a knock from a stone. But the millipede with burning ferocity presses his poison home. Of the vipers we have spoken above.

If the wound is a bad one, they cut away the slightest sign of gangrene with the sharp points of their weapons, and if it has spread far, they remove the whole of the infected part. All bruises they treat by anointing them either with sheep or cow fat, for they know no other kind of unguent, then by scarifying them, and finally by vigorous sucking, so that the blood and the skin are removed. They get rid of rheumatism in the same way, the only difference being that they expose the part anointed with fat to the fire, in order that, if the affected parts are plump, they may by roasting the flesh drive the rheumatism out. Immediately on toasting the part they fall to at the sucking.

Apart from this they know a very few vegetable remedies, but choice ones; and, as I have said, these cannot be got from them for love or money. Accordingly we must suppose those persons to be themselves deceived or to be deceiving

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on the foot small incisions were made as the cuppers are accustomed to do; the foot itself was placed in hot cowdung; a man and a woman were sucking the blood from the cuts, spitting it out on the cowdung, and pulling away as heartily as a child at it mother's breast." Ten Rhyne's description of the Hottentot medical practices is on the whole borne out by Grevenbroek and other reliable authorities.

* Marcus Aurelius Severinus (1580-1656), an Italian physician, was the author of numerous works on medical subjects.

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pretio redimere potui. Quapropter falluntur & fallunt, qui se a mendacibus, & quae norunt, corde prementibus *Hottentottis* multa intellexisse jactant. *Colicam aromatica* quadam *radice* confestim curant. Subigunt & *Daturae* quandam speciem, ut opinor, *Dacha* vocant illi, quam accurate pinsunt, pistam, conglobatam & exsiccatam comedunt (ut plerique *Muhamedanorum* Amsion sive *opium*) eoque enormiter inebriantur. Recens natorum infantium *umbilicalia vasa* pressius ligant, non resecant, tandem sponte decidentia. Singula haec a quadam *Hottentottica* accepi, ab aliis praeter ea nihil rescire potens.

CAP. XXVII.

De Lingua eorundem.

Si quis eos loquentes auscultet, reviviscere *Pythagorae* aevum dixerit, in quo aves mutuo sermonis consortio polluisse fingebantur. Quippe revera [1]) *stridor* non *vox* est, si *Hottentottorum* expressionem expendas: nam quodvis vocabulum stridulo linguae (sonoro applicita* palato) clangore finitur. Hinc haud perperam quis opinetur, hanc linguae ad palatum crepitationem vocalium vim exprimere, caeteras autem vocum copulas ex alto pectore producunt, pleraque orbiculatis labiis pronunciantes. Adeo ut cum aliis gentibus omni orationis commercio careant; neque ex tanto temporis intervallo e nostratibus repertus sit aliquis, qui perfecte cum ipsis colloqui potuerit: nisi illi, qui dudum prope *fortalitium* vitam transegere, nostratibus se accommodent, plurima *Belgica* vocabula, sola terminatione diversa callentes. Omnia ferme finiunt in *Kom*, ut *tabaqkom*, tabacum, *kortom*, portiuncula, *horom*, audire, &c.

[1]) Jul. de Atlantibus Plin. ibidem.
* *Applicitae*. B.F.

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[56]) The Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use decoctions of *Eriocephalus Umbellatatus* or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens* for this purpose (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 411).

[57]) On *dagga* (the leaves of *leonotis leonurus*), see above, p. 40.

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others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselvs. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom:* as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[56]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 264, 262).

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000 Quae vero ipsis vernaculae sunt in radicibus non permutae, in epithetis locupletiores sunt voces: ita omnes quotquot sunt aves *Courcour* appellant; addendo V. G. *Camma Courcour*, avis aquatica, sive sit *anas*, sive *mergus*, sive *gavia*, &c. *Sickom* (corruptus *Belgicismus*, qui ipsis familiarissimus) *courcour*, avis foetus; *Grotom* (eadem corruptio) *courcour*, magna avis, qua tamen ordinario *struthiocamelum* indigitant. Quaedam etjam ex pristino cum populis commercio *Anglica* suae linguae vocabula miscent; V. G. *Canem* vocant *Doggues*.

Mere *Hottentottonica*, quae obiter occurrunt, sunt:

Onkey, belga.
Gamma, leo.
Acqua, equus.
Ouka, lupus.
Nabba, rhinoceros.
Goedi, oves.
Boeba, bos vel vacca.
Debitja, juvenci.
Sirigoos, testudines.
Dacha, herba soporifera.
Dini, mel.
Chou, aer.
Ecy, ignis.
Kou, tonitru.
Doudou, via.
Ey, corallia ex vitro.
Ninimos, eadem ex aere.
Equa, lignum.
Kiny, baculus belligerus.
Sou, olla.
Bouchou, plantarum cineres.

Corrupta *Belgica* indefinita sunt.

Boe maakem goet, pulvis pyrius.
Boebasibier, lac. *Karos*, colobium.
Krallen, Casae &c. innumera.

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Thus all birds whatsoever are called *courcour*,[58]) with the addition of particular names, e.g. *camma courcour*, an aquatic bird, be it duck, or diver, or albatross, etc.; *sickom courcour*, a young bird, *sickom* being, as often with them, a corruption of a Dutch word; *grotom* (a similar corruption) *courcour*, a big bird, by which, however, they generally mean the ostrich. They also mingle a few English terms in their language from their former dealings with that people, e.g. the word *doggues* for dog.

Pure Hottentot words in general use are:—[59])

Onkey, Dutchman.	*chou*, air.
gamma, lion.	*Ecy*, fire.
acqua, horse.	*kou*, thunder.
ouka, wolf.	*doudou*, road.
nabba, rhinoceros.	*ey*, glass bead.
goedi, sheep.	*ninimos*, bronze bead.
boeba, ox or cow.	*equa*, wood.
debitja, steers.	*kiny*, war club.
sirigoos, tortoises.	*sou*, pot.
dacha, soporific herb.	*bouchou*, plant ashes.
dini, honey.	

Corrupt Dutch words are numberless:

Boe maakem goet, gunpowder; *boebasibier*, milk; *karos*, a wrap; *krallen*, huts; and others too numerous to mention.

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[58]) Both Wreede (ca. 1663) and Kolb (1719), in their vocabularies of the Cape Hottentot language, give a variety of different names in use for different species of birds (these vocabularies are reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 215ff.), so that Ten Rhyne's observation is obviously incorrect.

[59]) Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings. It is of interest to compare some of his renderings with those given for the same words by Wreede and Kolb for the Cape Hottentot language, and by Meinhof for Korana, which is a closely-allied language.

	Wreede.	*Kolb.*	*Meinhof.*
lion	TGamma	Chamma	xammi
horse	hacqua	hacqua	hab (pl. haku)
wolf (hyena)	Ouck'ha	touqva	|hukhab
rhinoceros	tnabba	nabba	ǃ nabas
sheep	goudie	ghoudie	gus
ox, cow	dwiessa	bubas	gomab, -s
thunder	quó	quacuw	ǃ urub
wood	equa	hequa	—
honey	—	—	danis
war club, stick	—	Kirri	—
pot	—	—	sub

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Numerandi vocabula.

000 *Cui*, unus. *Tem*, duo. *Nona*, tria. *Acka*, quatuor. *Corro*, quinque. *Guichi*, sex, &c.

Quae aliorum additamentis multiplicant semper easdem, alterius copula, voces usurpantes: quas si ab illis nostratium quis intelligat, calamo non posse describi dixerit, adeo mirabilis eorum pronunciatio est.

Auctore.

WILHELMO TEN RHYNE.

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Numerals.

Cui, one; *tem*, two; *nona*, three; *acka*, four; *corro*, five; *guichi*, six, etc.[61])

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They multiply these by the addition of others, always employing the same words, but linked to another. But if any of our countrymen understands these words when the Hottentots use them, he is certain to say that they cannot be recorded by the pen, so extraordinary is their pronunciation.

Written by

WILLIAM TEN RHYNE.

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[61]) This list may be compared with the following:—

Witsen (1691) (Cape Hota.). 1. K'qui. 2. K'kam. 3. K'ouna. 4. Hacka. 5. Kro. 6. Nanni. 10. Ouissi.

Kolb. (1719) (Cape Hota.). 1. G'kui. 2. K'kam. 3. K'ouna. 4. Hakka. 5. Koro. 6. Nanni. 10. Gyssi.

Hahn (1875) (Nama). 1. |kui. 2. |kam. 3. !nona. 4. haga. 5. gore. 6. !nani. 10. disi.

Meinhof (1930) (Korana). 1. |ui. 2. |am. 3. !nona. 4. haka. 5. goro. 6. !nani. 10. tjisi.

Ten Rhyne's word for "six", *guichi*, obviously should be for "ten"; otherwise his list agrees fairly well with the rest.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE HOTTENTOTS

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N. N. GRAEVENBROECKII

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GENTIS AFRICANAE

circa

PROMONTORIUM CAPITIS BONAE SPEI

VULGO HOTTENTOTTEN NUNCUPATAE

Descriptio Epistolaris

Anno

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AN ELEGANT AND ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF

THE AFRICAN RACE

Living Round

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

COMMONLY CALLED HOTTENTOTS

From a Letter written by

J. G. GREVENBROEK

IN THE YEAR

1695.

(Translated by B. Farrington.)

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Cape Hottentot

FOREWORD.

114 The manuscript account of the Cape and its native peoples, the original text of which is here for the first time printed, was purchased at the sale of the Sunderland library in 1882 by the late Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, who subsequently presented it to the South African Public Library, Cape Town, where it now is. A small quarto volume of 120 pages, neatly bound in vellum, it is evidently the copy of a letter written to an (unnamed) clergyman in Holland, and is dated 1695. How it got into the Sunderland library is not known.

Its author, Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (as he usually signs himself), was born in Holland about 1644. Of his early life the only facts he reveals are that he visited Italy in 1673, and had also been to Madrid. There is, however, good reason to believe that he was employed at home for some time as a clerical assistant in the Rotterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company. In June 1684 he sailed to the Cape in the Company's service, and in October, soon after his arrival, he was promoted to be Secretary of the local Council of Policy. He seems to have accompanied the Commissioner Rykiof van Goens to India almost immediately afterwards, and did not take up his regular duties until after his return (1686). A large number of the official records for the next few years have preserved for us his beautifully clear handwriting and decorative signature. He served as Secretary until June, 1694, when he resigned voluntarily, and went to live at Stellenbosch as a free burgher. Adam Tas, in his famous Diary (1705-6), on several occasions mentions Grevenbroek, then an elder of the Church, but does not tell us much about him. It is evident, though, from stray remarks in this book, that Grevenbroek was *on the whole sympathetic* with the movement of the discontented farmers against Governor Adriaan van der Stel, although his name is not attached to their memorandum of complaints addressed to the Chamber of Seventeen.

His will, signed at Welmoed, Eerste River, on February 3, 1714, when in his seventieth year, shows him to have been a careful man of business and a grateful friend. Apparently he never married, for there is no reference in it to wife or family. The bulk of his estate, after various legacies to friends and acquaintances in both Holland and the Cape, is left to a certain Isak Schepers. The date of

114 his death is not known, but it must have occured some time before 1726, when his will was filed with the Cape Orphan Chamber (*Cape Archives O.C. 4 No. 14*). In it he directed that his body should be buried not in church or churchyard, but in the courtyard of the house where he died; and he chose as his own epitaph the words: "Hic expectat resurrectionem J. G. de Grevenbroek C. F."

That Grevenbroek had been engaged in compiling an account of the Cape and the Hottentots seems to have been fairly well known during his lifetime. The earliest reference to his work appears in Peter Kolb's *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (Nürnberg, 1719), the most detailed and serviceable treatise we have on the early Cape Hottentots. In discussing the Hottentot customs relating to the Mantis, Kolb says: "For long I did not know what to call this insect, as I had never seen it, nor could I believe that they worshipped such an insignificant creature, although I had occasionally heard this stated. At last Mr. Johann Wilhelm de Grevenbroek, a man of remarkable industry, understanding and knowledge, who after serving several renowned ambassadors had finally come here as Political Secretary to the Illustrious Company, taught me from the notes, which he had likewise made concerning the Hottentots during his residence here, that this insect was really a sort of beetle" (p. 416). There is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work.

Valentyn's *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoope* (Amsterdam, 1726) tells us more about these "notes" of Grevenbroek's. Writing of the Hottentots, Valentyn says: "I have seen a Latin treatise by Mr. Secretary Grevenbroek, who had taken the trouble to write an elaborate and able account not only of their manners and customs, but also of their language; this treatise he allowed me to read in Stellenbosch in 1705" (p. 106). He adds that from it he learned about the dialectical differences of the local native languages as illustrated by the forms of the numerals; and also extracted a small Latin-Hottentot-Dutch vocabulary, which he then prints (pp. 106-8).

There is no further mention of Grevenbroek's work until 1763, when in his posthumous *Journal historique du Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* the Abbé de la Caille, who was at the Cape from 1751 to 1753, violently attacked Kolb as unreliable and inaccurate, and went on to assert that everything Kolb had written about the Hottentots was derived from Grevenbroek. "M. Grevenbroek, . . . an extraordinary man," says de la Caille, "had made some researches into the manners and customs of the Hottentots. After his death his papers were sent to Kolb, who pieced them together without any skill or judgement. This I was

told by the most intelligent local residents, especially the Governor, M. Grand-Pré and M. Dessin" (pp. 156-57). And again: "All that Kolb says in the rest of his book [i.e. concerning the Hottentots] is taken from the memoirs of a certain Grevenbroek, Secretary of the Council at the Cape, who had put into writing what the Hottentots whom he had seen had replied to his questions" (p. 322). 114

The story of this alleged plagiarism is told at greater length by de la Caille's editor. Kolb, it is well known, had been sent to the Cape in 1705 to make astronomical observations, but by his incompetence soon lost the favour of his patrons. He lived for a while without any employment, and was then installed as Secretary to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch; but after a couple of years he was superseded, and returned to Germany in 1713. "Kolb's mission being almost over," says de la Caille's editor, "he discovered that during his stay at the Cape he had done nothing but drink and smoke. Not knowing what to report in Europe or to show as the fruits of his expedition, he applied to some residents of the Cape, who took advantage of the occasion to serve their own ends as well as his. These men had tried several times, always without success, to convey to Holland their complaints against the maladministration of the Colony. The memoirs on this subject which they had sent to the Estates-General in Holland had all been intercepted, and the Colony continued to groan beneath its oppression. They now conceived the idea of dictating to Kolb a description of the Cape; and in order to make it seem more interesting they collected all the current popular beliefs and palmed them off on to Kolb, who did not know the country, together with numerous marvellous details derived from their imagination. These oracles of Kolb's also lifted much of the matter in Grevenbroek's compilation, to which reference has already been made; nor did they ignore themselves in the course of the work, into which they inserted their observations on the government of the Cape, exposing all its iniquities and suggesting the means of remedy. These revelations, coming from a stranger, could be published without compromising anyone. Kolb, delighted at the service thus rendered to him, left the Cape with his work. He caused it to be printed in Holland, *as a translation from the German*. The book was read with astonishing avidity, and the edition soon sold out. The Dutch Government, roused by what was said in it concerning the state of affairs at the Cape, made inquiries which confirmed Kolb's report. The principal officers of the settlement were recalled, and proceedings taken against them on their return," etc. (pp. 317-19).

114 A somewhat similar story is told in greater detail by Mentzel in his *Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung* (Glogau, 1785-7). After discussing Kolb's career at the Cape, he goes on to say: "We can note that Kolbe had very little time during his short period of office as Interim Secretary [at Stellenbosch] to travel over the country and to make topographical observations. He had certainly gathered much information and heard many stories from local inhabitants during his eight years' residence at the Cape, but without investigating whether these were authentic or legendary. Unexpectedly, Kolbe came into possession of a store of remarkable information that proved both interesting and useful. Herr Grevenbroek, a former Secretary to the Council of Justice, had made various notes about the Hottentots and other Cape peculiarities. Had he lived longer he would have undoubtedly studied more closely the subject-matter of his notes and arranged everything in proper order. On his death his notes were handed over to Kolbe, who thus acquired a rich collection of material, but bundled together higgledy-piggledy" (Mandelbrote's translation, V.R. Soc., 4, p. 19).

I have thought it necessary to give these statements in full, as they have an important bearing upon the history of Grevenbroek's MSS. Let us first examine the charges against Kolb. The story consists of two parts: (a) that he was the medium through which the discontented farmers of the Cape brought their grievances against the Governor to the notice of the Dutch Government; (b) that Grevenbroek's MSS found their way into the hands of Kolb and were used by him as the basis of his description of the Hottentots. The first may at once be dismissed. The only possible event to which it could refer is the movement of the colonists against Adriaan van der Stel. The latter in consequence of a memorandum conveyed to Holland in 1706 by four of the disaffected burghers was recalled the following year. The whole affair was over within two years of Kolb's arrival at the Cape; and he stayed there for another six years. That his book, which in its Dutch translation (it was originally written in German) was not published until 1727, could have been instrumental in bringing about the recall of van der Stel twenty years previously is utterly ridiculous.

This does not of course do away with the charge that Kolb based his account of the Hottentots on Grevenbroek's manuscript. As we have seen, he himself admits having read it; and there is other evidence to suggest that he used it. His vocabulary of Hottentot words is almost identical with that quoted by Valentyn from Grevenbroek,

and in all probability therefore was also derived from the same source; especially as Kolb says that he made some attempts to learn the Hottentot language and could never succeed. Moreover some of the statements he makes about Hottentot custom and belief are also found in Grevenbroek's account printed below, and nowhere else in contemporary descriptions of the Hottentots. The coincidences are occasionally too striking to be entirely due to independent observation. 114

The difficulty about accepting in its entirety the story told by de la Caille and Mentzel is that Grevenbroek was still alive when Kolb left the Cape. The latter can therefore hardly be held to have taken away with him the notes found in the dead Grevenbroek's effects. There is on the other hand no reason why Kolb could not during Grevenbroek's lifetime have borrowed substantially from the latter's notes on the Hottentots, or even have received them all from him. We know from Valentyn that Grevenbroek allowed others to draw upon his manuscript, and we also know that both Grevenbroek and Kolb were living at Stellenbosch from 1710 to 1712. Certainly some suggestion of this sort is necessary to account for the total disappearance of Grevenbroek's later manuscript. It is evident from what both Kolb and Valentyn say that between 1705 and 1713 Grevenbroek was in possession of a detailed study of the Hottentots compiled by himself. The account here published is dated 1695, and appears to have been sent as a letter to a Dutch clergyman, who must have had it copied, for the manuscript is not in Grevenbroek's writing. That it cannot be the manuscript to which Kolb and Valentyn refer is evident not only from the date it bears, but also from the fact that it does not contain the long vocabulary on which Valentyn drew.

Now Grevenbroek himself hints at the end of this letter to a future study of the same sort in more detail. "I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence, fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus." Is it going too far to suggest that Grevenbroek may many years later have seen in Kolb the new Lysippus, and willingly handed over to him the additional notes he had meanwhile compiled? It may reasonably be objected that if Kolb had thus acquired Grevenbroek's material he would have made full acknowledgment to the latter. It is on the other hand equally conceivable, though far less creditable to Kolb, that he may have deliberately suppressed this indebtedness in order to enhance his own reputation. That he was not too

114 scrupulous about carrying out his obligations is evident enough from his career at the Cape.

All this, however, is pure speculation. The established facts are that in 1705 and later Grevenbroek had in his possession an account of the Hottentots written by himself; that this was never published under his name, and the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and that there is every reason to believe that Kolb actually made much fuller use of it than is suggested by the quotation given above in which he refers to Grevenbroek.

The manuscript here printed must be looked upon therefore as a preliminary draft of the presumably more detailed and now lost account. It is a very badly arranged piece of work, passing confusedly from one topic to another, with frequent irrelevancies and repetitions. Despite its title it is by no means devoted exclusively to the Hottentots. Towards the end there is a eulogistic account of the Cape's natural beauty and fruitfulness which would do credit to any modern publicity agent; the adventures of the ill-fated Guillaume Chenut and the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686) take up far too much space; and running right through the whole is a violent denunciation of the European colonists coming very oddly from one who ten years later was held to be among the champions of their cause. The ethnographical information that makes up the rest is by no means all based on original research. A good deal of it, referring to the Ama-Xhosa, is taken directly from the accounts of the "Stavenisse" survivors, which were copied into the official records of the Cape by Grevenbroek himself in his capacity as Secretary of the Council. He almost certainly made notes for his own use of their valuable and accurate information about the manners and customs of the natives, for there is a very close correspondence between his statements and the official records, although the literary embellishments in which he indulged compare most unfavourably with the simple narratives of the sailors. His account of the adventures undergone by the latter is much less accurate, and suggests that here he was writing from memory alone. In describing native customs, he does not always distinguish clearly between the Ama-Xhosa and the Hottentots, whom he obviously regarded as people of the same stock; but a comparison of his statements with the relevant "Stavenisse" records makes it possible to disentangle his own contributions from those of the shipwrecked crew. The information relating to the Cape Hottentots alone does not make up more than about a third of the whole. But it is well worth having, particularly for the descriptions of various social customs, mode of life and warfare, ceremonial

practices and treatment of disease. The details Grevenbroek gives in this connexion are often new and sometimes valuable, and show that he had managed to learn much about the Hottentots. Nevertheless, the reputation he has acquired as an outstanding ethnographical authority can only be based on the supposition that his later account formed the basis of Kolb's book. The present account, important as it is in some respects, is inferior both in quality and content not only to that of Kolb but also to that of Schreyer, and in arrangement to those of Dapper and Ten Rhyne. 114

I.S.

[p. 168 is blank]

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

114 The Latin text of Grevenbroek's letter on the Hottentots is now transcribed and printed for the first time. It is a well-written MS in a large hand and rarely offers any difficulty to the reader. I have slightly modernised the punctuation. I have curbed the lavish and erratic use of capitals. I have silently corrected many small slips. In other cases I have preferred to reveal my corrections, using round brackets to enclose letters added by me, and square brackets to indicate letters I would have removed. Very rarely I have had recourse to a footnote in elucidation of the text. But the text still retains many faults and obscurities most of which are probably to be ascribed to Grevenbroek himself and not to the unknown person who made the copy of it we possess.

For the Latin of Grevenbroek is not a satisfactory medium. It is dictionary Latin, laboriously compiled by a man of poor taste and inaccurate though very likely wide scholarship. It is full of tags from Virgil, Horace, Lucretius and others. The alleged elegance of the Latinity consists largely of curiosities of diction culled from Plautus, Cato, the Natural History of Pliny, Varro on the Latin Language and any other available store-house of archaic and unfamiliar words. A peculiarly distressing feature of the style is the accumulation of masses of synonyms which add nothing to the narrative but confusion. Furthermore the sentences are often shapeless and endless, lumbering along from clause to clause till they seem to drop from exhaustion rather than to reach any intended goal.

In my translation I have permitted myself a few archaisms in order to keep some of the flavour of the original. I have kept very close to the sense of the Latin, as it was essential to lose nothing of the information that may be extracted from his pages. But I have also laboured to make my version readable, and if I have succeeded in this Grevenbroek owes me a debt that nobody will ever owe to Grevenbroek.

At the same time I should like to say that to translate Grevenbroek has been a labour of love. In spite of his infelicitous, pedantic, helpless style, the man reveals so much both of his own curious personality and of the Cape society of his day, that a readable Grevenbroek, if I could make it, seemed to me a possession that many beside the anthropologist would be glad to have. For Grevenbroek is

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114 a character. If he repels by his perpetual insistence on his own unmerited and unspecified grievances, he attracts by his honest indignation at the abuses of the time and by his charming, if absurdly expressed, enthusiasm for the Cape and its native inhabitants. He really had something to say that lay very close to his heart; and for that reason it has been a delight to disencumber his thought from the clumsy toils of his laborious Latin eloquence.

One other translation of Grevenbroek exists, that made in Dutch by Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt and printed in the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Tydschrift* for January and February 1896. This was reprinted in 1932 in vol. xxxvi of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*, uitgegeven door Dr. E. C. Godée-Molsbergen. Vierde Deel). Dr. van Oordt omitted some few portions of the original, notably a page or two dealing with initiation ceremonies. This edition then comprises not only the first English translation, but the first complete translation in any language, as well as the first transcription and publication of the Latin text.

My version was made in complete independence of the Dutch. On comparing them subsequently I was glad to find how closely Dr. van Oordt and I agreed in our general interpretation of the sense of this difficult author. Two sentences of mine embody corrections which the reading of his version led me to adopt. I have also acknowledged suggestions of Dr. van Oordt's once or twice in footnotes.

B. F.

[p. 171 is blank]

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Admodum Rev^dum, Doctissimoque Viro

N.N. S.P.D.

Voluptatem, quam ex litteris meis te sensisse testaris, eandem et forte majorem, ex tuis in me propensae voluntatis testibus, venustate et prudentiâ plenis, quibus me dignatus perceps: quarum lectione et delectatione aliari nequeo, gratiaque penitissimo pectore Superis ago, quorum benignitate, in experimentum forsan, peculiolum aliquod mihi concessum, ut pietatis meae erga te specimen videant. Quaeso igitur etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

(N.B. *Hic Paginæ una ac altera, Domestica quandam experientia, confinxeiæ, praeterimus.*)

Demitur Famam, nunquam ad liquidum perduriam, tantas sequi(d)vinse eundo vires, fictique adeo tenacem, si illa quae veritati affinia de Africa nostris divulgantur, etiam apud vos percrebuerint; gentem hanc uno animo, in diem ei in commune, ad naturae legem congruenter conveniente vivendum, in quodcunque genus hominum hospitalem, candidam, fidam, veritatis, aequitatisque amantem, nec ab omni Numinis alicujus cultu fundituus expertem, et singularem illi inesse ad omnia naturalis ingenii dexteritatem, ut est hominum captus, caparique ad praecepta animo bovni, qui legum severitate, et judiciorum metu se alligari, quondam praejudiciis juvenilibus abreptis, temeraria mea Musa cecinit: *Quaevis alni hominem, hominis viz nomine digni* etc. Cujus delicti veniam petens, hic palinodiam cano, dum prob dedecus! nostratium vitiis, morte patrii obitiorum, in deteriis mutatos, qui celantes, tectos et a nobis abstrusos explorate perspicio et cognosco, a quibus blasphemias, perjuria, discordiam, simultates, crapulam, lethum, latrocinia, furta, ingratitudinem, effrenatam alieni appetentiam ignota quondam ei Factores, aliaque crimina non levis notae, et aurl sacram famem traxit; ea praetiaros Christianarum vitiarum

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To the right reverend and learned gentleman ..... DDD

Greetings.

You say that you receive great pleasure from my letters; I feel the same and perhaps more from the expressions of your goodwill towards me, so full of charm and thought, with which you honour me. I can never read nor relish them enough, and from the bottom of my heart I thank the Powers above through whose kindness there has been granted me, perhaps to last me, some little share of this world's goods so that they may see a proof of my pious devotion to you. I beg therefore etc. etc. etc. [N.B. Here a page or two touching on private matters has been omitted.]

I am astonished that Rumour, never bearing a clear report, should have acquired such strength in her course and proved so tenacious of falsehood that those half-truths that are spread abroad about our Africans should have reached even your ears. I found this people with one accord in their general daily life living in harmony with nature's law, hospitable to every race of men, open, dependable, lovers of truth and justice, not utterly unacquainted with the worship of some God, endowed, within their own limits, with a rare nimbleness of mother wit, and having minds receptive of instruction. 181

My rash Muse was swept away by youthful prejudices when I formerly sang:

Though men, they scarce deserve the name of man.[1]

And for this fault I now seek pardon and sing a palinode: for, alas for the disgrace! it is through the faults of our countrymen, who have forgotten their ancestral ways, as I now plainly see and recognise, that the natives have been changed for the worse, and have become secretive, suspicious and shut away from us. From us they have learned blasphemy, perjury, strife, quarrelling, drunkenness, trickery, brigandage, theft, ingratitude, unbridled lust for for what is not one's own, misdeeds unknown to them before, and, among other crimes of deepest die, the accursed lust of gold. Behold the glorious priests of the Christian

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[1] This would seem to suggest an earlier account of the Hottentots by Grevenbroek, of which, however, I have been unable to find any record.

[A. 173]

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Mystas! en Divinae Veritatis asseclores strenuos, die et judicio novissimo ab his Barbaris media amphitheatri arcubo salutandi. Haec est futuri summa favilla mali!*

Caloris, frigoris, inediae, omniumque laborum supra fidem patientissimi, injuriarumque minime, quippe in vindictam proni, adeo ut pedes, culicesque pungentes, non alia de causa, ori ingestos, quam ut eos dentibus, jure talionis, insecent, molant, conterant, expuantque; nihilque sibi gratius, quam injuriam injuriae contribuere palam jactitent, nec facile quiescant, nisi animum cruciatu inimicorum exsaturaverint. Aspectu rancidi, cultu feri, vita agrestes, bellicosi tamen et insuetae servitutis, adripedes agilitate, pernicitatem nonnumquam equorum, et Cretenses nandi facilitate, praevertentes.

Candore animi multis nostratium superiores sunt, corporis vero nonnullis, et arbitratu meo, forte omnibus albore pares, si nil(l)ori studerent, nunc adipe et radiis solaribus usti, saepeque facies pigmento infuscantur, suntque coloris ravidi adustioris, ut plurimum argutis vivacissimisque oculis, albugine dentibusque nive candidioribus, pupilla Crisanndarschino,** brevibus pedibus, gypsatisque manibus, gracilesque alioquin fere omnes. Qui Promontorio nostro

* This is an adaptation of a line of Propertius (Elegies I. ix. 18): haec est vestiri prima favilla mali. The syntax of this paragraph is greatly confused. I have failed to include in my version any equivalent for the words: qui legum severitate et judicierum metu se adigunt.

** Van Corth translates this word by bruingeele. It is unknown to me. R.F.

S 192. *) This description probably applies to the Ama-Xhosa, about whom Grevenbroek received a good deal of information from the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686).

H 192. *) I have found no mention of this remarkable specimen of humanity in any of the contemporary records!

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mysteries! Behold the strenuous champions of Divine Truth! On the last day at the last judgment they shall be burned in the middle ditch of the amphitheatre by these barbarians. "This is the final spark of the woe to come." H 181

They are beyond belief patient of heat, cold, fasting, and every kind of toil, but utterly impatient of injury, and prone to vengeance. Wherefore if a louse or a gnat sting them they put it into their mouth for no other reason than that by the law of retaliation they may chop, grind, and crush it with their teeth, and spit it out. Nothing pleases them more, they openly boast, than to return evil for evil, nor can they easily be at rest till they have satisfied their minds by the torture of their enemies. They are offensive to look at, savage in their dress, wild in their mode of life, but warlike and unaccustomed to slavery. They are as swift as the wind, often outstripping horses in fleetness of foot and Cretans in swimming.

In whiteness of soul they are superior to many of our countrymen, and in whiteness of body they are equal to some, and, in my judgment, would perhaps be so to all, if they cared for cleanliness. But as things are, what with fat and the scorching heat of the sun and the sharp pigment they put on their faces, they have grown dark and are of a swarthy brown colour. They have lively bright eyes, and the whites of their eyes and their teeth are fairer than snow. The pupils of the eyes are of a shade between brown and yellow. They have small feet and feminine hands; they are lightly built, and almost all snub-nosed. Those who live near our Cape are of middle height; but the inhabitants of the remote parts of this region are shaggy fellows, with taller and sturdier frames, and with frizzy hair.[2] Among them has been seen a king, Longuris, twelve foot high, with hair all over his body thicker than a water spaniel's.[3] To these latter the shortness of our countrymen is a matter of contempt. Sometimes they are bald in front; sometimes they wear beard and moustache and shave their heads. The women have large breasts. With the rarest exceptions I never saw one among them that was marked from birth, fat, hunch-backed, squinting, or that had varicose veins, a swollen paunch, flat feet or spindle-shanks, or one that went bow-legged or knock-kneed or had misshapen limbs of any kind, nor did I ever see one blind of an eye nor halt in his speech, nor

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S [142]

H 142. 752.

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000 proximi, mediae sunt staturae, qui vero ab illis regionis habitant, villosi, proceriores robustioresque corporis, et citrati sunt: virosque inter eos Longurio duodecempeda regulos, toto corpore hirsutos, cane aquatrio pilosior, brevitasque illis mentalium contemptui est: subinde recalvastri, et nonnunquam barbam cum myrtace alunt, capulque radiant: mulieres mammosae. Indigitum aut obesum, gibbosum, pactum, varicem, ventricosum, panosum, loripedem, valgum, atrum (sic), compersum, aut distortis membris inter ipsos non vidi, praeter unum alterumve, luscum, exemplaium, atypum, naevulisque, et si quis claudicat, aut manu, brachio, oculo aliove membro mutilus, id hosti, ferae, aut casui impulsi, non matri, quae minus, quam alibi mulieres, animi commotionibus affectionibusque obnoxia, saluberi corpore, et justa membrorum eurythmia, robustisque artibus conspicuum liberos parit, quos sola decrepita aetas dimittit.

Nostrates procul hinc profecti, murmaturum facturi, in gregem, cui non cornea fibra est,* quae nostris tum forte cumpla reaique, aut imbertibus, merces suas distrahendas explicantibus indicantibusque, jocularí convicio exprobrat, martios suos vocarent, si secum pactari vellent, cum latrocinantibus sibi nullam negotium. Talia Barbari!

Audita sunt asserti, saltibus acutis, visuque, ut dixi, acerrimo, adeo ut mellí inaidiaturi, apiculam stupenda indagine, volatiem ad favum usque in alta rupe, cava arbore aut crypta absconditum, oculis sequantur derreganique: simul, interveniente dumeto, rupe, fluvio aliove obstaculo remoraque, apicula acies oculorum inaequentis effugit, curvum indigitat sistens, faciem mili occidua obvertit, advolantemque praevedentis tramite apiculam omni cura investigat, quâ dure in praedam petiliam incidat.

Porro observavi Afros nostros aviculae cujusdam cantu, volatuque mellis amicissimae, ad alvearia perduci; ferisque alias aviculas, loca leonibus ferisque insueta ostendere; alias

* The phrase is from Persius, Sat. I. 47.

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522 *) I have been unable to find any official record of this incident.
151 *) Hahn, 200 years later, gives an interesting corroboration of
332 this statement. "When a boy passes a Bushman or Hottentot in

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with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be 142
give lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, 732
or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild
beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there,
in comparison with other lands, are less subject to
disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy
bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames,
and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can
weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some 522
distance from this place and encountered a people whose
wild were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it
happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or
not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their
wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a
humorous sniff at them, that they should summon their
husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never
did business with women. This from savages!*)

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and 151
their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of 222
honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their
eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it
be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And
if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood,
river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude
the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns
his face towards the west, and diligently watches for
another bee winging its way on the track of the former;
this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the
desired prize*).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the [222]
bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that 825
is very fond of honey*). It is said that other birds give

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sounds of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as 151
the man with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line 222
of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it;
he will then in the next line of 10 or 12 yards search for another
dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the
course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at [273]
Uitenhage who is a great expert in hiving honey bees . . . This
fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by
following up the droppings of the bees." (Trans. S. Afr. Philos.
Soc., 1888, Intr. Proc. p. xvi).

*) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (Indicator 222
sp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain 136
honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are
always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

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ovo serpentium flatibus esse, ipsos vidi, ejusque ope furta in deserendam venationum jacturam exadè acutissimâ, digueris polsitque, proviâ dubio avitatâ, pollè sui eorum sibi institiarium instilli: adde hîc, quod Barbari adventantem, portamque hanc subitarus saevo e libore speculatore Adalantes deteguant, Europaeorum ocellis ad omnia haec convolentibus, ita ut dicere eos acumine vinus cum Elo fierale certaturos, qui ex Lilybaeo Promontorio Carthaginiensium classem ex ipsorum porta vela facientem numerabat, si fitrabeni fides habenda.

Lanam quam Hottentotorum ovibus opimam natura negavit, haec (res miratu digna!) pro capillitio eis datam, ovaque mudmonae," aut capillatas dixeres: quarum femora dorso quorundam delicatiorum nostratium summique lactilli palato, non aequo ac Europaeorum verveeum arui, saltram detestabili facie movent.

"Carne bovina, ovilla, et quavis ferina, aliaque ipsorum ruminl convenienta, pridie tostâ, aut elixa magnam partem vescuntur; etiam pisce marino ac fluviatili, longlusculoque bi ichthyophagi diversi ab interioribus hujus orae incolis, qui ab omni piscium genere, etiam cruciato abhorrent; adhaec Fragibus et bulbis sylvestribus aliisque dagibus inemptis, et quidquid Lacustres famae ingrediyae largiter vesper gloire dereti, hae inexorabili abdomine degluunt, nec balenae, aut alibi vastae molis piscibus, quae vivos aut mortuos exanimata mare litori illidit, laborate ipsorum stomachus parati: ex dapes compotissimae!

Bilentes qualescunque lignores, olibesque lapidibus evellerent ex ostris bovis confecto, quandoque etiam omnibi marina ova hauriunt, quae adhaec penicillis, malli aut larti instinctis ovaque exantia captant.

Aprignam, lupinam, lemurinam, aliarumque rapacium carnivorarumque animalium carnem, ut immundam, refiam, aerdibusque noxiiam reprobant, respuunque, et holyram, ovaque gustare fas non putant. Puerie lepuinam edere licet, sed canevile nefas est. Ovium lurie, lanarum nutu, abstinent omnes, aliaque longioribus ilis veni licet.

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* Plinv, Natural History, viii. 46. 70 f 186. Hei in Hispania, sed mentior Chrysa, non elaborata pannis genus enumerandi, capitis ville quam pannis velleri pergitus.

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warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as mustnoses, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their baleful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[1]). They live also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of sheep, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed [illegible]

1) This applies to the Amakhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Dodde-Middelburgen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika, III, 68).

2) [see pp 180-81 in Grevenbroek. - Ausiello]

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000 Et quamvis variae hic praestantesque salinarae lacusque, quorum aquae sua sponte in sal concrescunt, salis tamen usus ignorant. Nostratium autem salgama, eorundemque carnem, aut piscem salicium, reliquosque cibos muriaticos non fastidiunt, quorum lacticam, cierasque tandem aviti edere didicere, quae olim pecori cum graminibus campi, illudentes Europaeorum ingluvie, depascenda censebant, et Boves convivas facerent, herbasque aggererent, invitantibus in prandium aut caenam reputabant, jactantes se inediam sustinere, pauperiemque pati ab infantia didicisse. Certe penitius omnem vitam eorum inspiciens comperi ipsos penuriae tolerantissimos, eamque per omnia extrema Rechabitarum similem ducere.

Potus nobis vicinis aqua et lacte, sed extimae gentes altius insuper oxygalo, alicâ, syrbo, cerâ, aut cervisiâ levant, quam Rotterodamenti similem, ducentis et amplius hinc milliaribus in capacissimis fictilibus vasis, primae et secundae notae cum pane autopyro coquere, adhaec pinsere granum nostratibus ignotum, farinâ candidissimâ boni nutrimenti, trifarium, multo aliquanto majus, et ab illo panisque non multum abludente, norunt mulieres, quibus rei familiaris cura, et educendorum liberorum, agrorumque colendorum cura incumbit.

Illi quae uno foetu gemino exiza, eos tollunt, et puerperae ?vendos, nutriendosque dant: multum discrepantes à ulterioribus, et qui nostratibus interniti degunt, sueti alierum gentilorum, postliam utilet, morem semper servantes, immani saevitiâ! avibus ferisque dirigendam dilacerandamque in domo exponere, aut vivam in terram

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*) None of these food taboos seems to have persisted down to recent times, save only that of the hare. In all the Nguni tribes this might only be eaten by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites. This taboo was apparently associated with the well-known myth in which the hare disobeys the message given him by the Moon to convey to people on earth, and promises them death instead of immortality. Any man found guilty of eating the hare's flesh was excluded from the company of other men until he had been purified of his offence. (See Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 330-40, 382, 397-8). The "Hottentots" once reported of the AmaXhosa that "the old men and women do not eat hares, but the young people may . . . they also do not eat lizzes and 'wolves' (hyenas), which are held to be unclean." (Dedde-Meinhertzen, loc. cit.) And again: "They do not eat poultry because these feed on filth, still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see

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the use of it.[9] And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters form of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9] The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10] On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 61f). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (op. cit., 48) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

[9] Sago (*The Ama-Xosa*, 229-231) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild intoxicant, usually used at social gatherings, and *umcombo*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Hieronimi" crew said the Amakhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and [very beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant to taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, op. cit., 61f).

[10] Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Hieronimi" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 67).

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000 ſetodere; cæsaries genitaliparam duobus liberis partier alendis imparem: quæ si parturiens aut continò poſtquam partum exſtidit extinguitur, eam dire mora cum embrione cui infanie, etiam vivo, non minori crudelitate sepelliunt. Attamen quandoque pater pecore dives, nutricem filiolæ superstiti(1) conducit, eique alendam tradit.

Hic silentio neutiquam præterrendum mihi arbitror, quod faber ferrarius quidam, vigesimo a Promontorio nostro lapide equitans, cum vagientem in arbore infantulum audiverit, et non procul inde repertam matrem probe delumbatam prolem diligere et [illegible]* docuerit.

Cui addendum reor, quod Europæus quandam in ipso Promontorio, defœqm ab Afris filiolam temperiùs accurentes effoderint, collatitiis collectoque aere nutrici ruidam educandam detulerint.

Ubi vacca vitulum cum vitula simul exhibet, illum in partes sectum canibus devorandum abjiciunt, hanc fabâ servant licet nunquam consepturam, inanilla quippe res Afris hic, juvencolum gemellam pepertam.

Pedicâ, hamo, manu, telaque, cuilo lascivientes magnam partem vicitant: quamcunque feram, etiam elephantem consectantes venenatâ sagitta sauciarunt, hinc fugientem insequuntur canibus, eamque si non tempestivè, saltem post mille curasum, et sub crepusculum meridiei venatus et vespertino frigore jam obrigescentibus et sanguine coagulato, cadaveres venatores assequuntur, exuviasi dilaniatoque. Illius cor (cujus vulnifis aut ictibus virus cauterium adhæsit) exsciudunt, omnique lutido abscisso rejectoque, carbonibus accendunt, et in hoc cœnæ, pro primaria dape prandii (livia, prandendo, et lauta gustatione

* The copyist did not know Greek. The word attempted to be written here is probably [illegible] (natural affection). B.F.

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(1) The existence of this practice among the old Cape Hottentots is well-authenticated, although among the modern Kaffir tribes, though reported as formerly, are no longer found. Kolb (op. cit., vol. II.) describes it at some length. Cf. also Sparrman, op. cit., 264.

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S H 845 847 [744] H [854]

a mother of twins unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[1] If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H 847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.")

231

If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

224 252

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, bulk, reed and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which its gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[1] This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1695): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the drive where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that a native had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and therewith her they had buried the living baby, after having put it in a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was an occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Pringle, *op. cit.*, 394).

H 766 847

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devorant, reliquumque domi pullecto, licet vitiatum, depascuntur, nulloque carnales, nec morbum harum morbidarum carnium ero, macellarii visceribus inseminandum metuunt, judicantes cum Italis, mortua bestia, venenum intermori*: quae an emptorem unquam inter nostros cives, manu subtilis avidâ inveneris, dictu non est proclive; hoc sane exploratum habeo eos gammarorum, rajarum, astacorum, pagurorum, caraborum, et quorumcunque piscium captorum, effossorumque bulborum frequentem hiantemque instilorem experiri, qui saepe arte deludens, invicem arte deluditur, quaerenaque fragili illidere dentem, offendit solido: Λίθον τρώς Φασόλους.

Virorum est expedire hyemi commeatum alimentaque, amygdala silvestria, cortice holoserico, coloris crocei: ari majoris radices, aptatas cibo: varioque bulbos: quae soli ostenta, et igniculo retorta ferula vetustatem ferentia, in scrobibus cryptisque proinde ac in penario, pro cupedia, subsecivâ operâ, et tanquam παράγγυ Cisalpini Afri reponunt: remotiores cavernas Barbari effodiunt, in quibus solerter ad aliquot annos frumentum asservant, et quo sicca haec horrea habeantur, illis stramen ad justam epithamae[que] altitudinem insternunt, eodemque latera spinae satis circumdant, denique frumenta caeteraque commeatu complent, orificiumque cellae ritu[m] primo stramine et virgulto, denique quarià et novissimà (ut ita dicam) contignatione cavernam cumulant, pari cum solo libra, contegunt, et ab omni corruptionis ictum, longumque relinquunt, de nullo solliciti, nisi ut detegentes scrobem, compressum annonam omnem quantocius depascantur, ne abeat, lucique expositam aliqua calamitas tangat.

* In the last few lines there are several difficulties. I do not understand pullecto, corrodat, nor macellarii.

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[1] This description of hunting and of the method to avoid the possible effects of the poison in the meat applies equally well to the modern Bushmen (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 132 ff.)

[2] The account given by the "Hottentots" even of the Xhosa corn-pits merely says: "They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years."

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H 224 252

they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, whet, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.[10] Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his tooth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

H 458

H S 251

It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with sods to the level of the ground. The corn is then left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.[11]

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[10] Dubbi-Meldenspan, *op. cit.*, 88. The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

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000 Palmariae marium partes sunt pascere pecus, illudque curare, et contra leonum omniumque ferarum et hostium insultus tueri, quae certo ictu jaculo sagittâve (plurimum venenatâ) feriunt.

Sub vesperam pastum pecus septimento clausum, et anteriore sinistro pede loro vinctum, palo alligant, cujus distenta lacte ubera mulieres mulgent, et si quae vacca illud retinet (ut ferè sit) illico adest femina, quandoque etiam vir, qui ore admoto, podici tenaris bestiae inflant, quo medio invita lac maxima manare patitur.

Ex collo et in pectus pascuum, et in ilia spiculum, cultrum, nicotianum, tabulamque hauriendo ejus fumo, adhaec nonnulla trivia, cum uno alteroque dupondio, quae nostrates emunxere, et quod palmarium est, cum quodam ligno dactylidem non excedente, vice praeliorum propendentem, habena, hoc lignum averruncandis quibusque periculis, dum non illos in latibulorio leonibus anguibusque infestis campis, sub Jove frigido frutiosque dormire coactus deprehendit, salutiferum sibi pervigili cervelatiore, anili superstitione fingunt.

Pari credulitate de scarabeo quodam memoriant, hunique contrà sibi augurantur dum illum lugurio insidentem vident, quem pro numine venerantur, nec patientur Europaeum illi insidiari, nedum illum laedere, sed leniter arreptum in deserta loca deferunt, illicque loto deponunt, quo facto diem bonis hilarem sibi nuncant.

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234 [*] This usage is also described by Schreyer op. cit., 46. Even at the present day, among the Hottes, if a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, someone may stand behind it and blow hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place (Schapera, op. cit., 202).

781 [**] A similar use of scarabs was already mentioned by Dapper (see above, p. 23) and is confirmed by many other early writers, as well as by more recent collections on the Hottes (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 264).

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The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and 231
tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or 411
any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike
attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought 234
into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake 231
by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from
the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens,
tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes
a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate
beast and blows in.[*] By this means the milk is made to
flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the 45
breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco,
and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a
few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which
they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of
most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, 787
as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them
suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if
darkness should surprise them in open country infested
with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in
the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[*]

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads 825
them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be 797
of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship
them as deities, nor will they suffer a European to attack
one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry
it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety,
upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[*]

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[*] G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the khanfa, still popularly known as "Heiligkaef" (Gottscheid's god) in S.A. The Egyptians paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, the appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which the alighting on a person or hut was greeted (op. cit., 436 f.). The modern Hottentot still believes that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 349).

[787]

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090 Gravem ex humero et a tergo pharetram, et simul adversarius imminet telum, sarissam, pilum, jaculumve, longo latoque, et quandoque adunco hamatoque praeferrata spicula, oculisque aspersa, dextrâ gestant; altero cubitorum sex septemve et pluribus eburneis armillis calbeisque digiti crassitudine singulis, neque invicem contingentibus, tam in sui totalem, quam ornatus gratiâ munito, quibus ictus hostiles, dentes ungueaque ferarum à re nata cominus excipiunt: sinistrâ vero retinent clavam seu fustem ex praedure gravique ligno, bumo similimo, cum aliquot sagittis arcuque, et illo quo tegantur lato, lanatoque scorteo, quo eminus hostium telis veluti clypeo scutati illudunt: abiegentibus ac nonnullis praemollitioribus rorariisque, decumanorum horum ferocissimique taurorum corporibus, quae profusionibus simulacris pugnae certaminibusque ludicris exercitos et in prima acie stare doctos, in adversum hostem explebrasse agunt, quem hoc mobili et in omnem partem versatili valle, velati perfolio loricave tecti, fidenter thoracati petunt.

Hoc apparatu bellico instructi, pugnam laeti lacessunt, impavidique rebellantes, vibrando tela, jaculis certi, et sagittâ certissimâ, varie corporis flexu et inclinatione hostilia cuncti arma; horrendo insuperque clamore quo maximè hostis conterreatur, tremendoque sibilo (voluntatis virtutisque indicibus) editatis, dum frenitu aethera retonant, cum hostis partibus adstare in armis, introrsum simulata acie, formidabiles concurrunt, conserti cohaerentesque, et collato pede aperto Marte summum conferunt, et priusquam unum

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725 231 [19] This statement finds an interesting confirmation in the account given by de Barros of the skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay in which de Almeida was killed (1510). The Hottentots, says de Barros, "having called their cattle, which are accustomed to this kind of warfare, began to whistle to them and make signs by which they guide them, so that forming into 4 squadrons, and sheltered by the cattle, they attacked our men with wooden darts hardened by fire. Some fell wounded and were trodden down by the cattle, and as most of them were without shields, their only weapons being known and juvenile, in this kind of warfare they could not do much damage to the enemy, who from among the cattle hurled their weapons against

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Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[1]

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying bindings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one minute can fall they follow it with

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[1] our own, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi, 201). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, II-24) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

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050 latum cecidisti, instanti cum altero, lanceque virus vulneri ferro, certoque leto destinata ferunt, et internecino bello, nullâ imbellis aetas aut aetatis ratione habitâ, ad unum omnes aliorum dolent, ingeruntur per hostilitatem virtis coquidquam fidem implorantibus: Mali cavi, malum cum: brevisque* conflictus, armentorum pecorumque maxima gregis, armorumque preeda, et nonnulla optima aquila, quae olim dirigimtur, per multas petita manus: aliique alieni alienos afferunt.

Quo modo quaque arte arma sua viro illinunt, scribere supersedeo, ne videar Europae, satis superque bellis ardenti facinus additisse, vitaeque generi humano extirpando operasse, meque ipsum matribus puerilisque detestandum propinasse.

Parem facturi in colliminio** armati convenimus, et ubi de ejus conditionibus convenere, libo humanam in ipso confinio, telis jaculisque confixam feris devorandam relinquunt, quarta dira hostifrago imprecantes, optantesque ut pari modo quo victima confossa perfidus pereat, et volueribus, carnifici (sic), rapacibusque animalibus esca exercitus fiat: rite vota nuncupantes.

V. Kal. Febr. anni MDCLXXXVII Primarius quidam Africanorum nostrorum, de Batavis optime meritus, plagam orientalem aperiantem, tribui aut quadribui vili a nobis dimissam intelligimus, qui se quoque jam olim Batavicâ hostibus venditavit, illumque fidei omnia committit, gentibus nostris Thoarenses, nostratibus autem Hiroiaras cognoscitur dictus, in castrum, omnibus alio parte dignitatis, ejus conditi Afro vocatus venit, ut auctore, hosto et arbitro Promontorii Praefecto, controversiis inter ipsos dissidiis, et jam gliscente discordiâ, principium rei in nervum erumpat, cum bona gratiâ componantur: dictum, factum: magistique Praefecto omnis dolor pectoris evanuit, sedantur animi, ut pristina amicitiae redintegratio,

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* Praelium (?).
** Collimitio (?).

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another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in intervening war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad cow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth unburned as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[*]

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our society and cultivated everything in the good faith. His native name is Thaeuwe, but our men call him Captain Rhodeza.[**] On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's auspices all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[*] There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[**] This man was probably Captain Klaas, or Dorha, already mentioned by Van Meyer (see above p. 111). His "neighbour" was Kinnaman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

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pectamque societatis signo, manus invicem extant: sed hic sinistram, ille dextram jungit: quod miratus, hujusque novitatis mihi causam rimanti inquirenique, malum hanc manum *Hottitamque* prorsus nomen esse, sinistram que virtus propellat nec intentatamque in *fidei* pignus obtulisse narrant percontandique argutulus alienduntii respondet Barbarus: qui porrò mihi[illegible] (ait) servitutique mihi, quo nomine apud ipsos Supremum nomen vocat: mentitus mirabili genealogia ultimae origini adjicit *Khoorra* vel *Tikkhoe*: Infernum autem *Damob* appellat: ab hoc Homino Deo, *Kish* primum hominem, ejusque conjugem *Kingroph* creatos: hosque sanguinis sui ultimos superare humanum genus, majoresque suos usuris durare, liberos tollere, poligamiae, pacti et concordiae studere, alium non laedere, suum cuique tribuere decretum, hisque sinilla praecepta, infra mentionis narranda traditione, non breviloqui indi: antiquae reconciliati, cum deinde laetum et cum bona gratia dimittantur.

In alterutrum territoria thermae reperiuntur, quas scaturigo circa mentis [illegible], tabulis amethinaque saxorum cancris constravere, eaque sive hallito halitantis fervoreinque aquae, sive earundem exhalationum acrimonia animadu, et colore aliquatenus mutatus invenerunt, perpetuisque pumilionibus inde, geminus scaturiginus aquae fugis gelidaeque, pari modo, quo majores mentri Aquis gratis Balneo detenere, an aeque levaere salubres, hactenus populorum aeterorum negligentia in perquirenda rerum naturâ ignorator. Allaque majoris ponderis mihi factaque facilia dignissimaque eorundem negligentia inexplorata est ominus, aurifodi gaula, aeterorum instamentis, intestinus ayrsis. [illegible], dum vi assidet,' et hominum aeterorum natura ita comperta sit, ut publica privatis illiberalibusque locris postponant: hinc sagittellinis cortice stirpes!

* I suspect some words have been dropped here in the MS. The phrase does at seemed makes no sense as it stands.

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776 773 [1] Khoorra = Khoeb, the Gonaboer, another name for Tsui-//goab (= Tikkhoe, Tikkhoa), the great Hottentot rain god. Damob is probably an attempt to spell the name //Gaunab, the figure in Hottentot mythology as an evil chief, and in the beliefs of the people as the source of all evil. (See Bleek, Tsuni-//Goam, passim; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 378-80). The myth of mankind's origin given by G. is apparently not found among the modern Namas, but Bleek (*op. cit.*, 188) quotes from Wuras a Korana myth of a similar nature. "The old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsui-Goab had made two persons, a man

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friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reasons for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khoorvee* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damob*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practise polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[1]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[2]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kamma, ostrich feather, and a woman *Hra* as mate, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (*Kwi*), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

1) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Calidum Balbe. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Inst.* I. pp. 60 f.

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060 Ego torrentem diarni fluvii a Promontorio distantem, plurimis rivulis auctum, leni tractu aquarum prope Saldagnenseem Sinum oceano se infundentem transitavi, compluries nephritim semi, parum illi quem A° 1673 in Latio apertissimis campis, ad dextram Viae Flaminiae ex Hetruria venienti, non procul Centumcellis, me odoratum commemini: quae loca accipio à diaeteta meo ab urbe, terrae motibus conquassata et pene everza: superi omen avertant, fallantque metum, ne similis calamitas aliquando hos colonos incautos, imparatosque improviso perrutiat, et ne hic alterum Aetnam, aut illius ignium semulum Vesuvium aliquem inopinato prorumpentem videamus. Sane similium malorum praeludia expertissime [et] exitioso prodigio constat nil boni portendere: utinam falsus malorum praesagus sim, faxintque superi, ut tempestivis februis, catharmate humili, piacularibusque officiis averruncum patiamur Jovem irascundo et deprecanea ponere fulmina! Ignosce diverticulo.

Accepi ex quodam non temnendae fidei Batavo adseverante, se nunquam praetervectum cautem, uno alt(e)rove milliari à praedio suo distantem, quin viderit quocunque comites Barbaros, decerptum ex proximo frutice aut arbore ramum, ei tanquam verbenam instravisse, rogatoque causam, jejunè satis, sui majorumque suorum antiquitus id moris, et vetustissime in usu ipsis esse, respondisse, et aegerrime tulisse, quod nostrates, loco hoc capitali, exsecrantes alvum, illorum cultui tam foedè illuderent.

Unus et alter Afer mihi insuper narravit ipsos annuis comitiis, statuto loco et die sub latebrosa rupe, tanquam Mantaeo, tributum sacrificare. Sed de his infra fusius.

Mulieribus suis mirum in modum morigeris, nec minus castis, haud secus ac jumentis manciplisque dorso onera gestantibus, abutuntur, easque Manliano imperio exercent: quarum crura multis jaculis, spinisque loris a talibus genua tenus*, hac de causa hocque argumento mihi

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* There seems no possible doubt that these words are a slip for *a talis penuum tenus*.

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THE HOTTENTOT MODE OF WARFARE.
(Notice the use of oxen as tanks.)

[After Kolb

[facing p. 194]

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133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[*]) Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 699 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1693 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Rivoria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon those heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purifications, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not immovable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me
782 that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and throw it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[**]) Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should fouly insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no
[582] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under
291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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[*]) Probably the Berg R.

[**]) A similar usage was noted as far back as 1656 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, op cit., 288 ff.

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videntur reflantia, quo eorum pondere propellitur, haut aliter ac cerealia, malitiosae deserticulae, aut abnoctandi, longiusque quam par est à gurgustiolo aberrandi facultatem, semper cerealia avidis coetu proximique his perlambellibus restituit.

Quotiescunque furva palatum et palatulum prendunt, ac dorso mastigam, loripem, asseperarunt, et in illa nonnunquam infantulum sedentem secum asportat, convenientes quaerunque hos et illos observando ab oblito exterebrant, aut ex cumulo trigedali furvos, quandoque etiam ligneo verbo, in morosum deflexio, insuper aut parte cumulatis, effodere valent.

In Magnis filius cum hospitibus stupro cubo parentes patiuntur, constuprique habetur vulgati corporis villosa, letaque impudicitia. Domus castis abstinentibusque auribus cerulique ali urbanitas vocatur, modo previum flagitii insulo, cundalium, dactylion aeneum ferreumve, vel nervum aut dens viris curalio, hisque similia mulieris mamilla crepundiaque dentur, et abstinenti cervicique parentibus curam insurire, et propellitus, torpis, obscenaque jacere verba, aut reverentiae pudoriquae clausura violare, qui quam aegre bile ferunt, et quam gravia ipsis sint haec flagitia, torve et reflexo in torquem vultu, frontis obduria, turvitibus religionisque auribus, et propero sermone, nihil esse adamare et deperire liberos, pudibundi talibus vitiis abhorrentibus, testabuntur nec facili unquam gentium parentes, nil ve[r]inale redolentes, intimioris in liberos pietatis invenies, nullo aere nec quaestoris pretio extrunctis ex mancipio distractures. Liberis quippe servitutis pretium ingratum est.

H 291 [*]) This statement does little credit to O.'s fund of commonsense. A more reasonable explanation of these leggings is given by Dapper (see above, p. 80).

S 101 [**]) I.e. AmaXhosa, a branch of the S.E. Bantu. The spelling "Magni" or "Magnes" figures in the various reports of the "Blavenisse" crew.

S 836 576 963 [***]) The foregoing passage is obviously based on the following remarks of the "Blavenisse" crew: "The unmarried daughters may indulge freely in love, nor is it any disgrace for them to sleep even with married men, although for this they must be paid, generally with three iron finger rings, or 10 or 12 coral beads, or some similar objects. The men are greatly offended if anybody should speak dishonourably or disrespectfully of their daughters, sisters or other female relatives, and show this by at once leaving the company" (free translation of the original Dutch account, given

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and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering further than is right from the hut, by being hampered with the weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[**]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight backed by these shackles.

Wherever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by selection from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Magni[*]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous disarranging of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or goods; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[**]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[**]) Freedom despises the price of servitude.

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[*]) Cf. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, Amsterdam, 1668, p. 224: "Among the Hottentots, the Magni, who are the most distinguished, the girls are not married until they have had children by strangers." Cf. also Peter Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, Nuremberg, 1719, II, 66. The verbal embroidery in all O.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the Amo-Khoin as *ukyevotshai*, a form of ceremonial sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Hoge, *The Amo-Khoi*, 118 ff.).

[**]) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Ovide-Middelburgen, *op. cit.*, 66).

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080 Si quae vulgò contigisse parit, haec omnibus despectui est, teneturque fetum, patrem nullum nisi populum habentem, alere: nec prorsum facile experiar, quam ubi proles propriâ industriâ virtutem et amictum sibi conquirere valet: adeo alieni sunt ab coeribus matrimonialibus, hocque casu nubens in potestatem mariti cum subole tranait.

Virginem nobilem viro temperivam à parentibus procus ex vicino, et nunquam eodem quo amasia nata vico oriundus, instituto probabili, quanto potest minimo mercatur: sit enim moribus et longâ consuetudine cautum est, alienigenas non gentilitio eam despondere, invetus labi occurrendo, et illicito cum necessariis matrimonio vitando; forte etiam quo pacis, societatis et concordiae studia, et connexi nervi cum finitimis, hoc sacro foedere, jugali vinculo et matrimoniali capistro fidelius stringantur, et nuptiis alligati arctius coalescant: facta exinde juxta pacta conventa per amasium penuriose, et armis, pecoribus, aliisque rebus, Barbaris in pretio, aucero peraolutis, pactam oppignoratamque filiam pater, eoque donato,* defuncti filius sororem nuptui dat, illoque praemortuo consanguinitate proximus puellam in matrimonium (verius meâ sententiâ in servitutem) sine dote, sine paraphernis, nullisque paratibus, et solis panniculariis instructam collocat, pretiumque sibi totum trahit, spemque laribus paternis nubit, et in amoris fideique conjugalis teneram arrhamque articulum auricularis digiti scaevae abscindit, et ad eandem amputationem redit quotiescunque ad nova vota tranait: quamobrem de salute mariti sollicita sit, si multi manus digitis orbas videre.

* Probably for *denato*, dead.

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[79] In the main this paragraph is equally true of the modern AmaXhosa.

[80] The description up to this point applies to the AmaXhosa and not to the Hottentots. The "Stavenisse" account, upon which G. has drawn, is more clearly expressed: "They will not marry any woman related to them by blood, no matter how remote the relationship may be; and to prevent such an unseemly union, they generally marry with their neighbours. The bridegroom purchases the bride from her parents as reasonably as he can, for a certain number of oxen, cows, iron, copper or beads; and having paid these he takes his wife home, accompanied by her friends and relatives, old and young, men and women" (Holsbergen, op. cit., 56). The AmaXhosa still refrain from marrying a blood relative.

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If any girl bears a child as the result of promiscuous intercourse, she becomes an object of contempt to all, and is bound to rear the babe, which has no father except the community. Nor does she readily find a suitor until the child by its own efforts is able to obtain food and clothing for itself; so averse are the men from taking on matrimonial burdens. When she does marry, she and the child pass into the power of the husband.**)

S 848

When a girl becomes of marriageable age and ripe for a husband, a suitor from a neighbouring village, but never from the same one as his beloved — an excellent institution — purchases her from her parents at the lowest price for which he can get her. Through this old established custom it is secured that she is betrothed to a stranger and not to one of the same stock; the risk of incest is met, and the danger of illicit union within the tables of consanguinity avoided. The intention may also be that peace, harmony and concord, and the threads of friendly dealing may be drawn tighter by this sacred treaty, pledge of union, and matrimonial bond; that the marriage may be a link to bind them more closely to one another. When the bridegroom has then made payment in accordance with the terms agreed upon, and when arms, cattle and other things the natives value, have been presented to the father-in-law, then the father, or, if he be dead, the son of the deceased, or if he be dead, the male next of kin, gives the pledged and promised bride in marriage (more truly, in my opinion, in slavery) without dowry, without possessions, without preparations, equipped only with a few rags of clothing;**) the whole bride-price he keeps for himself, the bride marries into the family of the father (of the bridegroom), and as a token and gauge of her love and conjugal fidelity she cuts off a joint of the little finger of her left hand, and she resorts to a similar amputation as often as she passes to a new husband.**) Wherefore she does well to concern herself for her husband's health, should she have no taste to see her hands grow fingerless.

S 583

S 582

S 581

S 585

S [541]

S H 304

S 582 583

*) The "purchase" referred to is the payment of lobola cattle made by the bridegroom's family to the bride's people (see Soga, op. cit., chap. 13).

S H 304

**) This is a Hottentot custom. Amputation of the finger joints is also found occasionally among the AmaXhosa, but, according to Soga (op. cit., 268-9), the custom takes its rise in children's ailments, and is due to the superstitious belief that if the first joint of the child's little finger (either hand) were not cut off, the child would waste away.

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080 Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis dîis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, denuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum tympanum olîm ex proximo fonte, aut torrente hausiam effundit, mox medîis mapalibus sedens, genium corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tam demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecanео sacrificio olîm abscindit, eosque inde in terram defodit; ultimò hospites laudè prosequuntur, eosque liberaliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro pepò, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim assolet, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram manum duobus sub dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam tricubitus Afer stipem à me petens, impetratam continuò matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam posteriùs humerulum attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me curam suaviata. Hinc una alterave puerula, et ubi spemd opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam hos harioli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta alicui spintriarmicio aut antistitae scientiâ moribusque caeteris conspectiori, venerîs tyrocinîis, Junonîisque officîis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus aponum demulcerat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra contenti, edocet; denuum ei pedes ille caesae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecto, sub quo haec sacra peraguntur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, haruspex aut Flamen nudos neogamos, verendis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, eorundemque vestes unctor

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*) I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the Amaxhosa; I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

**) The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

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Sometimes a young mother who has already had three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[*] next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly; with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[*] a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

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(700) filioli: mox puberculo lacteae lluchu ambae ignaros pelles praegerulli, quemadmodum olim Graecis Romanisque in more positum. Tulere, turre mulier ei nullo laetitiam peregrinam mentre: denique virtusque nulo praecordia sacrificii undulata exsiertaque (pari modo qua coelestes disciplinam, mentis, phaleratae solemnitatis) apprendit: ultimo nervis conjugibus cruciosum amorem, caelibemiam tori, libitinam Adem, sedulamque orbatis procreationem, reliquaque conjugalia munia merito injungit: hinc vernaculae festivitatis plena, diripiunt verruntque dapes adipatas, pedesque libero pulsantes thymelici terram, chorous agunt, viri cum viris tanquam in adversitate opitulentur: femineae cum femineis gyrantes gulum curunt, et quisquis acerba tactu secretae: nulo epulum hoc genialis die (nuptiis si festivissimis) in posterum usque lucem jejunat, fasseaque licet ardentissimas nullo lapsore protulit, magisque pro nimio gaudio, quod martium mortis sit, corrodunque maerorem veramla tristitia mentibus, cum laetitia exultans, sacrum ordini adscriptam: morte optatus solus cum sole in terra, his sollemnibus patrandis erectis, cubat: quid parvi hic mortali aluat agantque reppero Harpocratis, Lucinaeque velo obtecta manent, et per me licet aeternum maneant.

Nuptiis jam splendide celebratis, sponsus nuptam, utriusque consanguineis, affinibus, paranymphis, amicisque stipatus, domum suam ducit, ubi reputis et adjacentibus epulis, refectoque convivio, pro re nata exempti, quum pertinacium est hostilis, ne quid arcanae ducti, solemni inauguratione per cultrarium peracta, et confarreatis nuptiis secunda quaevis adpreceli, omnes ad solita munera alacres redeunt.

Parturienti mulieri consanguinitate et junctae vicem obstetricis suppleni. Hae octavo postquam infantem enixa die, suisinde etiam tardius, puerperam pro anni tempore, hyberno tepidâ, aestivo frigida aquâ probè in tugurio, a vertice ad imam pedis plantam, remotis viris circumluunt, eumque tum demum foras ire patiuntur. Hinc martius

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both with a powder of the bucku shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock. 585

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free feet begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in quoit quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.[264] Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest of her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time exulting with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with his bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Lucina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever.

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here be drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after alling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is n childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the [844] 846

[264] This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

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OBD conversatus vijrumque aevus propinquos et affines, laetis suo exstipti, ubi quum consedere de nomine pueru indendo primò unoven suum percunctantur, eique ut plurimum assentitur, et post illum reliqui ad unum omnes, ingeniosque puerperae applaudunt, eoque nomine appellatum infantem salutant, eique et parentibus felicia precati, genethliacia celebrandis diem terunt.

Notus mihi Barbarus Gonda dictus (quo nomine Latinis Dama venit) quia ea die qua natus, matre ejus de cibo valdè sollicitâ, pater a venatione cervulus damis dorcum rediberat, quorum carne exuriontes convivas, nobilibusque recentem natum commodè tanquam fascia exripiebat: hinc mater occasionem arripuit, filio *Gonday* nomen imponendi. Alia media aestate pariens, quum fol radiis suis terram peroeque maximè uri, adeò ut illa aresceat, hocque uberu lacte carere habeat, quamobrem puerpera, dum insuper mamillae suae exsiccatae videt, miserioordia tacta, filiolae *Bilhaikè* nomen indidit, voce compositâ ex *Bi* quod lac, et *Ikaikè* quod penuriam significat: appellatione valde opportunâ.

Sicubi patrifamilias res pecuaria ampla est ibrum per sacrificulum victima cadit, cujus adipe infans cum matre ab ortulo vaporante circumlinitur herbâque Ikuhu, pari quo dicti modo perspergunter, natalitiaque dalia, martius in unam alteramque hebdomadam se foras proripit, et nisi infans mammâ disjunctus aut lacte depulsus sit, vir cum muliere sua etiam toto anno non cubat, eaque gravida secubat: interim pellicibus aut vagae veneri litana, nam Afris his plures solent esse nuptae, quae singulae suis mapalibus separatim degunt, remque familiarem maritique famam religiosè curant, eique certatim vultu verisque blandiuntur, qui in binoctium trinoctiumque pro cujusque venere, gratia meritaque, mox hanc mox illam complectitur,

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H 846 553 [a]) This description (together with the following paragraph) also applies to the Hottentots. It is of course by no means complete, but is correct in suggesting that the mother is secluded for some time after the birth, and that before she leaves her hut she is ceremonially cleansed (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 262 ff). There is no other record of a name-giving ceremony similar to that mentioned by *O*.

H 553 [b]) Wrede's Hottentot vocab. gives the word *K'goede* = steenbok (Latin *capricornus*, not *dama*, which is given as the Latin equivalent of klipspringer = Hottentot *K'gopde*): Kolb's vocab. (said to be based on that of *O.*), gives Hot. *Adouda* = steenbok. (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 222, 227).

S 834 545 [c]) This statement, although applicable to most primitive peoples, seems in the present instance not to refer to the Hotten-

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H [346]
H 553

water is according to the season of the year, hot in winter, cold in summer. Then the husband calls together his kith and kin of both sexes and receives them in his hut. When they are all seated the matter of a name for the child is broached. First he asks his wife; as a rule he expresses his agreement with her, and after him they all do likewise, praising the wit of the young mother. They then greet the child by his new name, pray for happiness for him and his parents, and pass the day in celebrating the birth.[*])

A certain native of my acquaintance has gotten the name of *Gaudo* (in Latin *dama*, or buck[**]) from the following circumstance. On the day on which he was born, his mother being very anxious about food, his father came home from the hunt laden with buck. The hungry guests were fed upon the flesh, the newborn babe was swaddled in the skins. Impressed by the timely relief, his mother improved the occasion by naming the boy *Gaudo*. There is a tale of another woman who gave birth to a child in the middle of the summer, when the sun with its rays most scorches earth and cattle, so that the earth is parched and the udders of the cattle are empty of milk. The young mother, beholding her own dry breasts, was touched with pity, and gave to her daughter the name *Bihaiha*, a word compounded of *Bi*, milk, and *Thatha*, lack. Surely a very happy choice of name.

H 852

Any father who is well stocked with cattle again offers sacrifice on the occasion of a birth; the mother and babe are smeared in the fat of the victim, which is warmed by the priest; and they are sprinkled with broths in the manner described. After the birthday feast the husband takes himself off for a week or two, and until the infant has been taken from the breast or weaned, he does not sleep again with his wife even if it be for a whole year.[*]) He always sleeps away from her when she is with child. In the meantime he goes with concubines, paying homage to a roving love, for these natives generally have several wives, each living separately in her own hut, looking after the household and scrupulously obedient to her husband's commands. They vie with one another in flattering him with word and look, and he embraces now one, now another, for a space of two nights or three, according to the passion,

S 834
S 595

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[*]) This, but to be derived from the account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the Ama-Xhosa. They say: "As soon as a woman is confined in childbed, her husband must stay away from the hut for 13 to 14 days, and not sleep with his wife as long as she is suckling the child, even if it be for a year. In the meantime he must console himself with his other wives" (Molsbergen, op. cit. III, 60).

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000 lasque virilitudine vertatasque voluptatum libidinibus novas stimulos quaerit φιλογύνης, immorigeram verò delumbat, et pravitate incorrigibilem repudiat.

Si masculum vitulum enixa, pater ei fundum domo dat, infantemque in mandatis, ut tam propriis quam bestiae laete gnatum curiat, et qua par est solicitudine educet, et de accrescendo illius pecudis curam gerit. Filiam parienti puerperae maritus eadem quae tolleno filium injungit, sed bovulam quam alendae filiolae credidit, quum ille tantarum virium est, ut ejusdem aevi, nullisque ope ex aequalo altior laete, aqua, foni, cellâ aut cervisia sedare valet, cum vitulo proximo reliquo armento suo aggregat. Durum horridumque vitam agrestibus sterilitatem parit, et vix adolescentes, jam effetae; hanc, ut opinio mea fert, gentis infrequentia.

Soles tanquam exterorum omnia boni veneratur, et magni facturi, Lunam verò Soxi, Ilium Sore, hanc Cha vocant, endemque vocabulo ipsis etiam merda venit, impotentiae fortè illi omnes tam hominum quam pecudum morbos, coeli inclementiam, et cujusque generis calamitatum avertiginem, quae dum plena est, feminae monstrorum purgationibus laborantes. Illi aegritudinis hujus causam adscribunt; divaricatis cruribus crectae manuque mingunt: viri flexis genibus, et clunibus prope talos depressis lotium reddunt, neutrique semen crepitum ventre aut ructum edit: cujus vitii inscientiam Europaeis non injuriâ acerbè satis exprobrant. Et pretiosissima eorundem monilia, ex tenuissimo filo, aeu testa, pluriesque empta, quam maximi pecudum greges venerunt, nullum alium usum, commodum, utilitatemque habentia, praterquam eum quem luxus fingit, venenato joco circumcisè explodunt, dum ipsi praecordiorum intestinorumque ex collo pendentium virtute et pinguedine mactati pecudis, nostratibus tantopere exhibitis medicamentis, nonnunquam morbos depellunt, et averruncant.

S
562
513

[a]) These aristocrats also refer to the AmaXhosa: "If a woman bears a son, the father gives her a cow with its calf, whose offspring she must preserve for the benefit of the child; if she bears a daughter, she also receives a cow and a calf, but as soon as the child can drink out of the common milk vessels, the father takes the cattle back" (Mohlenhoff, op. cit., ill. 65).

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affection, or gratitude inspired by such. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is frankly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away.

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[*]) The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population.

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun axe, the moon cha, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.[*]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness. (The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without curses, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[*])) They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious nechtaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

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*) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Namas use the terms axe for the sun, and //kmb for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is zoab.)

*) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

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Cape Hottentot
South Negro FNT

309 A *Judaeis* circumcisionem, non praeputii, sed gravioris cuticulae ad imum ventrem usque ejectae, mutuatos dixeres eos, qui abditis regionis habitant: et ab his eos qui nobis propinqui, diffidisse alnistri colei Osmore dicti exclamem: utrosque autem omnes ritus tam sacerdotales quam sacrificales, novam antiquitatem redolentes, ab Israelitis, tot/ licet saeculorum intervallo obumbratos, fraudem, quis adeo hoedenus ut non videat?

Ili quis nostrorum Barbarorum virilia sua pudenda ejusque erogationes, clunarum, aut exilentio scalpello subjicere abnuens, marsili genitalis numero et mensura juxta naturae ingenii integra sibi conservare, quàm se doloribus excruciandum et quandoquidem emasculandum praebere, hunc omnis dissolutionis hominem, per opprobrium aristem vocant, eumque ab omni societate hereditateque exsibilatum, tanquam fulguritum fugiunt: alii incisurâ in scrotis factâ particulam cutis testiculo dextro abscindunt, eamque loco reponitum, et valuere curato, sui juris ephebum faciunt.

Alii circa trigesimam secundam Australis Poli gradum inclinationem, et prope Lusitania Natalem dictam, degentes, longiori pompa, et splendidiore ostiferio circumcisionis sacra celebrant: quippe in propatulo et patente campo, flaminiam plus mille passibus ab omni habitatione secretam, annuam exstruunt, quo totius regionis praetextati circumcidendi confluunt, omnibusque rite praeparatis pontifex seu hariolus penis cuticulam sub Jove frigido juvenibus deglubit, eamque pube lanuginesque tenus abscindit, mox adipe plagam recidivis ungit, eique involucra cujusdam bulbi, à coepe luteola non multum absidentibus, applicat, et dumtaxat pervenatis hinc egredi, et tum demum cum parentibus, amicis, et puellabus loqui fas est, quorum cautio est, ne salsae excruciatis cibus aut potus, ceteraque necessaria, per faminem subministranda in triduo desit: transactâque hac indictiva duplicatae quadragenariae stationis morâ, quisque tripudians domum revertitur, adultus virorum numero accensetur, multaque ampiexu et convivio, remotis mulieribus, exceptum, sui juris faciunt, excedentique jam ex ephebis, ad omnia usuresm ducere patiuntur.

[**] On the alleged semi-castration of the Hottentots, see above p. 143 n.

[**] This paragraph is derived almost literally from the accounts of the "Stavenisse" crve (see Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, III 64-65, 94). It is a highly condensed but substantially accurate description of a custom still found amongg the AmaXhosa.

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South African FX7

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It must be supposed that it is from the Jews that the inhabitants of the remoter parts have learned the practice of circumcision,[*] [although it is a more serious operation with the Africans, involving the cutting away not only of the prepuce but of the skin right up to the base of the abdomen. From the Jews also the natives near us must have acquired the practice of removing the left testicle, if you will excuse the mention of it.[**]] Indeed who is so blind as not to see that it is from the Israelites that both divisions of Hottentots have derived all their sacerdotal and sacrificial rites, which are redolent of the purest antiquity, though admittedly the lapse of so many centuries has obscured the connection.

H
[326]

Should any of our Hottentots refuse to subject his male members to the sacrificial blade or lancet or operating knife of the priest, preferring to preserve his genital organs perfect in the shape and number provided by nature rather than submit himself to agonies of pain and a partial castration, this enemy of all amputation is insulted by the name of "ram," shut out from all fellowship and inheritance, and shunned as if blasted by the lightning of heaven. The others make an incision in the scrotum, cut away a little skin from the right testicle, send the young man home(?), and when the wound is cured regard him as his own master.

5
881
304

The Africans who live at about the thirty-second parallel of the degrees of the South Pole and near to the place called Natal by the Portuguese celebrate the rite of circumcision with notable display and brilliant éclat. Every year they build, in a wide spreading plain, a sacred booth more than a mile away from every habitation. To it flock the youths of the whole district to be circumcised; and when all preparations have been duly made the priest or prophet, under the open sky, draws back the skin of the penis of each youth and cuts it away as far as the hair on the pubis. He then anoints the wound with fat, and applies to it a wrapping of some bulb with coats not very different from those of an onion. Only when they are cured may they leave the booth; only then are they permitted to talk with parents, friends, and girls, whose business it is to secure that food and drink and other necessaries, to be dealt out by the priest, should not fail the poor sufferers for the space of three months. When this compulsory inactivity of twice forty days has gone by, each returns dancing home, and being now adult is numbered among the men. The women are sent away, while he is welcomed with many embraces and much good cheer. He is now his own master, and having left the ranks of the youths is given full liberty to take a wife].[***]

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Cape Hottentot

000 A majoribus suis hostibus victimasque furtivo sagitte, nequando, et mancipiolis foederibus barbarus Agenus dilirisse, à vero non abhorret.

Ablutionum, purificationum, purgationum, et aquaeliorum, aliaque plenilunio genialiter festa celebrare, et hilaria haec, nuptialiumque fescennina, feriae, jocusque praeficarum funebribus justis, equilique feralibus interpolare, veriaque sacra, et fundera sacrare gentilitia unde habeant, tardum est dicta, ipsimetque ignorant.

Haec opinio apud Afros nostros obtinet, hanque superstitione inferta gens, ut credat neminem morbo, suo fato, aut alieno morte vitâ defungi, sed omnes venefitio interimi, nisi qui armis hostilibus cecidere: aut qui à feris dilacerati, vel ab anguibus morsi, aut ab aliis venenatis animalibus puncti occubuere. Illinc magnus, ubi aliquem ex aegritudine mors consequitur, fatidicum (verius falsidicum) fi, qui prope terram Natalem morantur, convenunt, eumque quis donatum venefitio è medio sustulerit perscrutantur, qui prout ei in mentem venit, et spes, dolor, ira aut invidia dictat, aliquem denuntiat: et quemcumque hic Caribus crimine falso fictique flagitii insimulat, quamvis patrem, filium, aut fratrem, aliumve defuncto proximum, amicum, aut virtuum, hunc illicò Magi dicto fidem habentes, sine ulla causae perquisitione, aut ultiore indagine, insanium, indefessum, ad supplicium rapiunt, poenamque trahentes, in publica via supinum nudumque, manibus pedibusque vinctis et in terram defossis, radiis solaribus, nocturno frigori, adstantium praeterruntiumque contumeliis ludibriisque fatigandum exponunt, illiusque ventri quandoque nidum formicarum rubentium imponunt, quae vivi viscera rodunt, ubi mille tortus modis, sub teterrimo cruciatu exspirat. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!*

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H 782

It is very probable that it is from their own ancestors the native priests learned the practice of slaughtering victims large and small in the case of sickness, marriage, and the ratifying of treaties.

H 821 796

It is difficult to say, and they themselves do not know, whence they got the custom of celebrating merrily under the full moon feasts of ablution, purification, purgation, betrothal, and others, and of varying these jollifications and the licensed holidays and sports of marriage festivals with regular funereal dirges of mourning women and banquets for the dead, and of performing various rites and covenants.

S 761 791 754 683

An opinion that obtains among our Africans,[41]) a superstitious belief which infects the race, is that nobody departs this life by disease, by destiny, by a natural death, but they believe that all are taken off by poison, except those who fall at the hands of the enemy, or are torn by wild beasts, or bitten by snakes, or stung by some other poisonous animal. Consequently when someone dies after an illness it often happens, among those who live near Natal, that they consult a soothsayer (more properly a false-sayer) and ask him who removed the dead man from among them by poison. The witch-doctor then denounces somebody, just as it comes into his head, at the bidding of hope, annoyance, anger or jealousy. Whoever this Caichas accuses on a false charge of an imaginary crime, be he father, son, brother or other near relative, friend or neighbour of the deceased, him straightway, never doubting the witchdoctor's word, without examining into the case or making any further enquiry, unheard, undefended, they hale away to punishment, and, prolonging his torture, naked, on his back in the public road, with his hands and feet bound and buried in the earth, they expose him to the rays of the sun, to the chill of night, to the mockery and insults of spectators and passers-by, till he be worn out by them, and sometimes upon his belly they put a nest of red ants, which gnaw the flesh of the living man, when, after innumerable tortures he dies in hideous agony. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

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41) This description of witchcraft and its punishment is again taken almost verbatim from the accounts given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa (*cf.* Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 63). Condensed as it is even in the original, the description is on the whole very accurate. Soga (*op. cit.*, 180) describes a form of punishment of sorcerers identical with that mentioned in the text, and gives additional details (omitted by G.) which are also mentioned in the "Stavenisse" accounts.

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Miratusque saepius cum Catone, quomodo haruspex haruspicem absque risu intueri possit: stupendaque res quod viri, animo viriumque validi, manu strenui, et fenum in cornu, nec venam publicam habentes, impunè sibi ab improbis his nebulonibus, superbia, insolentia, ignorantia, arrogantiaque elatis, imponi patiantur: qui in leonem aliudve animal (mirabili metamorphosi si Diis placet!) sese versipelles transfigurare, tempestatem, pluviam, grandinem, ventos, tonitrua fulguraque subito ciere, siderum motus observare, futuraque praedicere, veraque se vaticinari, divinitus scire, turpi venditatione jactitant. Et ne nostrates horum insidiis injuriisque obnoxii forent, inter ipsos unanimi consensu convenerat, ut de veneno rogati regererent, Europaeis toxica planè ignota esse: qua arte harioli dolis laqueisque vafre eludentes obviamque euntes, tuti in Magosis vixere, nec quotidie cum Orco rationem ponendam habuere.

Validis viribus incurvare baculum, eique intendere chordam, eademque semper oberrare, adhaec gracili modulare avenâ, calamoque agresti ludere, terrestres maritimosque inflare tubulos auloedi mares cisalpini gnaviter sciunt: sed eorum feminae cantilenam patriumque carmen semper ferme idem sylvestri musâ, aliâque voce cantando, coriam ollae superinductum et intentum, fasciis lorisque obvinctum palmis pulsare, iisque alternis vicibus plaudere, concentu Europaeorum auribus ingrato, tympanistriae decussatis cruribus humi sedentes, mox oculis in coelum et lunam versus subinde, mox iisdem in terram et ollam lacte plenam defixis, apprime suo ritu et incondito ingeminato clamore ululatuque, et musicè aetatem agere, norunt.

Interiora regionis Aethiopiae confinia frequentibus multisque habitantur pagis, quorum amoenitate indigenae detinentur, et advenae omnium rerum copia, terraeque ubertate alliciuntur. Quo A° 1686 navis Stavenisse naufragi se recipientes, tanta comitate, fide et benevolentiâ a

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[42]) On the musical instruments and entertainments of the Hottentots, so sketchily referred to by G., cf. Schapera, op cit., 400 ff; and among contemporary writers, Dapper (p. 77 above), Schreyer, op. cit., chap. xvi; and Kolb, 337 ff.

[43]) On the wreck of the "Stavenisse" (Feb. 16, 1686), see above p. 188. As already mentioned, the accounts given by the survivors

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I have often wondered with Cato how soothsayer can look at soothsayer without laughing; and it is an amazing thing that men, strong in mind and body, active with their hands, dangerous fellows, and of no common quality, should tamely allow themselves to be imposed on by these sorry rascals, swollen with overweening pride and ignorant arrogance. For these shameless braggarts give out that they are wizards and can transform themselves into a lion or any other animal (a wonderful metamorphosis indeed); that they can in a moment summon storm, rain, hail, winds, thunder and lightning; and that they have supernatural knowledge and can foretell the future and prophesy truth. Our countrymen, in order to avoid entanglement in their wicked plots, had come to a unanimous agreement among themselves that if questioned about poison they would reply that Europeans are absolutely ignorant of such things. By this trick they cunningly escaped and countered the wiles and snares of the witch-doctors, and lived safely among the Magoai without the necessity of taking the next world into their daily calculations.

The male musicians among those on the hither side of the mountains shew great ingenuity in bending a stick with their great strength, stretching a string upon it, and fumbling continually upon the same; and they are skilled to breathe an air upon the oaten flute, sport upon the rustic reed, or wake the music of such pipes as land or sea affords. Their women with uncouth art and in a strange voice sing a native lay or descant that rarely varies, beating the while with their palms upon a skin stretched tightly over a pot and fastened with bands and thongs, or else clapping their hands together. The harmony is not pleasing to European ears, as these women sit cross-legged with their tom-toms on the ground, now raising their eyes towards heaven and the moon, now gazing upon the earth or upon a pot full of milk, while they exercise their native skill in the rude and incessant shouting and wailing which constitutes their manner of musical entertainment.[42])

In the interior of the country bordering on Ethiopia are many populous districts, the charm of which detains the native inhabitants, while strangers are allured by the abundance of all things and the richness of the soil. Thither in the year 1686 the shipwrecked crew of the Stavenisse betook themselves,[43]) and were received with such courtesy, good faith, and kindness by the natives,

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on reaching the Cape were transcribed for the official records by G. himself, and it is sufficiently evident from his text to what an extent he drew upon them.

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Barbaris xenodocho et agape, aut privato hospitio excepti, ut nonnulli Batavorum his delinimentis imbuti, et beneficiis benevolentiaeque significatione alligati, maluerint illic rerum suarum fortunam, et stabile stabulum figere, quam cum faselo episcopio, Patrum Societatis nostrae jussu eo amandato, ad suos redire: testantes palam se nunquam liberalius domi paternae tractatos, nec laribus maternis benigniori amplexu exceptos, nusquam majoribus blanditiis illecebrisque delinitos, quam in hospita hac terra: addentes fortibus omne solum natale, nec aliud ipsos votis ambire, quam illud, in quo fatis monstrantibus, et manifesto numine, cum maxime sedes quietas inveniunt: Belgium sibi fortuito arbitrioque pa[illegible]tum patriam obvenisse, adscititiam hanc instinctu mo[illegible]e proprio ipsos sibimet eligere: quibus dictis epibatas longum valere jubent, et solventibus vela, auram secundam, ventisque ferentibus rectum sulcum felicissimo cursu ducant, et tanquam viali lare in petitum portum ferantur optant: quantum conjectura perspicio, nunquam factum mutaturi, aut infectum optaturi, et hoc solo nomine culpandos vereor, ne festorum dierum et avitae religionis obliti, Barbarorumque sacris initiati, iisque famulantes neophyti, tandem à vero Numine et Christo quem professi, ejusque genuino cultu desciscant, adaeque ac Lusitanus quidam, qui A° 1652 aerae Christianorum ex India veniens, illic naufragium passus, cujus navis tabulae, tormenta bellica, anchorae, plurima ejusdem armamenta in littore injuriis temporum, maris aestibus, vetustatique omnium confectrici resistentia adhuc cernuntur: qui circumcisus proselytus, cum indigena connubio junctus, ex qua liberos sustulit, et in re lauta cum suis, patriae linguae, et aviti in Deum O.M. cultus oblitus vivit: hinc liquet quanti Europaeos faciant, quibus non solum

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[44]) This probably refers to the fact that when the "Centaurus," sent for that purpose from the Cape, picked up the party of survivors near the mouth of the Buffalo R., three of the latter could not be found, so it was believed that they preferred to remain with the natives and were therefore purposely keeping out of the way. The vessel accordingly set sail without them. There is no record of the magniloquent farewell with which G. credits them. (Theal, *op. cit.*, ii, 298; Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 90-91).

[45]) "In all the time of their stay in that country," said the survivors of the "Slavenisse," they found but one European, an old Portuguese, in the country of the Maponites [Ama Mpondo]; he had been shipwrecked there about 40 years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and, as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannon are still to be found there. This Portuguese had been

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whether at the public table or in private homes, that several of the Dutch, touched by such grateful entertainment, and bound by the benefits they had received and the display of goodwill, resolved to hazard their fortune among them and there set up their rest, rather than return to their fellows on the vessel which, at the order of the Council of the Company, was sent thither to look for them.[44] Thereby they openly testified that they had never in their father's house met more generous entertainment, nor been more kindly entreated at their mother's table, nor experienced anywhere more soft and winning ways than in this friendly land. They added thereto that the whole earth was the fatherland of brave men, and that they sought no other land for themselves than that in which, by the finger of fate and the manifest will of God, they had been led to the discovery of a supremely peaceful home. Holland, they said, had fallen to them as a fatherland by the accident of chance and the choice of their parents; this adopted land they had chosen for themselves at the prompting of their own will. Which said, they bid the voyagers a long farewell, praying that a favourable breeze might fill their sails, and that with a carrying wind on a straight course they might have as prosperous a voyage to the desired haven as if they were on the king's highway. And well assured am I that they would never repent their choice nor wish undone what was done. In one particular alone do I fear lest they should deserve blame, to wit, if they should forget their holy days and ancestral religion, and being initiate in the rites of the natives and submitting to them as converts, should at length fall away from the genuine worship of the true God and Christ which once they professed.

This was what happened to a certain Portuguese who, in the year of Our Lord 1652, on his way back from India, was wrecked in this place. Ship's planks, guns, anchors, and much gear are still to be seen upon the shore, defying the spite of the weather, the tides of the sea, and the tooth of time. But the man has become a convert and been circumcised; he has been joined in wedlock with a native woman and raised children by her; and he lives prosperously among his own, forgetful of his native language and the ancestral worship of the great and good God.[45] Hence we can learn what store the natives set by Europeans, to whom they not only give their daughters in

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circumcized, and had a wife, children, cattle and land, and spoke only the African language, having forgotten everything, his God included." (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 67; Eng. trans. in Moodie, *Record*, 431).

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filias suas in matrimonium dant, sed et eos insuper variis muneribus, observantia et beneficiis sibi devinciunt, eorundemque dictis tanquam legi auscultant.

Sed heus! hic mihi neutiquam silentio praetereundus miserabilis puer, inter pauca fortunae exempla memorandus, ob tristia, et levi penicillo adumbranda, quae undique Guilielmum Chenut, vix duodecennem Gallum circumstitere fata, ingenuis parentibus in Aquitania genitum, honesto loco natum, et liberaliter educatum, institutumque, cui fortè obvenerat singularis exempli patruus, in Suprema curia Burdegalae Vibiscorum famâ, probitate et scientiâ clarus celeberque causidicus, qui recusans in sacros ritus Regis Galliarum Ludovici XIV jurare, A° Virginei partus (ni fallor) 1684 omnibus ejus subditis Reformatam profitentibus Religionem obtrusos: doctrinae et instituti à majoribus suis ipsi traditae tenax, mavult natale solum patriosque relinquere exterris lares, quam sententiam suam de Dei cultu, à patribus acceptam, in gratiam quorundam cucullatorum de fidei mysteriis balbutientium, vel tantillum mutare: hinc protinus cum impedimentis conquirit navem, eamque omni apparatu et commeatu instructam collectis vasis, rutisque caesis receptis cum suis nepteque Guilielmo conscendit, et Garumnâ ventoque secundis Cantabricum ingreditur profugus mare, novas tutioresque aerumnis suis quaesiturus sedes, sed proh dolor! vana spe, eum subeuntem portum in insula Cerne, Lusitanus Praetor quaesitis coloribus et veteratoria arte, heu pietas! heu prisca fides! nil tale veritum, immeritumque carceri impingit. Guilielmus diro suorum casui illachrymans, diu quid fugiat quidque sequatur anceps, tandem animum per omnia versans, casu et quasi Numinis ductu instinctuque in quendam Anglum incidit, cujus opem implorat, qui malis Gallorum indolens, miseratusque sortis pueri, eum bono

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44) He was one of the men picked up by the "Centaurus" on Feb. 9, 1688. The log book of that vessel reports of him that he "had embarked at Madeira in an English Company's ship, called the *Boede*, and that, (near this place), he had been ordered into the boat, with a pilot and other men, to look for a haven, and having lost the ship had been driven hither, and that while some of the crew were about to cook their victuals in a tent raised on the beach, the others having gone for firewood and water, they were discovered by a woman and soon after overpowered by the Caffers, who killed three men, one of whom was the pilot, the four others escaped, but to this day the boy found himself alone" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 87-90; Eng. trans. in Moodie, *op cit.*, 425). The much fuller details given by G. were no doubt obtained at first hand from the boy himself after the latter was brought to the Cape; but it should be noted that G's acount of the attack by the natives (see below) does not correspond fully with that just quoted.

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marriage, but bind them to themselves in addition by various gifts, by complaisance, and by benefits, and by obeying their word as law.

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But here, alas! I am reminded of the unhappy youth, William Chenut, whose story cannot be passed over in silence, for there are few to match it in the annals of misfortune, by reason of the tragic destiny, here only to be sketched lightly, which overtook him in his twelfth year[46]). Born in Aquitaine in France, of parents of good family and in an honourable station, he received the training and education of a gentleman. Among his blessings was the possession of an uncle of singular goodness, a busy lawyer, distinguished in the Supreme Court of Bordeaux for his reputation, honesty and learning. This uncle refused to conform to the worship of the French king, Louis XIV, which, unless I am mistaken, was in the year 1684[47]) forced upon all his subjects who professed the Reformed religion. Adhering firmly to the teaching and practice handed down to him by his ancestors, he preferred to leave his native land and go as an exile from his father's house, rather than vary in aught from the opinion of the true worship of God, which he had received from his fathers, in deference to the babblings of some monks about the mysteries of the faith. He forthwith procured a ship, thoroughly equipped and provisioned it, and having collected his baggage and sold his estate went on board with his family and his nephew William. Down the Garonne sailed the exile with the wind behind him and out into the Cantabrian sea bound for a new home that would bring him relief from his troubles. But, alas for this disappointment, the hope proved vain; for as he sailed into harbour in the island of Cerne*, the Portuguese governor, on a far-fetched charge and with practised cunning (alas for the piety, alas for the honour of the good old days!), clapped him into prison, though he little expected any such thing and as little deserved it.

William, weeping bitterly over the mischance that had overtaken his people, for long remained doubtful what course to pursue. At length, turning everything over and over in his mind, he met by chance, or may we not say by the guidance of divine providence, with a certain Englishman whose help he begged. Indignant at the misdeeds of the French, and pitying the boy's lot, his new friend bid him be of good cheer, put him on his ship which

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[47]) Sic. The Edict of Nantes was revoked in October, 1685.

* Van Oordt thinks Madeira may be meant. I have no better suggestion. B. P.

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animo esse jubet, navique sua, non procul inde in anchoris stante exceptum, benigneque habitum in Americam Novamque Anglicam commodum defert. Unde Indiam Orientalem versus vela facturus, socium itineris periculorumque suorum, imò mortis testem futurum Guilielmum avehendum assumit, cumque littus orientale Africae adnavigans, mari tranquillo, caeloque sereno, conspectu jucundissimae amoenissimaeque plagae invitatus in scapham, cupidus eam propius visendi, descendit: escendentem in terram inexploratam cum sociis, Barbari ex insidiis latebrisque inermibus assiliunt incautosque trucidant, accurrunt illico feminae gratulaturae suis de tragico patrato scelere, quae dum oculos dira caede Britannorum pascuntur, in tempore vident Guilielmum gravem vulneribus suo suorumque cruori immersum nondum expirasse. Miseratione permotae, bene animatae et paratae, sublatum, in proximum tectum cupidissime deferunt, vulnera abstersa alligant, fomenta corpori admovent, probèque litum, cibo potuque reficiunt, sedulaque opera praestant, ne quid advenae desit, quem ipse Regulus *Tokhe* appellatus, quattuor filiis vicinis omnibus, etiam remotioribus Barbaris, et nonnullis custodibus stipatus visit, alloquioque suo dignatur, et discedens saucium secum habitatum veniat, civiliter invitat, verbisque his munera quaedam auctarii loco adjicit: cujus exemplo excitati adstantes Gallum, jam omnibus acceptissimum, brevi pecurosum opulentumque et in calamitate felicem reddunt, dum hic bovem, ille vaccam, iste juvenculam, alius vitulum ei dono dat, et quisquis certatim munuscula approbo infelicique puero plena manu largitur: O meritò dilecte Deo! Cressaque ne careat Dies nota!

Tandem persanatus et athleticè valens cum hospitis sui filio deambulatum foras procedit, qui fortè adolescentiae fervore, invidiâ, aut alio lubricae aetatis vitio raptus, nil tale merentis inopinatò vulnere gemino coxam telo transfodit; vide, sis, volumina sortis humanae et ut miserum Fortuna tenaciter urguet, Fatique illuctabilis tenor infelicem

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was riding at anchor near by, and, with kindly entertainment, conveyed him to New England in America. His intention was to voyage thence to the East Indies, and he again took William on board, to be the companion of his travels and dangers, and, as it turned out, the witness of his death. For as they sailed along the east coast of Africa, on a calm sea under a clear sky, lured by the sight of that smiling and pleasant land and desiring a nearer view of it, the captain with some members of his company got into the ship's boat. But as they disembarked upon this unknown shore, the natives sprang out of ambush, fell upon them and cut them down unarmed and off their guard. Then the women ran up to congratulate the men upon the dreadful scene they had enacted, and as they feasted their eyes upon the slaughtered bodies of the Englishmen, in due course they spied William, seriously wounded and bathed in his own blood and that of his friends, but not yet dead. Touched with pity at the sight, and being now well disposed to help him, they raised him up, bore him eagerly to the nearest roof, washed his wounds, poulticed him and anointed him, and restored him with food and drink. They spared no pains to see that the stranger should lack for naught. Even the king himself, whose name was *Tokhe*[46]), came with his four sons, all his neighbours, some natives also from distant parts, and a company of guards to visit the sick man, and condescended to hold converse with him; and at his departure, politely entreated him that he would come and live with him, and not only bespoke him thus civilly but gave him gifts to boot. Roused by this example all those that stood by followed suit. The Frenchman was now in great favour with all, and, one giving him an ox and another a cow, this man a heifer and that a bull-calf, in a trice they made him rich in cattle and goods and as happy as he could be in his misfortune, as they vied with one another, running up full-handed, to bestow their gifts on the youth they now pitied and loved. O man deservedly beloved of God! Let this day not lack its white mark.

He was at length cured and restored to vigorous health. Then one day when he was going a walk with the son of his host, the latter carried away by youthful passion, either jealousy or some other weakness incidental to this treacherous period of life, suddenly, without the least provocation, stabbed him twice with his spear in the hip. Consider, reader, the revolutions of human destiny, and

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46) The great chief of the AmaXhosa about this time was named *Togu* (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 19), which may possibly be identified with this *Tokhe*. *Togu* died approximately 1686.

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persequatur! Nullo titulo factum enorme excusantem, aetate, viribus, staturâ armisque longè sibi praestantem, solo animo superior male feriatum ex vulnere validus, non dubitanter converrit, qui probè fugillatus lumbisque fuste contusis domum se proripit, querelasque ad patrem calumniator defert, insontemque criminatur. Hic totus teres atque rotundus, justitiaeque tenax premit altum corde suum filiique dolorem, nihil tamen statuendum censet, nisi alterâ parte auditâ. Nostras saucius claudusque attrepidat. Inquirenti hospiti, rem omnem articulatim, libera bile exponit: qui convictum criminis falsique filium in officio continendum, primò severissimis verbis, mox acrioribus verberibus, judex nostratibus aemulandus corrigit, docetque neminem conflictis criminibus premendum nec suum flagitium aliis objectandum, horrenda haec esse peccata, iisque omnem humanam consocietatem dissolvi, additque alteri non faciendum quod sibi factum nolit. Hospitii jura sarta tecta servanda: adoptatitium hunc filium fraterno amore, omnibus officiis, studio, humanitate benevolentiaque sibi complectendum discat, sciatque vulnera ad mensuram non infligi, et potuisse ejus vitio et culpa innoxium necari advenam. O! Cedro digna; quibus dictis in mutuam gratiam reductos dimittit, Barbarus nomine, sed re multis Christianis humanior, *Sotope* nomen ferens, quibusdam etiam *Sesse* dictus.

Noster jam secundo consanescens belle se habet, caritate cum primis in parentes, cognatosque, et dulcedine natalis soli ductus, libertatisque rerumque desiderio, quas homines vel vita aestimant, vel morte redimunt, trahitur, solâque spe revisendae aliquando patriae se sustentat, linguaeque barbarorum peritus, multa de origine, legibus, moribusque hujus gentis, eâmque Magoses appellari, allaque scitu digna,

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49) He was probably a local headman, as his name does not occur in the extensive lists of Xhosa chiefs recorded by Soga (*The S.E. Bantu*, passim).

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how persistently Fortune persecutes the wretched, how the irresistible urge of Fate oppresses the hapless. When the perpetrator of this atrocious deed offered no excuse, William revenged himself upon him. Superior only in courage, and with a strength born of his wound, he, without a moment's hesitation, tackled his wanton assailant, who was older, stronger, taller and better armed; he sent him to the right about and cudgelled him black and blue, whereupon the latter ran helter skelter to his father with a pack of lies to lodge a complaint against the innocent victim of his attack. The father, a flawless character and staunch upholder of justice, although he felt deeply the injury to himself and his son, yet decided that nothing should be done without hearing the other side. Then the European stumbled in wounded and limping, and in reply to the enquiries of his host he gave a full and free description of the whole affair. The king then, finding his son guilty of assault and perjury, ordered him to be detained in court, and gave him first a severe reprimand and then a severe thrashing. As a judge he might serve as a model to our countrymen; for he laid it down that nobody should be convicted on a false charge, that it is wrong to shift the blame for one's misdeeds on to the shoulders of another, for these are dreadful sins which break up the whole framework of human society. "Do not do to others," he said, "what you would not they should do to you. Keep the laws of hospitality inviolate. Learn to regard this adopted son of mine with a brotherly love, and treat him with all duty, zeal, kindness and goodwill; and realise that you have been lightly punished, for you might through your wickedness and folly have killed an innocent stranger." O memorable words! When they had been spoken, he dismissed the pair, now restored to amity, he, who was in name a savage but in fact more humane than many Christians. His name was *Sotope;* by some he was called also *Sesse.*")

Our hero now had a second recovery and was again in fine trim. But he began to be drawn by love for parents and relations, by the remembered charm of his native land, and by the desire for liberty and all those things which men value as much as life and will purchase with their death. At length he lived only in the hope of revisiting his fatherland. Being now skilled in the native tongue he learned much of their origin, laws, and customs, and, together with much else worth knowing, that they were

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discit, et huic quattuor populos confines esse, videlicet Matimbos, Embos, Mapontes, et Makriggas, hosque novissimos bellicosissimos, raptuque vivere, tandem auditione et fama accipit, varios Europaeos (quos Melunke vocant) non procul inde quaquaversum dispersos degere, hos protinus invisit, qui pari patriae amore flagrantes, facilè de suscipiendo itinere in hoc Promontorium conveniunt, statimque condicunt locum, definiuntque diem coëundi: dictum, factum: compactò hi panem, illi farinam, isti carnem tam recentem, quam fumo induratam aut sale conspersam, aliaque salsamenta et cibaria, reliqua arma, similiaque viae auxilia conquirunt, et in commune convasant, et quisque hospitis sui aedes, quanquam optimè de eo meriti compilat, pari modo quo Israëlitae Aegyptios mare Erythraeum vadentes despoliant: quid moliantur, quidque machinentur advenae, barbaris facile subdolet, qui obvii et expositi, quoscunque periculi instantis certiores faciunt, blandèque suadent ineptire desinant, ostendentes vix caelo venien(ti)bus avibus viam quam meditantur stolidi[s] paten(tem), intuta esse omnia et insessa à ferocissima gente, latrociniis addictâ: sed nihil his moti, tanquam addicti et consecrati destinatâ morte itineri se accingunt: primo caeca viâ ad nos penetrare conantur: sed inexsuperabilia juga montium, praealtis asperibusque silvis inaccessa, latronibusque obsessa vetant, qui coorti armis, numero viribusque longe superiores, obsistentes trucidant, ast arma, commeatum, tegumentaque abjicientibus moderati, nudis

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[39]) Magosi = AmaXhosa; Matimbi = AmaThembu (Tembus); Embi = abaMbo (?); Mapontes = amaMpondo; Makriggas = Ama Riligwa = Hottentots (Soga, *S.E. Bantu*, 110); Melunke = abe-Lungu, white people.

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called Magosi; also that four peoples were their neighbours, the Matimbi, Embi, Mapontes and Makriggas, the last being very warlike and living on plunder.[58]) Finally the report reached him that various Europeans (whom they call Melunke) lived not far off scattered here and there over the country. These he promply visited, and finding them burning with an equal love of their fatherland, he easily agreed with them about a joint effort to return to this Cape. They appointed a place, and fixed a day for meeting. The plan was no sooner made than acted on. As arranged some brought bread, others flour, others meat, either fresh or smoked and salted. They collected also other foods, salt and fresh, and arms, and other requirements for the way, and put them in the common store. Each man also robbed the dwelling of his host, although they had been so kindly treated, even as the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians when crossing the Red Sea.

The natives easily got wind of their plotting and planning, and openly opposed them, informing them all of their imminent danger, using their best endeavours to dissuade them from their folly, pointing out to them that the journey they intended was scarcely feasible for birds, that the whole route was unsafe and beset by a blood-thirsty people addicted to brigandage. Nothing daunted by these warnings, like dedicated and devoted men with danger in store for them, they girded themselves for the journey. At first they essayed to get through to us by a secret way, but were prevented by impassable mountain ranges, difficult of approach by reason of forests of tall and prickly trees. The mountains were also beset by robbers, who being far superior in arms, numbers, and strength, barred the way against them and were for slaughtering them; but when they cast away their arms, food and clothing, the brigands spared their lives and suffered them to retrace their steps. Returning home again undismayed by this disaster, they collected much property of their hosts, and being again equipped with everything attempted a second journey, this time through winding valleys. Here they encountered thick, entangling brush, and being assailed on all sides by brigands, again lost all their possessions and were compelled to return to their quarters. Yet even now they did not despair. Again they contrived to equip themselves, and decided to effect a passage close to the sea; again impassable rocks and a warlike people accustomed to live by plunder thwarted them. Whether this people, who now for the third time robbed them of their all, was the same as met them on their former attempts, is not certain. But this much at least is clear that the Africans are so kindly and easy to deal with that when their guests again came

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vitam concedunt, iterque relegere patiuntur: qui domum revertentes, clade hac nihil deterriti, multa de rebus hospitum suorum asportantes, omnibusque rebus rursum instructi, iter per valles et ambages iteratò tentant, ubi condensa impeditissimaque nemora, et assilientes undiquaque praedones spoliatos diversiola sua repetere cogunt. Ast ne nunc quidem animum despondentes, apparatu sibi de integro prospiciunt, statuuntque juxta mare iter conficere, sed rupes inviae in littore, et bellicosissima gens, rapto vivere assueta restitere: an illa eadem, quae nostris tertium, nihil de bonis suis reliqui fecit, non constat: illud sanè liquet Afros commercio faciles indulgentissimosque, diversitores suos domum reversos omnibusque rebus exutos, ne verbo quidem inclementiore appellasse, aut vultu contumelioso insequutos, mansuetudine vix primitivae Ecclesiae Christianis notâ: sed vae dedecus! in nobis patitur Christus opprobrium, in nobis patitur lex Christiana maledictum! dum nomine tenus Christiani exscensu in hanc plagam nonnunquam à navibus facto, miseros incolas blanditiis, et crepundiorum donis pellectos, aut trucidant, aut vinctos plagiarii, in suas naves, alibi magno distrahendos, contrudunt: et quid mirum! si hoc detestabili et infando lucro inescati redeuntes Christiani ab Afris, cautius mercari doctis, jure talionis sontes cum insontibus caedantur.

Hinc inferre libet, quod nulla gens sit adeò effera, quae illaesa in innoxium saeviat hominem, eumque ignotum, nudum et inermen necare velit: testorque me vidisse ἀνθρωποφάγον (sic) malis meis illachrymantem, commilitonibus quibusdam meis, mihi in calamitate innocenti, inauditâ crudelitate insultantibus. Manus de tabula.

Novissimè famâ accipiunt gentem, Promontorio nostro viciniorem, quotannis catervatim in Magosis (sic vocata regio in qua naufragi nostrates cum maxime hospitantur) tanquam ad mercatum permutandis mercibus confluere: occasio arridet, eamque quoquomodo arripiendam, nilque intentatum relinquendum, censent nostri: qui ubi solito foro institores, non procul illinc adventasse accipiunt, quosdam ex suis exploratum ablegant, iisque in mandatis dant, Afros hos nullâ interpositâ morâ conveniant, eorum animos explorent petantque, sibi liceat ipsorum ductu et auspiciis in Promontorium nostrum pervenire. Annuunt mercatores: nostri ad vasa laeti conclamant, ast itineri accinctis meticulosae resistunt barbarae, quae animo à nostratibus abalienato, eos sibi comites itineris, longè accersito colore fictaque specie recusant, maritis blandâ nimis indulgentiâ, erubescendo deformique obsequio, uxorum severitati assentantibus.

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back stripped of all they had, they did not address one word of reproach to them or cast at them the least resentful look, thereby exhibiting a charity scarcely known even to the Christians of the primitive church. But, oh, the shame of it! it is by us dishonour is cast upon the name of Christ, by us the law of Christ is made a thing accursed. Christians only in name, ever and anon there disembark upon these shores, men who deceive the natives with soft words and the gift of a few trifles, and then either slaughter them or kidnap them for the slave trade, bind them, thrust them aboard ship and sell them in strange lands at a great price. What wonder then that the Christians, when they return again tempted by this loathsome and unspeakable traffic, find that the natives have become more particular in their dealings, and retaliate by slaying the innocent with the guilty.

Hence it may be inferred that no race is so savage as, unprovoked, to offer violence to an innocent man, or wish to slaughter a stranger, naked and unarmed. And I bear witness that I have seen a cannibal shedding tears at my misfortunes, while companions of mine, with unheard of cruelty, jeered at me in a disaster I had done nothing to deserve. But why paint the lily!

Lastly they got rumour of a race, living near our Cape, who every year came in companies among the Magosi (this is the name of the people of the district in which our shipwrecked fellow-Europeans were principally entertained) as if on a trading expedition for the exchange of goods. The chance was an attractive one; our men decided that it should by all means be seized, and that nothing should be left untried. Accordingly when they learned that the traders had arrived at their usual market place, which was not far distant, they detailed some of their men to make enquiries, and instructed them to get in touch with these natives without delay, to learn the state of their minds, and request permission to journey to our Cape under their guidance and auspices. The traders agreed. Our men then joyfully called to one another to collect their baggage. But when they were ready for the road, the native women became fearful and opposed the project; they distrusted our men and refused to have them as companions of their journey, alleging far-fetched excuses and inventing lying pleas. The over-indulgent husbands, with a base compliance of which they should have been ashamed, yielded to the harsh resolution of their wives.

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000 Jam Europaei deplorato exitu despondent animum, eumque agriculturae et rei pecuariae bona fide applicandum, et revisendae patriae omnem spem decollatam, hicque solo natali extorribus moriendum statuunt. Solus Isbrandus Hogesaad, primarius navis *Stavenisse* olim nauclerus, navicularae peritissimus, concilio acer, manuque fortis, et ad omnia egregius mihi nominandus occurrit, qui praeter expectationem omnium aliam aggrediendam viam, marique tentandum iter hortatur, monstratque intra annum quattuor Europaeas in isto littore naves pari fato ejectas, earundemque tabulas, caeteraque armamenta extruendae navi sufficientia ad manum, casuque oblata, in sapientiam vertenda esse, et nemora proceris caeduisque arboribus plena: Portum Lusitanis Natalem dictum (quia die natalitia Jesus Christi duobus abhinc seculis ab ipsis detectus) non procul inde tutum, omniaque votis prona; adhaec in expedito esse Afrorum sedulam, tenuique mercede conductam operam, eamque non defuturam docet, multasque rationes perveniendi ad exitum sibi propositum profert: in quam sententiam omnes pedibus manibusque transeunt, grandique doloris ingenio, miseris venit solertia rebus, consiliumque exordiuntur: ex obicibus ostiorum quae in foris sunt, et per quae in carinam descenditur, serras, et ex sacra anchora incudem confiant: vela, rudentes, funes, secures, malleos, dolabras, clavos, dolia, malos, reliquaque

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51) G.'s account, as given above, is not in agreement with the available records. From the latter it appears that when the "Stavenisse" was wrecked 47 of her crew set out overland towards the Cape. They passed through various Bantu tribes, who treated them well, but also came across some bands of Bushmen, who stripped and robbed them of all they had. "They were naked when they reached the country of the AmaXhosa, where they were received with great compassion and were supplied with food and shelter. Five of them had perished before that time. After resting awhile with the AmaXhosa, they all wished to proceed on their journey westward, but some of them were induced not to do so by being informed that the next people were Bushmen, who would certainly murder them. Twelve of the boldest, however, made the attempt, and report had been received that they had all been killed. Of the 47 men who had left the wreck of the "Stavenisse" to travel southward, 17 were dead; 21 were rescued [by the Centaurus], and the fate of the remaining 9 was unknown, but it was supposed that they were still living among the natives in different parts of the country" (Theal, ii, 302-3; Molsbergen, iii, 92-4; Moodie, 426-7). Many of the details given by G. were either obtained orally from the survivors, or are fictitious.

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At length the Europeans despaired of a way out and lost heart.[51]) They made up their minds to apply themselves in good earnest to tillage and cattle-raising, convinced that every hope of regaining their native land had been knocked on the head, and that they would have to die in exile. Only Isbrand Hogesaad, formerly the captain of the Stavenisse, a skilled seaman, bold in counsel and vigorous in action, and an outstanding man all round, claims the tribute of my mention. He surprised everybody by urging them to try another way. "Let us attempt the sea", he cried. "Within a year four European ships have been cast upon this shore. With their timbers and the rest of their gear we have materials at hand for the construction of a ship. What chance has offered must be made to serve the ends of wisdom. The woods also are full of lofty trees ready for the axe. The harbour which the Portuguese call Natal (because they discovered it two centuries ago on the anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ) offers a safe refuge not far from here. Everything favours our hopes." He pointed out also that they could avail themselves, for a very small return, of the zealous aid of the Hottentots, who would not fail them; and he advanced many plans by which they could reach the goal of their endeavour.[52])

They all came over to his way of thinking. Their sufferings sharpened their wits, they developed inventiveness in their sad plight, and began the execution of their plan. From the iron bars of the doors in the gangways, and the doors that gave a passage down into the hold of the ship, they managed to make saws. The anchor was turned into an anvil. Sails, cables, ropes, axes, mallets, picks, nails, jars, masts, and all the rest of the flotsam and jetsam of ships that have been dashed against the

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[52]) The credit for building this vessel really belongs to John Kingston, who with some others had been wrecked in the ketch *Good Hope* at Port Natal. The men who remained behind with the wreck of the Stavenisse were found by one of these Englishmen and guided to Port Natal, where under the guidance of Kingston they all set to work upon the *Good Hope* and completely rebuilt her, naming the new vessel *Centaurus*, and after purchasing provisions from the local natives they set sail for the Cape on Feb. 17, 1687, reaching it on March 1st. G. is quite wrong in stating that the vessel was built by the party which Chenut had joined. The latter made no attempt at all to build a boat of their own, and in fact were rescued in Feb. 1688 by the *Centaurus* itself, which had been bought from its makers and sent back purposely to look for the remaining survivors. (Theal, ii, 292 pp; Molsbergen and Moodie, *loci. cit.*)

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allisarum navium ejectamenta, ferramenta, instrumenta, et quascunque naufragiorum tristes reliquias corradunt, et in casis quas sibi omnique apparatui et commeatui excipiendo construxere, multa barbarorum opera deponunt: fervet opus sub Isbrando totius negotii curatore, machinamque in aquam deducunt, tanta arte, velocitate ac felicitate elaboratam, ut divina manu arbores in Celocem conversae viderentur, eamque cibaria annona, omnique penu ex proximis vicis instructam conscendunt, et commeatum, quem navis non capit, eum tecto relinquunt, triticum verò Africanum, milio assimile, de quo supra mentionem injeci, in dolia contrusum, eo quae dixi modo, in terra defodiunt. Imo gregem viginti et amplius decumanorum boum, aperto campo pascere sinunt: quae omnia Argonautae nostri, anno converso, ex mandato Patrum Conscriptorum Societatis nostrae, eò liburnicâ delati, ponderi, numero, et mensura integra, et illaesa, tanquam S. Sancta, et numini alicui dicata, spectatiori quam Attica fide, intacta invenerunt. Digna quae marmore caedantur!

Guilielmus noster ne ad aliena pabula, tanquam immunis fucus sedeat, rem culinariam lixa curat: interim comites forti animo anchoram tollunt, vela pandunt, altum tenent, oramque legunt, quod Barbara, proficiscentem Anglum quendam, sexum egressa in litus usque lachrymana lugubri ejulatu prosquitur, immisericordi anniculum patri (cui cum corpore animum dederat) Iulum, quem ex eo pepererat, palmasque ad caelum, inter advolventium undarum impetum, dirasque imprecationes ingrato hospiti factas, gemitu, querelisque confecta tollit, dum Britannus tanquam Marpesia cautes firmus, institutum iter persequitur. Quod nostri vento marisque fluxu semper secundis, tertiâ decimâ (ni fallor) perficiunt die, adeo ut nubem non navem conscendisse viderentur, portumque nostrum sani salvique barbarico indumento subeunt, quod ascendentes in continentem cum patrito exultantes commutant, casusque suos popularibus diu desiderati exponunt, et Gulielmus Europaeo cuidam obvius, sordibus et squalore licet obsitus,

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[a]) This refers probably to the galiot *Noord*, which was sent in October 1688 on another search expedition similar to that of the *Centaurus*. At Port Natal it picked up a few more survivors of the *Stavenisse* who had in the meantime found their way there. No mention is made of the cattle which G. says had been left behind. (Molsbergen, iii, 123 ff., esp. pp. 153 ff; Moodie, 441).

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shore, tools, instruments, and every kind of sad relic of shipwreck they gather together and store, with the help of many natives, in the huts which they built to receive themselves, and all their equipment and supplies. The work went busily on under Isbrand who superintended the whole affair, and they launched their vessel in the sea, contrived so skilfully, quickly, and successfully, that it would seem they must have had divine aid in transforming the trees into a cutter. When they had loaded the ship with supplies and provisions of every sort from the neighbouring villages, they embarked. Such of their stores as the ship could not hold they left in their shelter; but the African wheat, that resembles millet, of which I spoke above, they packed in jars in the way I described and buried in the earth. They even left a herd of twenty or more fine oxen grazing on the open plain. A year later our Argonauts were conveyed in a galley to the same place by the order of the Council of our Company, and they found all that they had left behind uninjured and perfect in weight, number and size, as if sacrosanct or dedicated to some deity.[43]) Their possessions could not have been more scrupulously respected by the proverbial Attic good faith. The story ought to be cut in marble!

William, in order not to sit an idle drone at another's feast, turned kitchen-boy and helped with the cooking. Meantime his companions boldly weighed anchor, spread sail, and having gained the high sea, coasted along the shore. As one of the Englishmen set off, a native woman, defying the restrictions of her sex, followed him right down to the shore with piteous tears and lamentations, holding up to the unrelenting father (to whom she had given her heart along with her body) a little one-year-old Iulus, his son; then she raised her arms to heaven, and standing in the rush of the waves, called down curses on the head of the faithless stranger until exhausted with cries and groans. All the time the Englishman held upon his adopted course, firm as a Marpesian rock.[44])

Favoured by wind and wave our men accomplished their voyage, unless I am mistaken, on the thirteenth day. It would seem that they had embarked on a cloud instead of a ship. They sailed into harbour safe and sound, and, disembarking, joyfully exchanged the savage garments in which they were arrayed for European dress, and poured the varied story of their long absence into the ears of their fellows. As for William, he met a certain European and

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[44]) There is no mention of this incident in the available records.

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ab illo invenitur, ejusque ope, tum forte apud Frisiorum Principem, quidam interioris admissionis et gratiâ florens domesticus, fraternae sortis certior factus. Hic rem omnem Patribus Societatis nostrae aperit, qui miserati juvenis vicem, extemplò Praefecto Promontorii Senatuique in mandatis dant, eum terra marique et quacunque perquirant via, et opere maximo operam dent, ut latebricolam indicatum, primâ occasione oblatâ, ipsorum nave depositum et honorifice habitum in Belgium et ad suos dimittant, quos tandem post tot discrimina rerum fortior melliorque adolescens Deo T.O.M. gratus votivam suspendens tabulam, exoptatissimus revisit, voluntatemque de eo bene merito, literis grati animi testibus, abundè remensus.

Haec in exortiva Africae plaga acta sunt, et ne occiduos hujus orae incolas sua laude fraudem, paucula etiam de illis levi penicillo, à capite accersita, summaque tantum secutus fastigia rerum attingam, quo tradam qualiscunque inter Barbaros maximè inconditos, et agreste hoc hominum genus, possit esse virtus.

Patrum C. Societatis nostrae mandato, navis aurea Argo, vulgo *de Goude Buys*, IV nonas Majas MDCLXXXXIII Χριστογόνου e Portu Texel mare subit, et per oceanum Caledonium rectâ pergens, Antonio Baanman Enkhusâ Batavo navis Praefecto, et Jacobo Lepi rationum accepti et expensi scribâ, stipati centum et nonaginta socii, aes triplex circa pectus habentibus, feliciter satis, passisque velis ad Aequatorem usque navigatione secunda perve-huntur, ubi cum malaria variisque morbis luctantes, multi malis suis succumbunt, et occumbunt, aequoreisque piscibus esca facti reliquis comitibus navitisque nil boni praesagiunt, donec fide majora perpessi impendentem portui nostro montem altissimum, cui a similitudine mensae, Tabula nomen, jam quodammodo in portu navigantes errabundi V id. Octob^r lustique prospiciunt, sed renitente vento et nestu in sinum D. Helenae ingratis delati: ubi navem ad

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was recognised by him beneath all his rags and filth; and through the instrumentality of this man, a certain official of great influence in the inner circle of the stadholder of Friesland was informed of his brother's lot. He laid the whole affair before the Council of our Company, who out of pity for the youth's case, forthwith gave orders to the Governor and his Council at the Cape to search for him high and low, by land and sea, and to use their best endeavours that the lost sheep should as soon as possible be put upon one of their ships, treated handsomely, and restored to his people in Holland.[55]) So at long last and after all those adventures, the youth, strengthened in body and soul, and offering grateful thanks to Almighty God, was joyously welcomed by his people. Nor did he omit generously to repay the goodwill of his benefactor by letters expressing his sense of gratitude.[56])

These events were unfolded on the east side of Africa. That the inhabitants of the West may not be robbed of their meed of praise, I shall now lightly sketch a few incidents of their history from memory, touching only on the main points, in order to show that virtue can exist among savages of any sort, even the most rude, and in the midst of this wild race of men.

On the 4th of May, 1663, by the order of the Council of our Company, a ship *The Golden Argo*, commonly called *de Goude Buys*, put out to sea from the port of Texel, and sailing on a straight course through the English Channel, with a Dutchman, Antony Baanman of Enkhuizen, as captain, and James Lepi as purser, and one hundred and ninety hearts of oak for crew, reached the equator after a favourable voyage under full sail without much to set them back. But here they had to struggle with malaria and various other diseases; there were many that fell ill and many that died, and their bodies being cast as food to the fishes augured no good to their companions on that voyage. At length, after incredible hardships, on the 11th of October, the voyagers, now feeling themselves almost in port, joyfully sighted the lofty mountain that overhangs our harbour, called Table Mountain from its shape. But wind and wave resisted them, and they were carried against their will into St. Helena Bay.

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[55]) Middelburgen (III 87) quotes a letter written by Simon van der Stel in June, 1689, to the Chamber of XVII, in which reference is made to a letter from them asking after Chemut, and going on to say that the latter had been found serving as a sailor on board the *Noord*, had conducted himself well, and was being sent back home immediately.

[56]) This sentence suggests that Chemut's benefactor might have been G. himself.

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anchoras collocant, supplicesque ac dimissi ad caelum confugiunt, unde misericordiam Numinis intuentur implorantique, et prope mensem hic frustra morati, animum de optato exitu despondentes, dum omnem planè auxilii spem decollatam vident, lintrem tanquam sacram anchoram in Mare III. id. Novembr dimittunt, in quem septem octove corporis animique viribus praestantiores, caeteris morte aut longiore valetudine consumptis, armati descendunt, et excensione in litus factâ, diu ignari viarum per deserta et feris bellicisque hisesza loca vagantur donec commeatu omni absumpto, et turpissimam famem passi, magnam partem exspirant. Solus Laurentius Matthei F. vulgò Laurens Thijs, faber lignarius moribundus ab Afris, natione magis quam ratione Barbaris, reperitur, qui noctem antecapturi cum semi-mortuo, humeris ipsorum alternatim suscepto, ad mapalia citato cursu properant. Hic inedia propè necatum, primo recenti lacte, mox jusculo ovillo, tandem carne elixa aliisque efficacibus fomentis refocillant: alio Pegasio nuncio nostratium in Saldagniensi portu stationem, de Laurentii casu certiorem faciunt, ubi V. Kal. Janiis benigne à popularibus, post varios casus excipitur: qui adolescentem edocent, navem qua vectus luculentis mercibus et septemdecim arcis, auro argentoque tam rudi quam signato plenis, onustam, rudentibus fractis litori illisam, omnesque ejus socios morbo et dolore consumptos, unum tantum in litore superstitem conspici.

Haec ab exordio detexui, longiusque prolapsus, quam epistolae cancelli patiuntur: plura si de hujus juvenis navisque sorte scire gestis, evolve si placet Mercurii Europaei tomi sexti partem secundam, complectentem sex posteriores menses anni 1695, editam Amstelodami typis Timothei van Hoorn in 4° pag. M. 237 ubi omnia fusius, non meo, sed ni fallor cujusdam praestantissimi auctoris ciancularii stylo exarata patent: parce quaeso longius evagato.

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37) The story of *De Gouden Buys*, as related by its two survivors, Daniel Silleman and Laurens Thijs, was published in pamphlet form, Utrecht, 1706, and is reprinted fully, with annota-

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Here they brought their ship to anchor, and suppliant and downcast turned their thoughts to heaven, whence they looked and prayed for God to aid them. About a month they tarried here without avail, despairing of the escape for which they yearned. At length, seeing that every hope of help came to nothing, on the 11th of November as a last chance they sent off the ship's boat with a crew of seven or eight men of outstanding strength of body and mind, the rest being now dead or wasted with long disease. They took their arms with them, and managing to disembark, for a long time they wandered at random through desert places infested with wild animals and enemies. At length, their food all consumed, after agonies of starvation, almost all expired. Only Laurens, son of Matthew, commonly known as Laurens Thijs, a carpenter, survived to be discovered in a dying state by the Africana, savages in name but not in nature, who in order to anticipate the fall of night carried the dying man in relays on their shoulders and ran with him to their huts. He had almost perished with hunger. But they were able to revive his strength, feeding him first with fresh milk, then with a little mutton broth, and finally with boiled meat, and using other efficacious remedies. Then by a messenger like another winged Pegasus they informed our men stationed at Saldanha Bay about Laurens's plight. Here on the 28th of December, his troubles at an end, he was made welcome by his fellow-countrymen. They informed the young man that the ship on which he had sailed, with its rich merchandise and seventeen coffers full of gold and silver bullion and coin, had slipped its cables and been wrecked upon the shore, and that all his comrades had perished through disease and suffering, one only being to be seen upon the shore alive.[47])

I have told this story from the beginning, and it has been too long a digression for the limits of a letter. If you wish to learn at more length the story of this man and his ship, turn up, if you will, vol. vi, part 2 of the European Mercury, comprising the last six months of 1695. It is published at Amsterdam by Timothy van Hoorn. There on p. 237 you will find the whole story told at greater length, not by me, but by the pen of an anonymous author of great powers, if I may trust my judgment. Forgive the long digression.

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tions, in *Uit ou Reisbeskrywinge* (edited by W. Blommaert and S. P. N. Gie; Cape Town, 1922), pp. 129-69. G's account of the adventures of Thijsz is in the main correct. It will be noticed, however, that he says nothing of Silleman, save that there was another survivor of the wreck.

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000 Si Romani iniquissima censentur lege decimasse legionem, quae infelici marte cum hoste confligerat, quid tibi videbitur: si dixero vix decimum comitem meorum ad Indos suam revisurum patriam, neminemque vestigiis praeeuntium deterreri, omnia licet Indiam advorsum, perpauca retrovorsum videant, dum partim justo severius, et servilem in modum habiti à navium praefectis (quos maximam partem totidem Cerberos et viperei generis fratres diceres) inclementer et acerbe tractati, crebris diuturnis et sub alio sole miserrimis itineribus fracti, mille modis morbisque excarnificati pereunt: partim proni patuloque ore in mare desperati prosiliunt, alii infelicitatum dam(n)atam vitam finituri, mortem occupant, sibimet ipsis violentas inferentes manus: nonnulli armis hostium collato pede cadunt, quidam carnificum dextrâ sinistrè satis in crucem tolluntur: alii patrios ritus exosi, nova molientes ad hostes aut barbaros transfugiunt, sibique iter ad avitos praecludentes, à patrio extorres solo, in alieno noti nimis omnibus, ignoti maximè sibi moriuntur, omnesque suis deplorati, vitam cum morte commutant: en pretium curae, vigilatorumque laborum praemium! en opes! en spes inanes!

Accedit quod a X. Kal. Quint^{is} mdclxxxiv quibus navi Mosâ, secundum cataractas Mosae, septentrionale ingressus mare Indiam petens in hunc usque diem, ad quadraginta naves Croesi divitias ferentes, perditas Societati nostrae numero, quarum aliae partim ponto immoderata tempestate, aut hostium telis mersae, partim incendio conflagratae, aut igniario pulvere accensae, disiliere, nonnullae ab hostibus pyratisve direptae: quaedam incerto, hincque acrius torquente fato, longum desideratae, latent: reliquae in caecas cautes, brevia, litoraque allisae, cadaveribus mercibusque pretiosissimis, totius mundi oram illustrarunt: et cum naves merito Deorum templa deberent esse, quia

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If that is thought to be a very harsh law of the Romans in accordance with which they killed every tenth man in a legion that had been beaten in battle, what will you say if I tell you that scarcely one of those who voyaged with me to India will see their native land again? Yet none is deterred by the footprints of his predecessors, although all are turned towards India, and very few in the other direction. For some perish through unduly harsh treatment, being kept like slaves by the ships' captains (who for the most part are so many Cerberuses or off-spring of the dragon's teeth), being roughly and cruelly handled, broken by frequent, long, gruelling voyages under a foreign sun, and generally tortured in a thousand ways and by a thousand diseases; others in their despair leap head first and open-mouthed into the sea; others, resolved to end a life condemned to suffering, hasten their end by laying violent hands upon themselves; some fall in close combat at the hands of the enemy, some the dexterous hand of the executioner exalts to a sinister death upon the cross; yet others, filled with loathing of their ancestral religion, follow strange courses, deserting to the enemy or to the natives, and, cutting off all hope of a return to the ways of their forebears, exiles from the land of their birth, on a foreign soil, known but too well to all the world, and most unknown to themselves, they meet their end; deplored by relatives and friends, they chose death instead of life. This is the return for the care spent upon them, the reward for watching and toil! This is the wealth they gain! This is the realisation of their fond hopes!

To this must be added that from the 22nd of June 1684, when on the good ship Meuse I sailed down the Meuse and entered the northern sea on my voyage to India, up to the present day some forty ships, carrying the riches of Croesus, have been lost by our Company, of which some have been sunk by heavy seas or the fire of the enemy, some have been burned by fire or blown up by gunpowder, some have been plundered by the enemy or by pirates; there are some, long missing, which an uncertain and therefore more torturing fate has overtaken; the rest have been dashed on hidden reefs, on shallows, and on shores, and have strewn the coasts of the whole world with corpses and precious merchandise.

Furthermore ships should properly be temples, because the sailors must struggle with all the elements, and are never separated from shipwreck by more than three or four finger-lengths, if the ship be built of the stoutest pine; yet all the crew, with the exception of a few good men, seem bent upon rushing to destruction; they change their climate and their merchandise, but not their hearts.

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000 nautis cum omnibus elementis luctandum, semperque sint digitis à naufragio remoti tribus, aut quatuor, si sit latissima taeda, tamen omnes, paucis bonis exceptis, ad interitum fermè ruere, et caelum mercesque non animum mutasse videri: hinc meo quidem animo patres malint domi liberos suos, carbonibus assidentes leto malo emori, spe verae licet serae poenitentiae, jacturam animae non facturos, quam eos in spem opibus sine fine parandis, iisque apud Indos per omne fas et nefas corradendis sustulisse, sciantque uno omnium maritimorum hominum sensu liquidò constare, quemcunque parricidam supra meritum plecti, se navigationi in Indiam et acerbis horum hominum injuriis committens: quotquot enim facinorosi et flagriones terrestri itinere, vel secundo Scaldi, Mosâ, Vahali, Rheno, Fossâ Drusiana, Amasi, aliisque viis ad Batavos perfugiunt, et quotquot furciferi per Scalas campenses penè gemonias dixissem, se in urbium ocellum Foederati non solum Belgii, sed merito totius mundi conjiciunt, maximam partem sub signis nostrae Societatis militaturos scias, et virtutis esse domare quod cuncti pavent, et quod omnem spem bonam ejurasse videtur.

Adde quaecunque de his Hellyn Anglus, Aquitanus Tavernier, cum Helveto Stoupa scripsere, olim mihi aliaque visa, sed quantula haec quae ipse expertus, meoque malo damnoque didici, suo tempore locoque in apricum proferenda. Redeat illuc unde deflexit calamus.

Solum adespotum, derelictum, possessore vacuum vel rude quod quis colendum sibi eligit, cedit occupanti, priorque tempore etiam jure potior in Magosis habetur, fructusque innatos colonus, non in commune nec in medium, sed sibi soli vindicat, domumque suam deportat, fundumque effoetum, ingratum, aut aliâ quacunque de causâ repudians, aggreditur alium, demigrat, solumque vertit quotienscunque libet, modo imperii et natalis soli margines non egrediatur, nefas enim est aliò habitatum ire, et finitimi populi jurisdictioni lares transfugos submittere.

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Wherefore in my opinion fathers would do well to let their sons sit over the coals at home until they die an evil death, with the chance of saving their souls by a true though late repentance, rather than excite them to the hope of immense wealth to be raked together in India by all means fair and foul; they should know that it is fairly agreed by the common consent of all sea-faring men, that any murderer who signs on for the voyage to India under the savage villainy of these men, has received more than his due of punishment. For all the criminals and rascals who flee into Holland by land, or down the Scheldt, the Maas, the Waal, the Rhine, the Canal of Drusus, the Ems, or any other way, all the gaol-birds who escape hanging and hurl themselves into what is rightly known as the most delightful city* not only of the United Netherlands, but of the whole world—most of these, you must know, intend to serve under the flag of our Company. Their virtue is to triumph over the restraints all other men obey; no place is left in their breasts for any honest hope(?). 600

You may supplement this with the observations of the English writer Hellyn, the Aquitanian Tavernier, and the Swiss Stoupa, whose works I saw long ago.[55]) The little that I myself have been through and have learned to my misfortune and loss will be brought to light in the proper time and place. But I must return from my digression.

Among the Magosi if a man takes for cultivation a piece of ground that is ownerless, abandoned, unoccupied, or that has never been broken, it passes into his possession. First in time is first in law. The husbandman does not bring the produce into the common stock, but claims it for his own and carries it to his home. If his farm becomes exhausted, or gives a poor return, or if he dislikes it for any other reason, he goes to another, and changes his dwelling, shifting his ground as often as he likes provided that he does not overpass the limits of his native soil; for it is forbidden to go and live elsewhere, to transfer one's house and home so as to fall under the jurisdiction of a neighbouring people. 425 241 166

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* Amsterdam (van Oordt).

[55]) The reference is to Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie. Containing the Horographie and Historie of the whole world.* London 1652; and *les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier . . . en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes,* Paris 1676. I have been unable to identify Stoupa; there is no author of this name listed in the British Museum catalogue.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

000 Omnes unius tribus agri compascui, et saepius dissidiorum bellique cum vicinis causa sunt, cum homines à natura ita comparati sint ut putent semper alterius pecus grandius uber habere, hincque certaminum lachrymae.

In confesso est ipsos nil habere antiquius sanctiusve, quam arctum hospitiis solvere animum et peregrinos convivasque tecto, hunc in finem singulis pagis erecto, omnique comitate et commeatu publicitus excipere, et cum asymbolis hilariter helluari, et ad crepusculum usque anancaeis poculis certare: quod testantur liquidò Batavi nave Stavenisse novissimè vecti, centum et amplius milliarium intervallo juxta litus vagè et quaquaversum dispersi, qui dum ultrò citòque commeantes, et sursum deorsum officiosa cursitatione se mutuò invisunt, ab Afris genialiter curatissimèque excepti detinentur, festumque agere adventu suo, et unum alterumque diem cum ipsis epulari coguntur, praetextentibus barbaris mox coeli inclementiam, mox non vadosa ob recentem nimbum flumina, aliaque effugia allegantes, hunc duntaxat in finem ficta, quo peregrinantes distineant, et diutius consortione alloquioque horum advenarum gaudeant fruanturque: hac virtute sane, intra paucas memorandâ, multos Europaeos hic nobiscum degentes, longis parasangis praevertunt, utinamque cives nostri hospitalitat[i]s sacra aemulentur, et à barbaris discant hospitii jura nunquam fallere, minusque inhumano agrestique esse ingenio, aequabilius me hercule atque constantius se res nostrae haberent, nam violare fidem cum Barbaris turpe, tum Christum profitentibus foedissimum est.

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423 166 [59]) The "Stavenisse" crew said of Xhosa land tenure: "The land is common; everyone depastures his cattle and cultivates his gardens where he pleases. He is also free to shift his dwelling from one spot to another, provided that he remains within the bounds of the kingdom" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Although not literally correct this observation shows a fair understanding of the unstable character of Xhosa land holdings. G's additional details are also reasonably accurate.

574 609 [60]) The *Stavenisse* crew all comment favourably upon their reception and treatment by the natives. "They found the country

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX7

All the lands of one tribe are for common pasturage.[59] From this cause frequently arise domestic quarrels and wars with their neighbours. Human nature is so fashioned that men always think the flock of the next man to be more prosperous. Hence disputes and tears. 423

It is admitted by all that the Hottentots hold no obligation more sacred than that of comforting a distressed soul by hospitality. Strangers and visitors are entertained at the public expense, in a hall erected in each district for this purpose, with every courtesy and attention; they partake of joyous banquets scot free, vying with their hosts till the fall of night in swallowing brimming goblets at a draught. Clear proof of this is afforded by the recent case of the crew of the Dutch ship Stavenisse. Scattered here and there at intervals on the land near the coast over an area of a hundred miles or more, they went hither and thither, up and down, busily engaged in a round of mutual visitings; all the time they were cordially and attentively welcomed and entertained by the Hottentots, who made holiday on their arrival, compelled them to stay with them a day or two, alleging at one time that the weather was bad, at another that the rivers were impassable by reason of the late rains, inventing one excuse after another in order to detain their guests and be the longer able to enjoy the society and conversation of their visitors.[60] In this very important virtue they are miles ahead of many Europeans who live here with us. I only wish that our citizens would rival them in their respect for strangers, and learn from the natives never to break the laws of hospitality and to rid themselves of their inhuman and savage temper. Things would go much more smoothly and steadily with us, if this lesson could be learned. And God knows, if it is a disgrace for a native to break faith, it is an abomination for those who profess the name of Christ. 574 609 [485]

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very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong, and ingenious"; "they are generally kind, compassionate, and hospitable"; "one may travel 200 or 300 miles through the country, without any cause of fear from men . . . neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also"; "they were then obliged for some days to beg their food in the kraals or villages of the Magose Africans, until at length they were distributed in the surrounding villages or neighbourhood, and there very well treated" (Moodie, 417, 427, 431, 430). The "house of entertainment" to which reference is made is probably the visitors' hut which most big kraals possess. G's description, as usual, is highly coloured. 574 609 [485]

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FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

080 Morbi epidemici inter Cisalpinos Afros subinde grassantes sunt gramia, gravedo, rheuma, et fortè alii mihi ignoti, vereorque ne foedam impetiginem venereamque luem à nostratibus contraxerint.

Etiam atque etiam illis suasor fui, lectulos ilignis pedibus, loris tanquam stramine tectos, pellibusque perstratos sibi conservandae curandaeque valetudini conficerent, sed surdis narrata fabula, dum videntes probantesque meliora tamen deteriora sequuntur: tantae molis est! ab inveterato, damnoso damnatoque errore, perversaque consuetudine terrae filios divellere.

Fatidicus seu flamen sacrificium facturus cote clunaculum subigit, vaccamque tribus quatuorve passibus ab ostiolo tugurioli, in quo aeger decumbit, stantem pedibusque revinctam, capite Septentrioni obversam levi pugno, laterique sinistro impacto, victimarius sternit: cadentique in dextrum, inque virides substratos ramulos, illico particulam cutis palmae magnitudine et quantam laevâ capit, dextra prope umbilicum exscindit, eamque sine mora dextro decumbentis carpo alligat, mox pergit vivam deglubere, evisceratamque mugientem audivi, exenteraeque et viventis ilia malè carbonibus tosta, devorantes Afros vidi: hinc pauxillo sanguine, quem ollâ extari, capeduncula, aut testudinis putamine excepit, aegri faciem diluit, et felle victimae libans, ejus folliculum tecto infirmi imponit.

Testor longe segnius irritasse animum meum, quaecunque de ritu sacrificandi veterum tam lapidibus, quam aeri insculptaque caelataque, aut in tabulis, aulaeis, tapetiis, membranis, libris chartave picta unquam vidi, quam hic nostrorum Barbarorum sacrificalis et for(di)cidiorum apparatus, oculis meis subjectus.

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164 *1) The description which follows of diseases and their treatment refers entirely to the Cape Hottentots, and is much fuller than any given by earlier writers It appears in the main to be fairly accurate, although some of the details mentioned cannot be confirmed from other sources.

757 *2) Even among the modern Hottentots the skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain, and poultices are also made of the entrails of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 231 412-3). The ordinary Hottentot method of slaughter is well

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FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.[51] A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us.

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognized as such.

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.[52] His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house.

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books.

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 124).

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Cape Hottentot

680 Si conjectare permittitur, non alia de causa ipsos aegri collo omentum circumdare, eumque axungia oblinire dicerem, quam ut iis spirituum vitalium nimias exhalationes sistant, porosque corporis obturando, frigus externum arceant, caloremque nativum foveant.

Gramina pasta in ventriculo vel panticibus aut intestinis victimae inventa excretaque, quidam simul cum carne discocta, in deliciis habent: inelegantibus sanè! alii ea prae foribus decumbentis abjiciunt, quorum medullâ igne liquefactâ, praesentissimo remedio, aegrum perunguunt, eumque frequentissimè abstinentiâ diaeteticisque, praecipue lacte vaccino, cum manipulo piperis aliisque aromatibus simul elixis egelidisque decumbenti propinatis, sanant.

Frequentissimè aegro tam prono quàm supino immejunt, nec hujus faciem urinâ illotam patiuntur, nec desunt qui decumbenti lotium unius viri exceptum conchâ, aut testudinis putamine aliove vase, ut redditum admixto cujusdam herbae pulvisculo propinent: feminarum lotium aspernantur, ipsaeque mulieres illud sibi noxium censent: sed quandoque viri, aegrotam clunibus insedentem nudamque cruribus, à genubus ad pedes usque commingunt.

Ubi femina decumbit, recentia boum excrementa, admixtâ aquâ ad ignem confervescere in olla faciunt, quae sedenti in scrobe, cruribus aegrae tepefacta, prospero subinde successu inguinibus tenus affundunt, adjuvante (meâ sententiâ) plurimum naturâ, sui semper conservatrice.

Scarificationem seu incisionem in cute transversam, ad digiti longitudinem, praecipuè in pectore lateribusque, satis superque spissam, morbo laborantibus adhibent, et nonnunquam cauteria.

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757 [43]) Although not all the details of this account can be confirmed from other writers, there is evidence enough to substantiate the use of urine by the early Hottentots in their medical treatments. Schreyer, e.g., gives a valuable first-hand observation to this effect. He was travelling inland with a party of soldiers, who had with them some Hottentots as guides. One of the latter had a swollen testicle which pained him so much that he could hardly move. "The sun was going down, when they made a small fire, which none of us might approach, and to ensure this they had kindled a separate fire for us. They seated themselves

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If I may be allowed a conjecture, I should say that the reason of their hanging the entrails round the neck of the patient and anointing him with fat is to check the excessive exhalation of the vital spirits, and, by closing the pores of the body, to keep out external cold and foster the native heat.

The pasture grass found in the stomach or bowels of the victim, and the excreta, are cooked by some together with the flesh and looked upon as a great treat: not a very refined one to be sure! Others fling these things before the sick man's door, and when the marrow has been extracted from them by the heat of the fire, they anoint the sick man with it, a very powerful remedy. They treat the patient also by fasting and dieting. A favourite diet is cow's milk boiled with a handful of pepper and other aromatic herbs, and given to the patient cold.

A very frequent remedy is to turn the patient on his back and on his front and make water on him. They do not allow even his face to escape a bath of urine. Some even take, in a sea-shell or tortoise-shell or some other vessel, the amount of water discharged by one man, mix it with a powder from a certain plant, and administer it to the sick man. They do not attach any healing property to the water of women; the women themselves think it injurious to them. But sometimes a sick woman is made to sit upon her haunches with her legs bare, while the men make water upon her from the knees to the feet.[83])

When a woman is ill, they take fresh cow dung, mix it with water, and heat it on the fire; the woman is put to sit in a trench, and the warm water is dashed over her legs up to the waist. The patient sometimes recovers, but in my opinion most of the credit is due to Nature which always strives to preserve itself.

As a cure for disease they also employ scarification or criss-cross incisions in the skin of about a finger's length, especially on the chest and sides. The cuts are made very close to one another. Sometimes also they try cautery.

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in a circle round their fire. The 'doctor,' after addressing himself to the sun with much gesticulation and talk, went up to the patient, who was lying completely naked on the ground, and began to make water all over him, from the head down all over the body, until his flow had ceased; the other Hottentots, 7 or 8 in number, then faithfully followed his example. The patient, after being lustily bathed and washed in this way, went to sleep in his kaross, and the following day was again fit enough to accompany us" (*op. cit.*, 31-2). Kolb also gives a good deal of attention to this mode of treatment (*op. cit.*, 566 ff.).

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Cape Hottentot

000 Humorum acrimoniam, inflationes inflammationesque seu phlegmone(s), aliaque tubera, decumbentibus aeque feliciter ac nostrates cucurbitulis, ore exugunt: hoc modo Afram vix bilustri cujusdam Europaei filiolae verendis exsuxisse calculum phaseoli magnitudine, ex illius parentibus accipio.

Convalescenti salubribus jusculis pharmacisque corroborato, sacerdos sive haruspex omnem comam novaculâ abradit, postea illum viridibus foliis, nostratium salicis affinibus, sed minoribus, cutem corticemque malorum redolentibus, totum ab unguiculo ad capillum summum perfricat, mox calidâ aquâ, ultimoque persanatum frigidâ abluit: porrò una alterave ove, et si res pecuaria restituto sanitati ampla est, etiam bove aliove armento aut jumento ejus saluti perlitat, quem adipe hostiae delibutum, perspersumque pulvisculis herbae bochu, omentoque bestiae intorto, ejusque collo amuleti loco circumjecto, amictuque pinguedine inuncto, et bochu pulvere consperso sanum salvumque convivatorem dimittit, et in sostrum lautè soteriis cum amicis excipitur. Quae sit salutifera, quaeque sit herba nocens, earundemque vim apprimè norunt: recordor eos indicasse mihi florem, narrantes illo e terra pullulante, mulieres suas quotannis mense Septembri aliquot diebus, altum sopitas, gravique somno pressas, et quasi torpore obductas, veternosas catalepsi laborantes in multum lucem stertere. Tempestatum significatus post futuros ante pronunciant, nec siderum motus stellarumque discursum planè ignorare videntur, quod exemplo infra colligendum dabo.

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751 752 755 s4) Scarification (followed by rubbing various ingredients into the cuts, i.e. a form of inoculation) and cupping are still practised among the modern Hottentots (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 407, 409 ff.) The sucking to which G. refers is nowadays used chiefly in case of snakebite and similar injuries, to remove the poison, and also in such cases where the disease is attributed to the introduction by wizards and evil spirits of foreign substances into the patient's body. The magician massages the part affected and then sucks hard at it, to produce at last triumphantly from his mouth the harmful substances which he claims to have extracted in this way from the body of the patient (Schapera, 390).

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Cape Hottentot
Nama

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[44]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean.

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[45])

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[46]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below.

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[44]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, ii, 77-9; *cf.* Schapera, 406-7, 256 ff.).

[45]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

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000 Vulnus herbarum succo per syphonem ei immisso, aut earundem foliis, aut bulborum quorundam tunicis, etiam insulso butyro seboque obligatum curant, sauciique urinâ ferventi, et in dimidiam sui partem decoctâ abluunt; si quem venenatum animal pupugit vel momordit, aut si quis virulentis armis laesus, protinus ejus crus, pedem aut brachium supra subtusque plagam vincturâ, morâ, fasciâ, aut loris arctissimè sistendae sanguinis circulationi, et ne virus per venas latius serpat constringunt, variisque incisionibus cultro aut spiculo circum vulnus rectâ descendenti non transversâ linea per cutem factis, continuò vir aut mulier accurrit, oreque plagae admoto, virus omne exsugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope medica praestantius? quid hac fide majus? quid hoc alexipharmaco salubrius?

Cupido sciendi confectionem Butyri dicam. Utrem lanâ introrsum versâ lacte propemodum complent, loroque ejus orificium constringunt, quem dextrâ laevaque, et utraque extremitate sublatum, ultrà citràque divaricatis cruribus stantes commovent, quassant et concutiunt, donec cremor in butyrum congelatus concretusque sit.

Si forte contingit contra haec remedia malum ingravescere, illico insectantur viperam, anguem aut serpentem qualemcunque obvium, quem necatum apud saucium ferunt, apertoque efractoque ejus ore, omne virus ei adimunt, quod duabus vesiculis quantum vel avellana caperet, ovi albumini assimile, in utraque maxilla juxta dentes situm, qui morsu infixi hominum bestiarumve corpori, per foramen, quo vicinum eis virus receperunt, concavi illud vulneri inspirant: has vesiculas cum aliquot scorpionibus aliisque toxicis simul mistas et elixas cum vaccino lacte, tanquam sacram anchoram aegro pro potione medica dant, adhibentes malo huic nodo malum cuneum, saepiusque hoc clavo clavum feliciter pellunt! ultimoque serpentem totum quantum candentibus carbonibus to(s)tum in pulvisculum lapidibus commolunt, quo saucii corpus, praecipuè vulnera perfricant, hocque medicamentum usu exploratissimum.

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752 [87]) cf. Ten Rhyne's description, p. 149 f. above.

234 [88]) See above, p. 129.

752 825 278 [89]) The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

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They treat wounds by introducing into them through a pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the leaves of plants or the coats of certain bulbs, using also unsalted butter and lard. They also wash the wound with the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal, or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading along the veins; then they make various incisions in the skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not across but in descending straight lines; then immediately a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and sucks all the poison out[87]). O noble deed! What could be better than this medical aid? Where shall we find greater loyalty? What more effective antidote exists?

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If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart, and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been massed and hardened into butter[88]).

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If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in them the poison they draw from the glands nearby. It is these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons, boil in cow's milk, and administer to the sick man as a last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the toughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded man, especially the wounds[89]). Experience has shown them the great worth of this remedy.

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nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 409). G's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough.

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Cape Hottentot

Animi vitio laborantem, flagitiosum, et novissima meritum exempla, circumrugienti leoni, hominibus pecorique infesto, pellibus probè infibulatum, teloque armatum, coercendis nebulonis sceleribus, tanquam faeneum hominem periculo objiciunt, advolantibus subsidio omnibus, victoremque ovatu salutant, et hoc claro egregioque facinore in integrum restituto, abrogatis legibus, criminibusque abolitis, salilio puriori, omniumque sententiis atramento sutorio absoluto cuncti gratulantur: nec de nihilo, cum leo semel carne humana pastus, ut delicantissimam omnibus praefert. Qui adhaec in pretio habet carnem caninam, visus enim est devorasse canem, ejusdemque caput postridie pro repotiis edere maluisse, quod in propinquo ante decipulam abjectum erat, quam vervecem vivum duobus inde passibus frutici alligatum dilacerare, hunc dum intactum transit, glandibusque plumbeis trajectus cadit. Quem fecunditate sua vastaturum regionem liquet, nisi conquirens sibi foetuique praedam, rediens à venatione, saepe cubile scymnis vacuum inveniret, qui ferocia aut famis instinctu latius à lustro vagantes, hominibus praeda fiunt, aut inediâ pereunt, dum catuliens leaena vel leo nostratium armis aut decipulo necatur. Huc accedit quod leones prurientem catervatim sequentes leaenam, venereo aestu saevientes se mutuo dentibus unguibusque dilacerant.

Leo à captura rediens ventriculum carnibus plenum coram pullis vomitu exonerat, pari modo leaena frustis esculentis crudis catulos alit, iisdemque insuper ubera praebit.

Qui leonem quantumlibet necat aut capit, ei ex publico aerario per aediles sedecim nummi argenti cum nummi bessi, vulgo R. D. in βραβεῖον numerantur, decem si ejus dextra aut industria pardus, tres ubi lupus ceciderit, addendis acuendisque animis praemio dantur. Quo nonnulli nimium accensi suo cum damno, vitaeque jacturâ discunt, quam asper leo tactu, et quam periculosi morientium animalium ungues morsusque sunt.

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[70]) This opportunity of rehabilitating himself may conceivably have been offered to one or two criminals known to G., but it is certainly not the normal Hottentot method of administering justice, even as described by the earliest writers. Dapper's account (see above, p. 65 ff.) has far more truth in it.

[71]) As early as 1656 the Council at the Cape, in consequence of the great damage caused by wild animals, had decided to

A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character[70]). And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver nummi, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.[71]) The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

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offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 6 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

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000 Divitiae Afris nostris palmariae, arma, et pecus sunt. Fixas sedes nullas habent, migrare per arva illis mos, atque errantes circumportare penates, bubis citatis velocissimisque dorso quaecunque onera, etiam homines et clitellas portantibus, et quo prata et pascua gregem, buceraque secia vocant, huc cum mapalibus suis sparsi, vagantesque circumcelliones ire, pecusque quoad contenebrascit pascere, illudque septis (ut supra dixi) nocte continere, alternantes brachia pedesque plausu, et ducere choros lasciviore corporis motu imminente luna, intempestâ concubiaque nocte assolent.

Morbo et aetate confectum, solum mutantes in tuguriolo probè clauso, instructum commeatu, aquâ et igne, pro silicern(i)o, singulari immanitate depositum, omnique auxilio destitutum, Barbarorum barbarissimi nobis vicini, nullo sexus aut consanguinitatis respectu, a lege alimentaria alienissimi derelinquunt.

Feminae ex incurvatis arcuatisque et in terram depactis tigillis crebrisque axiculis, transversè sibi invicem vimine connexis, orbiculatum conversum, testudineumque, et circiter quinque pedes altum, ejusque diametro duodenos non excedente, tuguriolum cum bicubitali ostiolo orienti obverso aedificant, illudque craticulis seu mattis, storeisve ex junco hibisco scirpove aff[r]abrè textis, quandoque etiam pellibus, contra caeli inclementiam aestuantesque ventos contegunt, et hoc tectum totam familiam, teneroque agnellos, adasias cum vitulis excipit, in cujus centro omnibus fovendis cibisque praeparandis foculus perennis lucet, ibique ut plurimum libero corde confabulantur, tempusque cacchinis et cavillationibus Abarides, concordiâ conjunctissimi terunt: En lepidum gynaeceum!

Hae etiam figlina sua vasa dextrè satis confiant, ex fusili argillâ, quam effossam domum deportant, eamque in partes jugiandium magnitudine sectam, pellique inspersam, aspersamque subinde quantulacunque aquiculâ, ne nimium arescat, in biduum aut triduum insolant, hinc depetitiam in cylindros, botellorum instar, ulnae magnitudine singulos, redigunt: primumque in gyros, turbinemque inflectunt

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888 754 [77]) This custom of abandoning elderly people to their fate was still being practised by the Hottentots in the middle of last century (see authorities quoted by Schapera, op. cit., 258). Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not

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The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[73]

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (Tunné-//Goams, 56, 74).

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000 fundo aut basi ollae destinatos: hinc pari modo testam profundam latamque ex arbitrio et proportionis norma construunt, eamque digitorum et conchae marinae ope, introrsum et extrorsum perpolitam laevigatamque, rubro colore, (minio subsimili) quaquaversum illinunt, et sub eodem tecto ubi elaborata, pelle aut storeis in diem unum alterumve probè coopertam, ne nimio aëre aut vento, justo citius siccata, rimas agat aut fatiscat, relinquunt: denique siccâ aridâque bucerdâ repletam, luculento igni ansatam imponunt, coctaque in varios usus apta.

Adhaec calathos, canistros, ficellasve ex hibisco consolidatas hauriendae aquae, et continendo cuivis liquori, magnitudine et forma nostratium situlorum, nusquam perfluentes, solertissimi texunt, interiorem plagam inhabitantes, et in occidua Europaei nassas et retia viderunt.

Uterque sexus verenda melotâ aut aliâ quavis pelle tegit: capilli variis anadematibus, crepundiisque intermixtis conchulis, cochleis, plurimisque maris ejectamentis consperai, auresque crotaliis graves, et nonnunquam in vertice virorum, veluti militis galeati pinna, leporis cauda eminet: et quotiescunque ovem aliudve animal mactant, ejus felle se illinunt, folliculumque capillitio innectunt, atque felle bestiae pro salute aegri caesae, prolibant, folliculum verò tugurioli tecto, in quo aeger decumbit, superstitiosi, ut dixi, imponunt.

Ex collo, auribus, et femure catellos, astragalos, crotalia, fila, lineas, funiculosve coraliis globulisque Cypreis, eburneis, ferreis vitreisque consertos feminae pendentes habent, in digitis varios condulos, et in utroque carpo fermè eadem cimelia.

Viri caudam pardalis, vulpis, felisve odorariae, aliorumve animalium bacillo superinductam, ad cubiti longitudinem, ut plurimum dextrâ euntes sedentesve tenent, quâ gramosi sudantesque, vicé pannulei aut sudarii, se abstergunt: iidem coriaceam fasciam, corrigiam seu cingulum, duos aut tres digitos latum, aliquotque ulnas longum, nudis femoribus circumligant, et prope podicem nodo constringunt, propendentibus utrimque ejus extremitatibus semiulnae longitudine, et caudarum similitudine inter clunes.

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323 [73]) This account of potmaking by the Hottentots is much more detailed than any previous mention, and is on the whole an accurate description of a process still employed by some natives of S. Africa.

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length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[73]) 323

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture). 285 415

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[74]) Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is. 29 30 755 782

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures. 301

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell. 293 291

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[73]) The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

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500 Hoc instructu nitent mares, hoc cultu mundoque mulièbri uxores et puellae lemniscatae et semi-nudae, variisque pigmentis adornatae et coll[in]itae superbiunt, quae cum sibi in Magosis obviam fiunt, mutuo amplexu et osculo, testantes gaudia vultu, alia aliam junctis manibus amicissimè salutat, unde gentium? quo tendat? quomodo valeat? quid novi ferat regio? quasque cantilenas et choreas novi moris didicerit? blandiloqua, fur et mendax invicem percontatur.

Pedes soleis coriaceis sandalorum vice, veterum Romanorum more cisalpini vinciunt viri: Feminae non nisi in lumecto spinetisque, leonibus aliisque feris impervîis, caeterum pedibus mirae brevitatis, semper nudae et discalciatae: hae soleae, dum fames eos in desertissimis locis et procul à mapalibus deprehendit, silice contusae, igneque tostae, novissimus ipsis pastus.

A mare et femina simul terrâ genitis, quidam genus dicunt; alii constanti majorum traditione et Judaeorum Christianorumque scriptis magis consentaneâ, viro ejusve uxori una pariterque per fenestram olim in terram escendentibus originem suam in Magosis adscribunt, et in hoc conveniunt omnes, quod ab his primis parentibus, agriculturam, fruges terrae, baccasque condere, mulgere pecus, cervisiam et panem coquere, didicerunt: tincta sensu verba!

Victus et amictus illis hirtus, hispidus et munditiis carens: humi cibum per feminas paratum, lotis manibus, somnumque capiunt: eadem illa pellis, quae ipsos de die texit, benignâ vicissitudine nocte ipsis vicem cervicalis, culcitrae, straguli, et conopei supplet.

Citimi proximè nos aderrantes, quique montibus superfusi vecticulariam vitam, avidamque abactores agunt, desertaque et humano cultu vacua sequuntur, nullis adstrictos disciplinis, nullis ferè moribus neque lege, nec cujusquam imperio regi. Pacis artium et civilis habitus rudissimos, opicos

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576 [78]) The description of Khosa greeting customs is, as usual with
521 G., taken almost verbatim from the reports of the "Stavenisse" crew. Cf. Molsbergen, iii, 68: "If the women have not seen each other for 5 or 6 days, they embrace and kiss, each asking the other about her health; and whenever they meet they greet each

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I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[73])

301 302 S 576 521

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

H 291 H 262

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[74]) There is a gleam of sense in their words.

S H 773

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

H 264 513

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

S 576 521

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horridioresque transalpinis, et qui introrsum degunt, non inficior. Hi quippe addictius regnantur, suoque regulo cum vitae et necis, jurisque dicendi potestate armato gaudent, quem summa veneratione prosequuntur, ejusdemque caritate flagrant: qui jura subditis de plano, sine judiciorum litiumque anfractu, parte utraque auditâ, ex aequo et bono reddit, ejusque decreto stant, et imperio, legibus institutisque cordati viri, nullâ parendi morâ, nemine obstrepente, tanquam numini, ad amussim obtemperant. Ex idoneo auctore habeo, quod ejus pedibus quum tugurio, veluti palatio degreditur, seque in publico conspici patitur, mattas stragulasque in magnificentiam substernant.

Si quis filius familias à patre acerbè vapulasse, seque ad sanguinem usque caesum queritur: causa cognita, convictus vaccam districtus calidiorque pater, spectatae integritatis judici, aequabilitatem juris exercenti, multam pendit: qui ubi dijudicandae controversiae, fortè nimium intricatae et obscuritate involutae, imparem se censet, ingenii sui viribus diffisus, concilio finitimarum gentium regulorum convocato, conciliandi causa considet, dicamque Princeps apolectis juxta secum ventilandam decidendamque exhibet: quorum calculo, pluriumque suffragio, partes tanquam magno justitiae et indulgentiae in subditos (semper fermè regentibus similes) documento, acquiescunt: hincque obsequium in Principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus, praecipuè cum subditorum gratia et leges aequantur.

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[76]) "They deduce their origin," said the *Stavenisse* crew, "from a certain man and woman, who grew up together out of the earth and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer" (Molsbergen, iii, 62; Moodie, 431). A somewhat similar story is found among the Zulu and Tswana tribes even now. I do not know the other version, according to which the ancestors of man descended out of the sky.

[77]) This refers of course to the Bushmen (Sonquas), and not to the Hottentots.

[78]) Some details in the following passages are based upon the written records of the *Stavenisse* crew; but a good deal has been added, either from oral information or from G.'s own idea of what is fitting.

[79]) The *Stavenisse* record merely says: "They are obliged to submit their disputes to the King, who, after hearing the parties,

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command of any chief.[77]) They have no skill in the arts of peace or civil society, and are, I admit, barbarous fellows, and much wilder than those on the other side of the mountains and in the interior. But these latter are under much stricter rule;[78]) they rejoice to acknowledge a chief armed with the power of life and death, and of administering justice; they follow him with the deepest veneration and are passionately loyal to him. He deals out simple justice to his subjects, without tortuous pleas and judgments, but after hearing both sides, and on a fair and equitable basis. They abide by his decree, and likewise men yield exact obedience to their chief, their laws and their institutions, without reluctance or demur, as if they recognized a divine authority in them.[79]) I have it on sufficient evidence that when he emerges from his kraal, as from a palace, and allows himself to be seen in public, they strew rugs and mats before his feet to do him reverence.

Suppose a son complains that he has been cruelly beaten by his father,[80]) and that the cuts have drawn blood: the case is tried, and the stern hot-tempered father, if condemned, pays a cow as a fine to a judge of proved integrity administering even justice. But suppose the chief has been called upon to decide an intricate and obscure dispute to which he feels himself unequal, deeming it too difficult for his powers of judgment, he then calls a council of the heads of the neighbouring tribes, sits with them in conference on the case, entrusting to this select body the task of discussing with him and pronouncing upon the issue involved. A majority vote of this bench of judges is acquiesced in by the disputants who look upon the procedure as a great proof of justice and goodwill to his subjects on the part of the chief. Subjects do, as a rule, resemble their rulers. The result is willing obedience to their chief and a wish to rival him which is more powerful than fear of legal punishment. This is the more so since there is no respect of persons and the laws are fairly administered.

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gives sentence on the spot, to which all parties submit without a murmur" (Molsbergen, iii, 66; Moodie, 431).

80) G.'s tendency to embellish his raw material is well illustrated in this paragraph. The *Stapenisse* record is worded as follows: "When a father beats his son so as to draw blood, and complaint is made to the king, he must pay the king a cow, as a fine. Should the matter in dispute be of great importance, when he cannot rely upon his own judgment, he refers the parties to an older king in his neighbourhood" (Molsbergen and Moodie, *locc. cit.*). The whole account of Xhosa legal procedure is, generally speaking, accurate enough in outline.

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000 Seria seu publicè seu privatim tractantes, alto silentio, arrectisque auribus quisque gravitatem asseverans non adstat sed assidet, et alter alteri nunquam refragatur, obrogatve, aut sermonem obloquendo intercipit, nec voce mox demissiore, mox intentiore contendit, aut verba magno cursu convolvit, sed semper aequabili et tempore praefinito clementerque disputat: magna eis capitis reverentia cani, pro quo juniores viâ cedunt, cui honorificè consurgunt, quodque semper consulunt.

Hunc Regulum vitâ defunctum, cirris detonsis, galeris, cudonibus calyptrisque in vicinum amnem aut torrentem maeroris testimonio abjectis, cum conjugibus et liberis vero desiderio, duodenis mensibus, inoperto capite et barba rasa cunctus populus luget: quorum nullus toto illo vertente anno vel minimo butyro sebove se illinere, nec primo luctus mense schisto lacte vesci audet, solo pane et carne ut potest se sustentans.

Defunctum per ostiolum quod (ut dixi) orientem fermè semper respicit, efferre ipsis nefas, sed fracto ei ex opposito foramine, crati pro sandapila impositum, tanquam per posticam τετράφορα subinde etiam plures, viribus conspicui vespillones, non humeris sed manibus sublatum, caeterâ sequente pompâ, efferunt, feretrumque juxta sepulchrum abjiciunt.

Denati cucuma, nostratium feni metis non absimile, et quandoque luto oblitum, cratitiis parietibus gypso incrustatis, consanguinei, ut infaustum malique ominis, cum tota demortui supellectile omnique vestitu frivolisque, ne contagium morbi suspectum creditumque vulgetur, in Magosis concremant, attegiisque auguratò mutant: arma verò reliquaque aenea, ferrea aut eburnea vasa, hisque similia utensilia, quasi luis malorum expertia, postquam virorum urinâ lustrata sunt, aut in unum alterumve mensem sub dumo, aëre et pluviâ purganda abjecta jacuerunt, haeredibus cedunt.

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765 [81]) This paragraph is taken almost verbatim from the *Stavenisse* report (Molsbergen, iii, 64); those which follow are probably derived from oral information. The description as a whole is reasonably accurate even of modern Xhosa burial customs, although some of the taboos recorded are not mentioned in the same form by Soga (*op. cit.*, 317 ff.).

768 [82]) Soga states that the dead man's clothes, sleeping mat, wooden rest, blanket, pipe and other personal articles are buried

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Serious business, public or private, is discussed in deep silence and with close attention. A man asserts his dignity not by standing but by sitting. No man thwarts or obstructs his fellow, or interrupts his speech by interjections. A speaker does not attempt to gain his point by whispering one moment and shouting the next, or by pouring out a violent stream of words: but in smooth tones, within the fixed time, and in a gentle manner he argues his point. A white head commands respect. For him the younger men make way, they rise to do him honour, and his advice is always sought.

When the chief dies[81]) they shear their locks; skin caps, bonnets and helmets are all cast into the nearest river or mountain stream as a sign of mourning; and, together with their wives and children, in true grief, for twelve months, with uncovered heads and shaven chins the whole people mourns. Not one among them throughout that circling year will anoint himself with the smallest piece of butter or fat, nor in the first month of mourning will he venture to eat curdled milk, but will maintain himself on bread and meat as he best can.

It is forbidden to carry the dead man out through the little door, which, as I have said, always looks East. They break an opening in the opposite direction, lay the body on a hurdle that serves for a bier, and four bearers, sometimes more, conspicuous for their strength, raise it up in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it out through the postern-gate, as I may call it. The rest of the procession follows, and the bier is laid down near the grave.

The deceased's hut, which is pretty much like a hay-cock in our country, except that it is sometimes caulked with mud and the wattled walls plastered with lime, is burned by the relatives as being unlucky and ill-omened, together with all the dead man's furniture, clothing, and effects.[82]) This is the practice among the Magosi. Its purpose is to prevent the spread of infection which they suspect and believe in. They then consult the auspices and move to a fresh site. The dead man's arms, however, his copper, iron and ivory vessels, and any other similar utensils, are regarded as free from the contagion. They are purged in men's urine, or else cast for a month or two in some thicket to be cleansed by air and rain, after which they pass to the heirs.

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with him in the grave (*op. cit.*, 320). He confirms the burning or abandonment of the old homestead and the erection of a new one.

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000 In regimen extincti gnatus natu maximus succedit, patris vitam et mores exprimere studens: non procul inde juxta viam, mortuum rhenoni involutum, in alta fossa, clunibus insedentem, genibus mento admotis, eoque habitu quo in utero matris embrion haesit, terrae gremio pollinctor mandat, interque summum funus ducentium adstantiumque lessum, gemitum, planctumque, et praeficarum ejulatum, confictasque lachrymas, altaque suspiria persolventium justa funebria, defunctique laudes canentium, singultu naeniarum medios impediente sonos, inhumant sepeliuntque, et heroum aggesto silicum acervo, et una alteraque praealta et erecta pertica aut stipite pro cippo aut cenotaphio ornant, novissimeque parentalibus fabulam transalpini claudunt.

Secedentes a monumento, molliter ossa cubent defuncto precantur, obtestantes obsecrantesque eum ne hominibus pecoribusque noceat: quotiescunque conditorium hoc praetereunt, abrasum e vicinia ramulum, aut evulsam è terra herbam, aliave ei insternunt et prostrati, fatum defuncti queruntur, eumque utilitatis publicae commonefaciunt, et causam quaerunt, cur malit illic comploratus desideratusque delitescere, quàm suorum curam redivivus gerere? quod omnia à discessu ejus è vita, praecipiti cursu in pejus vergant, miseratus tandem immerentium maerorem, laborantibus succurrat, rogantes à sepulchro secedunt.

Malè de republica meritum, capite pronum in specum aut ferae antrum pro hypogaeo, nulli lachrymabilem praecipitant, et maledictis lapidibusque obruunt.

Redeuntes ab exequiis, protinus se aquâ vicini torrentis aut stagni abluunt, quibus aetate ceteris praevectior, tecto humi orbiculatim sedentibus tanquam lustramento immeit; hinc peculiari sacrificio ovis vel bos cadit, excernentesque quaecunque in ejus ventriculo et intestinis reperiunt, filio semet ipsos, pecus, casulamque superstitiosi aspergunt, carnemque omnem epulo ferali devorant.

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764 [87]) According to Soga, the body is buried in a reclining position, doubled up as described, and not in a sitting position (*op. cit.*, 319-20). The wailing to which G. refers normally takes place not at the graveside, but at the home of the deceased, before the funeral procession sets out. "No religious ceremony takes place at the grave," says Soga, "and no words of condolence or sympathy are uttered. A precatory sentence, however, is often

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The eldest son succeeds to the position of chief, and makes it his object to imitate his father's life and character. The interment takes place beside the road not far away. The dead man is wrapped in his kaross and put sitting on his hauches in a deep trench with his knees moved up to his chin; thus, in the position he occupied as an embryo in his mother's womb, he is entrusted to the lap of earth.[83]) The interment is accompanied by loud wailings and groanings and beatings of the breast from those who have attended the funeral or gathered as spectators: and there is also to be heard the keening of the official women mourners who with forced tears and heavy sighs accomplish the due formalities, hymning the praises of the dead man while deep sobs interrupt their funeral dirges. A mound of stones forms the monument [349] to the departed; one or two lofty poles or posts are erected upon it for a memorial; and a funeral feast forms the last act of the tragic drama.

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As they withdraw from the tomb they pray for the dead man that his bones may rest in peace, and they beg and beseech him not to injure man or beast. And whenever they pass his grave, a branch is plucked near by, or a plant pulled from the earth, to strew upon it, and they cast themselves upon their faces and bewail the dead man's fate, reminding him of the public good and asking him how he can lie there hid amid their tears and lamentations instead of rising from the dead to resume the care of his people. Since his departure from this life all things have gone headlong to the bad; let him now pity their unmerited distress and come to the help of his suffering people. Thus praying they depart from the tomb.

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An offender against the state is cast headlong into a cave or wild beast's den as into a dungeon. Nobody sheds a tear for him, and they crush him with curses and stones.

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Immediately on their return from the funeral they wash themselves in a neighbouring stream or pool. Then they all sit in a circle on the floor of a hut and the eldest among them makes water on them as a lustral bath. Then, as a special sacrifice, a sheep or ox is slain, and, removing whatever they find in its stomach or bowels, the superstitious creatures sprinkle themselves, their cattle, and the hut with it. Finally all the flesh is devoured in a funeral feast.[84])

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addressed to the departed, such as 'remember us for good from the place to which you have gone'" (*op. cit.*, 320).

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[84]) The washing and sacrificial feast after the funeral are practised by both Hottentots and AmaXhosa, but the besprinkling to which G. refers is a Hottentot custom only.

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000 Mortui bona filiis aequis portionibus haereditate obveniunt, quibus deficientibus, gradu consanguinitatis defuncto propior succedit, et frater fratris bona non pater cernit: novissimè extraneus vocatur, filiabus à paterna fraternaque, et à quacunque alia haereditate semper exclusis; sane jure gentium antiquissimo singulaeve istae finis et principium familiae censentur, parvique aestimantur.

Leonis, pardalis, tigridis, onagri, ovis, aliarumque ferarum pecudumve pellibus, per alutarios hos concinnatis et adipe axungiaque probè maceratis subactisque, tanquam boeta (barbarico ornatu mastrucati) velantur omnes, intimasque quandoque in extimas vertunt, studiosissimique in sua quisque se continere pellicula, veteremque semper retinere: nonnunquam tamen antesignanum aliquem, sua manu strenuum, aut corporis habitu, vel animi magnitudine, altâ formâ aut genere ceteris conspectiorem discoloriâ segmentataque pelle tectum observitavi.

Omnium Afrorum Asianorumque more, haud secus quam oleo, artus quavis pinguedine contra solis, frigoris, morborumque injurias perfricant, diluunt inunguntque: foeditas foetorque quem nostrates illis impingunt, non sordibus, sed potius herbae (Bochu incolis dictae) botanicis Europaeis cognitae, adscribendus, quam lapidibus contusam dispulveratamque, suavi suffimine, praesentissimo amuleto, saluberrimoque diapasmate capiti aspergunt et circumliniunt; hujus herbae odor advenis injuncundus, gravis, insuavisque, sed aliquandiu eum odorantibus non inelegans, fragrans gratusque est.

Magni adhuc faciunt herbam Daggha ipsis appellatam, cujus radiculas in placentae formam compactas, magnitudine nummum argenteum, vulgo RD[a] non excedente, dentibus pari modo, quo Indi opium, aut Aegyptii Oetum, commolunt: unde quidem soporem, sed rabiem nunquam sibi conciunt.

S 428 [82]) This paragraph is based wholly on the *Stavenisse* reports: "Should a son die, his brother and not his father inherits his cattle. When the father dies, the sons inherit in equal proportions, and should there be no male issue strangers inherit in preference

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The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[55]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?). S 428

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge. H 291 H [554]

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable. H 302 H [824]

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians oetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them. H 276

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to daughters" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property alloted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72). S 428

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000 Eodem in usu præ loque ipsis herba Cannah, forte nostratium cannabis, cujus semina dicerem non multum abhorrere ab illis, quae aliquando Mantuae Carpetanorum in sartagine cum pipere, oleo et sale frixa (canamones Hispanis dicta) degustavi.

Animalium terrestrium, volucrium et acquatilium, tam domesticorum quam silvestrium immensus, tanquam vivario et ad prodigium numerus, et omnium instar hoc specimen habeas, quod ultrà mille elephantes quandoque gregatim pascantur, quorum aliqui tantae vastitatis, ut alterum eorum dentem (meo calculo cornu) triginta supra centum librarum pondere viderim: nec minor serpentium, amphibiorum, et insectorum multitudo, quorum genera ut plurimum in quatuor et plures species se spargentia, easdemque maximam partem nostratibus ignotas, omnibusque scriptoribus incognitas, attonitus animadverti, et ne à fide abhorrentia narrare videar, scias eadem mihi assiduos testes retulisse, et inter caetera visas ipsis pascentes belluas, capite equo similes, oblongo collo, brevi caudâ, reliquis vero corporis partibus elephantem referentes adaequantesque, incredibilis penè pernicitatis, adeoque cicures ut mansuefactas crederes; porrò ex ore nonnullorum haud spernendae fidei accepi, visos sibi monocerotes equo statura omnibusque membris simillimos in fronte cornu brachii longitudine et crassitie gestantes ferocissimos: alii quorum fides non vacillat narrant dari illic bicornes equos paris ferocitatis et formâ egregios: nonnulli praetendunt se vidisse insignes arduosque silvestres equos catervatim pascentes, et inter illos quosdam nive candidiores, alios carbone nigriores, nonnullos albos, sed jubâ caudâque nigrâ, et vice versâ, quosdam atros, caudâ jubâque candidos, omnes Asturconibus praestantiores, quos ob velocitatem Pegasos diceres: Onagrum non minoris pernicitatis et spectatae pulchritudinis fasciis albis nigrisque duorum digitorum latitudine alternatim per totum corpus, ab auribus usque ad caudam et imos talos affabrè striatura

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276 222 **) *Canna* or *Ganna* is identified by Marloth (*Common Names of Plants*, 30) as "several species of *Salsola*". Reference is made to the Hottentot use of it in the notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's expedition to Namaqualand. "They

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They use for the same purpose and hold in equal esteem the Canna plant, which is perhaps our hemp.[44]) The seeds of it do not seem very different from those which I once ate in Madrid, fried in the pan with pepper, oil and salt, and called canamones by the Spaniards.

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The number of animals here of earth, air, and water, and both domestic and wild, is so prodigious that it is like living in a zoo. Let one example serve for all: more than a thousand elephants sometimes feed together in a herd, and some of them are of such a size that I have seen a single tooth (I should rather call it a horn) that weighed more than one hundred and thirty pounds. The number of snakes, amphibians, and insects is just as great. Each class of them splits up as a rule into four or more species, and these, I am astonished to perceive, are for the most part unknown to the Europeans and unrecognized in the writings of all naturalists. I do not want you to suppose that I am straying from the truth; you must know therefore that the most careful observers have reported the above facts to me, and have told me among other things that they have seen creatures grazing with horses' heads, long necks, short tails, like elephants in the rest of their parts and as big, of an almost incredible swiftness, and at the same time so little shy that they seemed domesticated. I have also heard credible witnesses state that they have seen ferocious unicorns as big as horses and like them in every limb, with a horn on the forehead as long and as thick as your arm. Others, of unimpeachable veracity, say that there are horses here with two horns, equally ferocious and of exquisite beauty. Some profess to have seen fine tall wild horses feeding in herds, and among them some fairer than snow, others darker than coal, some white with black mane and tail, and vice versa, some black with white mane and tail, all of them outclassing the Asturian breed and each a Pegasus in swiftness. I have seen with wonder a zebra of no less speed and rare beauty, artistically striped over his whole body from his ears to his tail and down his legs to the pastern with alternate bands of black and white two fingers thick. It was only in the size of his

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generally chew a certain herb called *canna*. They pound it root and stem together between stones and store and preserve it in bags made of sheepskin. In October, when we were approaching the Copper Mountain, everybody was gathering this herb on the surrounding mountains as a supply for the whole year. They use it as the natives of India use *betel* or *areca*. They chew both stem and root almost all day and become thereby intoxicated, so that on account of this effect and its pleasant smell and stimulating taste, one may safely expect some advantage from its workings" (Waterhouse, 162, 165).

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dispersum miratus, sola aurium magnitudine ab equo differentem: similem forte Absolon novissimè conscendit.

In Hippopotamo stupendae molis bellua, cui aquam terramque incolendi natura est, superiorem maxillam mobilem, illudque cum crocodilo commune habere observavi, feruntque ejus pinguedinem elixam potamque variis morbis mederi.

In rostro dente timendi apri a venatoribus capti cornu digitum magnitudine non excedens recurvum, quandoque etiam bina ipsus vidi, pariterque tres pluresve apros subterraneos Europaeis incognitos vulgo *aard-varkens*, centum et amplius librarum singulos, auribus praegrandibus et asininis, rostro oblongo, ceterum capite, seta totoque corpore apro simillimos, cauda vero crassâ, porrectâ, coniformi, et in acutum desinente bipedali, nullis dentibus armatos, tremendis autem et cultratis ungulis, quatuor in anterioribus, quinque in posterioribus pedibus, quibus se contra quoscunque insultus tuentur, iisdem sibi cavernam editioribus locis, mox hic mox illic effodiunt, frequenter orienti soli oppositam, ore angusto, quod vix ac ne vix ipsos capit, aditu clementer declivi, et in aliquot cubitus recto tramite provecto, seque magis ac magis pandente, donec in illius extremitate satis amplum recipiendis etiam hominibus cubile orbiculatum convexumque pedibus posterioribus terram, anterioribus obviam usquequaque abrasam ejicientes, excavant: in quo die latent, indeque sub noctem pabulatum egrediuntur nutrientes se formicis, quas exertâ in illarum examina seu nidos tenui et cubitali linguâ, earundemque ova depascuntur: hinc libet suspicari causam, cur ipsorum carnem insulsam insipidamque expertus fuerim: nonnulli narrarunt mihi quod triplo majores quam dixi viderint.

Adnotatum experimento domesticos equos hos longaevos, acerrimos, insignesque esse, quos mandato Patrum Conscriptorum ex Persia, et Javâ, impensiori pretio huc advectos, tanta felicitate et fecunditate auctos videmus,

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87) Part of this description is derived from the *Stavenisse* crew, who claimed to have seen "two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and colour like the elephant; having a head like the horse, a short tail, but a long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe" (Moodie suggests this may have been the giraffe), and "horses, which they do not catch or tame, although they approach within 10 or 12 paces; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength; some have the tail black, and others white." (Moodie, 433; cf. Molsbergen, iii, 67.)

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ears that he differed from a horse. On such a one Absalom may have mounted for his last ride.[87])

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I have observed in the case of the hippopotamus, an enormous beast whose nature is to inhabit land and water alike, that he moves his upper jaw, a peculiarity he shares with the crocodile. They say also that the fat of this animal boiled and drunk is a cure for various diseases.

On the snout of a boar with terrible tusks that was taken by hunters I have seen a horn with a backward curve not above a finger in length. On other specimens I have seen two such horns. Furthermore I have seen at least three specimens of an underground boar unknown to Europeans and commonly called earth-pigs (ant-eater). Each of them weighed over one hundred pounds, and had large donkey's ears, a long snout, and for the rest in head, bristle and body resembled a boar, save that its tail was thick, projecting, tapering, and ended at a length of two feet in a sharp point. This creature is armed with no teeth, but has tremendous knife-like claws, four on the front paws, five on the back, with which it protects itself against all attack. With these it also digs a hole for itself, now in one place, now in another, on rising ground. This hole usually faces East, and has a narrow entry barely big enough to admit the animal; it then slopes gently down and continues in a straight course for several cubits, widening out more and more until at the end it forms a vaulted spherical chamber big enough to hold a man. When the ant-eater is hollowing out its den, it keeps casting out with its hind legs the earth that is scraped away in front by the fore-paws. In this cave it lies by day, but at night-fall it comes out in quest of food, feeding on ants or on their eggs, which it licks up by thrusting its thin tongue, which is a foot and a half in length, into a swarm of ants, or an ants' nest. Their diet is, I suppose, the reason that I found their flesh so tasteless and insipid. Some people tell me that they have seen specimens three times as big as I have described.

Experience has shown that the horses for domestic use which the Council imported from Persia and Java at a great price are long-lived, spirited, and excellent in every way[88]). They have thriven so well here and bred so fast that some of the settlers drive round in a coach-and-four,

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[88]) Horses were first imported into the Cape from Batavia in 1653; in 1665 they had increased so greatly in number that some were sold by public auction to the farmers, at an average price of £4 16s. (the cost of 4 or 5 fine large oxen); in 1689, they had so far deteriorated in size and condition that some stud horses were imported from Persia to improve the breed (Theal, ii, 38, 188, 237).

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000 ut nonnulli colonorum citis quadrigis, imo sejugibus, Dynast[r]is pares, vehantur, et quandoque denos in varios usus pascant equos, duasque turmas dimacharum sub signis stantes, et ad nutum regentium cum quatuor cohortibus parituras, quotannis lustret Colonia: adhaec regio haec duros progenerat boves, velocitate pares illis quos Indus prope Gangem habet.

Novissimè memorandi occurrunt noxiosissimi canes sylvestres, qui deni vicenique catervatim sursum deorsum venantes, oves vitulosque obvios, protenus ferocissimi hos exenterant, illarumque ubera aut ventrem praelongis acutisque dentibus dilacerant, totumque gregem momento sternunt, ni opilionum provida cura et pecuariorum canum fide arceantur.

De rhinocerote bicorni, (?)alie, bisonte, bonasso aliisque animalibus scribere supervacaneum habeo, ne tot tantaeque bestiae tibi nauseam pareant (sic): hoc unicum addere placet, à nonnullis mihi narratum esse, quod haustu unius heminae sanguinis harum ferarum, continuò postquam captae sunt, quidam longiori valetudine consumpti convaluerint, nec te latere velim quod nulla bellua hic visa sit, quae non ad homines assurâ adsuescat.

Nil aurâ hac salubrius, nil aëre purius, caelo raro fulgure tonante nec edurante nil tempestatius molliusve, si anniversarium Circium Ornithiasque procaces, gelido ab austro alternis vicibus subinde bacchantes Etesiamque imbricum, pluviaeque prodromum exceperis: quibus aestuantibus, montes vicinos nive et pruinâ in aliquot dies persidente, mense (quod mirandum) Decembri adulto, cum sol vertici nostro proximus, coöpertos, et Julio aquam glacie concretam, et in vallibus grandinem vidi: quae nuper tanta mole cecidit, ut civis cujusdam praetextatus praepetumque notarum filius, quatuor è Promontorio milliaribus, mancipio stipatus, per deserta domum rediens, prae frigore cum comite enectus sit. Porro discordia ventorum tanta est, ut quatuor naves in nostro portu in anchoris una stantes, et singulam singulum ventum nonnunquam respicientem, nimirum unam Euro, alteram Gauro, tertiam Caeciae, ultimamque Africo prorâ obversam simul viderim: nec minor eorundem inconstantia, cum sua quisque vice alter alterum, una eademque die quandoque excipiat, quod communi omnium sententia probatum, quotquot navigant, testantium se in flectendis Promontoriis maximas ventorum mutationes saepe sensisse.

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or even a coach-and-six, like princes, and sometimes keep as many as ten horses for various purposes. Every year, too, along with the four cohorts of infantry the Colony reviews two squadrons of dragoons, ranged under their colours and very obedient to their leaders. This place also produces very hardy oxen, as swift as those found in India near the Ganges.

Finally must be mentioned the very destructive wild dogs, which hunt up and down in packs of ten or twenty; when they come on sheep or calves, with the utmost savagery they promptly disembowel some and tear the udders and bellies of others with their long sharp teeth. In a moment they destroy a whole flock unless the watchful herds or trusty dogs can keep them off.

About the two-horned rhinoceros, the eland, the bison, the bonassus, or hairy bull, and other animals, I think it unnecessary to write. I am afraid so many huge beasts may disgust you. There is only this I should like to add: I have been told by several people that on drinking half a pint of the blood of one of these animals immediately after its being taken, patients who have long languished in sickness have recovered. Nor would I have you ignorant that there is no animal that has been seen here of which the flesh when roasted is not suitable to men.

Nothing could be more wholesome than the air here, more clear than the atmosphere, more mild and temperate than the sky which but rarely thunders and lightens and then not for long. Exception must be made only of the blustering gales that blow every year from various quarters in the chilly South, and of the showery trade wind, the harbinger of rain. When these are raging I have seen the neighbouring mountains covered for several days with snow and frost, even in the middle of December, when the sun here is at its zenith, which is a very remarkable thing. In July I have seen water covered with ice, and hail in the valleys. Indeed lately hail of such size fell that a youth in his teens, a promising lad, the son of one of our citizens, was killed. He was coming home through the wilds with a slave, and he and his companion were overtaken by the storm four miles from the Cape and died of cold. Furthermore the struggle between the winds is sometimes so great that I have seen four ships riding at anchor together in our harbour all facing different winds at the same time, one East, one North West, a third North East, and the last South West. Even if but one wind blows at a time, it is very unsteady, shifting its quarter often in one and the same day, a fact supported by the universal testimony of all sailors, who state that in rounding the Cape they have often been aware of the greatest changes in the wind.

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Campi quo remotiores a nobis, eo magis graminosi, herbidi, cultoribusque ingeniosi: armentis, pecudibus, aliisque animalibus, adhaec omni genere ferarum, veluti theriotrophio, (ut dixi) scatentes, saltusque ingentium belluarum adeo feraces, ut hominibus parum sit periculi a leone aliave fera, cum praeda tam domesticarum mansuefactarumque quam indomitarum bestiarum, quae facili assultu, minori etiam sui cum periculo, quam si hominibus ut plurimum armatis insidietur, dilaceranda passim obvia.

Latomiae et montes variis metallis gravidi: solum nonnunquam gemmis dives, umbrosis nemoribus, praealtis crassisque arboribus, construendis domibus navibusque luxurians: quibus accedunt variae arbores, quarum fructuum feritas, haud dubie colendo molliri posset, inter caeteras oleastellos vidi, maximopere saepiusque commendatos, sed hactenus, quo fato me latet, neglectos, forte quia ejus cultura ignoratur, nec reperitur qui olei confectionem didicerit.

Prope nos multiplicia arva, variaque naturâ, et in uno jugo aut versu quandoque tria quatuorve glebarum genera: hic male pinguis arena, illic sabulum, ibi argilla, mox uligo, lutum, silices rupesque. Hinc fit (ut opinor) quod frumenti solum laetas segetes non uno eodemque tempore simul maturas fundat, aliae enim aliis citius maturescunt: qua etiam de causa colonus cererem non uno tenore quo coepit, sed tantum adultam falcibus aptam, mox hoc mox illo sulco, falculam ab immatura segete avertens, metit.

Sol gravis raro arva aut herbas urit, rariusque carbunculatio: non ligone aut pastino, sed urpice terram Africanae mulieres inferioris cardinis fodiunt, quibus usitata consuetudine et majorum exemplo ad hoc usque tempus id perfrequens.

Cisalpini Afri addictè modicâ mercede operam suam locantes, Messenis serviliores famulantur, manusque operi insuetas gnaviter admovent. Pecus scabrum cteniatri feliciter curant, illudque pecuarii fidi pascere percallent. Boves ad usum agrestem formant: jumenta jugunt, ducunt et disjungunt, essedarii, jugarii et aurigarii solertissimi: quidam expediti in equo, quem fundere et flectere didicere, ita ut Sarmatam aliquem patentibus campis inequitantem

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The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

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jurares: drapetas, errones fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque spe praemii reducunt. Bajuli, corbulones, gerull, angari, hemerodromi fidissimi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pampiniatores, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii sedulí: silvestrem agrum extricant, elapidatumque pastino, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, manumque buri sine lamamento admovent, sementem faciunt, terram rastris insectantur, deoccant, lirant cratiuntque: irpicibus diruncium, eruncanique ex agro, vinea horioque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hedera convolvuliaque redimito, quo aestuantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diceresque te bacchantium agmen vidére, per omnia Afris nostris simillimum, nisi quod illi[s] dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu falculam altera culmos tenentes messores, aresatores, evannatoresque acriter desudant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerrariae indiligentes: patinas omniaque vasa coquinaria eluere, sordesque everrere et sarrire, facesque ex agris undecunque colligere, focum accendere, coquulae apprimè norunt, Batavis parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Davorum opera, acrius coloni nostri licet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! nimia felicitate (ut ascioti) torpescentes, tanquam Salmacidis spolia, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur multi.

Non ingratum tibi, nec abs re fore arbitror si narravero me vidisse Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabata a quodam Belga analecta dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pipans gallina pullos convocat, suos conclamans populares, eis capturam tanquam in dirbitorio dilargitur, vix bucellam sibi servans, hacque bonorum communione promiscue gaudent omnes, ita ut tubulus nicotiani accensus ab ore ad os omnium accurrentium perambulat, donec in fumum et cineres tabacum conversum sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigandae terrae creberi fontes, rivuli, amnesque limpidissimi saluberrimique non desiderantur, quorum incredibilis pellucidítas et dulcedo saepius sitim mihi adeo aut provocavit aut auxit, ut diriases me sub Jerubbaalis signis novissimae lustrationis militare.

(*) An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (*cf.*, e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

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deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.**)

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Balmacis, won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be à propos, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.**) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.**)

**) See above, p. 47.
**) Judges, 7, 4-6.

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Terra Cerere et uvis ferax, copiâ rerum, omni commeatu et annonæ affluentia abundans, etiam nicotiano, virtute Americano pari, si cultura accedat: fruges mira largitate, et nonnunquam messem cum quadragesimo fœnore ferens: ex semine triticio, centum uno minus culmos, totidemque spicas, et in una fricta quinque supra septuaginta grana cum maximè, stupenda fecunditate, Sicula non inferiore, numero.

Extensissimos campos gethyum sylvestre, aliaque quæ ad victum conducunt, ferentes, vastaque loca epimenidiis, ulpico, ascalonia, atractylide, cæpula, et ampeloprasso plena, ex fide dignis accipio: ipsusque vidi agros ambugia refertos, quam edulem aliquoties legi, cum acidulis, corrudaque variarum specierum.

Ostensa mihi arva viginti abhinc annis et forte à condito mundo in illum usque diem rudia et ab natura et ab humano cultu vasta, quæ triticum, bis aut ter saltem toto ilio quadrilustro cessata, nullo fumo* adjuta et nudo duntaxat aratro levi sulco versa, copiosa messe, quolibet anno minime defrugata tulerunt, et tum cum maxime in herbis stantem luculentiam pollicebatur.

Taleam seu putamen mali duorum pedum depactum coâluisse, eique anno post surculum mali insertum, eumque intra annum fructum maturum protulisse succurrit, vitemque mense Junio satam, Decembri insequente uvas inaudita fertilitate edidisse narrant, omnesque fruges exoticas quas alma Europa, fertilis Asia, grataque cultoribus America laxo sinu fundit, hic felicissime in aceroteriis nostris, si paucas exceperis, abunde percipi, nec colonorum spem fallere, manifestum est.

In brassicas capitatas et apianas tantæ molis incidi, ut quamlibet earum vix ahenum coquendam caperet; pariaque magnitudinis buniades vidi, quibus eundo fessus tanquam sediculæ insedi. Betas adhæc me coram carnosas pulvinis effoderunt, viri bracchium crassitie et longitudine adæquantes, his similia legumina stupefactus conspexi, et magis dum omnia jucundissime sapida expertus.

Tam largo hic pubescit vinea fetu, ut ex octingentis Appianis vitibus, sed** cados (vulgo *orhoofden*) præstantissimo vino helvecio, rubello aut gilvo una vindemia se replevisse ex idoneo colono habeam, et communi omnium sententiâ accepi. vitem nostram vernaculam adeo mitem

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* Read *fimo*.
** Read *sex*.

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The soil, which is fruitful both of corn and wine, provides a copious plenty of provisions and supplies. It even yields tobacco, which, if it were cultivated, would rival the American. The grain crop is wonderfully abundant, the increase of the harvest being sometimes forty-fold. I count ninety-nine stalks and as many ears from one grain of wheat, and in one ear which I rubbed out there were seventy-five grains. This is an astonishing yield, equal even to that of Sicily. 134 241

I have it on reliable authority that there are wide plains bearing wild onions and other vegetables suitable for food, and huge tracts of land full of supplies, such as leeks, shallots, edible thistles, spring onions and garlick. I have myself seen fields full of ambugia, which I have sometimes gathered and found fit for eating, together with *aciduli*(?) and wild asparagus of various species. 137

Fields have been shown to me which twenty years ago, and perhaps from the creation to that day, were a rude waste on which neither nature nor man had grown anything. But for the last twenty years they have been well sown, and with only two or three fallow periods in all that time, with no manure, and after the slightest turning of the surface with the plough, they have yielded an abundant harvest of wheat. At the time I saw them the corn was in the blade and promised a rich crop. 000

I remember that a sprig or cutting of an apple-tree two feet long took root when planted. A year later a slip was grafted on to it, and within the year it bore ripe fruit. Also a vine planted in June bore grapes the following December. Such fertility is unprecedented. But indeed all the fruits of other lands, those which genial Europe, fertile Asia, and America, the farmer's joy, pour from their open lap, can with few exceptions be seen flourishing here on our promontory and never disappointing the hopes of the husbandman.

I have seen heads of cabbage and marrows so big that hardly a pot could be found to hold them. The turnips here are equally large, so much so that I have used one for a stool when I got tired walking. Beets have been dug out of a bank in my presence so fleshy that they were as long and as thick as a man's arm. Such vegetables it has astonished me to behold, and the more so on finding them all deliciously flavoured.

Our vines here bear so well that a reliable farmer told me that in one vintage from eight hundred choice vines he got six casks (commonly called hogsheads) of excellent pale-red, dark-red, or yellow wine. And everybody assures me that the native vine produces so mellow a grape that

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educare uvam, ut helluonibus racemorum nunquam noceat, licet se bumammis ingurgitent: imo quod ex longa navigatione aegros, laboribus fractos, ipsosque dysentericos et torminosos, praesertim si cum acinis eorundem cutem admixtâ panis offula simul commedant, tanquam panchresto medicamento frequentissimè, morbidosque alios curet.

Porrò terra haec perpetuis quasi apricis floribus vernat, quorum odor excitatissimus et aspectus jucundissimus: cui accedit quod montes, colles, prata, nemora, omnesque loci, herbis, fructibus, seminibus, aromaticisque adeo referti, ut herbidam Hispaniam horum fecunditati comparatam, Arabiae desertis Libyaeque solitudini similiorem dicerem, quae adolentia naribus, tam grata expertus, ut me totum nasum aliquando optaverim odoribus satiandum, omnes pastillos, quaecunque suffimenta, et Sabaeorum thuribula suâ fragrantiâ superantibus, suavitateque omnibus Italorum sepiasiis, Iberorumque pharmacopolarum, aromatariorum, et myriopolarum officinis tantum praestare sensi, quantum rosa calthae: cunctosque Omnipotentis Artificis dextram structurâ, omnibus numeris absolutissimâ, subtiliter ductâ, stupendum in modum variâ, nitidâ, et non uno genere formosâ testari, et odorum dulcedine clamitare Deum! Deum! annoque converso renascentes imagine symbolicâ hominum a mortuis non obscure resurrectionem docere.

Non est quod colonus locustas, grandinem, rubiginem, uriginem, aliasve calamitates messui noxias, multum hic metuat: volucres tamen ni attendentium solertiâ vigilacique ut plurimum barbarorum curâ arceantur, subinde arvum, vineam hortumque populantur: adhaec raucae, scolopendrae, erucae, cyniphes, convolvuli, scarabaei aliaque insecta tantae tenuitatis ut vix in conspectum cadant, aciemque nostrorum oculorum paenè effugiant, nonnunquam vitem graminaque triticia tenera, et nondum in culmum excreta, pomia, pisa similiaque legumina depascuntur, et cum vermiculatione agricolae expectationem misere frustrantur.

Nulla hic rustico vectigalia imposita, certè perexigua, decimas saltem frumenti coacti, proprioque calculo subducti, pendit quarto anno postquam excoluerit fundum,

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it never injures the greatest glutton, even if he consumes whole bunches of the largest size. Indeed it is maintained that men invalided after a long voyage, their health broken by their sufferings, and perhaps afflicted with dysentery and gripes, have often been cured as if by a specific on eating berries and their skins together with a little bread. Sufferers from other diseases have also, it is said, been cured.

Then in this land there is, I might almost say, everlasting spring, by reason of the sunny flowers with their lively scents and gay liveries. Here too are mountains, hills, valleys, meadows, groves, all so filled with grasses, and shrubs, with grain, and aromatic herbs, that verdant Spain compared with such fertility would show like the barren deserts of Arabia or Libya. So sweet have I found the breath of these scents in my nostrils that at times I could have wished myself all nose the better to sate myself with perfumes the fragrance of which was as far beyond all pastiles and incense, and Sabaean thuribles, all the perfumeries of Italy and pharmacies of Spain, the shops of the dealers in spices, and the vendors of myrrh, as a rose is sweeter than a marigold. All these flowers proclaim the hand of the Omnipotent Creator in their structure, so perfect are they in all their parts, so delicate in design, so infinitely various, so bright, so manifold in their shapes of beauty; with the sweetness of their scent they seem to cry aloud God! God!; and as they spring up anew each returning year they show forth plainly in a symbol the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

The farmer here has no great cause to fear locusts, hail, blight, mildew or other disasters to his crops. The birds, however, unless prevented, as they usually are, by the skill and wakeful vigilance of the natives on guard, do sometimes ravage a field, a vineyard, or a garden. And there are root-worms, centipedes, canker-worms, caterpillars, beetles, as well as other insects so small that they are scarcely visible but almost elude the sight of our eyes, which sometimes devour vines, young corn not yet grown into the stalk, fruits, peas, and other similar vegetables. The crops are wormed, and the farmers wretchedly cheated of their hopes.

No tax, or at any rate a very small one, is laid upon the farmer. All that is required of him is that in the fourth year after he has begun to cultivate his farm he should pay a tithe of the grain harvested according to his own calculations; and the farm is given free to each man by

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500 gratis in singulos a Societatis nostrae Patribus, sexaginta ut plurimum jugerum, quandoque immetatorum descriptum.

Novi colonum frugi hominem, qui anno MDCLXXII hic ex Europa appellens, fauces loculosque araneantes, et nihil praeter Bionis censum apportabat, qui civitate donatus, nunc trium quatuorve praediorum, domesticorum et usibus capacium, instructissimarumque aedium et plus octo millium tam armentorum jumentorumque, quam ovium capitum, et triginta mancipiorum dominus, cui decem et plures mercede conducti Europaei in famulatu sunt, quorum operâ subinde ultra mille modiorum tritici messem cogit, et ex una vindemia plures triginta cados vini generosissimi Falerno Massicoque non inferioris in labro videt, et quidquid tangit crescere tanquam favus, omnibusque copiis circumfluens, honoribus laudibus, amicisque abundat: auri adhaec argentique tam signati quam* praedives, paucisque annis ad maximas pecunias pervenit. Autumoque Europam agricolam ab omni parte beatiorem copiosoremque vix nostro aevo vidisse. En quae sutori calceus dare valet! et procul dubio, plures ejusdem fastigii cives, hic ei opibus pares aut superiores, omnium solum auro subpactum videremus, si rebus suis pari qua hic sollicitudine et quâ decet curâ, attenti quaesitis invigilarent, sed majorem partem per fas et nefas, Afros et Laomedontes perfidia vincentes, et ad quaestum calentes et caligantes, sua bona non norunt, quae ut parta, ita dilabuntur: alii satietate ubi famem parant, elephantes balenasque deglutientes, et quo plura habent, eo acrius quae non habent cupiunt, amorque pudendi lucri. aurique sitis cum auro crescit, cujus omnes vias norunt, omniaque ejus causâ faciunt, Tolosanum esse, malaque ad se trahere, ut caecias nubes, luce meridiana clarius liquet, tertiumque heredem eorum bonis gaudere nunquam visum, et ut nudi hic appulerunt, sic etiam justo Dei judicio nudi, helluantes coloniae sanguinem, dilapidatis omnibus rebus, plurimum murcidi asotique moriuntur.

* Some word has fallen out, probably *rudis*.

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92) When S. v. d. Stel founded the settlement at Stellenbosch (1679-80), he offered prospective colonists as much land as they could cultivate, with the privilege of selecting it for themselves anywhere in the Stellenbosch valley. "It was to be theirs in full property, and could be reclaimed by the Company only upon their ceasing to cultivate it. Like all other landed property in the (Cape) settlement, it was burdened with the payment of a tithe of the grain grown upon it and not consumed by the owner"

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the Council of the Company, and generally consists of sixty acres, sometimes of an unspecified amount.[92])

I know a thrifty farmer here who arrived from Europe in the year 1672. He was then as poor as a church mouse, without bite or sup, or a penny in his pocket. He was made a burgher and is now owner of three or four farms of his own, capable of supplying every need; of a well-furnished house; and of more than 8,000 head of cattle, including oxen and sheep, not to speak of thirty slaves. He has more than ten Europeans in his employment. He sometimes harvests more than 1,000 bushels of wheat, and from a single vintage he gets more than thirty brimming casks of noble wine as good as Falernian or Massic. Whatever he touches grows imperceptibly like the honey-comb, and he is now over-flowing with wealth, authority, honour, and friends. He possesses huge sums of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, and in a few years has come to great riches. I venture to assert that Europe has hardly seen in our time a farmer more completely blessed with all good things. See what the cobbler gets by sticking to his last! And without doubt we should see more citizens in the same exalted position, equal or superior to him in wealth, without doubt there is solid gold beneath the surface of every farm, if only all attended to their affairs with the same solicitude and with a proper zeal, and watched over their grains. But for the most part they are quite unscrupulous. More dishonest than the Carthaginians or Laomedon, both eager and blind in their pursuit of gain, they do not know their own good, and no sooner do they make anything than it is squandered. By present feasting they prepare future fasting, swallowing down elephants and whales; the more they have, the more eagerly do they desire what they have not; the love of filthy lucre, and the thirst for gold, grow with the possession of it; they know all paths to it, and stick at none. But it is clearer than the noonday sun that such gain brings a curse; as the North-East wind gathers clouds, so it draws troubles upon itself. It has never been seen that a third heir rejoiced in their possessions. Naked they came to these shores, and by the just judgment of God they die naked, drunk with the blood of the colony, their fortunes squandered, sunk in sloth and rottenness.

(Theal, ii, 252). The tithes were at first not very rigidly demanded, and were collected only upon grain brought to Cape Town for sale, but after 1709 the burghers were required to pay one-tenth of all the grain grown by them, and as the quantity was known only from their own declarations, this tax had an extremely bad effect upon the character of the people (Theal, iii, Index, s.v. "Tithes of grain"; cf. also *Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

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000 Plures quadraginta naves tam Societatis nostrae, quam variarum gentium hic quotannis appellunt, quarum navitae, corpora curantes, viribus refectis, et coempto commeatu, plus minusve mille argenteos nummos, quaelibet pro pane, carne, vino, cervisia, oleribus, caeterisque cibariis inemptis, nonnullisque mercibus larga manu sumptuosa pendit, aereque suo emuncti proficiscentes, colonis his nullum aliud sui desiderium relinquunt, quam quod metuunt, non pro voto ditiores condictò propediem redituros.

Patriam ipsorum linguam aliqua cum Hebraeorum idiomate communia habere opinor, nam videtur ex gutturalibus, dentalibus, lingualibus aliisque vocalibus labris illuctantibus, nobisque pronunciatu asperis conflata: nec abhorret à vero, eam variis constare dialectis, nec passim eandem, cum ex quibusdam qui in abdita regionis penetravere, acceperim, testantibus se in gentes varias linguis incidisse, quibuscum illis nullum omnimodo sermonis commercium nisi per interpretes erat: aliis nonnulla ipsorum vocabula intellecta, ceterum nutu signisque locutos.

Indiculum quarundam vocum rerumque peregrinantibus apprimè necessarium, ex vernacula procul hinc degentium indigenarum lingua compilavi qui excursoribus nostris eò aliquando delapsis, aut consultò tendentibus, aliquatenus prodesse poterit, et quantum conjectura consequi licet, idioma hoc maturum divesque: e.g. *Caye Mansine*, navem interpretatum denotat, voce compositâ ex *Caye-* domus, et *Mansine* mediâ productâ, aqua i.e. domus aquatica, non absono inclinamento pro nave: et simili verborum deductione ac etymologia in aliis*

Huic adjicere non abs re fore mihi visum unum exemplum numerorum ad denarium usque, tam in Magosis quam hic apud Afros nostros frequentatorum, quorum utrorumque discrimen pateat, liceatque aliquando (si libet) alteri cuidam Bochardo, exoticarum linguarum perito, eorundem originem indigare, videlicet:—

* The MS. shows no stop, and the sentence seems incomplete.

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92a) This list does not form part of the MSS. The text suggests that it was a vocabulary of Xhosa, and not of Hottentot, although, as we have already seen, G. subsequently compiled a long Hottentot vocabulary upon which both Valentyn and Kolb drew (see above p. 162, 164).

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More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.[92a]) It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye mansine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *mansine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*[93]), i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from one to ten as in use both among the Magosi and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochard[94]), skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

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[93]) In modern Xhosa, *i-Kaya* = home, domicile, and *amanzi* = water; *mansine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanzini*.

[94]) Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oordt in his Dutch trans. of G.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Molsbergen, iv, 297.)

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In Magosis		In Promontorio Bonae Spei	
Mounje	unum		chiu
Mabile (media producta)	duo		kham
Matato (penult. longa)	tria		nhona
Seine vel Mane	quatuor		haka
Mesiano	quinque		kouru
Mestandato	sex		nanni
Nounje	septem		hunkou
Ulnane	octo		kheysi
Pete	novem		ghesi
Chiumi	decem		gissi
Chiumi mabile	viginti		khamgissi
Chiumi matato	triginta		nhonagissi

Mea sententia nostrates hic citius expeditiusque Hottentoticam addiscent linguam, quam Barbari Belgico commodè loqui sermone scient: more proh dedecus! praepostero, cum merito Belgas non latere deberet, quam firmum sit unionis vinculum linguae commercium, illudque esse ingens adminiculum populis in officio et quiete continendis: exemplo veterum Romanorum in suis provinciis, et cum maximè Hispanorum Lusitanorumque in utraque tam orientali quam occidentali India probatissimo; sed pudet scribere nostros plurimum ad opes et luxuriam magis, quam ad commodum utilitatemque publicam spectare, qui quum merito omnes curas, vigilias cogitationesque suas in Provinciae hujus salute configerent, discerentque ab Hispanis exemplo cum Jove coloniarum fundamenta jacere, sacranti-

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S H 802

95) The Xhosa numerals are not listed in the *Stavenisse* accounts and must therefore have been derived orally from one of the survivors. Their modern forms (retaining the class prefixes as given by G.) are as follows: 1. omnye, 2. amabini, 3. amatatu, 4. ezine or amane, 5. emihlanu, 6. emitandatu, 10 ishumi, 20. mashumi (a) mabini, 30. mashumi (a) matatu. The words given for 7, 8, 9 do not correspond at all with the modern Xhosa forms, which are: isixenxe, isibozo and itoba respectively. (McLaren, *Kafir Grammar*, 68).

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	Mounje	one		Chiu	H S 802
	Mabile (the middle syllable long)	two		Kham	
	Matato (the penult long)	three		Nhona	
	Seine or mane	four		haka	
	Meslano	five		kouru	
among the Magosi	Mestandato	six	At the Cape	nanni	
	Nounje	seven		hunkou	
	Ulnane	eight		kheysi	
	Pete	nine		ghesi	
	Chiumi	ten		gissi	
	Chiumi mabile	twenty		khamgissi	
	Chiumi matato	thirty		nhonagissi[95]	

In my opinion the Dutch here will more quickly and expe- 000
tiously learn the language of the Hottentots, than the atives will acquire a good speaking knowledge of Dutch. his, alas, is the reverse of what ought to obtain. The utch ought to be aware how firm a bond of union a ommon language is, and how powerful a means it is of eeping peoples loyal and peaceful. We have the authori- tive precedent of the ancient Romans, and more pecially of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the Indias, st and west. But, I am ashamed to say, our countrymen r the most part pay more heed to gain-getting and soft ring than to the public advantage and good. They ought devote all their cares, all their thoughts, all their orking hours to the well-being of this province; from e example of the Spaniards, who in such circumstances edicate a church to Omnipotent God and know that all

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[95] The Hottentot numerals correspond fairly closely to the modern ama and Korana forms, except that, as usual, the clicks have t been indicated. The modern Korana numerals, as recorded Meinhof, are as follows: 1. /ui, 2. /am, 3. !nona, 4. haka, goro, 6. !nani, 7. hau-kx'u, 8. //xaisi, 9. guesi, 10. tjisi, 20. /am si, 30. !nona tjisi. (*Der Koranadialekt*, 41.)

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000 bus Deo T.O.M. aedem, gnavisque omnia prospere evenire colentibus Divos, nec praeposteri cruces et patibula coërcendis sceleribus initio erigere, salutemque Reip: ex lege in qua jurati sunt, supremam debere esse, sed praecipites ruentes auctoritati, mandatis, statutisque Patrum Conscriptorum Societatis nostrae S.S. illudentes, corradunt per omne fas et nefas everriculo pecuniam, virtutem post nummos habent, nimiumque Reformatores hi (Deformatores parum abest quin dicam) in Calvini verba jurantes nil bonis operibus, omnia gratiae tribuunt, nil virtuti, minusque merito dant, contractuum innominatorum Do ut Des, Facioque ut Facias etc. defensores studiosissimi, caeterum patrii juris rudissimi, hinc eorum imperium Abderitico per omnia simillimum, stolideque despoticum diceres, dum veniam corvis datam, imbellesque columbas censuram vexare, protegi sontes, immeritos premi, scelerique murum dari videres: quam ob rem ne mireris si dixero me plura indicia non adumbratae sed expressae pietatis, probitatis, fortitudinis, ingenuitatis, aliarumque virtutum signa in Europa una die vidisse, quam tot tantisque stipendiorum curriculis, quibus sub signis Societatis nostrae merui, inter commilitones nostros observaverim: citra tamen paucas illas horas, quibus sacris interfui divinisque adstiti, et quibus consuetudini familiaritatique Praenobilium D.D. van Reede, van Goens, van Beveren, van Rhee, Heinsii, Paets, rerum mearum non infidelibus arbitris, aliisque viris natalium splendore, doctrina meritisque conspicuis me applicui, cum propter eorum summam rerum Societatis Indicae agendarum experientiam, tum propter singularem in me affectum. Etsi fractus illabatur orbis, sciamque omnes homines mihi inimicos capiendos esse, dicam quae sentio, cum moderamine tamen tutelae inculpatae, scapham appellans scapham: vir Rev^de., huc omnia reciderunt, ut tanquam Pelopis domi, nusquam sit tuta fides, non marito a conjuge, nec conjux (sic) a marito, non patri à filio, nec filio a patre, non hospiti ab hospite, non socero a genero satis cautum, fratrum quoque gratia rara, rarique boni, numero vix sunt totidem quot Thebarum portae, vel Divitis ostia Nili, nullaque tam destestabilis pestis quae non homini ab homine hic nascatur, qui tandem laterum

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things prosper with those who worship the heavenly powers, they would be wise to learn that the foundations of a colony must not be laid without the blessing of God, that it is a mistake to begin by erecting crosses and gibbets for the suppression of crime, and that the safety of the state into the service of which they are sworn, comes before all. Instead they rush heedless on, caring nothing for the authority, commands, and decrees of the Council of our Company, ruthlessly sweeping all the money they can into their drag-net, despising virtue in comparison with cash, enthusiastic Reformers (I am tempted to call them Deformers), who having sworn allegiance to Calvin allow nothing now to good works and everything to grace; they ascribe nothing to virtue and still less to merit; they are zealous champions of innominate contracts: *Do ut des, facioque ut facias etc.*, but for the rest know nothing of their country's law. Hence their rule may be likened to the warning examples of antiquity in its stupid despotism; they pardon the ravens and punish the doves, protect the guilty and oppress the innocent, and give the place of honour to crime. You must not then be surprised if I say that in one day in Europe I have seen more evidences of piety, honesty, courage, innocence, and other virtues, and not the mere promise of these virtues but their fulfilment, than I have seen among my colleagues here in all my long years of service with the Company. I wish only to make exception of the few hours I have spent in divine service and in the worship of God, and those in which I have devoted myself to familiar friendship with the reverend and noble gentlemen, van Reede, van Goens, van Beveren, van Rhee, Heinz and Paets, who know me well and the truth of what I say, as well as other gentlemen conspicuous for birth, learning, or good works; with all these I have been glad to associate both by reason of their great experience in the conduct of the Company's affairs and their notable affection for me. But though the sky should fall, and though I knew that I should make all men my enemies, I would say what I think, with the reservation of not blaming the administration, calling a spade a spade. Reverend Sir, things have come to this pass that, as in the house of Pelops, so here there is nowhere any sure reliance; a husband cannot be too much on guard against his wife, nor a wife against a husband, a son against a father, nor a father against a son, friend against friend, or father-in-law against son-in-law. Love between brothers is rare; good men are rare; there are hardly as many as the gates of Thebes or the mouths of rich Nile; and there is no crime so abominable that it is not plotted by man against man. We now begin to fear

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suorum ensem timere coeperunt. Redeamus a diverticulo in viam.

Hic mihi silentio praetereundum non videtur, quod Afris nostris communi fratis sororisve nomine, more Israëlitarum indigitetur patruelis et consobrina, aliisque quarto consanguinitatis gradu se invicem contingentes.

Nullae illis artes, nulla opificia, nulli mercenarii, quique suorum apparatuum elaborator et artifex, nulli illis libri, nullae litterae, omnia illis plus quam Cimmeriis immersa ignorantiarum tenebris: attamen cum Nicolao Almeida Lusitano Mosambique oriundo, et Britannica nave, cui Johannes et Maria nomen, huc delato, multus sermo mihi fuit, qui inter alia non spernendae indaginis retulit, prope sinum del Agoa Aethiopiam versus, se lapidibus maximae molis, in tropaei modum constructis insculptos vidisse characteres, nulli Europaeo comiti notos: credendi autem temeritate reus non videbor, hinc conjecturam capiens, an non illic tot locis quaesitum Salomonis Ophir detegere liceat: eoque magis quod idem Nicolaus ad omnia stupenti asseveraverit, se inibi auri facti rudisque tantam vim vidisse, ut Americani Atubalibae opes horum divitiis collatae longe inferiores censeantur, seque una die bovem mactatum et in frusta dissectum Aethiopibus vendidisse, et viginti imo triginta auri libras informis, infecti et eximie obrizi (quasi ophirizi) traxisse.

Hic ex castello Regis Lusitaniae *Ingome* dicto, sitoque in regione *Symbao*, proficiscens, duodecim dierum justo itinere, in ejus metropolim *Mamboni* pervenit, ubi Praepotentis Regis *Sangacatto* aula: qui tres ex centum et amplius concubinis, praepetum notarum sustulit filios, Lusitanorum loquentes, legentes et scribentes exactè satis

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[96]) This must be the earliest mention of the fact that both Hottentots and AmaXhosa possess what anthropologists term "classificatory" systems of kinship nomenclature, whereby a man applies certain terms of relationship not only to members of his own family, but also, according to definite rules, to more remote relatives. Among the modern Naman, the term *!gān*, used for brothers and sisters, is also used for the children of paternal uncles and maternal aunts (i.e., as G. says, they are also called brother and sister); but for the children of paternal aunts and maternal uncles there are different terms, i.e., they are not regarded as brothers and sisters. The AmaXhosa have a somewhat similar system of relationship terminology.

[97]) The suggestion that what is now Southern Rhodesia and the adjoining districts of P.E.A. were the Ophir of the Scriptures is also found in earlier Portuguese writers, e.g. de Barros and dos Santos. Modern research has tended to discredit this theory, although it still crops up from time to time. Cf. the authoritative

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the sword even of our own kin. But let me return from my digression.

Here I think I should mention that among our natives (i.e. the Hottentots) the names of brother and sister are, in the Israelitish fashion, bestowed on cousins on the father's or the mother's side; while among others (i.e. the Magosi) the names of brother and sister are given to those related to one another in the fourth degree.[96])

There are no arts and no crafts here, and no hired workers; every man is the designer and maker of his own equipment; they have no books, no writing; everything is plunged in an ignorance darker than Cimmerian night. I have, however, had much conversation with one Nicolas Almeida, a Portuguese born in Mozambique who came here in an English ship, the *John and Mary*. Among other matters worthy of investigation he told me that near Delagoa Bay on the Ethiopian side he saw characters cut on stones of huge size that had been set up in the manner of a trophy. These characters were not familiar to any European of his company. I shall not be held guilty of rash credulity if I suggest the query whether we may not here discover the Ophir of Solomon, which has been sought in so many places.[97]) This is the more likely as the same Nicolas told me to my complete surprise that he had seen there such a quantity of gold both wrought and unwrought that the wealth of the American Atahualpa's compared with their riches would be found far inferior; and that he one day sold to the Ethiopians an ox which he had slain and cut up, and got therefor twenty, nay thirty pounds of gold, unshaped and unwrought, but wonderfully refined—*obrised* the Portuguese say, which suggests *Ophirised*.

Setting out from the fort of the King of Portugal in these parts, which is called *Ingome*, and lies in the district *Symbao*, he came, after a full twelve days' journey, to the capital *Mamboni*, where there is the court of the powerful king *Sangacatto*.[98]) This king had, from his hundred and more concubines, three sons of great promise, who spoke, read, and wrote the language of the Portuguese with a fair degree of correctness. This they owed to the conspicuous

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discussion of the whole question by G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford 1931.

[98]) *Ingome* may be an attempt to write the name of the R. Ingomiamo, near whose mouth is Sofala, one of the earliest Portuguese strongholds in E. Africa; *Symbao* is probably meant to represent *Mozambique*, *Mamboni* = *Mambo*, the hereditary name of the Rozwi (Shona) chiefs; *Sangacatto* I cannot identify. On the Portugese in E. Africa, see Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, where most of the available records are reprinted.

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linguam, qui illud illustri clementiae, singularique bonitati Emmanuelis Pereira Regis Lusitaniae inibi Praefecto, ad omnia solertes, ipsosque Lusitano ritu vestire, aliaque scitu digna docenti acceptum ferunt.

Divinitatem aliquam *Messimo* dictam, in lucis summo cultu venerantur, cum spe minime dubiâ, ipsos Christianorum sacris propediem initiandos; deprehensum in adulterio adulteramque vivos jugulant, eodemque supplicio homicidia, furta, et latrocinia plectunt, eorundem bona fisco addicentes.

Asserit terrâ marique in Promontorio *Corrientes* ad os australe freti, quod Africam ab insula forte Ptolomei Menuthia (vulgo Madagascar) disjungit, visa sibi animalia amphibia, rubentia, et in terra pascentia, Sirenibus proxima, duodecim pedes circiter longa, crassaque ex proportionis norma, porcino capite, pro brachiis pedibusve quasi alas testudinis marinae habentia, superna parte homini, inferna pisci cum cauda subsimilia, quae ore sibilantia nec aliam vocem edentia saepius audivit; tam mares quam feminas, parte genitali hominibus pares, eorundemque carnem jumentorum non piscium similiorem: in utraque maxilla duos dentes, spithamae longitudinis, et duorum duntaxat digitorum latitudine extra gingivam prominentes observavit: quales mihi à quodam Anglo hic ostensos et magno Mosambique emi, ex nonnullis me accepisse memini, jactantibus eos maximè salutiferos, et si credere fas est, podagrae mederi.

Doleo quod quum hinc Indiam versus navi Purmer vela darem, ad Promontorium *Corrientes* in anchoris stans, navique Unicornu rediens, oramque hanc legens, nihil horum, praeterquam quod immensae magnitudinis balenam, navem nostram à puppi et prora, et ab utroque latere aliquoties circumnatantem, et quodammodo adorantem, instantis tremendae tempestatis, paucis post horis obortae, quaque aliquot diebus mirum in modum jactati, quasi praenuntiam, viderim.

Hujus Nicolai frater germanus, Mattheus Almeida, sub Lusitano Mosambique merens stipendia, illis non contentus, sed auri fame tractus, comitibus quinquaginta Lusitanis, cum sexcentis Afris, Regi Lusitaniae subjectis, omnibus

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generosity and singular kindness of Emanuel Pereira, the representative there of the King of Portugal, who finding them of quick parts taught them to dress in the Portuguese fashion, and other things worth knowing.

They worship a divinity called *Messimo*, in groves, with such reverence that there is little room to doubt that they will ere long be initiated into the Christian religion.**) A man or woman taken in adultery they put to death. Homicide, robbery, and brigandage merit the same penalty, the goods of the condemned being forfeit to the public treasury.

He states that at Cape Corrientes, at the southern end of the strait which separates Africa from the island now called Madagascar (which is perhaps the Menuthia of Ptolemy) he saw both on land and in the water amphibious creatures, of a reddish colour. They fed on land, and looked like Sirens. They were about twelve foot long, and thick in proportion, with pigs' heads, and instead of hands and feet a kind of fins like a turtle. The upper part was like a man, the lower like a fish with a tail. He often heard them hissing, but never uttering any other sound. They were both male and female, and their genital organs were like those of human beings. Their flesh was like oxen, not fish. In each jaw he noticed two teeth a span in length, but protruding beyond the gum merely the breadth of two fingers. I remember that a certain Englishman showed me teeth like these, and that I heard from several people that they fetch a high price at Mozambique. My informants claimed that they are very good for preserving the health, and, if one may believe it, that they cure gout.

I once made the voyage from here to India on the good ship *Purmer*, and returned on the *Unicorn*. On the way out we lay at anchor off Cape Corrientes, and on the way back skirted all this coast. To my regret I saw none of the creatures described above, but I did see a huge whale which swam round our ship, bow and stern, starboard and larboard, many times, as if paying us some sort of homage. It proved the harbinger of a terrible storm which burst upon us a few hours later and for several days gave us a wonderful tossing.

Matthew Almeida, the brother of my friend Nicolas, was in the service of Portugal at Mozambique. Discontented with his lot, and led on by the accursed lust of gold, he took with him fifty Portuguese and three hundred natives, all well armed and ready for plunder, and with these he made

**) *Messimo=medzimu*, the name applied by the Mashona to their ancestral spirits.

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080 probè armatis et ad praedam instructis, à fluvio Sena Niembam usque viginti dierum itinere distantem Septentrionique obversam penetrat, ibique à fidentis praesentisque animi incolis pro suis strenue pugnantibus cum commilitonibus ad internecionem caesus.

Di boni! quae animarum messis hic Christo fieri posset? quam vastus hic praedicationibus campus? si postposito privato emolumento, omnes ad majorem Dei gloriam communi bono invigilarent: sed vah dedecus! maximam partem, à Religionis et Sacramenti auctoritate ad mercedem atque quaestum per omnes artes abducuntur, quorum aliqui duas tresve personas sustinent, qui animi egestate, infirmitate ingenii, meritorum penuria, omniumque virtutum patrocinio nudi inopesque, ne uni soli quidem sufficerent: I pudor in silvas! et Barbaros edoce, nimium ne credant colori, dum alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.*

Sed singula haec scripto comprehendere litterarum cancelli non patiuntur, cujus modum vereor me bene longa hac, et voluminis instar, epistola excesserim. Ast tu indulgentissime Vir latiorem a me flagitans, scribendi cacoëthi, longiusque prolapso quam judicii tui, et utriusque aetatis ratio postulat, facilè ignosces, et pauca haec cuicuimodi sunt, profligandis tuis quaestionibus, quaequae mihi memoratu visa digna, et Latiali sermone scriptu facilia non aspernaberis, nec ea censoria lima laevigare, calamistro tuo inurere, nec desultorio meo stylo peregrinantibus usitatissimo ignoscere gravaberis.

Quo uno omnia verbo complectar, terram scias hanc suis contentam bonis, nec mercis aut opis alicujus (si luxuria absit) indigam, tam longè latèque se pandit Divina bonitas, abundè incolis exhibens alimenta.

Insuper his praecincta circumfluo imperiosoque et uniones exaluminatos aliquando infundente litoribus cum ambro aliisque purgamentis, Oceano; exiguo isthmo peninsula continenti adhaeret: quam quam Batavus anno 1651 occupans Duce et auspiciis....van Riebeeck eximii viri justo emptionis titulo et juris auctoritate à Barbaris tenet,

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* Virgil, *Eclogues*, ii, 17 and 18. The precise identification of the *alba ligustra* and *vaccinia nigra* of Virgil is uncertain.

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his way from the river Sena to Niemba, a journey of twenty days to the north. The inhabitants of this place proved to be men of a confident and ready temper, they put up a strenuous fight in defence of their own, and were so successful that they slew Matthew and his followers to a man.

O kind heaven, what a harvest of souls could here be made for Christ! What a field is here for the preaching of His gospel! if only private gain could be put in the second place, and all, for the greater glory of God, would watch over the common good. But, alas, for the most part they forswear their allegiance to God and country and turn to unscrupulous quest of gain; and there are some who fill two or three public positions, men whose poverty of spirit, weakness of intellect, incapacity for service, and utter absence of all virtuous endowment, would not suffice for one. Off, Shame, and hide in the woods! and teach the natives not to put too much trust in colour. The white blossoms fall, the black berries are gathered.

But the limits of a letter do not permit of my including every particular, and I fear that I have already transgressed them in this very long, and literally voluminous, epistle. But you, kind sir, asked me to write at length, and you will readily pardon my evil lust for writing, even if it has gone beyond what your judgment and consideration of our respective ages, could permit; and you will not despise these few observations, such as they are, in which I attempt to reply to your questions, and to record what seemed to me both worth telling and easy to express in the Latin tongue; nor will you refuse to smoothe my roughness with your critical file, to dress the unkempt locks of my poor prose, and to forgive the homely style which is all that exiles can attain.

To put all in a word, you must know that this land is sufficient unto itself, and needs neither commerce nor any other aid, if luxury be absent, so bountifully does the goodness of God here display itself, affording nurture without stint to the inhabitants.

In addition to this the land is girdled with a circumfluent and lordly Ocean, which from time to time casts upon her shores pearls of the colour of alum, together with amber and other offerings from its store. A narrow isthmus unites the peninsula to the mainland. This peninsula, in the year 1651,[149]) the Dutch occupied under the command and auspices of the great van Riebeeck, and now hold from the natives on a just title of purchase and with the sanction of

[149]) Sic. Van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay on April 7, 1652.

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000 in dies colonis, agris, fortunisque auctiorem glisceniemque, sed quo justo interveniente pretio venditores ignorant, et emptores dicere gravantur: sufficit volentibus non factam injuriam et nostrates ex tenuissimis principiis, vastioris terrae dominos factos, quam totius Bataviae ambitus complectitur: qui in cunis adhuc vagientes, multis frequentibusque latrocinilis barbarorum irritati, et oblatas pacis conditiones superbè satis spretas videntes, bellum illis indixunt, et cum omnibus copiis, tam stipendiario milite quam colonis, in pressionem in hostilem terram populationemque factum, modico saltem praesidio in arce relicto, qui captantes temporum momenta, dum barbarus nocturnis chorseis fessus, ut fere fit, primulo diliculo somnum capit, nil tale metuentem, et in utramvis aurem dormitantem assiliunt, pars trucidatur, reliqui fuga sibi consulunt. Europaei omnia diripientes, ingentem pecudum armentorumque vim, magnis itineribus abducunt. Barbari se colligentes regredientium terga et latera premunt, sed equitatu nostro in fugam versi statuunt ad conspectum stellae, orientem solem antecedentis (hinc eos motus siderum et statas temporum vices omnimodo non ignorare colligere licet) attemperate omnibus copiis in nostrorum castra quadripartito agmine reptabundi, et in ventrem pronl provolare; ex compacto assiliunt, sed in speculis stante milite, hoste detecto ad arma clamat; consurgunt nostri, impetumque inimicorum fortiter propellunt, quibus si mens non laeva fuisset, illaesi ad litus Batavos non diu post rectiissent, nam tanta vis imbrium subito effusa tantaque violentia ventorum coorta, ut frigore obrigescentibus membris, et madentibus nostrorum armis, itinere fesso, sarcinis impedimentisque gravis ad unum omnes deleri potuerant, sed aliter superis visum fuit, hoc unico ictu totae barbarorum vires aciesae, illaque victoria debel-

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648 [101] In 1672 the Dutch "bought" from the Gorinhaiqua chief Schacher "the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout and Saldanha Bays, with all its lands, rivers and forests" for goods to the nominal value of £360 (the goods actually transferred were worth £2 16s. 9d.); and a little later a similar agreement was made with the Chainouqua chief Ilhouw, who "sold"

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law, and the settlement grows greater day by day in burghers, farms, and fortunes; but what the just price was that passed between them the sellers do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating.[141]) It is sufficient that no harm was done to those who accepted the occupation without resistance, and that our countrymen, from the slenderest beginnings, have become the lords of a domain vaster than the whole circuit of Holland. For when the colony was still in its infancy, the burghers, provoked by repeated robberies on the part of the natives, and perceiving that the terms of peace they offered were rather scornfully rejected, declared war upon them. They then collected all their forces, both mercenary troops and burghers, made an invasion into the territory of the enemy and began to lay it waste, leaving only a small garrison behind in the fort. The invaders waited their time, and when the natives were wearied on one occasion with their usual dancing by night, and had fallen asleep at the first peep of dawn, they fell upon them, off their guard and sleeping soundly. Some were slaughtered, the rest sought safety in flight. The Europeans then plundered everything, and drove off by forced marches a huge quantity of sheep and oxen. The natives rallied and pressed upon the rear and flanks of the retreating host, but our cavalry routed them. They then made a plan to be carried out at the first sight of the morning star (and this is the reason why I think they cannot be regarded as totally ignorant of the motions of the stars and the fixed order of time). Dividing all their forces into four divisions they were to steal upon our camp, crawling up on their bellies. At the agreed signal they sprang up for the attack. But our pickets sighted them and gave the cry *To arms*. Our men arose, and vigorously repelled the assault of the enemy. But if they had not misjudged the situation they could a little afterwards have slain the Dutch with impunity to their heart's content, for such a flood of rain suddenly fell and so violent a wind rose that our men were numbed with the cold and their weapons were soaked with wet. If the natives had then attacked they could have slain them to a man, exhausted as they were with marching and encumbered with packs and baggage. But heaven willed otherwise. This one blow crippled the natives' strength. One victory finished

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the district of Hottentots Holland to the Dutch "in return for merchandise amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d." (Theal, II, 398-399). In the eyes of the Hottentots these "sales" were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" analogous to tribute paid for this use (Schapera, 208).

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6880 latum, nobisque in otio vivendi copia quiesque parta, et latius extendendi pomeria occasio oblata fuit.

Sub hujus Coloniae primordiis, Afri nostros conterraneos ignivomos putabant, dum adstupentes, displosis nostratium bombardis una solâ glanda plumbeâ quantamcunque feram, leonem, elephantemve tanquam Jovis ignibus ictum, sterni vident. Iidem equites nostros, totidem Centauros, aut semi-viros[que] equos sibi fingebant, ad quorum conspectum contremiscebant. Eorundemque fortitudinem in tantum reverebantur, ut quamlibet mulierem puellamve horum barbarorum, alteram Thalestram Alexandri concipiendi studio se prostituentem dixisses, eò acriori in venerem cupidine (instigante et stimulante forte ejus marito) quo firmius credebat, foetui ex nostris concepto, parentis virtutem ingenerari: Miselli! pulveris nitrati et nostratium armorum ignara.

Talibus illusionibus fovendis, nostratium aliquis, barbaro pateram ex vicino torrente aquâ repiendam porrexit: nostras interim aliam priori assimilem, spiritu vini maximarum virium diffluentem in tentorio suo abscondit, revertitur Afer, cantinamque lympha plenum reportat, quem arreptum nostras juxta latentem patinam subdole collocat, convocatque Barbaros, ut cum suis magis adsint. Protinus omnes adstant, interroganturque, an aquam per Afrum ex amne haustam et scutella contentam flammis conflagrare valeant? qui imperitiam suam fassi, negant à quoquam id posse fieri. Astu nostras patinam spiritu vini gravem produxit, petitque ignem sibi dari, vafreque admotis sulphuratis spiritum vini accendit, quem ubi flammatum barbari vident, credentes aquam à se allatam ignem concepisse, nullum suspicantes dolum, quidam eorum pudore, omnes metu diffugiunt: sic ars deluditur arte.

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721 [147]) The episode to which G. refers took place during the war of 1673-77 against Gonnema (see above, p. 80). In July, 1673, the first punitive expedition went out from the Fort under Cruse, found the Hottentots' kraal abandoned, but seized all the cattle and marched back home. They had not gone very far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them, and at their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle. It failed, but the Hottentots kept hovering about for some time. "Had hardly marched a quarter of an hour," says Cruse's report, "when it began to rain so horribly that in case of necessity not one of us would have been able to discharge his musket, but God has protected us from an attack of the enemy who might, humanly speaking, have been able to destroy us all and recapture the cattle" (D., July 31, 1673).

177 [148]) De Choisy, one of the Jesuits who passed through the Cape in 1685-86 on their way to Siam, relates an identical episode which he says was told to him by Simon v. d. Stel as having

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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[182]) 721

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot. 177 836 837

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[183]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils vouloient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes hideux blanchirent, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prouver, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'eau toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jettèrent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" *Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1808, p. 280. There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1688, forming the engine upon which both G. and de Chaisy drew their respective anecdotes. 177

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Hanc oram varias regiones emenso, plagamque vestris pedibus obversam colenti, et sarcophago plebeioque rogo contento hospitam, defunctique ossibus meis levem futuram spero, cum ei gravis non fuerim, cuilibet enim et quolibet tempore (abeit superbia verbo et vero) commilitonibus convenis, indigenis, advenisque hospitibus fidem meam, vah! minus hic quam uspiam tutam libens exerui, ubi opportunitatis vel necessitatis ratio id postulavit, licet pessimè habitus, et iniquitate laborum mulctatus: cui accedit quod hic reconditus angulus in quem contrusus, voto meo et opinione fertilior, prae Europae deliciis perplacet: quem magni a me fieri non est quod mireris, si animum meum studiis assertum, involutum literis, et mansuetiorum Musarum amicum, inimicum turbae, à negotiis et curis semper alienum, quietis pacisque amantem spectaveris, Deoque complacitum esse, me in hunc compingere locum, cujus felicitati nihil deest, quam ut hoc exulcerato formidulosoque tempore, per aliquem religiosum Numam, caput non reduviam gemursam(que) curantem, ab scelerum vestigiis expietur, et Reip: turbines audaciâ furentes, flagitiisque anhelantes cum eorundem Autolico Duce, qui pecori imperitat, quem tota armenta sequuntur, exophthalmoque scordalo, perque alterum Titum Judaei hi funditus exstirpentur, et colonia his everriculis et erubescenda sentinâ vacuefacta, ad pileum vocata floreat vigeatque: magnique refert rudis hic populus, dulci fortuna ebrius Numinis metu mitigetur, melioreque consuetudine permulceatur, et ab altero quasi Hercule latrociniorum et rapinarum vindice monstrorumque domitore efferatae hinc genti rubigo animorum effricetur, animusque ejus ad Dei cultum à vitae pravitate convertatur, et huic solutae fluentique juventuti erudiendae, probeque educandae, scholae moderatrices officiorum erigantur, à quibus à tenera statim aetate liberalium artium disciplinis, mentis, genii et ingenii boni adolescentes, sub idoneis magistris, dictis factisque probe excolantur, imbuanturque, et sapientiae sedulam operam det, studiosorum lectissima cohors, fortium virorum seminarium, bono publico et parentum votis sedulo litaturum.

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I have traversed many regions, and now live in a corner of the globe that lies beneath your feet; I ask no more than an undistinguished grave, and I hope this shore will be friendly to me and that when I am dead it will lie lightly on my bones. I have not been a burden to it; to every man at every time (and I hope there may be no arrogance in word or deed of mine), to my colleagues who came here with me, to the natives I found here, to the strangers who have since come, I have ever offered my confidence freely. I have done this whenever occasion offered or need required, though, alas, there is no place where confidence is more misplaced than here, and I have been vilely treated, and unjustly requited. But I have this also to content me that this remote corner into which I have been thrust, is more fertile than I hoped or believed, and charms me more than the refinements of European civilisation. That I should love it will not surprise you, if you consider that my mind has always been devoted to study, wrapped up in books, a friend of the gentle Muses and an enemy of the bustling throng, ever averse from the cares of business and devoted to peace and quiet. Reflect too that it has been God's will to fix me in a spot that lacks nothing for happiness except that in this corrupt and parlous age some religious Numa should arise, to attend to the head, not to the sore nail or the corn on the toe, and to clear the place of the traces of its crimes. But as for the disturbers of the State, raging in their fury and panting with villainy, together with their leader, a pop-eyed thieving blackguard, who lords it over the flock and whom the whole troop follows, another Titus must arise to extirpate them like the Jews of old, and when the colony has been purged of these plunderers and of this shameful scum, and rescued from slavery, it will flourish and prosper. It is of great moment to this rough people, made drunk with good fortune, that it should be tamed by the fear of God, and mellowed by better ways of life; another Hercules is needed to be the punisher of robbers and plunderers, and the subduer of monsters, so that the rust may be rubbed off their savage souls, and their minds turned from a life of shame to the worship of God; schools must be set up to inculcate right standards of morality, so that our dissolute and helpless young people may receive proper training and education. Here from their earliest years youths of good ability, character and intellect must be instructed in the liberal arts, under suitable teachers, so that they may be imbued with fit notions of speech and conduct. Such a choice band of scholars, applying themselves earnestly to the pursuit of wisdom, will form a nursery of noble men, giving continual satisfaction to the public good and the prayers of their parents.

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080 Plura non addo ne videar intemperans, scribendo ea quae occultari debent imperiique arcana revelando: multa scitu digna mandato Praefecti Promontorio, concernentia vitam, mores, statumque dissitorum et circumjacentium incolarum conscripsi, quae Patribus Societatis Indicae non displicuisse gratum, longèque gratissimum, quod bono publico curas, cogitationes, omnesque vigilias meas, licet conculcatus, conferam.

Vale vir Revde et stabili salute potiaris, acroamaque hoc adstricte ex schedis meis rejectaneis adversariisque compilatum, crassiorisque Minervae tam rerum auditione acceptarum, quam quas certis auctoribus omni exceptione majoribus, et ex annalibus, instrumentisque authenticis comperi, oculisque usurpavi, aequi bonique consule, fidesque penes auctores sit, quippe multa elutriata in hebetes quarti imo quinti interpretis aures, et effutita audaci, temeraria et barbara linguâ, credentium se narrata apprimè intelligere, cum nihil intelligant, verbum de verbo malè exprimentes, impudentiaque sua fidem capitulatores sibi perstruentes, et secum ipsi discordes, necessum est, omnes de genuino sensu balbutire, et nos de veritate rerum adumbratâ intelligentia hallucinari. Hoc Ryparographi* levidense hujus provinciae commentariolum, conditionemque regionis, brevi aliam manu Lysippea ex vero et liquido per singula liniamenta simulatam, communi bono, valentioribus lateribus excepturam, spero imo confido, voveoque ut Deus te nobis diu sospitet, tibique sit mei fervida cura, qui se, fortunas caputque suum pro incolumitate tua devovet.

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* Ryparograhi seems corrupt.

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I add no more. I would not be thought indiscreet through writing what ought to be concealed or revealing state secrets. At the request of the commander in charge of the Cape I have put in writing much that it is worth knowing regarding the life, habits, and condition of the natives both far and near. I am glad that this has pleased the Council of the India Company, and still more glad am I to devote all my efforts and thoughts and sleepless nights to the public good, though I be trampled on.

Now farewell, reverend sir, and may you enjoy lasting health. Be indulgent to this little composition which has been thrown together from my note-books and odd pages of writing. It is a rough sketch, embodying matters of hearsay as well as information gathered from reliable witnesses, written records, authentic documents, and my personal observation. My informants must bear the responsibility for what they say. Many statements have been filtered through the dull ears of four or five interpreters, and then poured forth in a bold, rash, and barbarous style by men who believed they understood what was told them, though they really understood nothing. They interpret badly, but endeavour by their boldness to make themselves believed, and they often contradict themselves. Inevitably they all miss the true sense, and our understanding is darkened and we get false notions of the real facts. I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province, and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus.

I pray God to preserve you long in health and strength for us, and may your love for me not grow cold, for you know that I would give myself, my fortune, and my life for your wellbeing.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

000 This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor [114] L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

128 The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. *or* B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. *or* Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

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THE CORANNA

Fast by his wild resounding river
The listless Coran lingers ever;
Still drives his heifers forth to feed,
Soothed by the Gorrah's humming reed;
A rover still unchecked will range,
As humour calls or seasons change;
His tents of mats and leathern gear
Are packed upon the patient steer.
'Mid all his wanderings hating toil,
He never tills the stubborn soil;
But on the milky dams relies,
And what spontaneous earth supplies.
Should some long parching droughts prevail
And milk and bulbs and locusts fail,
He lays him down to sleep away
In languid trance the weary day;
Oft as he feels gaunt hunger's stound,
Still tightening famine's girdle round;
Lulled by the sound of the Gareep,
Beneath the willows murmuring deep;
Till thunder-clouds surcharged with rain
Pour o'erdue o'er the panting plain,
And call the famished dreamer from his trance,
To feed on milk and game, and wake the moonlight dance.

THOMAS PRINGLE.
(1828.)

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STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.Lit.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[101] 114 The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[161] The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

121 Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

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121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

123 161 177 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabak*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1853) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Tetak*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul* was *Esk*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Bruce of the Seven Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabak*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Jali*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Dank*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Dank* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Khois*, the wife of *Tabak*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Gonis* and *Mois*, two very old, wrinkled

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specimens of their sex, and *Meti's* younger, very much younger sister, *Ile* were of great use in reviving the sometimes failing memories of their menfolk, in giving full details of the *Ikabab* ceremony and in playing the musical instruments peculiar to their sex. 115

The younger generations included *!Goko tʃau* (Piet Kruel, 32), *Tsi.ta*, the son of *Tatab*; *!Katsi*, a man of mixed Griqua and Kora descent, the son-in-law of old *Tabab*; his wife, *Ovar* and *Ehis* her sister; *Igaube*, the twenty-two year-old daughter of *Ile*, and *Kwabaabi*, *!Katsi* and Piet Kruel have a large family of young sons and daughters.

Both *Tsi.ta* and *!Katsi* work for very small wages in town. The old men, as the Magistrate of Bloemhof informed me, have small pensions. They seem very poor. In fact, it is a wonder to me how they live, in the location, when they have to pay small rentals to the Village Management Committee for the site on which their mud brick little "pondokkies" stand. They seem to feel unhappy in that restricted space. For a number of years they tried hard to regain possession of the Saltpan. *Tatab* showed me a mass of correspondence in which Hermanus Linke, their late chief, engaged with a Kimberley lawyer for that purpose. Even a petition was sent to the Governor at the Cape. But in vain. 115 511

The older women seemed fairly busy with their household duties, cooking the scant family meal in modern iron pots, which have replaced the old clay *mabi*, on the smoky wood fires outside. They no longer have to milk the cows as their ancestors did when they came home in the evening; nor do the old men, as in the days of their youth, spend their time in hunting and seeking new pastures for their cattle and sheep. Unable to adapt themselves to the new ways of life, and too old to work, they seem to lead an aimless life, reminding one of Tennyson's Lotus Eaters,

> "Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil. . . .
> "Oh! rest, ye brother mariners, ye will not wander more."
>
> • • • • •

I searched the district for more Koranas. There is a very small number living at Christiana. I motored to Schweizer Reneke—the old Mamusa,—where I discovered a very old man, *Kras*, who had almost forgotten his language, his son and wife and a small family; and another very old man, *Sabibi*, who told me about the battle between David Mamoor and the Dutch in 1883. They vaguely said that there might be a few stray Koranas working on the farms in the neighbourhood. At Wolmaransstad which I visited this last May, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas S. 115

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115 Lesuk, I discovered */Kwakje* at Wepoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Sheppard Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

127 In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomotapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Mentzel and Boon, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had "absented" himself from his post of scribe in the Company's service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Koi *or Great Korana, bounded towards the* north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

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ing away from the main body of the Hottentots that had settled on the west and south coasts of South Africa? Wikar, alert observer though he was, does not seem to have troubled himself with these questions, for he records no evidence that might have solved them.

Of the subsequent travellers of the early times who visited the Korana—Truter and Somerville (1801), with their Secretary Borcherds, Lichtenstein (1805), show the same lack of curiosity as Wikar. Even the all-observing and accurate Burchell, (1811-2), is silent on this problem. We must come down to Rev. Campbell, of the London Missionary Society, to find a passing and indirect reference to our questions. He records the words of Cornelius Kok, the Bastard leader, who was in an exceptional position to know, as he came from the Western Province and Namaqualand, that "he had never heard of individuals of that nation living within the limits of the Colony."[1]

As we might expect, we can find no documentary evidence here. But the Korana themselves, like the other Native tribes of South Africa, have preserved traditions on the subject of their original home, which have been recorded for us by the early travellers and missionaries, or are to be unearthed from the Blue Books or other official publications. But it is well to be on our guard against accepting traditions, thus collected, wholesale and without due criticism, if we are to found definite conclusions on the evidence they may afford. First, the unreliability of popular traditions in matters of detail is notorious: a succession of distinct and separate historical events are found telescoped into a shorter series, thus abolishing the adequate notion of time; deeds performed by a multitude of heroes are ascribed to one commanding personality; the strict historic sequence of events is inverted; a more serious handicap—the Native mind has no conception of our calendar dates or of the stricter divisions of time. He does not count in years, but by generations, generally taken to be equal to thirty or twenty-five years by European interpreters. These are some of the well-known vagaries of popular tradition.

In the second place, in the very early times the hasty traveller collected what he could and, not being necessarily trained in the stricter methods of research, was not always too critical. Leading questions to Natives always produce the desired answer and it is easy to overlay Native traditions with false colours, if the collector is unwary. Reliance on interpreters, where ignorance of the Native language makes it necessary, may be another source of the perversion of the evidence. All these

[1] Campbell, 1820. II. p. 260.

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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Mannow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 173 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River. He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Tsunga, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kwa*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Elkorso, who succeeded him, (for Kwa died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[1]

115 173 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Wegeboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Mannow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[2] He was then the Grand Old [illegible], being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

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[1] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[2] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adventures*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: "Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khors. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots' Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Korannas are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitskop, called T'Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift)."[8]

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the "trek" would then be from Cape Town to the Ghoup (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Zanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

One comment, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the sacred language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kapstin or Jan Tasibosch,[9] and from whom he most probably learnt that "the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

[8] B. C. p. 190.

[9] See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

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173 .... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora; hence the people were called Koranas."[6]

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station: "The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony" and he adds what seems his inference: "the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas."[7] Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Masaow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

127 But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes: the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachquas*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.[8] Of these, first the ancestors of the *Gorachquas*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the Dagverhaal, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from *Arbousset*, corroborating it with vague

[6] *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.
[7] R. M. R. 1890, p. 512.
[8] For a full discussion, see my study "The Late Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1932, p. 489 ff.

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stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chouwa*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriy ||ai*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (=*!Kuriy ||aikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Capeman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's arguments, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. passim

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173 1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The "trek" of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.[12]

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taaibosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.[13]

127 3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the "riem" episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.[14]

4. The official records make no mention of the "trek" of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.[15]

173 5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederich Wurst collected from a very old Kora "near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called "*Chei ǂan ǂaub*" was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

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12 Moodie I. 445.
13 See genealogical lists further on.
14 Md. I. p. 318.
15 See "The *Lost Tribes of the Cape*," p. 498-499.

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them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16] 173

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the "Right Hand" tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great "trek" from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,— confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the "Links" or "Left Hand" tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came "from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up." 124 173

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Ayach, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chuvachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved. 127

16 *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.
17 Op. cit. p. 391. col. 2 [1st. German edition—1719.]

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174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touna, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Korana women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

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nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheos in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."[6]

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[7] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[8] and by Molema[9] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,[4] in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[5] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

[6] B. C. p. 290.
[7] Lindley-Adamantia, p. 10-11.
[8] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[9] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[4] B. C. p. 156.
[5] G. M. JL. p. 76-158.

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175 grown with thick, and in some places, impenetrable bush, with a fringe of over-hanging willow trees on the water's edge. In these islands were the homes of the "Eynikoa" or River Folk, the "Namnykoa," the "Kaukoa," the "Aukokoa," stretching from island to island in six kraals of ninety-six huts altogether, that is, from 400 to 500 inhabitants, with large flocks of sheep and many cattle.

Beyond Upingtos, at the point where the river bends in a south-easterly direction, were the "Gysikoa," a mixed race of "Brikwa" (Bechuana) and Hottentots with the typical appearance of the Bantu, tall and blacker than the latter, and who looked upon themselves as Bechuana although they spoke both SeChwana and Korana. Thus far Wikar had not met the real Korana whom he distinguishes carefully from the first two groups. Approximately near the modern Kheis, he found the first of them, the Kouringais, with their forty-nine huts lying in a beautiful valley, under their chief, Soenop.[6] Then came the Husinghais, a very strong tribe rich in cattle.[7] Here ended Wikar's personal knowledge. As to the great or "Kay Korakkoa," he had heard of them, of their power, of their six large kraals and of their situation, extending as far as where the Orange River splits into two branches, "like the fingers of the two hands," that is, where the Vaal joins it.

This last piece ofinformation definitely shows that the *Kei !Korana*, who shall be met later as the Taaibosch tribe, had not yet in 1779 migrated further north, nor could they have been then as in later years in occupation of Taungs. One other point supports the view that there had not been as yet any decisive victory of the Korana tribes over the Barolong. Wikar tells us of the inferiority of the Bechuana as fighters, armed as they were merely with assegais. The Hottentots with their bows and arrows, would have got the better of them, were it not for their fear of Bechuana witchcraft. Wikar also puts on record that, in a cattle-stealing foray, the forefathers of the Korana had been bewitched and killed to a man by the assegais of the Bechuana.[8]

Thus it is clear that some time before Wikar's visit, the Hottentots had had a fight with the Bechuana, but the rest of the story renders improbable the alleged victory over *Taus*, or any victory at all over the Barolong in the early days of the Korana on the Orange River.

Wikar also stresses the peaceful relations of the Korana and the Bechuana in his time. Annually, the Bechuana came down from their

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[6] G. M. II. p. 126.
[7] G. M. II. p. 128.
[8] G. M. II. p. 122.

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country four days further north to the tribes living on the River to barter their wares, " pots, spoons, assegais, ornaments, etc." They had even a fixed tariff, according to which they exchanged these commodities for the cattle of the Hottentots,—a fact which proves that the practice was of long standing.[9] 175

At a later date, probably a decade after Wikar's visit, the two races do not seem to have enjoyed the same amity. About 1790 there was a series of petty wars and a good deal of cattle stealing. The Batlaping, the southernmost of the Bechuana tribes, suffered almost complete ruin. They were living then on the banks of the Nokanna, a northern tributary of the Orange River, which it meets at Kheis, and the adjoining Langebergen, the southernmost point reached by any of the Bechuana tribes, and from this part of the country were they driven by the attacks of the Korana as far north as Kuruman, which was to become their principal centre for many years after.[10]

It is not certain whether these wars had any connection with Jan Bloem. A Prussian by birth and a " desperado," as he has been aptly called, he had to flee the country, in the last part of the 18th century, on account of the murder of his wife.[11] His son, also Jan Bloem by name, gave the meeting at Witgatboom a very full record of his wanderings,[12] which is important, because, in the first place, it provides a very graphic picture of the adventurer's life in those romantic days, and because, in the second place, it helps us to fix, approximately at any rate, the date of the migration of some of the Korana tribes further north.

On his arrival on the Orange River, Jan Bloem the elder settled for some time near the Langebergen, when he married several Korana wives and appears to have become the head of the Springbok tribe of Korana. He next moved to Blinkklip, or to be more accurate with Lichtenstein and Campbell, to the place which still perpetuates his name, Jan Bloem's Fontein, two miles north of Blinkklip, whence, after gathering a motley crowd of Korana, Bechuana and Bushmen, he began a series of wars against " the black nations."[9] The advantage, which the use of firearms gave him, soon made him the terror of the district. His attack on Kuruman, which took place a few years before Truter and

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[9] G. M. II. pp. 121; 122, p. 126.

[10] Campbell, 1820, I. p. 80; 88; II. p. 171; 185; 188-190.

[11] Jahresbericht of Berlin Missionary Society, 1843, p. 30-31; Campbell 1813, p. 378-379. He makes a mistake confusing the father and the son. Stow's account of Jan Bloem, pp. 290-1, is a mere verbatim copy of Campbell.

[12] B. C. Deposition of his own son, (p. 293-294), who accompanied him in his wanderings, for he " had then already ears and eyes."

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175 Somerville's visit in 1801, reduced the Batlaping to almost complete ruin. Threatened by Cornelius Kok, another Bastard chief, he finally trekked higher up to Lekatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, where—the testimony of Jan Bloem proves it—he found no Korana. In this neighbourhood, to use the picturesque words of the son, his " father sowed " for two years in succession.

From the headquarters at Lekatlong, cattle forays were continued in the first year. The next year was busily spent in raising a commando against Makaba, the chief of the Bangwaketse, at the instigation of the Batlaping, with whom, as well as with his other enemies, he had made peace. He also visited, for this purpose, the Korana of Jan Taaibosch the elder, who had then migrated to the Harts River. This is the first mention of this tribe in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was disastrous. Very few cattle were captured, and Jan Bloem the elder only came back to die, some say by drinking the water of a well poisoned by the Bangwaketse.

The movements of this remarkable man can be dated. Campbell notes in his Journal of 1813 at Jan Bloem's Fontein : " that fountain derived its name from a person who had died about fourteen years ago,"[13] and Lichtenstein passing at the same place in 1805, says : " for there had lived ten years before a colonist of that name."[14] So we have the two extreme dates—1799, the year of his death, and 1795, the year of his stay at Blinkklip. Between them is his two years' residence at Lekatlong, in the last of which, that is, in 1798 or 1799, he met Jan Taaibosch the elder. The latter could not have been in that neighbourhood before 1799 when Jan Bloem arrived there, for " my father came in the country before the Korannas," says his son specifically. This further evidence decisively negatives a good portion of Massow's story. The old chief, we can definitely conclude, has telescoped together a series of events which it took a far greater number of years to happen.

Shortly after, the arrival of the first missionary occurred. In 1801, Rev. Anderson, of the London Missionary Society, established his first station in what is now Griqualand West. It was an event of capital importance, for it introduced new economic factors and new civilising influences. " The Corannas," he writes then, " are the most considerable people of those parts." But this was not to continue for long, for he came up, " accompanied by a number of *Bastards*."[15]

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13 Campbell, 1813, p. 168.
14 Lichtenstein, II. 342.
15 T. M. S. (1804) p. 344 and 345.

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These people were of mixed race, descended from the Dutch colonists and their Hottentot servants, who, through the northward expansion of the Colony, had been forced to the Orange River. More intelligent and more easily adaptable to European civilisation, they had, under missionary influences, taken to permanent agricultural pursuits and to a more stable form of government than the Korana. Lichtenstein, who visited with interest their numerous settlements—Laauwatersfontein, Rietfontein, Witwater, Taaiboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil and Ongeluksfontein,—was impressed by their comparatively high degree of civilisation into calling them a veritable "Hottentot republic,"[16] and Campbell, in 1813, persuaded them to change the contemptuous "Bastard" for a new name, the "Griquas."

This new element in the population of Griqualand, more advanced and more enterprising, pressed the more independent and irreductible Korana tribes further north and east and drove a wedge between them and the western tribes on the river, the "Hoogstanders," the "Spinnekop," whom we have met already, and the "Eynikoa," of Wikar, who became all confused under the name of Korana in the time of Campbell. Those of the Korana who remained among the Griqua "for the sake of protection," as Campbell puts it in 1813, ". . . . are, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1341,"[17] and they still were a considerable number, according to the returns of Waterboer, in 1845.[18] They seemed to have become assimilated into the more progressive Griqua population in the course of time.

Concerning the western Korana at the beginning of the 19th century, Campbell has left some information mainly of statistical value, but unfortunately too incomplete.[19] He had a most laborious journey from Griqualand to Pella in Namaqualand across the most dreary of countries, and saw some Korana kraals amounting to a few hundred inhabitants. He does not seem to have visited that part of the Great River, between Kakamas and Upington, which, at any rate, in Wikar's day, contained most of the population.

Of the Korana who lived at the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers in 1778-1779, some,—the "Right Hand" tribe and the "Sorcerers," wandered to the neighbourhood of what became afterwards the Berlin Missionary Station of Bethany, and finally settled at a later

16 Lichtenstein, II. p. 301-308.
17 Campbell, 1813, p. 256
18 B. C. p. 32-33.
19 Campbell, 1813, p. 273-299.

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175 date at Hebron, higher up the Vaal River, and the " Springboks " we have already seen near Lekatlong, with Jan Bloem.

The Taaibosch or *Kei !Korana*, the most considerable of these tribes, did not migrate from the Orange River all at once. For Burchell met at Lithakong, in July 1812, " a numerous party of Kora Hottentots . . . . from a kraal situated at a considerable distance eastward. They were conducted by the son of a *Kora* captain called *Taaibosch*. This latter was lately murdered by some Bichuanas ; and the son, whose kraal was situated on the banks of the Gariep near the English ford, was now removing his father's cattle to that place,"[20] that is, precisely the original home of the *Kei !Korana*.

In 1813, Campbell in his northern journey stopped at the kraal of the " Tybus " as he calls them, at " Malapeetze."[21] This place was in one of the kloofs leading to the Makara, the modern Dry Harts River, which joins the Harts River just below Taungs. It was very much at the same spot indicated by Burchell, east of Lekatlong. The numbers of the Korana there were about 300 in 56 huts, with a herd of cattle numbering 2,000, and an equal number at two other stations. There was also another numerous kraal to the north-east, which would approximately correspond to the Mamusa of the later days. So that the Taaibosch tribe, the largest and most important, seem even at this early date to have been in their full numbers in their new pasture-grounds in the north.

Oukey, the sub-captain, in the absence of Taaibosch himself, mentions some interesting details regarding their history. They had been under the rule of two brothers, Links and Abby. Links was now dead and it was his people who were at Malapeetze.

In 1820, the Malapeetze Korana had divided into three divisions. Campbell met the most numerous of them at Mobatee, still further to the north. He unfortunately does not give the name of the chief. Another division was twenty miles to the south. He did not call at Malapeetze, which was then deserted.[22]

This interesting information collected by Campbell on his two journeys definitely shows that the whole of the Taaibosch tribe was then settled in his days (1813-1820), in those parts of the country which was

20 Burchell, I. p. 345.
21 Campbell, 1813, p. 230-234.
22 Campbell, 1820, II. p. 22-23.

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to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaibosches and the Links were then still living together. 175

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaibosches and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabab*, *Matiti* and *Teteb* all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hareena to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. *But, at any rate, it is certain that their "living off" occurred* in this intervening period. 175 619

Hareena was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Konnah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the "Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east" makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River. 175 619 131

[1] Campbell, 1815, p. 290-2.
[2] Campbell, 1822, II. p. 185, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii. pp. 348-351.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantse*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Lamb, Esqr. of Wolmeranstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Mackavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

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[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 4 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 102-103.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 103.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-3; Magnet p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 849; Masson, p. 290; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 247; Nicholas Kruger, p. 339.

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175 State, until they hurled Moshesh and the Links over the Modder River.
619 A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern
721 Bloemfontein. Moshesh had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitskop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuizen, who pointed out the spot where the Steinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they were the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bastemen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Moshesh—the Links,—among the dead.

Moshesh himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

175 The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitskop, belonged
619 to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wawn, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[1] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[1] R. M. S. 1836, p. 178. E.

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of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Visser, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbuk, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludevicus Pretorius—two of the original "voortrekkers." Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Berges in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.[13] The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found "any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River."[14] As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Mekwetling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.[15] Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Moshesh and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Lirele had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a "smous," that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he overpassed at the Sehjoen. A kraal of Korana resided there, "under Abraham Lyon and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lyon."[16] They had returned to their old haunts and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

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[13] B. C. p. 197-198.
[14] B. C. p. 198.
[15] J. D. Maudon, *Evangelisation*, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.
[16] B. C. 233.

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175 659 797 261

For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a southern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

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175 659 797

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Rose, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[20]

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Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 659 721

Now were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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[16] R. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[17] R. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
[18] R. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
[19] R. M. R. years 1848-1854.
[20] R. M. R. 1850, p. 200
[21] R. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweveld where he, in company with his brother Hans, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hermanus of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt persuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Potiel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[8]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Moletsane at Mekwetling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Moletsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Batsuang chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.[9]

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Bathaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[8] B. M. R. 1850, p. 191; 1851-6.

[9] Ann. Rep. I. pp. 209, 414, 491; Imperial Blue-book—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. R. 1851. pp. 11, 51, 202, 220; 1852, notes on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

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readily granted.[88] BeMairi and Linke seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[89] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[90] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Moriahlo, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had known."[91] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Setlpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a road house."[92]

Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Source early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Linke tribe.[93] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Source became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[94] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Source Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Barolong chieftains Moloetsi and Gasibone to meet him at the Setlpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[88] B. C. p. 291-3.
[89] B. C. p. 293.
[90] B. C. p. 304.
[91] B. C. p. 283, and 285.
[92] B. C. p. 303.
[93] B. M. B. 1846-1854.
[94] B. C. 305.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicions. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links formed Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Bamoteland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[99]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabaneend," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[100]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[101] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson encamped, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[102] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[103]

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[99] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 180-5.
[100] B. C. 229.
[101] B. C. 289.
[102] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[103] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 193.

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During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Potsi for a missionary,[1] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Potsi, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[2] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mareesa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[3] In December of the same year, Missionary Bruce arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[4]

175 Warren, in January 1879, deputed Bent, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Bruce to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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[1] Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bevölker*. Viertes Aufheft, p. 69.
[2] Reports. Blue Book. C. 2482-76. p. 33.
[3] Ibid, p. 34.
[4] Wangemann. op. cit. p. 69.

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slowly drew on, but Bruce flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[**] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Priel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Worms and Kallenberg towards the Koranas in no measured terms.[**] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retracted from his position, and apologized.[**]

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Salpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Bruce and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Bruce maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Bruce, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Koranas at the Salpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[**]

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[**] Mr. Bruce is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Salpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Koranas posted on the ridge above the Salpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, as the risk

** Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'82. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 3.

** Imperial Blue Book—the number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 32, p. 61 ff.

** Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633, already quoted.

** Imperial Blue Book, C. 4310-'86, p. 31, ff.; See especially p. 34.

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of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Korana were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Bruce had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.[*] Bruce himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Bruce's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,[**] it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Bruce can be substantiated. What Poole originates as the breach of a man's word of honour Bruce ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.[***] There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Bruce protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Bruce had been unjudicious. Bruce himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

[*] Letters of Bruce and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2220-79, p. 79-84 and p. 84-85, C. p. Wesselmann op. cit. p. 22-25.

[**] Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[66] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[67] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed; some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[68]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[66] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83, p. 6.
[67] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83, p. 6-9 and C. 2326-'79, p. 70-71.
[68] Wangemann, *Die ersten Nachrichten von Missionsarbeit*, p. 77-81.

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128 ultimately expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi'te* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, */Kats'i* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to */Kats'i*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!aunna*, "correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!aunteme*, "not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the *!kabab* ceremony, *Ke* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Mats'i*, and being also assisted by *Khoi*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, "as it is spoken" among the *[low veg]* *sic* at Riversdal.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from */Kats'i*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 167 The Korana people say *hani ne ke ne ni !hā* "we came from the sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *ni* means "to trek in order

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Takab*, *Matini*, and others. This meaning is different from *dee*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */haimakoos*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ka:n*) of the willows, *qi:kâb*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

/Katsi belongs to the *//aes mey //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to */katsi*, the Koranas had *driven Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Mauwe*, the great chief of the *Ani !kwaase*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Koranas at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Takab*, the father-in-law, */aib*, of */Katsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieska* and followed (?) the *Bir!kwa*, i.e., the Bellhaping and the *Barolong*. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//aes mey //ais* and the "Tauibosch" (*ani !kwaase*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *Ani !kwaase* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Bellhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*!kai !garib*) and the Hart's River (*qi:Kaab*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Bellhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *Ani !kwaase* settled at Taulgs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*olde gaale khoekhoei*), trapped them in pits (*aeragabee*). Then the Koranas quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Tauibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*a:ka-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Tauibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at *Steekdoornlo*, a farm a few miles to the west of Blomfontein.

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(iii) *From Mattti and Titoh.*

Ausib au ǂkhîje doe o, ǂkhîje ǂ'ôna: ǁgarib ǂhî ha o, ǂkhîje hai ǂharuhoa ha:, ǂkhîje kari ǂhî o hoa, ǂkhîje ǂ'khaup ǂna mâsi ǂhaoaa, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au Tsaaga ǂna ha:, ǂna ǁna.ha Brûkoa ǁgubi:, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au ǁkhâgu ǂhaoâ, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha Brûkoa ǂhaa ǁkhoi, ǂkhîje Titoh ǁna.ha ǂhaoa, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au Maoaoaba ǂhaa doe, ǂkhakhîje ǁna.ha au ǁore khaokhoa ǂhai ǁgarib ǂhaa doe:

ǂkhîje hakha hîje ha, ǂhaoâ ha ha mâsi ǂhai ǁgarib ǂna, ǂkhîje ǂ'ôna ǂ'aoaoje, Maoaoaba ǂhaa, ǂkhîje Kaoaoaoâ (Maoâfontein) ǁna.ha doe ha, ǂ'aoaoap, Titoh di ǁaoaoab, ǁaoakhîje ǁna.ha.

ǂkhîje au ha ǁnakha ha: ha mâsi, ǂkhîje au ha ǂhaoaa, ǂkhîje daoab ǁkha ǁhakha, ǂkhîje au ha ǂhaoa ǂha.ǂkhâb ǂhaoaoaa, ǂkhîje ǂaoi khaoab Maoaoaba ǂhaa ǂîe, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au khaokhoa ǂ'aoaoa ǂhaoaa, ǂkha hakha ha o, ha: au ha ha i o, ǂkhîje au ha ǁkhâgu khaokhoa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Tsaaga. There the Bekwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Bekwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Maoaoa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Maoaoa. Then they trekked to *Kaoaoaoâ* (i.e. Maoâfontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). ǂ'aoaoap, the ancestor of *Titoh*, slept there. There the Boshmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Boshmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Maoaoa and from there men assisted. They came. The Boshmen were still there. The Boshmen fought the men.

Note :

Mattti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Bekwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Titoh*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

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B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The *daro*, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Tabak*, December 1931.

ǂkʰʷaa ǁnu ǂkʰʷaakua ǂkarab ǁnu ka:ǁnuu. ǁnu gomab ʘ!aakua. ǁnaab ʘ!aakua ʘ!gaas ǁnu, ǂe ʘ!gaasi ʘ!kkáa ra dia a.

ʘ!aa sakú ra khaakua aasa sikúa.

ǂe kʰʷa kuna ǁkaa, ǁnu ʘ!gu:ǂe, ra ar. ǁnu ǁaikua ǁkú:x ǁnâa ǁnu. ǁnu "kw-a" ti ai. ǁnuu ka a, ǁka ta ʘ!gu:ǂe a, ǁka ǁnâa.

ǁnu gkab nâa, garaasa/ ǁkuu.

ǁnu ǁkaaab nâa:

ta:x aaaab daa ra ǁaab ǁnu ka ǁaba.

ǁnu ga ra:ǁnuu ǁkaiga ǁaisa gú:ŋ ǂâ a, ta:x ǂgaba ʘ!aab aa. a a ka ǁkáiba. ǁnu ǁkáib gai kkaaba ǂgaba ʘ!aiǂ.

ǁnu aa:b ǁaab ǁaaba: ka, a ka ǁkáiba ǁkaa, ǂb ǁkâ kkaab (aa: ʘ!kb) ka ka: ki ǁkáiba ǁaa.

ǁkaa ʘ!á aa.

ǁnu aa:b ǂra ǂkuu a, ǁkaiba ǁkaaab'ka x: ʘ!ka:ti.

ǂka ǁkaa ʘ!á a, ǁnu ǁnaiba ǁx:.

ǂka kʰʷaasaa ra ʘ!ákua a, ǁnu kuaa, ǁaisa ʘ!gaasaa ǁaasa kariaa. ǁnu ǁkaa:a ka aa. ǂka ǁkaa: a, i kʰʷaasa. ǂka ǁkaa: ti a, ǁkaiba ǁkaaab ǁnu ar ʘ!ákua.

Translation:

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is pounded for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Sticks are struck together in their ear and they say "kw-a." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an *omagai* (milk), together with a *kiesi*.

Then they are given instruction:

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its feet.

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Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its foot.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (*i.e.* on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*dawo*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[11] *Note : Matiti*, the other informant added : */kúnu ha /hú o. ǂje dáwo dorubi*, " since the white men (the English) have come, the *dawo* has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting *Matiti* to relate his facts, he only added ; (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabab*, February 1932.

dawo ǂnu ha u: ǂʼkhoi. ǂnu ǂnâki hoi khaukhuu ha ha ǂnu gomaru ǂnuu /hú. ǂnu gaiwaa/ thi gîiab thikka nuhi.

ǂnu ǂkaaub nuhi:

ha:r ǂnaib ǂnu ha:ruu su /nûkka uuuuub ǂkam.
ha:r ǂhau ǂʼkhoi.
ha:r ǂnaib ǂnu ha: /uiua ǂnûta nuhi o.
ha:r ǂgaiba ǂʼkhoib. o u:ha ǂkhûkka ǂkuu.
ǂhu gui khaukhuu ǂgaiba ǂʼkhoiǂ.
ǂnûta ǂnaib ǂnu ǂgaiba ǂʼkhoib o, ǂhu ǂkuu, ǂnu ǂkaiba u: ǂʼkhoi.
ǂnu gu:ruu di ǂuuaib ka#uuia, ǂnu ǂkîgu:ia, ǂnu ru,
ǂnu ǂnâkuu ǂha:r ǂnâka ǂnu. ǂnuuu ha o, ǂhu ǂkîgu:ia ha#a o, ǂnâka.
ǂnu uuuu kuriuuu ǂnâka u: ǂkaukâkuu. i ǂgaru, ǂhu uuuku ha: o, ka#uuu.
ǂhu ha: ǂuuuu ha o, ǂhu ǂkaiba u: ǂʼkhoi.

Translation :

He is taken into the *dawo*. Old men look after him. When they go and count the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kiwi and an *oangwi* (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

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If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

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The *dwo* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-283. Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Namas*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

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It is the first time that the full *dwo* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuanis and the Mooruing nations; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Duwo is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two essential points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk.

(b) the "*dood*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (1) "the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (3) the "laws" given to him.

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88/ *Tabab* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *dowo ha /gowhaa ka tama*, " in the *dowo* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *qha:ai*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *dowo*. The " laws " given by Wurm are slightly different and not so full.

177 The *dowo* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Mamoro Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Koranas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gaos !kaaub* ceremony.

88/ 304 *ona ǂka xami Mamoro qhara o, ona !xamaub ai !nau, ona gomara qhai, /gowhaa mâsi /kha: ka*ai *!xamaub.*

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, men are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Mantsi* and *Tsaib* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *dowo* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *!nau* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (*op. cit.* p. 309) as implying that the *dowo* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wurm (*op. cit.* p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!gaoskaub*. He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *!kabab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

88/ 309 *!kaob ta ha o, !ka:a di !kabab, ona !khaib dikun, ona !kaoaba mâsi qhâkun, ona !kaoa mâ ka*ai *!oib dikun, ona !naoa qhara, ona kaoa gaisa !gaba*

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tama, i ||kaoxe tama, ina ǂ'hau: ta o, ǁkoxa mi kx'am ||aha ǂ'hau xu, ina BW
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sha ta o, sha ǂ'a-hau tau o, ina ǂkhab ga:b mi, ina ga:b ǂ'ae, ina a:b
ha ǃnamakoxe, ina ǂ'gaxu ha xaha sha ǃnabi, tsa gei khoxa shin, ina gei
mabi ina kaba, ina ||khoa di ǃkarab a:x, ina ǃkarab ǃkau ǂ'khoxoxe, ||nab
ǃkau ina xree, ma xre tsa sha o, ina ||naiha ǂ'khoxoxe, ina ǃnaaba ||kaba
ǃkabe, ina sika shikoxe.

ina ga:b ta shin o, ina ǃaroxa kaina khoxabi ǂ'ain, ina ǂkā:b ǃkau,
ǃkabā tai ǂ'naxoxoxe taihoa axoxe, ina ǃanabi ||ka:x.

ina gei khoxei kau ǃnaaxe:kau ǃke tsi xoxe ǃnabi taihoa, ina xoxe ǃkaroxe.

ina ǃgaraba x: ǂ'khax, i mai kaia a:ke, ina ke:xixia o, ina ǂ'gaxaǂ x:x, ina
ǂ'gaxaba ke ke ǃkarax tsi ǂ'gaibbabau a:kx'ai ǃkarax, ina ||na:ka ||gaxoxa
kx'am ǃaa naia, ||kaaka kx'ai naia, ina ke: kaina ǂ'naxoxe, ina kx'ai naxia.

ina|| kā:ka ǃkau ǂkā, ina gei khoxabi ||nax, ina ||xen, ina ǂ'nax:.

Translation:

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is pegged. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old woman eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. [304]
Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sib* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman teaches (with her) everything and the grindstone she and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick. When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to bend on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick.* She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the mat. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

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Note: Henceforth, explained *Ie* and *Mei*, she ceased to be a *Ikoa* and became an *amas*, until her marriage when she became a *tarar* or wife. *Ie* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described, extremely briefly for the Korana by Wurm (loc. cit.) For the Namas, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the correct things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ubb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khoi* brought me some and she and *Ie* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) *Ikaup*; (ii) *Isi ubb*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *Aurob*, "wild hinnies," roots only; (iv) *Ina Nuib*; (v) *Igoaibeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the *Ikoaubeb* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mistress must smell sweet (*Igibi kam*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty cows, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *ghoraib* and dancing. The *ubo gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a "*Gomo Ikoa ma gamaib*," or ox for the newborn children," was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *Gomo Ikoa ma gomas*.

The life history of *Ie*

gai Ouaib kaeib hao Ie kip Ikhaub kabai hoa ka. dipi Ouaib hoa kabmaina kpi kabai. Ima: Hao, kabmaina Ikaruhoa ra dia ka. dip Karuhoa kib ra dia, dipi tarubbaoub Igaraib hoa Ikhiba di hoa hoa.

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Translation:

Ie was born at Saron (*Hkoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note:

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "*History of the Links tribe.*"). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes: "On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow" (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ie* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Khois*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gommab te !nuse o, ine !kabab !nuse-ine !khoab dikue, ine kaibese !nuese, ine !kurub !xaibue, ine !kke: ||o b qi-nuammi no nammi, ine ||no-be ||gnisie, ine !nai !kurube !kke ke'ammue, ine !ha-be thurue.

Translation:

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note:

My informants were *Tatab* and *Ie*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tatab* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tatab* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 318

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.[1]

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

[1] [See II: Ruby, cat. 766, red plate 1. - Pam Lyn]

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60| were asked what they called the different members of the genealogy, these being named by their specific names. By this means, a direct question embodying the English or Afrikaans term was avoided and it was thus possible to secure the real Korana word denoting the particular relationship.

Referring to the genealogical lists,

A. (Genealogical list of *Mattii* and *Igubo qi'ne*)

Igubo qi'ne called	*Api* (father)	*ti ‡i* ;
	Dyakani (mother)	*ti ‡a* ;
	Mattii (father's brother)	*gui ta* (" great pa ")
	Matemma (grandfather) ..	*ti ‡‡amb* ;
	/Kurubab (great-grandfather) ..	*ti gui ‡‡amb* ;
	Kabi (cousin by father's brother)	*ti !kho* ;
	Ommaa (‹‹)	*ti !kho*.

B. (Genealogical list of the Linko Chiefs)

Khoi called	*/Aakoin* (cousin by father's brother)	*Ti !kho* ;
	Brikib (‹‹)	*ti !kib* ;
	Gaiy !kaeip (grandfather) ..	*ti ‡‡amb* ;
	Oahaaaa (grandmother) ..	*aaaaa* ;
/Kaisi called	*Takab* (Father-in-law)	*ti‡ab* ;
	Khoin (mother-in-law)	*ti‡oin* ;
	Lobi (daughter)	*ti !kaa* ;
	Dami (son)	*ti !kab* ;
	Oraaa (wife)	*ti !aaraa* ;
Oraaa called	*/Kaisi* (husband)	*ti aaii* ;
	Kaisiiib (mother's brother) ..	*Ti ‡‡aaaaib* ;

C. (Genealogical list of *Mais* and *Sis*)

Sis called	*Hiaaa* (father's sister)	*ti aaaiis, aaaaa* ;
	Sokoi (uncle by marriage) ..	*ti ‡‡aaraib* ;
	Mahakaib (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti ‡‡aaraib* ;
	Taraaa (father's sister)	*ti aaaiis* ;
	Bagaaa (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti ‡‡aaraib*.
Igaaibo called	*Sis* (mother)	*ti !ka* ;
	Kaaiab (grandfather)	*aaiab* ;
	Taraaa (great aunt)	*aaaaa* ;
	Hiaaa (great aunt)	*aaaaa* ;
	Sokoi (great uncle)	*aaiab* ;
	Mais (mother's elder sister) ..	*gui aaa* ;
	Mahakaib (second cousin) ..	*aaa ‡‡aaraib*.

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Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that older person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not as full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (*op. cit.* p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Haeseld (the Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvi, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (*op. cit.* pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (*op. cit.* p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Snare Arrahara.

Tarakhoesib sa ts'hara ||khara tki kuib ekkhe khara ||hara. ||khara ka hje sa tkē, ona kari ||kar kaiha ka, sesib kaiha ||ankhara sa ||ara ||ka.r. ||khoesib kaiqnakhara sa tsekhkhoesib dikon, gaisis khaukara ekje dikon. ||gara ||nkhara ekka hje di tsoma, sa ||hara kaiha di hara.

Translation :

The women dig for " ariejas " with the hound-sense and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

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The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone weapons (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note:

This text was given, eg *Takab*, *Tamé* and *Ju* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *Skarro* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 60), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kierí* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kierí* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the kierí gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Koranas, Meinhof, *Die Karassprachen der Hottentottische*, p. 14.

They did not usually shoot with bows and arrows. *!Kuisi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*gleuw*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 130 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

Na ŋ se hoa di ǂhoa. dija ǂkoraha ha ŋ di ǂhoa tama. dija ǂe hoa ga: kha di ǂhoa ǂkoraha khama ǂhoa ke. dija ǂkhoŋ'oaha tsuh hoa gui kha di tsi'a hoa thiha gleua. dija ǂkami'ae, ke di tsi gueha thiha amaga hoa ǂkoa'a. dija ghuh ǂhoa ǂkamma.

Translation:

The Bushmen used poison. The Koraua did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springbuck and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants: *Dyuli*, *Matiti* and *Khau*.

I take it that the meaning is that the Koraua originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

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Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de voorÿke natien langs dezen zÿrier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (*Ibid.* pp. 131-133). 114

PASTIMES

The making of the *!gun !hurib* (honey beer) 273 539

Amina a: ǂ!hi-i.

!ǂabib ǂne !hûs, ǂne !hâ !hûs, ǂne !khoroe, ǂne thomse !hanb ab n.v. ǂne dami !hoe ti'gubi.

ǂne !hamse !gumni ha ǂne ǂ!ammer. ǂna o !gu ha³xis. ǂne !hâ !hûs.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *!ǂabib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey. [824]

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels*." II p. 150 and 367) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-aarde*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " *dango* " (beer) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *kaap* or " *beerwortel*," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tshab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the foaming that follows. The *!ǂabib* was described by *Tshab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places. 114 273 824

Games

(i) The *ǂhes*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The 524

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Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//ku:*, "To make a hole" and *//ku:s* is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *gaunkoms*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims: "*kom //kamip //ao ka?*" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: *//kaugu*. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aromy //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

(i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt der Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels.* Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

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6 and 6 and 6 (p. 7). I found the same hesitancy in many other instances. Thus *ǂkhe ɛ*, in *Tabab's* pronunciation, as against *ǂe, ǂkhae*, " to be brought in." *ǂkhe ɛ* can be explained thus: *ǂkhae* > *ǂkhe* (with *a* > *ɛ*) > *ǂkhe ɛ* (*i* by dissimilation). Again *!Nare* in the group *hare !ke.ne gomab* was pronounced *hare* by *Tabab*, who is considered as the best Korana speaker in Bloemfontein.

Similarly *e* and *o*, e.g. *ere* and *ere* " to free, rub off "; *!Kere* and *!kere*, " to rub, massage; "

ee and *oe* in *hoeb* and *hoeb*, " red ochre ";

ke and *ko* in *//ake* and *//ako*, " to hear."

An *ŋ* is found in some words, e.g. *ŋa ka²ai*, " to cover "; *ka²ami*, " house."

An *y* is heard sometimes in *ǂyab*, " arose " pronounced *ǂyāb*, as against *ǂab*, " father-in-law," which never shows the *y*.

ae > *ee* e.g. *!kee*, and *!kae* " to "; *!kaie*, " with "; *ǂkhae*, " to go out."

u develops between *o:* and *r* in *ko:ue* " to be obtained," (heard once).

(b) Consonants.

(i) *-b* is very often devoiced into *-p*. Thus *Tabap* instead of *Tabab*; *geip! kawip*; *ǂkaip* instead of *ǂkaib*, " foot."

-b- (intervocalic) is sometimes, but very seldom heard as *-β-*.

(ii) The flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as *r* or *l* or *d* exists. Thus, in proper names, *Mabebab, geip! kawip, Katalip*, etc. I have heard *!ke say !garip* and *!gadip* " the river " and *Tabab say indifferently gomadi* and *gomari* " the cave."

The existence of this consonant explains, to my mind, such distinctions as this one made by Wuras (*Vocabulary of the Korana Language*, under " Cow "): " All the females have two plurals—the woman says; *Kamaire*; the man says: *Kamare*." and by Engelbrecht (p. 8): " Reeds uit die voorgaande het ons geleer dat die gebruik van 'n *r*- of 'n *d*- vorm afhang van die geslag van die spreker. . . . By die vorming van die verkleinwoord word naamlik tussen stam en agtervoegsel *-ra-* of *-da-* ingelas al na die spreker tot die manlike of tot die vroulike geslag behoort."

(iii) The *l* exists very rarely. I observed it only in one word *laula* " I am sorry, excuse me."

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194 (iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *n* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names; *//aewey //ais* ; " the Lions " *//Kaeiq //ais*, " the Hoogtemdons ;' *//kkeq //ais*, " the Katemens "; *//kkq //ais* the " Sharpmens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiq //kaeiq* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common elsewhere, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiq ǂka.a* " the big road."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the voice element of the click as to the isolated voices *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this voice element of the click. The Blommfontein Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *ǂgarib*, " the Orange River," and *//karib*, " honey-bear, " and *//karib* " whip "; *//kaub*, " time," and *//kaunb* " law."

I observed no ejective voice affricate *kǂ* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *//aewey //ais* being a good example, < *//aes* " kill," + *//kaib*," arm," *//ais* " tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Blommfontein speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. *//aib*, " stone," with a high tone, and *//aib*, " father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognized three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

193 It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that " die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

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by speaking to the Korana, they do not seem to have a very strong sense of these as case-endings. It is interesting in this connection, to examine carefully the lists of words of the 18th century old Cape dialect (cp. G. M. I. pp. 215-224). There is not, out of the many masculine nouns, a single one ending in -b, there are a few feminines ending in -s. There are a number of plural masculines ending in -daos. This usage, in the case of isolated words, is fully confirmed by the texts we possess of the period (the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, *Cape Monthly* 1858. 116-9). It might perhaps not be unreasonable to conjecture that the extensive use of these endings are a relatively modern development.

In our dialect, the -b is regularly dropped, in a number of cases, e.g. where *||kaeb*, "time" is placed at the end of a temporal clause: *ta kuP'e hanse ||kaeb, hanse ts'ganis*," when they have drunk, they are called." But even in other connections, this omission is found, e.g. *hani ||kae*, "in the aforesaid time." Frequent as this is, it is still almost one of the few fairly regular features of Korana.

Similarly with the tense-particle of the verbs, they are often left out, if we do not count *tses* as such. For this particle, properly expressing the present tense, becomes in the current usage of to-day a mere equivalent of "and." *Ta* is also regularly used to express the future. There is, in this respect, another interesting usage. Schultze, with his usual accuracy, has already noted for Nama what he calls the Passivum narrativum (op. cit. 392). He says: "Statt so sagte wir *gye ge tses*, d.h. "und sie tanzte," sagt der Hottentot in Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern: *ni gye ge ts'aoke*, (-*ke*, Passivendung), d.h. "und es wurde getanzt," wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivum selbst durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimmtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird."—a practice singularly like the Bushman. We observe precisely the same syntactical phenomena in our Bloemhof texts, e.g. *dije hoke hje ke, ||kaeb ke: ke nake:, dije tses tsaoke*, etc., cp. also the last lines of *||kabab* ceremony, etc.

This looseness in the structure of the Hottentot sentence is still more apparent in the way in which words are juxtaposed to create an adjectival relationship, e.g. *tses nake ne khaokhoe khakhoe*, lit: "knee, place, an adjectival particle, it is cooked for him." (the two first are plain verb-nouns), i.e. "certain ones are appointed to cook for him." Or again, *||kaese nek ke'ase ||ap*. lit. "alone, place, mouth door," i.e. "a separate door," etc. These are purely agglutinative constructions, where all sense of what we are accustomed to call "parts of speech" is lost or perhaps never existed.

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THE PLACE OF KORANA AMONG THE HOTTENTOT DIALECTS

Korana has been often compared with Nama in recent years. A comparison with the Old Cape dialects is no less important, if we are to determine accurately the relationship of Korana to the other members of the Hottentot linguistic family. Cape Hottentot is however an extinct language. But we fortunately have word lists of this old dialect, dating back to the end of the 18th century, to which we have already referred and which probably all come from the same source, as I hope to prove some day. We shall take for our present purpose the lists published in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, p. 215-224). They provide an excellent basis for comparison with Korana, in view of the fact that the two peoples who spoke the dialects are fundamentally identical.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA, CAPE AND NAMA DIALECTS

	Korana.	*Cape.*	*Nama.*	*English.*
A.				
1.	*ka!a*	*ka!a, kaa*	*a*	"to drink"
2.	*ka!aa*	*kaaqua, gaaraqua*	*aa*	"mouth."
3.	*ka!aais*	*k'aaraiqua*	*aoi*	"bird."
4.	*ka!kâ*	*ga!ais*	*kâ*	"liver."
5.	*ka!oai*	*k'aaroa*	*oai*	"house."
6.	*ka!xâ-ka*	*k'gaaraicha*	*//khaka*	"alive."
7.	*thai //gaub*	*thaikoa*	*tsui //gaub*	"God."
B.				
1.	*ki !ûb*	*kigua, kiguaroa*	*kaoxa*	"head."
2.	*kaaxa*	*kaaxa*	*aaxoi*	"tongue."
3.	*aaxaub*	*k'gaaxaroa, chaaxaroa*	*//gaub*	"tiger."
4.	*//khâkab*	*chaaqua*	*gâkhaib*	"wolf."
5.	*kâ*	*kâ*	*kâb*	"milk."

The evidence in this table is conclusive. Not only have we here in Group A 1-6, a series of words beginning with the ejective velar affricate *ka'* in Korana and the Cape dialect (the *-b* and the *-qua*—*-kwa* are merely endings, which can be neglected for our present purpose), whilst Nama has consistently dropped that sound combination. In A. 7 the *th* again belongs to Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tawa* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*hib*) as against Nama *dip*. 197

In 1919, Rev. C. Wanders tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentottsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain these identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *hipanse* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qa'eis*: "*qa'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *hampus*: "das *h* . . . am Anfang des Wortes vermuthe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wanders as a practical test to show how different Nama is in these few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart: (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names: 173 551

-b (*-p*), for the males, and *-s* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

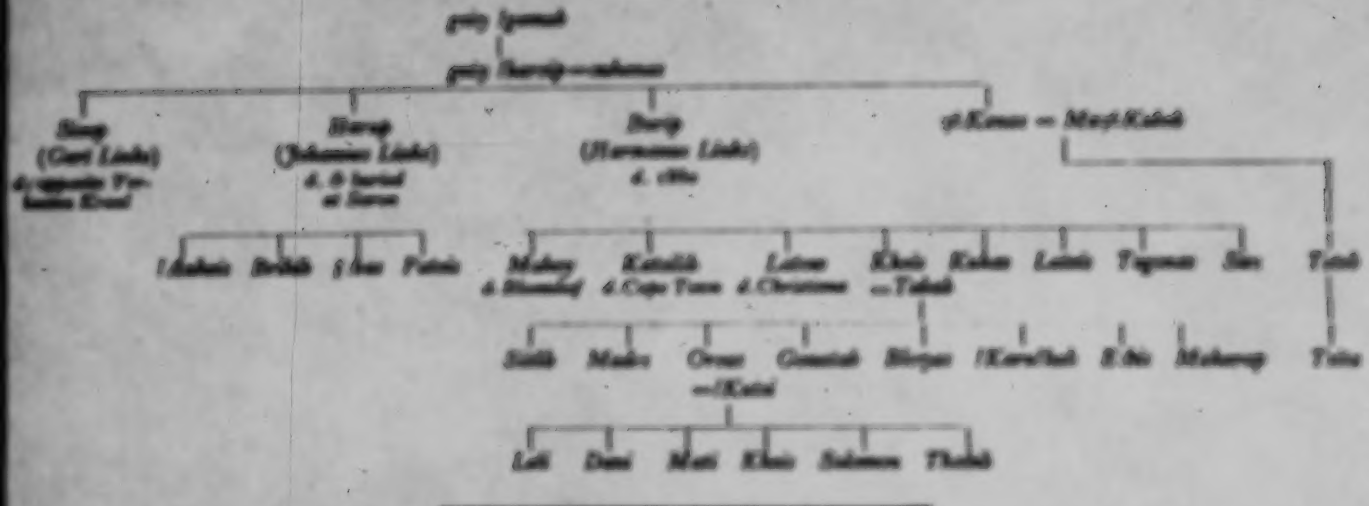
(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of */Auni* and *Orsas* have mostly European Christian names.

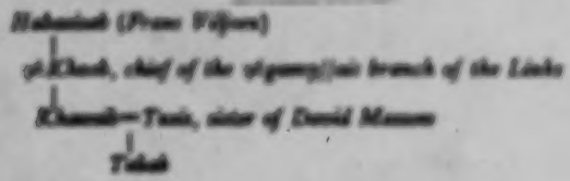
(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS



GENEALOGY OF *TABAB*, HUSBAND OF *KHEIS*



III. Maynard, O-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX11 Helicopter FX11
Korea

11: Maingard Q-1 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources:

(i) the deposition of Mauow Rijt Taaibosch at the Wiggetown Meeting in 1860. (B. C.290-291);

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Roey, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B.C. pp. 291-292);

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hasto;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 20-33, which is signed by Mauow Rijt Taaibosch himself;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110;

(vii) and passim, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Mauow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Roey's deposition. The names of the descendants of Mauow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (iii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Mauow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Now, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family. (*The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Mauow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *Atongy* may = *Amonchai* (*p*)

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

kr represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *hum — hu*, *ur* being a *glide sound*; the combination *hu* does not exist in French. The *g-ch*, the second one of the French transcriptions, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal. 173 174

(b) *hoonghoe moey — hoogo* (*g*); and (c) *goum — hum* (*g*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikoms* and *Kushé* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Indentity of Hanto — Jan Taaibosch — Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries equally saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: "This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a young son.

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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173 114 *Kopi and Jan Taaibosch* the father *of Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother *of* the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantie, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Wiggetbosch meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1879) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book* C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 263).

(iii) *Goliath Vaarbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Meneer Rijk Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

173 113 Sources: Informants at Bloemhof; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Trooi*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

173 114 *grey Harvip*, " great " or " old Harvip " is the " alte Harvip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 57, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Steen (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been been about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chaabap*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-b-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *a* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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114

syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiy !kuruip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Sesen Mission. This is not in disagreement with the Berichte.

Onkoman, " *old Hanse* " in the piece " *alte Hanse, die Frau des alten Hariip* " (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Sesen Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Sesen (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1860, as he appeared at the Wiggetbosen meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Wiggetbosen after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3633, 83, p. 3). His grave is at Sesen (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Brome (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (Imperial Bluebook. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Totsh* of Bloemhof). He must—

Kattilib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Totsh* is now looked upon as the *gaunab*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Onaindaw :

Uruib, the *Urum* of the Berichte and the *Oaibes* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matiahase's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiy !kuruip*. *Matiahase* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

Finally, these members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions Berichte, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiy !kuruip* ; (ii)

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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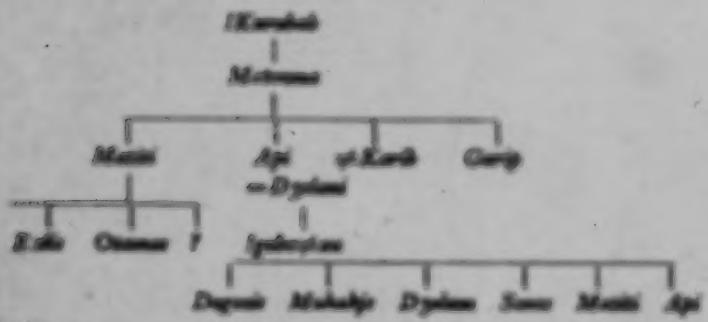
Korana

old Ruys, the eldest son of gaiy !kwiqi, a drunkard and no'er-do-well. Was he the same as Uvoß? (iii) the unnamed daughter of gaiy !kwiqi and Outamas, who, according to the Berichte, was not the mother of gaiy !kwiqi's sons.

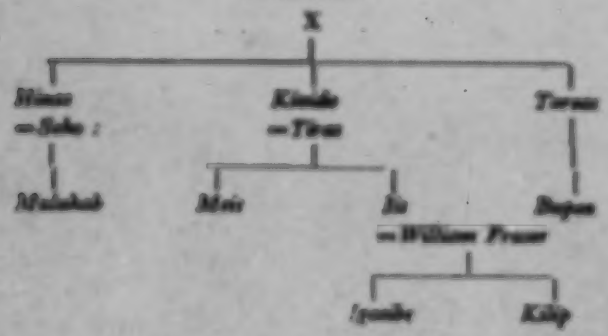
GENEALOGY OF TABAS

Hahnenop's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Moffatson as being under him, to the two Free State missionaries Schoonhoge and Meyer when they visited him in 1839 (*Bor. Bor.* ii. p. 309). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabas's* birthplace was Smokal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF *MATITI* AND *!GOBO-XA*



GENEALOGY OF *MEIS* AND *IIS*



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FX13 Homework FX13
Korea

GH

VIII. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KOREAN TRIBAL NAMES.

[illegible](1)	[illegible](2)	[illegible](3)	[illegible](4)
1. [illegible]	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	
2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
6. [illegible]			[illegible]
7.	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8.	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9.	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11.	1 [illegible]		
12.		[illegible]	
13.			[illegible]
14.	[illegible]		

(1) G.M., ii. 113, 118, 120, 126, 128, 130. Date: 1778-1779.
(2) In Minden. See Minute Recommendation in S.W. Affairs, p. 10. Date: 1813.
(3) 1813, p. after-dates without names are left out in the above list.
(4) Historical information: Tabak, Frank, Khan, &c. They did not give any more names, except the author, the Surveyor or tribe of Burnett, the Unique chief.

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GA The geographical position of some of the northern Korana tribes in the 19th century has already been indicated in the preceding pages, viz. The " Taaibosch " or *Kai !kwena* at Sekwaniaw Rendez and at Umpukani ; the " Links " or *//aewag //ais* at Bloemhof ; The " Springboks " or *//ab //aihwa* at Potchefstroom. It must be remembered, as has already been pointed out elsewhere (" The Last Tribes of the Cape," *South African Journal of Science*, 1931 p. 493), that these geographical points are merely centres round which the tribes wandered.

The " Cat " tribe or *//khey //aihwa* got involved with Jan Bloem and some are still to be found near Potchefstroom (cp. Meinhof, op. cit. p. 5). An official map of the Potchefstroom region, " in the Government Office at Bloemfontein," published by H. Green, the British resident, and by F. K. Hohne, the Government Secretary, places, for the period 1840-1850, the " Hoogmanders " or *!kwriq//ais* ; the " Seekoes " or *!kwa //aihwa* and the " Skorpioens " or *//khq//aihwa* in the immediate vicinity of Potchefstroom and Gotlieb Taverbek, the chief of the " Right Hand " tribe, at Platberg.[1]

The tribes 1-3 in the table are more properly the *Kyakkhwa* or "River folk " of Wikar. Campbell included them in his " Different Tribes of Coranas on the Great River." This because the practice later, for they are called officially Koranas in the Government Reports on Sir Walter Currie's campaign against them in 1868-1869, when " Koranaland " was created, and again in 1878-1879, when they were practically annihilated. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G. 61-79). Even in 1875, their numbers were very small. D. Hook, Special Commissioner at Kenhardt, reported that there were only 120 to 140 under the two chiefs Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs C.A. 19.75 p. 52-53).

This table is also of philological interest. It is a testimony to the disfigurement suffered by the Korana names in the attempt to transcribe them with inadequate phonetic symbols. Wikar renders the clicks with *h* and has no indication before *a*, *e* and *h* ; Alberchi with *t'h* or *t'q*, etc., being probably inspired here by Sparrman's or Lichtenstein's *t'*. Campbell, whose transcription and perhaps hearing of all Native words is extremely imperfect, has mangled beyond hope even the Dutch names, for he does not attempt the Korana ones.

Finally, it should be noted here that *//ais* means " tribe " ; *//aihwa* is its plural form and *-kwa* is the plural mas. suffix.

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[1] Imperial Blue Book. C. 508-'72, Map facing p. 56.

Rhodesiana Ø-S (1911-1912) 1912
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Korana

[Facing p. 152]

This map illustrates only the general direction of the migrations. It is impossible to indicate the to and fro movements of the tribes, e.g. those of the Lieba between Senn and Nieuweland. It is noteworthy that the lines of migration follow the rivers, the Korana being a pastoral people.

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[Title Page]

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PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KORANA.*

By J. F. MAINGARD, B.SC.

A. INTRODUCTORY

114 During the month of February 1932, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity of making anthropological measurements on several members of the Links tribe of Korana Hottentots at Bloemhof.

These measurements are the more interesting because the actual physical characters of the Korana and their relationship to other South African peoples have been matters of considerable speculation within recent years. No writer on the Korana has denied that culturally and linguistically the Korana are Hottentots, and the general consensus of opinion seems to be that anthropologically also they are similar to other Hottentots. Yet there are some writers who maintain that there are certain other elements entering into the composition of the Korana. Thus according to Broom (1 and 2) the Korana "appear to be Hottentots who have acquired some strain of Negroid blood and a considerable strain from some Australoid (sic) race." In *Nature* of 1929, Broom (3) attempts to differentiate the Hottentots from the Korana. He writes: "The Hottentot and Korana are very distinct from the Bush. . . typical Hottentots are not improbably the primitive race contaminated by a considerable Bushman admixture while the Korana are apparently nearer to the primitive type, but with a considerable Australoid element." Two years afterwards we find a seeming contradiction of Broom's theory of Australoid admixture in the Korana in the following statement by Dreyer (4): "Disregarding those Australoids found up to the present in South Africa the Australoid character of which is sought in one or two features only, one need only consider one skull seriously, viz. that described by Drennan" (5), (i.e. the Cape Flats skull). From this statement of Dreyer's it appears that the distinction drawn by Broom between Korana and Hottentots is not generally accepted. In *Nature*

*I wish to record my indebtedness for assistance more particularly to Professor R. A. Dart, who helped me with books and instruments and whose kindly criticisms proved invaluable, to Mr. L. H. Wells for much helpful information, to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé for allowing me access to her library, to Miss Wilman, the Director of the Kimberley Museum, and to my father, Professor L. F. Maingard.

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114 of 1929 also, speaking of the Springbok Flats man, then newly discovered, Broom (6) regards the Korana as the direct descendants and modern representatives of the Springbok Flats type; yet Keith (7) in 1931 says of this same Springbok Flats type "He was a tall strong fellow with a big brain, and a long and wide head, a drawn out face, great mandible and small teeth—*a type which we cannot fit into any African type known to us.*"

From my experience the Korana can hardly be said to conform to Keith's description of the Springbok Flats individual, but it is possible that some of them may show such features. In any case Keith's description of that skull is not in accordance with what Broom describes for his typical "Australoid" Korana!

Allen (8) tentatively advances the suggestion that the intrusion of the Australoid element into the Korana is due to admixture with Bushmen and that such a strain "may be found mixed with all the Yellow-skinned (i.e. Bush-Hottentot) peoples of South Africa."

Schapera (9) says that "the Korana skulls appear to be somewhat separated from those of other Hottentot tribes, and resemble more closely those of the Bantu-speaking Negroes of South-Central Africa (i.e. the Bechuana) with whom they have been in contact for a long time, but they also approximate on the whole, *more* towards the Bushman type of skull." This is a quotation from Shrubsall which is somewhat ambiguous. Schapera quotes Broom as one of his sources, but makes no mention of Australoid characters in the Korana. No measurements are given.

Further he says "Most (Hottentot) skulls are cryptozygous but among the Korana, mesozygous and phaenozygous are also found," and again "the cephalic index, owing to the greater length and lesser breadth of the Hottentot skulls is definitely dolichocephalic, especially in the Korana skulls." This seems to show that he agrees with Shrubsall in regarding Hottentots and more especially Korana as characterised by a mixture of Bantu and Bush features. He also adds that the Korana mandible as contrasted with that of the other Hottentots, resembles the mandible of the South-Eastern Bantu. Nevertheless he seems to think that still another element contributed to the physical structure of the Hottentot but refrains from committing himself as to its nature.

Sollas (10) apparently considers the Korana as negroids although he is not very explicit. Drennan (11) in his discussion of Bush and Hottentot does not mention them at all. Dart (12) in a general survey of South African Anthropology says "Investigations . . . . have not in my opinion

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Korana

revealed any satisfactory means of separating the Bushmen from the Hottentots physically." He therefore believes it more serviceable for the present "to regard the Bushmen, Hottentot and Strandlooper as members of one and the same racial group, i.e. the Bush race." Without making specific mention of the Korana, he states that the work of Broom and Allen has revealed the presence and wide distribution of an Australoid element in the Native races of South Africa. This appears to be the most logical way of regarding the matter. Hence it would not seem that Australoid features are *peculiar* to the Korana.

On examining the literature to find what ground exists for these statements about the Korana, no data derived from known living or dead Korana could be found.

As making statements about the Korana, before any anthropometric survey of certifiable specimens was available, seemed to me to be somewhat precarious, I availed myself of the opportunity to examine some living Korana of known parentage to see whether they agreed in physical characters with the published statements.

The foregoing review clearly shows the rather unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Korana. It is therefore important to gather all relevant information which may lead to a real understanding of the physical nature of these people.

Elsewhere in this volume, cultural, linguistic and musical data concerning them have been discussed, and judged according to these standards, there is no doubt that *the Korana are Hottentots*. In the next portion of our study we shall turn our attention to the earliest descriptions of the Korana, to see if new light may be derived from them. The historical method of approach, although seldom used by anthropologists, happens to be of undoubted value in this instance.

It is however essential while discussing the historical evidence to bear in mind the defects inherent in the mode and time of its collection.

In the first place those old observers were not trained anthropologists,—anthropology had not yet been established as a science—nor with very few exceptions, such as Lichtenstein or Holub, were they even medical men. Hence we cannot expect to find any precise anatomical descriptions, but only those of a general and superficial character,—those relating to the colouring or the more striking external features—information in which one may trust the faithful observer, although here and there individual differences in terminology may exist. But when there is a series of corroborative observations, drawn from different authors regard-

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121 ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

127 144 In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. *With Bantu:*

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

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progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his " dagverhaal " (diary) he mentions the " tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, " daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it.

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that " what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that " many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language " (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the " Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana " and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them " the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

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127 144 high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only.

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman..... The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage. . . . They fought . . . . . after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen :*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd " In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

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Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hareena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that " Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen." 127 144

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that " the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that " there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (25) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Korana among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

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127 144 Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (merkmalen) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

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Hitherto I have used the term " Hottentot " without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

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121 144 (11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this " Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term " San " race as an alternative to " Bush " race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as " Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the " Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

144 What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these " Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

127 142 Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

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present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26). 127 142

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch konnen rötlichen variatäten haufiger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremde Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with. 127 144

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour. 127 142

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144 Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

142 144 Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of " Bush " admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical peppercorn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

142 Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had " Bush " characters.

127 142 Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original " Hottentot " type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood : " Auch *Kafferblut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in betrachtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

127 Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other " Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

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the Korana as such, Australoid features being widely distributed throughout South African tribes, as Allen himself, Dart and others have shown (cf. Grootfontein " Bush " skull and the Snyderskraal skull mentioned in Allen's paper).

The data tabulated here (vide table) are from measurements made on living Korana of the Links tribe, taken according to directions contained in Stibbe (35) and Drennan (11). I have appended Fritsch's measurements and some figures from Shrubsall for comparison. My results differ somewhat from Fritsch's, possibly owing to the fact that his are from the skeleton and not the living subject, or more probably because they are drawn from another tribe—the Boshof Korana. But as neither Fritsch nor Shrubsall make any attempt to show that their material is of undoubted Korana origin I do not know how far such comparison is valid.

Out of the score of adult Korana we found, eleven were actually measured—of the eleven subjects examined, seven are, as far as we know, of " pure " Korana parentage, two are of mixed Griqua-Korana, one of Korana-Bechuana, and one of Nama-Korana descent. No. 2 is a supposed Korana skull, which I was enabled to measure through the kind offices of the Rev. H. R. Higgs of Bloemhof, from Schweizer-Reinecke, one of the last strongholds of the Korana. A study of the data given here reveals that the subjects examined, while not conforming to our definition of a typical " Hottentot " yet share certain features in common. Thus the cephalic index shows *mesaticephaly* bordering on dolichocephaly, three (Nos. 5, 7, and 13) of them are actually on the dolichocephalic side. Nos. 5 and 7 are " pure," No. 13 being of mixed descent. It will be noticed that No. 9, of Griqua-Korana parentage has a high cephalic index.

The cranial height index (length-height index) is more variable. Most of those examined were *orthocephalic*, one (No. 1) chamaecephalic, and three (Nos. 6, 10 and 11), all " pure " Korana, were hypsicephalic individuals. (Nos. 6 and 11) were, as we have seen, not so characteristically " Bush " in their physiognomy, and also show some slight differences from the others in skeletal characteristics, e.g. the greater cranial capacity consequent on the larger dimensions of the head, the presence of a supra-orbital torus in the man, and their greater stature as compared with the other members of their group. These divergences may be Boskopoid or Australoid affinities, but we are scarcely justified in thus describing them until after further investigation. The upper facial index is uniformly *chamaeprosopic*.

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141 Owing to practical difficulties of measurement the nasal index is seen to vary over a wide range but is definitely platyrrhine in all but three cases, (Nos. 6, 8 and 9), one of whom is of mixed descent. Cranial capacities were calculated by means of the Lee-Pearson formula corrected by the addition of 200 cc. (Drennan op. cit.) The figures obtained show a relatively low capacity, all were microcephalic, except the two largest (Nos. 6 and 11), which were mesocephalic. In stature the Links individuals are short, the tallest not exceeding 5′ 6″ in height, the average for the group is about 5′ 3″. The Intermembral index was calculated from direct limb measurements. Indices ranging between 72.1 and 87.5 were obtained for Links. Such results in the Korana are remarkable, for, according to Drennan (11), this index in the human race does not go higher than 83, the index for the Pygmy, and in the Bushman it only reaches 67.

To sum up, we may say that, according to this material, the average Links Korana of to-day is a mesaticephalic, microcephalic, platyrrhine, orthocephalic, chamaeprosopic individual, of short stature and fairly dark complexion. He shows little prognathism or eversion of the lips. In fact he is essentially the same in form and features as the type we have learnt to call the " Bush type."

This short resumé of the chief physical features of the Links group should be contrasted with Shrubsall's description of the " typical Hottentot " skull—" a true Hottentot skull may be briefly described as dolichocephalic, akrocephalic, leptoprosopic, mesoseme, platyrrhine, and leptostaphylinic " (33).

If Shrubsall's " Hottentot " standard is to be accepted, it follows that these Links Korana, in spite of the fact that they are Hottentots, are anatomically speaking not Hottentots, but are Bushmen.

114 The position we have reached then is this :—that in the published work of the three earlier writers on the physical anthropology of the Korana, there is nothing to show that their material was of unquestionable Korana origin.

121 Hence investigation of persons or skeletal material of definitely known Korana origin is necessary to discover what the skeletal characters 142 of the Korana really are. We know from the historical evidence that the modern Korana are extremely bastardised. They nevertheless did, and some of them still do, present typical " Hottentot " features as defined above. The typical " Hottentot " features persisted in one woman seen at Bloemhof, whom I was unable to measure. She was so like a subject

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of Daniell's, that she could almost have stepped out of the pages of his sketch-book. Her skin was of olive-yellow tint, her face was broad with high cheek-bones, coming to a point at the chin which was so characteristic of the Hottentot of the earlier descriptions. Nevertheless from the somatometrical evidence (i.e. from investigation of a group of definitely known Korana), we can refer *most* of these particular Korana to the "Bush type." They do not conform to the definitions laid down both here and by Shrubsall for a "typical Hottentot."

This may be because (1) of the known Bushman admixture in the Links, or because (2) the typical Hottentot has not been accurately described.

We may rely on the evidence relating to the external features of the "typical Hottentot," for, as we have seen elsewhere, it has been extensively corroborated.

We cannot be so sure about the evidence relating to skeletal characteristics. In information derived from skeletal material a possible source of error may exist. There is no way of knowing in a good many cases the actual origin of such material. The investigator has to take it on trust, unless the pre-burial history is accurately known.

It is in deciding questions that might otherwise be in doubt that field work is so desirable in South Africa.

L. Schultze (36) investigated the external appearance of the "Nama Hottentots" in this way, but unfortunately took no measurements. His results go to show that the Namaqua are also very mixed in their features showing both Bushman and Bantu traits. He mentions that prominent eyebrow-ridges are found in the Nama also.

The presence of two persons among the Links (Nos. 5 and 6) having well-marked eyebrow-ridges, confirms Broom in ascribing "Australoid" features to *some* of the Korana, but in view of Schultze's findings among the Namaqua and the fact that such features have been found elsewhere amongst Bushmen, the possession of Australoid features is not to be considered characteristic of or even common in these Links Korana. These features could have been brought into the Korana by such "Australoid Bushmen," especially as both Links showing eyebrow ridges were Bushmanoid. There is even a possibility that they are Boskopoids. A surprising fact that emerges from these considerations is that there is little trace of Bantu influence apparent in the physical structure of the Links. Yet we know from the historical facts that they have lived in close alliance with the Bechuana for many years.

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143 This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that " Bush " features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

144 On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives[1], but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives[2] to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, " Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not " Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the " Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such " Hottentot " types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned " investigations have not " as yet " revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

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[1] See historical section.

[2] One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

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This sketch is only a stepping-stone which, it is hoped, will lead to further somatometrical research not only upon the Korana but the other living races and tribes of South Africa—a subject the fringe of which has so far only been touched. 144

D. SUMMARY

1. The work of earlier writers on Korana anthropology is reviewed and criticised. So far there has been considerable theoretical discussion and insufficient investigation of known Koranas.

(2) Historical evidence is adduced to show that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated with Bush and Bantu elements.

(3) The external appearance of eleven members of the Links tribe of Korana is briefly discussed and is also shown to point to racial impurity.

(4) The available skeletal characteristics of Links Korana are discussed. This group is shown to be mainly of "Bush type" in these respects.

(5) There is no evidence apart from the effects of this extensive admixture with Bush and Bantu, that the Korana differ appreciably from other "Hottentots" in skeletal characteristics.

(6) The matter of nomenclature is discussed. Faulty nomenclature and methods of research have, up to now, led to confusion in this subject. The importance of field work and the necessity for exact identification of the material under examination is emphasised.

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ANTHROPOMETRICAL TABLE

No. and Sex	Tribe (parentage)	Head			Face			Nose		Limbs			Indices					Cranial capacity
		L	B	Auriculor height	Bi-zyg. width	Upper F. length	Total F. length	L	B	Upper	Lower	Total height (standing)	Cephalic	Upper facial	Cranial height	Nasal	Intermembral	
1 ♂	NxK	19.5	14.9	10.3	13.2	4.25	10.5	3.1	3.8	—	—	1647	76.5	40	53	122	—	1290
2 ♀?	K?	17.5	13.3	10.7	13.0	5.55	9.95	4.2	2.7	—	—	—	74.5	42	62	64		1175
3 ♂	KxB	19.1	14.95	12.0	12.9	4.7	9.85	3.9	3.9	69.35	84.35	1549	78	36	63	100	82.3	1322
4 ♂	K	19.2	15.00	12.2	13.8	4.7	9.6	3.9	4.3	79.70	91.25	1671	78	34	63	110	87.5	1342
5 ♂	K	19.75	14.9	11.9	13.5	5.35	8.9	4.2	4.5	73.25	92.25	1571	75	40	60	107	79.4	1343
6 ♂	K	19.4	14.9	12.4	12.9	5.7	11.2	4.4	4.0	69.00	93.50	1616	77	44	64	91	73.7	1369
7 ♂	K	19.4	14.6	11.2	13.35	5.1	10.1	3.8	4.1	71.50	93.00	1567	75	38	60	108	76.9	1247
8 ♂	K	19.3	14.9	11.7	13.4	5.5	10.5	4.2	3.65	63.15	84.20	1466	77	41	61	87	75.0	1303
9 ♂	GxK	19.1	15.5	11.45	13.8	5.7	10.85	4.5	3.4	70.75	87.75	1547	81	41	60	76	80.6	
10 ♀	K	18.6	14.6	12.4	12.95	4.8	9.9	3.5	4.1	67.75	94.00	1577	78.5	37	66	117	72.1	1275
11 ♀	K	19.6	15.5	12.6	13.7	4.9	9.6	3.6	3.6	71.75	99.00	1674	79	37	64	100	72.5	1433
13 ♀	KxG	18.3	13.8	11.4	12.7	4.5	9.6	3.65	3.75	70.50	94.00	1604	75.4	35	60	103	75.0	1107
17 ♂	K?	18.6	13.5	13.4*	12.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	72.6	—	—	—	—	1305
18 ♂	K?	18.9	12.45	13.2*	12.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	65.9	—	—	—	—	1230
19 ♂	K?	19.3	14.0	13.4*	—	—	—	4.8	2.7	—	—	—	72.5	—	69.4	56.3	—	1490
"Average Korana" (Shrubsall)		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50.2	70.1	—	—	1425-50

K—Korana
B—Chuana
N—Nama
G—Griqua

*Basi-bregmatic height

(No. 2 is a (supposed) Korana skull from Schweizer Reneke, Nos. 17 and 18 are Pritsch's specimens, No. 19 is a specimen in the R.C.S. Museum.)

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[Title Page]

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THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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114 Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

126 534 Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the "Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

534 A drum, named */khais*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called *//hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

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534 which was used to contain milk. This jar is, of course, the well-known *bambus* of the early writers. A goatskin was procured, and all the hair was removed. While wet and soft, this skin was stretched over the mouth of the *//hoes*, secured in position by a piece of *riem*, and allowed to dry. The performer seated herself upon the ground, placed the */khais* on the earth before her, and struck it with the flat palm of her right hand. It was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs which were sung during certain dances. I was unable to ascertain whether any attempt was made to tune the instrument to a particular note, as has been suggested by Burchell in the case of the " water-drum " which he saw played by Bushmen ; but it is quite conceivable that such tuning may have been practised by the Korana, when one considers their use of stringed instruments. The usual method of adjusting the pitch of drums employed by Natives of South Africa is to wet the drum skin and then place the instrument in the sun or before a fire until the tension appears to the player to be satisfactory.

There can be no doubt that the */khais* of the Korana is the drum for long associated with the Hottentots, being depicted and described again and again by travellers, and wrongly named by the Dutch Colonists *rommelpot*. It would appear that the early Hollanders, seeing the Hottentots with a drum made from a pot covered with skin, rechristened the instrument with the name given by people of their own nation to a kind of drum made from similar materials by the children in the south of Holland, and used by them at Christmas time. A full account of this instrument, together with the melody and words of the song which was sung to its accompaniment, will be found in the third and fourth volumes of the catalogue of the Instrumental Museum of the Brussels Conservatoire. But the true *rommelpot* was a *friction* drum, the sound being produced by rubbing the moistened fingers up and down a reed one end of which was secured to the centre of the drum skin. This method of sound production on a drum was, so far as I have been able to discover, unknown to the Korana, as also was the name *rommelpot*.

534 Arbousset's description of this drum of the Korana women is worth
535 recalling here (I quote from the English translation by John Crombie Brown, London, 1852, page 54) " Consuming a great part of the day in smoking, and leaving their children covered with vermin, and their houses in a state of the most disgusting filth, like the men they reserve all their activity and vigour for the *sukeis* or *pot-dance*. When the moon enters her first quarter, all the kraal assemble on some favourite elevation; then they dance to the sound of the tang-tang, all the night long, and sometimes for eight nights in succession. In this amusement the

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Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles, vol.* 4, *p.* 3) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair." 534 535

2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named *//arey !as*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *≠a:di* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen. 534

A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885. 534 726 202 [115]

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *≠a:di*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the 534

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534 descriptions in Wikar and Wuras give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

533 535 Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Gesicquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of caresses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-kaross, upon which she seems" (feigns) "to threaten him."

534 411 According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons"; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok 133 bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeeste Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

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"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29¼. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂās* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute ≠*'ās* and the reed-dance ≠*'ā-s/aī-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lora" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

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534 824 115 type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about 15½ inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No " ictus " could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

534 115

I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds,

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but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them " boys ") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music. 534 115

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being " whipped " with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used 534

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called *!khon!a !hausab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana. 533 562 868 535

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows. 534

(1) *≠ho:≠ho:s*
(2) *!namis*
(3) *geiŋ≠a:s*
(4) *tuxana*

The meaning of the third of these names is " the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of " tonic," since from it the

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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *≠a:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina≠na:e ≠nammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*!hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kwa:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

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the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:s*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *besjebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

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533 left hand supports the stick by grasping it at a convenient point, but no pressure must be brought to bear upon it, since the tightening or slackening of the bow would cause the pitch of the string to vary, and this is not desired by the Korana. With the right forefinger the player plucks the string, the principal sounds being executed with a downward action, and the subsidiary ones with an upward action. I have indicated these in the examples quoted by means of the signs used by violinists for downward and upward bowing, ⊓ and V respectively. The string, of course, produces but one sound when plucked, although implicit in it are the overtones known as the " harmonic series." These the Hottentot has recognised, and has discovered or learned that some of them may be isolated and reinforced by the variable cavity of the mouth. The following examples will show the nature of the performance : they were played by Tabab, who is seen performing on the instrument in Plate VII. It will be understood that the prime tone of the string is present throughout, although it is not the main sound ; it serves as a kind of drone to the bugle-like tune played on the harmonics. This instrument is best sounded in quiet places, when its sweet tones can be clearly heard.

Ex. 1. ♩=120.

534 (b) A second development from the hunting-bow is played exclusively by the women. It retains the original name of *kha:s*. Like the *!gabus* it is made from a branch of *besjesbos*, about three-quarters of an inch to one inch thick and about thirty-eight inches long. The bark should be removed, and the wood allowed to season, although in the example made for me the bark was left on and the wood dried by fire. A stout string of twisted sinew is prepared, and is secured by a slipknot in a groove made at one end of the stock. This end is then placed on the ground and the stick forced into a semicircular form, when the other end of the string is secured to the tip of the stick just as in the case of the *!gabus*. A thin piece of seasoned wood or reed about fourteen inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter serves as a beater, for this 533 instrument is normally sounded by striking. The player, having tuned the instrument (to suit her voice), seats herself upon the ground, and takes the bow in her hands. The lower end, where the string is knotted, [115] she places upon a bag of skin (*//ho:b*) or a dish of willow wood, which acts as a resonator. (Gotis, who played for me, and who appears on Plate VI, used a one-gallon paraffin tin as a substitute) and is placed to her right.

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VI, used a one-gallon paraffin tin as a substitute) and is placed to her right. The right foot holds this end of the bow in position, while the upper end rests against the left shoulder. Taking the beater between the first finger and thumb of her right hand, she strikes the string with a clean *staccato* action, comparable to that used in side-drum playing, and a ringing tone is produced. This is the fundamental tone of the string. By lightly touching the middle point of the string with the second phalange of the forefinger of her left hand, and at the same time striking the string, the first harmonic, one octave above the fundamental, is produced. Again, by pressing upon the string with the chin at the appropriate spot, a second fundamental, a tone higher than the original one, is obtained, and by touching the string at the new middle point, the octave of this second fundamental is heard. These are the principal sounds elicited from this instrument by the Korana women, although I observed, in one instance, a woman touching the string at the " node " required to produce the second harmonic of the string. But this may have been accidental, although the Bechuana women, who also play this type of instrument, actually use it and also a higher partial. Example 2 shows the typical use of the instrument. The symbols above the stave show the chin technique, ○ meaning that the chin is clear of the string, and × that it is pressed on to the string ; the symbols below the stave show the fingering, ○ meaning that the fundamental is being sounded, and ● the first harmonic.

533

Ex. 2. ♩=108.

Such a musical pattern as this serves as an *ostinato* accompaniment for a song, the melody of which is to a certain extent controlled by the instrument. The vocal music sung to the accompaniment of the *kha:s* differs considerably from the simpler strophic lyrics that are characteristic of these people, and of which I quote six examples below. In the *kha:s* songs the voice is both rhythmically and melodically very free, being much nearer to speech than in the more formal tunes. In point of fact, the specimens which I heard sung by Gotis were almost more speech than song ; and I am inclined to suggest that the actual speech-tones of the language directed the course of the melody. Phonograms of Korana speech (not song) which I made of Tabab were musically so clear-cut

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533 that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *kha:ɔ* 533 accompaniment were recorded at Pneil by Meinhof in February 1928, and 114 transcribed by Heinitz in his *Struktur-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *kha:ɔ*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed sounds associated with their corresponding syllables.

Further, Heinitz' description of the *kha:ɔ* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects; for he suggests that the string is "stopped" by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a 533 plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gotis showed me a method of playing this instrument *pizzicato*. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the "nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style "playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *kha:ɔ*.

533 In my paper of July 1931, entitled "The Mystery of the Grand 114 Gom-gom," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

534 (c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *goras*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *goras*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *!gabus*. By applying 533 the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain

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harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Seleki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

533 [114] [115]

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

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(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

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The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

533 126 115

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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533 edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana
126 texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first
115 was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

533 Ex. 3. *Mittlab /noãı kjeıa*
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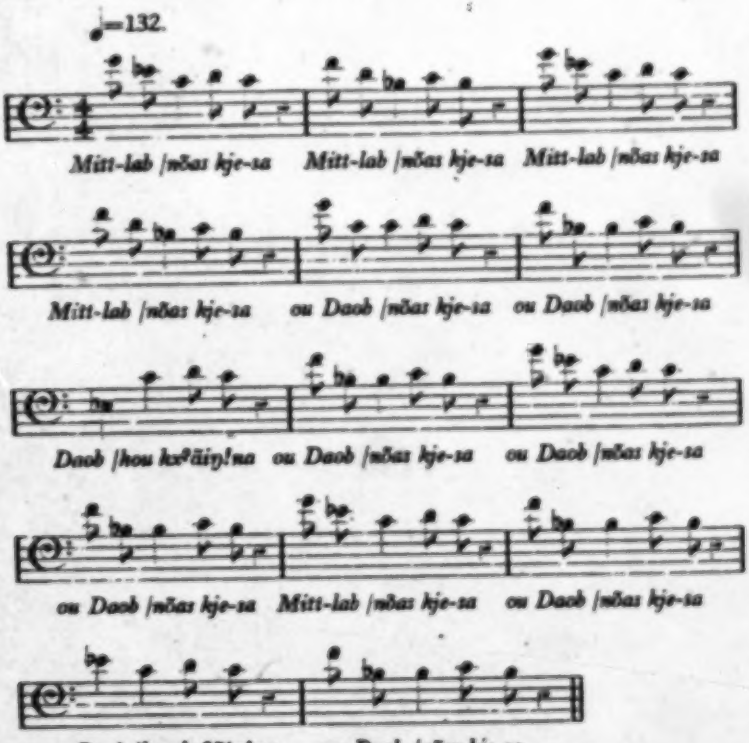

This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mittlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Old Daob ! It is his cow !
Daob ! You have a beard all over your face !

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The rivals have each claimed the animal, but Daob, the more astute of the two, has gone off with it, whereupon Mittlab calls him an old baboon. The song is in dialogue form, and it is interesting to note how one form of the melodic phrase is used almost always to indicate Mittlab, and a different one for Daob. The formation of the melody upon the two triads, which was unmistakeable, is also significant.

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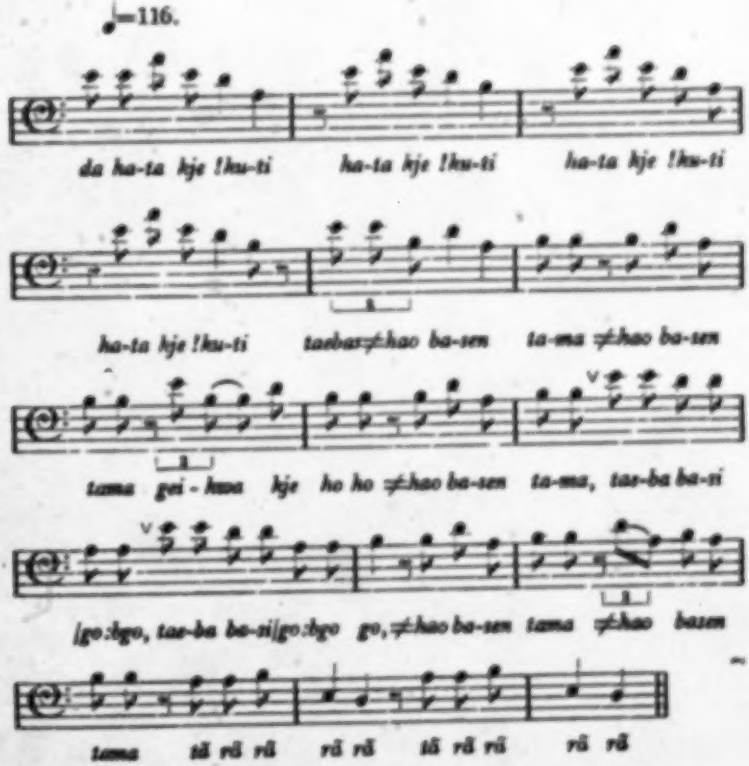
Ex. 4. *da hata kje !kuti*



This is the beginning of a song called */gamsta* (a man's name). Translated, the words mean,

Where shall we find Kuti? (brother of */gamsta*)
Why don't you smack the boy yourself?
The old people have got hold of him.
Why has the boy got the better of you?

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533 Ex. 5. *tĭ ti-mĭ tĭ*
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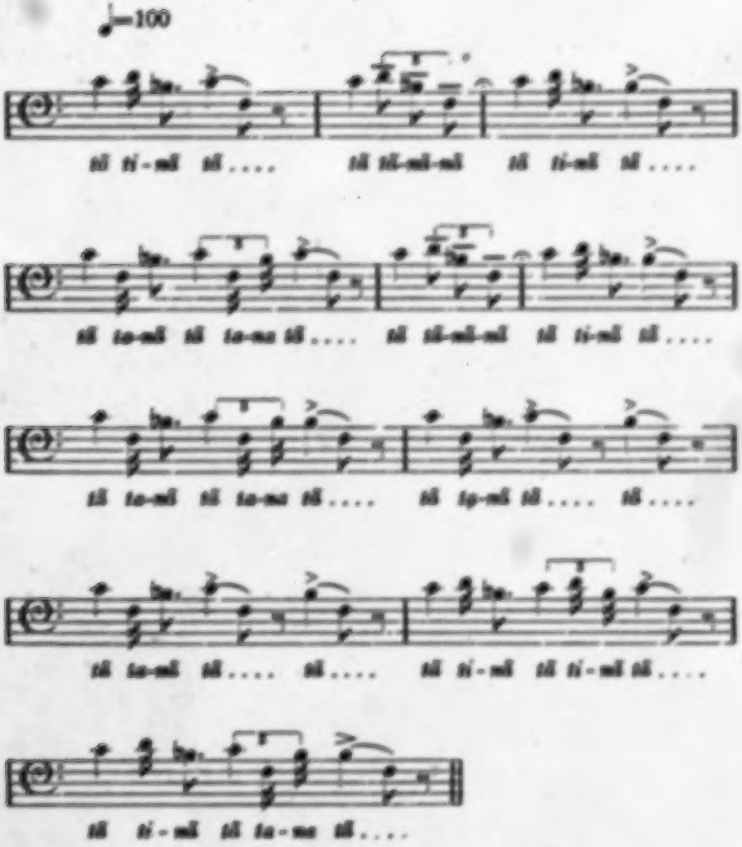

The syllables of this song are meaningless; they are merely syllables comparable to the tra-la-la of English song. The position of this and the following three songs is curious. Old Daob was asked to sing the sounds of the reed-flutes. This must have been, to him, an unusual request. However, when he realised that we wished to hear the sound of the first flute, *gĭdo:gĭdo:*, he began to sing this melody, which I made him repeat, and which I recorded. The notation represents adequately what Daob sang; the curious hurrying in the fourth, seventh, tenth and eleventh bars is characteristic. The bar-lines have been introduced to indicate the phrasing.

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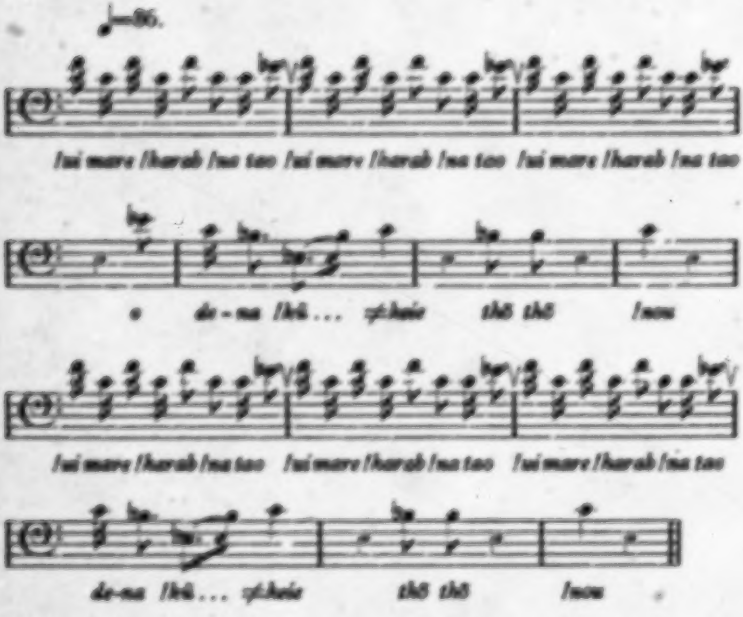
Ex. 6. */ui mare /harab/na too*

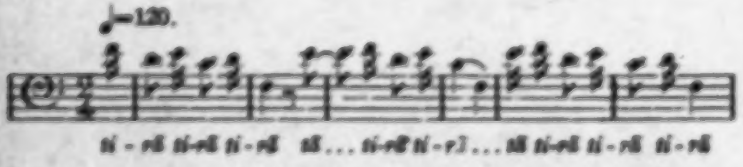


This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the second flute, */nannie*. Translated, the words mean

> When the cows are in the kraal in the evening,
> They come inside *
> (*The meaning of the remainder of the words is not clear)

This, said Daob, was the beginning of a war-song. I am not absolutely certain that the words should be fitted to the melody exactly as shown. Daob's singing in this instance was rather faint, and the phonogram suffered accordingly.

Ex. 7. *tirũ tirũ tirũ*



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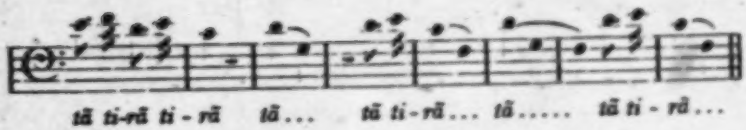
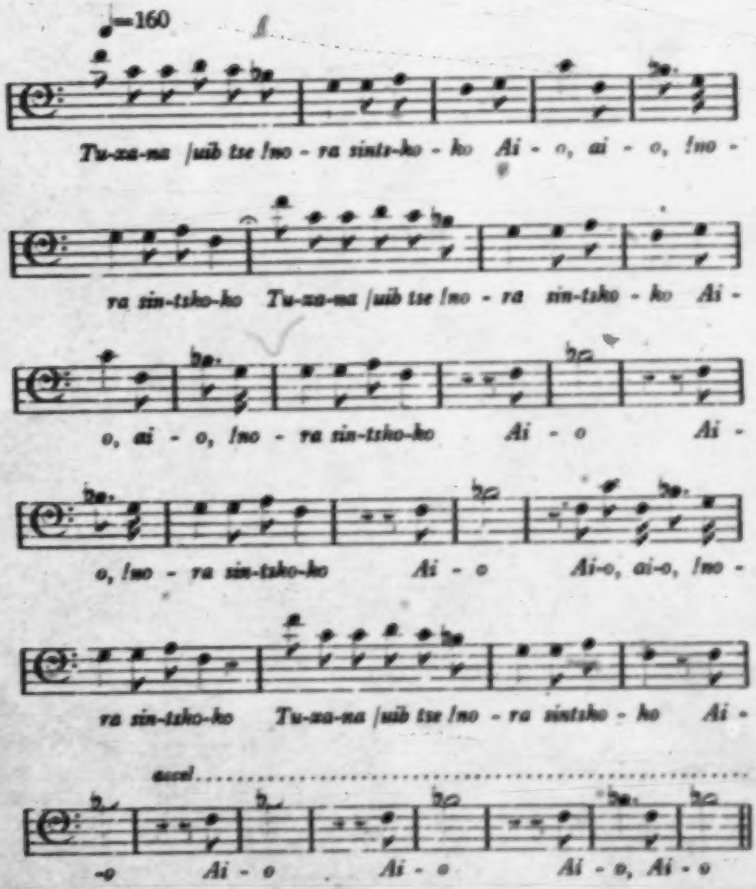


This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the third flute, *geiŋ‡a:x*. The syllables mean nothing.

Ex. 8. *Tuxana /uib tse !nora sintskoko*



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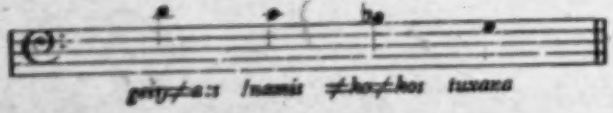
This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the fourth pipe *tuxana*. Translated, the words mean

> Tuxana, have you rolled down the stone?
> Have you rolled down the stone?
> Ai-o, Ai-o!

I was unable to discover from the Korana the actual connection between these songs and the flutes, particularly as I could not obtain the tuning of the flutes themselves. This I hope to do later, and meantime would suggest that there is a possibility that these tunes served as a series of mnemonics whereby the skilled musicians of the Korana people might tune their reed-flutes; for the nature of the Korana instruments is such that no permanent pitch standards could be maintained, unless their whole musical system were based upon the harmonic series, apparent to them in all their stringed instruments. 533

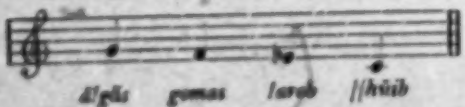
But an examination of the four tunes associated by Daob with the reed-flutes yields the following significant information. In Tune III, *tĭ ti-nĕ tĭ*, the note which is heard most frequently is B flat, and it is also consistently emphasised; in Tune IV, */ui mare !harab !na tao*, the note C is similarly prominent; while in Tune V, *ti-ra ti-ra ti-ra*, the outstanding note is D. Again, in Tune VI, *Tuxana, /uib tse !nora sintskoko*, the note most frequently sounded is G. Assuming that these notes represent the sounds of the four principal reed-flutes, we arrive at the following fragmentary scale.

Ex. 9.



of which the first note *geiy≠a:ɔ* is sounded by the flute of the leading musician. A comparison of this scale with the Nama reed-flute scale quoted by Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 375 e. seq.) shows that a similar sequence of notes is present, although it does not begin with the principal reed-flute, *aĭdi*, but with the next lowest flute,

Ex. 10.



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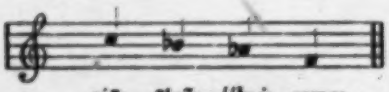
533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */awa gowab sān* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.

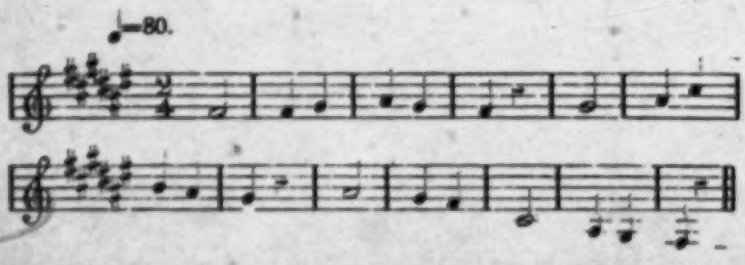


aidi ā!gāi ||hui gomai

As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

533 177 539 [115] In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotis and Keis. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12. *hada ||nāu*



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The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

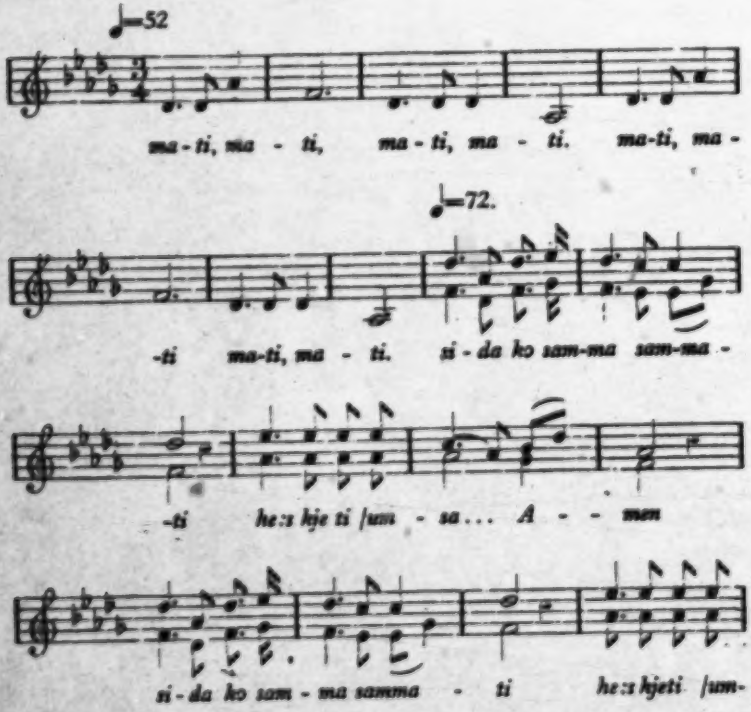
hada //nĩu he: buruxa mis,

which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris. [115]

Ex. 13. *mati, mati*



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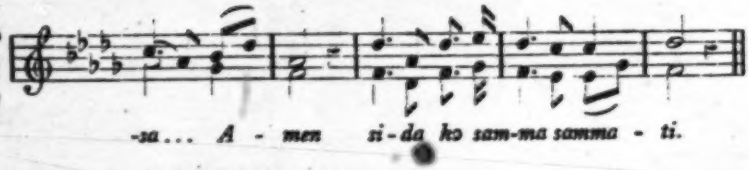

The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called */kurise ≠nae* and low sounds */eri doma ≠nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is */guse ≠nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called */kɔ: ≠nae kx^{g}ona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called */kam domkwa*; but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called */anŋ≠nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

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[End] PLATE I.

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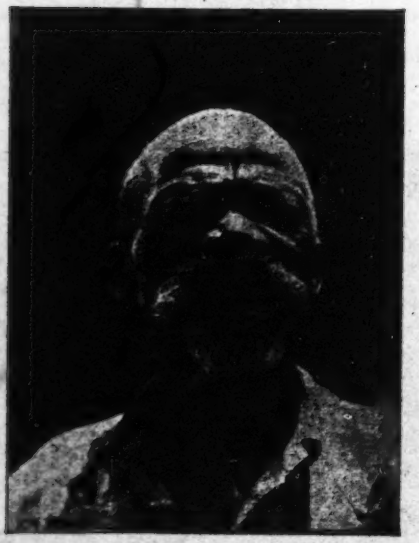
Xras (Schweizer Reneke.)



Sele:ki (Schweizer Reneke).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE II.

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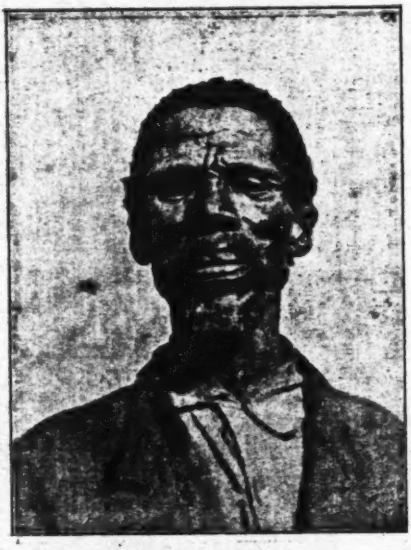

Tabab (Bloemhof).

Kheis (Bloemhof).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE III.

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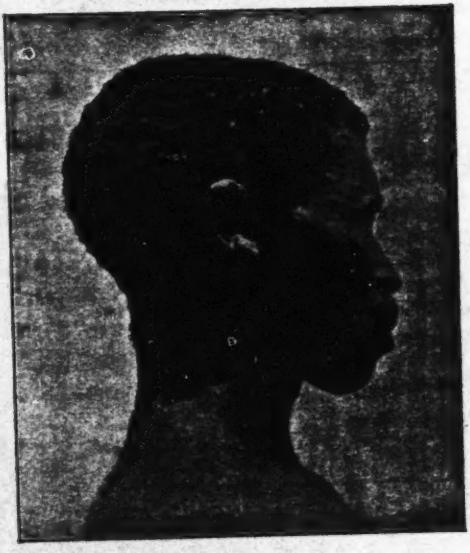

A. and B.
Abraham Links.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE IV.

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Site of Saron Mission Station.

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The Grave of Johannes Links.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE V.

Matiti plugging a Flute

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Matiti blowing a Flute.

Method of blowing the *Reed-Flute.*

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VI.

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Gotis playing the *Kha:s*.

Sele:hi playing the *Goras*.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VII.

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Tabab playing the *!Gabus*.

Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

TSUNI-||GOAM

THE SUPREME BEING

OF THE

KHOI-KHOI

BY

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[Title Page]

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PREFACE.

THE following pages must speak for themselves; they will, I trust, be welcome to the student of Comparative Mythology, and to the Ethnologist and Anthropologist in general.

The reader will be sometimes disappointed on finding that my references to authorities are not always exact enough. I had often to quote from memory, and had then to confine myself to mentioning the names of the authors only. I may, however, expect that the reader will be lenient towards my failings on this point, if he puts himself in my position. I live here in a country village, and am entirely confined to my own small collection of books. The nearest and largest Colonial Library is in Cape Town, where, I am sorry to say, the standard works on Comparative Philology, Ethnology, and Anthropology, as well as the leading Journals and Periodicals of the Societies which cultivate these sciences, are still *desiderata*. With regard to Africa, and especially to South Africa, more and better selected materials are found in the Libraries of Vienna, Berlin, and London, than in the South African Public Library in Cape Town. The blame, however, does not attach to the Committee of Management, who indeed, with the limited means in their hands, have tried to please all parties. *Colonists have still to be taught to look on the South African Public Library as a National Institution, and with this view, in a true patriotic spirit, to contribute voluntarily such books, records, and documents as*

[p. vii]

[p. i-vi have no textual material]

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bear specially on our country. Then, and then only, the South African Public Library will thrive as a public institution, and soon become the workshop and nursery of South African science. With the spread of education, no doubt the interest in "Our Library" will increase. The name of Dr. Dale, the Superintendent General of Education in this Colony, is a guarantee that education will continue to advance with daily greater strides; and thus we may hope that, ere long, Colonial youths will aspire to distinguish themselves in historical and purely philosophical studies.

For the orthography of the Hottentot and Bantu words, I employed, with slight modifications, the excellent Standard Alphabet of Professor Lepsius, which proves, after all, the most serviceable, as far as South African languages are concerned.

The words and names quoted from travellers are given in their own orthography; in a few instances, however, I considered it necessary to substitute for their spelling that introduced by Professor Lepsius, in order to render the phonetic composition of words more transparent, and, consequently, their etymology more evident. The clicks, which are of vital importance for the etymologist, are very indiscriminately treated by most travellers, with the sole exception of Professor Dr. Gustav Fritsch.

Travellers and missionaries who wish to serve the cause of South African Philology should be well acquainted with the principles of Phonology before they venture to write down texts of illiterate languages. No missionary should be sent to the heathens without having acquired as thorough a knowledge of Phonetics as he has of the Gospel, and he should be taught to respect every vowel, every accent, every consonant; in fact, "*every jot and tittle in any, even the most barbarous, dialect he may hereafter have to analyse.*"* Comparative Philology is entirely based upon phonology, and if the laws of phonology for a group of languages are

* Max Müller, "Lect." ii. p. 42, ed. 1868.

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once correctly established, the natural offshoot will be a true scientific etymology. This science is *the* telescope with which, where all other records fail, we can draw prehistoric times into our immediate view, and which allows us a look far back into "the very dawn of man's life."

It is an urgent want for us here in South Africa that a Standard Orthography for the Native Languages should be introduced in all official, educational, and public departments. The task is not as difficult as it may appear at first sight, and where there is a will, there is a way.

In the present Standard Orthography we write the clicks as follows:—

The Lateral ‖,	[1] ‖a,	[2] ‖na,	[3] ‖kha,	[4] ‖ga,
The Cerebral ǃ,	[5] ǃā,	[6] ǃnā,	[7] ǃkhā,	[8] ǃgā,
The Palatal ǂ,	[9] ǂā,	[10] ǂnā,	[11] ǂkhā,	[12] ǂga.
The Dental |,	[13] |ā,	[14] |nā,	[15] |khā,	[16] |gā.

The importance of the clicks will be best illustrated by giving the meanings of these words here at once, thus, [1] to wash, [2] to drop, [3] to be able, [4] to split, [5] to fall, [6] to light, [7] to bore, to perforate, [8] to serve, [9] to wash, [10] to pour, [11] to refuse, [12] to plant, [13] to be sharp, [14] to filter, [15] with, [16] isolated, separated, thin, &c., dotted.

Those who wish to inform themselves about the nature of these clicks and their bearing on the phonology of the Hottentot language, I refer to Henry Tindall's excellent "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language," and to my "Sprache der Nama."

In Tindall's book, however, and in my own no mention is made of a harsh faucal sound peculiar to the old Cape Hottentot dialects—of which Witsen and Leibniz have supplied some materials—to the ǃKora-Hottentot and to the Bushman languages of the ǃKham, ǃAi, ǁNuni, ǃKoang, Heiǂguis, Matsanakhoi and ǃGabe. I write this consonant, which most resembles a forcibly produced *short croaking sound*—just as if a person is endeavouring to get rid of a bone in the throat—with the Hebrew

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ǂ4 ȳ (ajin). *The very fact that this sound is produced by expiration and not by inspiration places it among the consonants proper, and not among the clicks.**

Most of the materials contained in this treatise have steadily accumulated during the last nine years. Aware of the responsibility resting upon me, I have been careful to adduce such facts only as I can with full confidence declare to be genuine productions of the Khoikhoi mind.

The following pages were written down in their present shape in the months of August and September last year, as is known to Professors Max Müller, of Oxford, and Friedrich Müller, of Vienna, and other friends to whom I either wrote or spoke on the subject at the time.†

CCC I mention this the more as to-day a copy of the *Ausland*. February 16, 1880, comes to my hands, in which an article, Die Religion der sogenannten Wilden, reviewing Gustav Roskoff's book, "Das Religionswesen der rohesten Naturvölker," Leipzig, 1880, contains views and opinions coinciding so strikingly with those expressed by me, that the reader could easily be led to believe that either I must have perused Professor Roskoff's work, or that he had corresponded with me. This, however, is not the case, and therefore this peculiar coincidence may serve as a striking evidence of what I say, towards the conclusion of the third chapter, about the *psychical identity of the human mind*. At the same time it is a great satisfaction and encouragement to find that one does not stand alone with his views, and that there are comrades and fellow-labourers in the battle-field, where one least expected them.

I desire to inscribe these leaves to the memory of the late Herr Geheimrath Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, and to Professor August Friedrich Pott, of Halle. These scholars will always be mentioned first in the history of

* Vide Theoph. Hahn, "Sprache der Nama," § 2, &c.

† The full manuscript was read over to my friends Profs. Walker and Marais of Stellenbosch.

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South African Philology, as the pioneers who laid the foundation-stone of the Comparative Grammar of the Kafir-Congo or Bantu Languages.* Whatever has been written afterwards on Bantu Grammar, is based on the researches of these twin-stars in the realm of the Science of Language. In availing myself of this opportunity I simply pay a debt of gratitude. I was so fortunate as to have Professor Pott as my master and foster-father in the Science of Language for nearly four years, while I studied at the University of Halle, and my holidays were often spent at Poschwitz, the castle of Herr von der Gabelentz, where I had free access to his excellent African library.

Last, but not least, I have to tender my sincere obligations to Professor Max Müller for undertaking so kindly to see this treatise through the press.

THEOPHILUS HAHN.

STELLENBOSCH, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
March 24, 1880.

* Pott, Die Sprachen vom Kafer und Kongostamme, in *Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft*, ii. 5-26, 129-158; and H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, in the "Proceedings" of the same Society, i. 341, seq.

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TSŪI-||GOAB.

CHAPTER I.

The facts of language, however small, are historical facts.—
MAX MÜLLER.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE ETHNICAL CONDITION OF THE KHOIKHOI IN PREHISTORIC TIMES, BASED ON THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE.

101 THE Khoikhoi form a branch of the most peculiar and, doubtless, of the most interesting race of all the representatives of mankind on our continent. These Khoikhoi generally go by the name of *Hottentots*, a term to which I must object, as up to this moment it has been the cause of gross misunderstanding and heartburning, especially to ethnologists, when they had in view the classification of the South African races and nations.

In order to introduce to the reader the worshippers of 'Tsŭi-||goab and to lay a secure basis for the study of the Science of Religion as regards the 'Khoikhoi branch, I shall endeavour in a short sketch to delineate their prehistoric ethnical condition.

When the first European navigators, especially the Dutch, became acquainted with the Cape of Good Hope, they found a yellowish race of men, who possessed large herds of 'cattle, sheep and goats, and were on the whole, even after they had received a very provoking treatment at the hands of the Europeans, peaceably and 'hospitably

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101 inclined towards strangers. On account of their curious language abounding in harsh faucal sounds and clicks, the Dutch called them Hottentots. Hottentot or 'Hüttentüt means in Frisian or Low German a quack, and therefore the old Dutchmen, who were so much puzzled and did not know what to make of such an unheard-of language, more akin to the chat of a parrot than to human speech, called it Hottentot—*i.e.*, a mere gibberish. They very little knew that they had before themselves a highly-developed language, so highly, indeed, that the ingenious Martin Haug supposes that its higher and more refined constituents must have been acquired by contact with a civilised people.

The old Dutch also did not know that their so-called Hottentots formed only one branch of a wide-spread race, of which the other branch divided into ever so many tribes, differing from each other totally in language, and having only a phonetic relationship, as regards certain peculiar sounds, of which the clicks formed the essential part. This other branch differed also entirely in language from those the Dutch had met first. While the so-called Hottentots called themselves Khoikhoi (men of men, *i.e.*, men *per excellence*), they called those other tribes Sā, the Sonqua of the Cape Records.

This yellow race, consisting of these two branches, inhabited in ancient times the greater part of South Africa, at least the territory south of the rivers Kunéne and Zambesi.

The appellation Hottentot is now ex vogue, and as Goethe has it:—

> "Wo die Begriffe fehlen,
> Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein."
> (For there precisely, where ideas fail,
> A word comes in most opportunely.)

It is useless therefore to extirpate it, for the custom of more than two centuries has sanctioned its use; and all we can do is to define it more accurately. We should apply the

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term *Hottentot* to the whole race, and call the two families, |01
each by the native name, that is the one, the *Khoikhoi*, the so-called *Hottentot proper*; the other the *Sān* (*Sā*) *or Bushmen*.

In the Nama language, one of the Khoikhoi idioms, |96
the Bushmen are called Sā-n (com. plur). The meaning of this term is not quite intelligible, and I frankly confess that, after nine years, of which I have spent nearly seven amongst the Khoikhoi, I did not succeed in arriving at a quite satisfactory etymology, and I must still adhere to the interpretation which I first gave in the *Globus*, 1870, where I traced the word Sā-(b) to the root SĀ, to inhabit, to be located, to dwell, to be settled, to be quiet. Sā(n) consequently would mean Aborigines or Settlers proper. These Sa-n or Sa-gu-a, Sonqua or Sounqua, &c. (obj. plur. mac.) as they are styled in the Cape Records, are often called Bushmen—the Bossiesman, Boajesman, Bosmanneken of the Colonial Annals, a name given to them to indicate their abode and mode of living.

The word Sā(b) has also acquired a low meaning, and is not considered to be very complimentary. The Khoikhoi often speak of *|Uri-Sās* (white Bushmen) and mean the low white vagabonds and runaway sailors who visit their country as traders. One also often hears, "*Khoikhoi tamab, Sab ke*," he is no Khoikhoi, he is a Sā, which means to say, "*he is no gentleman, he is of low extraction, or he is a rascal.*" A Nama will say of a man who is very proud and reserved in his manners, who only mixes in good society, "*Khoikhoiesa ra aob ke*," the man *makes-a-Khoikhoi-of-himself*, that is, *he stands very much upon his dignity*, and also, *he keeps himself very much to himself.*

Those who desire to have information on the natural |13
and physical condition of the Khoikhoi and Sā-(n), I refer to Dr. Gustav Fritsch's standard work, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Africas," and to three Essays published by me, Die Namas, and Die Buschmänner, in the

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

113 *Globus*, 1868 and 1870, and Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentoten, in *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden, 1868; not to forget the chapter on the Hottentots in Friedr. Müller's excellent work "Allgemeine Ethnographie."

648 It is enough meanwhile to say, that the Bushmen lead the life of a Pariah, and that they are hated and chased by all other nations of South Africa, having to suffer most, however, from the hands of their own nearest kith and kin, the Khoikhoi, whom I have, on more than one occasion, seen manifesting more charity for a dog than for a starving Bushman.

101 The Khoikhoi are generally called, as I have already said, Hottentots, a term to which I would not object, were it not for the confusion it generally brings in its train, as far as ethnological, anthropological or linguistic terminology is concerned. Sometimes they are called the *Hottentots proper* in our Colonial language. But very often, again, our Khoikhoi in the Colony, or more particularly those remnants of the tribes formerly occupying the vicinity of Cape Town, are called *Hottentots, Hottentots proper* or *Cape Hottentots*, while on the other hand the inhabitants of Griqualand West, of the South Kalihari, of Great Namaqualand are called by their tribal names, Griquas, Namaquas, Koras or Korannas, just as if they were not Hottentots as much as the Khoikhoi tribes of the Cape Colony. It would be as absurd for us to call only the Prussians, Germans, and apply to all the other tribes of Germany their tribal names, Bavarians, Suabians, Hessians, &c., denying to them the attribute German; or for Londoners to claim for themselves the title of Englishmen, while excluding the Northumberland and Sussexmen from it.

This is my reason for protesting emphatically against the indiscriminate and superficial use of the term *Hottentot*, and therefore I have taken the liberty of taxing the patience of my readers by dwelling at some length on this subject.

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While the Bushmen are hunters, the Khoikhoi are nomads, cattle and sheep farmers; and while the Bushman family has with the Khoikhoi, linguistically speaking, only the clicks and some harsh sounding faucals and a few roots of words in common, the various Bushman languages hitherto recorded, differ among themselves, as much as they differ from the Khoikhoi idioms. This difference and variety in speech is mainly due to their wandering habits and unsettled life. The wild inaccessible mountain strongholds and the arid deserts of South Africa, where nobody can follow them, are their abode; constantly on the alert, constantly on the move, constantly on the path of war, either with other tribes, or with the wild animals, no inducement is given to them for a settled life, the necessary condition of the development of a more articulate speech and a higher intellectual culture. 197

The Khoikhoi, or Nomadic Hottentots, have all the same language, which branches off in as many idioms and dialects as there are tribes. The idiomatic peculiarities, however, are not very prominent, indeed not so striking, as to hinder a Gei|khau or ǂAuni or !Habobe of Great Namaqualand, and the ǂNūbe of Ovambóland, or the Geiǂnam of the North Western Kalihari, conversing easily with the inhabitants of the Khamies Bergen (North Western Colony), and with the !Koras and Griquas of Griqualand West and the Orange Free State.

A prominent feature in all the *Khoikhoi* idioms is the strict monosyllabism of the root, ending in a vowel, and the use of pronominal elements as suffixes for the purpose of forming derivatives. The Khoikhoi language is entirely void of prefixes, nay, our prepositions are postpositions. The pronominal elements have in the course of time crystallized, and sometimes melted together into one, and in this new shape accepted the office of classifiers and registrars of substantives or substantified expressions, so that some of our most eminent philologists did not hesitate to consider them homogeneous with the article of 193

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1381 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 other sex-denoting languages, chiefly of the Semitic and Hamitic class. But I am convinced that a more careful investigation will lead to the result, that the Khoikhoi language is not sex-denoting in the sense of Aryan or Semitic grammar. The so-called "*article*" is not an article in the sense of grammar, because the root of the Khoikhoi article is not the same throughout the genders, nor throughout the numbers. The following Table will at once explain what I mean:

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Com.*
Sing.	Subjective	b (bi), m (mi)	s (si)	i
	Objective	ba, ma	sa	(ia) e
Dual.	Subj. and obj.	khā	ra	ra
Plur.	Subjective	gu	ti	n
	Objective	ga (gua)	te (tia)	na

In saying this I do not for a single moment deny that the so-called article was *en route* to develop into the meaning and sense of the Aryan article, when by the destructive contact with other races—the Bantu from the North, and the European from the South—this development was suddenly checked.

We may therefore safely, until a more appropriate term for this way of classifying is established, call those particles which serve as classifiers of the three classes of the substantives, *Articles*.

197 The Bushman languages, as far as I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, have no such derivative and formative elements; at least, if they had, such have now entirely disappeared, or are distorted to such a degree, that they defy every analysis. Sometimes one is tempted to believe that there are embryonic indications of such elements; sometimes again one is strongly inclined to take such would-be-suffixes, for dilapidated remnants of pronominal elements. The present Bushman languages bear nearly the same relationship to the Khoikhoi as, among the Indo-European languages, English holds to

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Sanskrit. As to the dictionary of Khoikhoi and Bushman, *197* there remains no more doubt as to their primitive relationship. The following list will convince the greatest sceptic:—

	Khoikhoi.	*ǀKham-Bushman.*
Tooth	ǁgūb	ǁgēi-ǁgeī
Intestines	ǀguin	ǀkhoin-ǀkhoin
Male, man	ʃ yau (ǀKora) / ⌊ au (Nama)	yau
Master	gao-yau-b (ǀKora)	gao-yau
Rope	ǀhaūb	ǀhaū
Elephant	ǂkχoab	ǂkχoa
Egg	ǀubu-s	ǀubu and ǀuiten
Fish	ǁoub	ǁou
White	ǀuri	ǀuiten and ǀū
Star	ʃ ǀgomrob (ǀKora) / ⌊ ǀgamirob (Nama)	ǀkoaten
Plain	ǀoub	ǀougen
Strong	ǀgeiχa	ǀgeiya
Weak	ǂkχabu	ǂkχoba
Rich	ǀkχū	ǀkχou
Buchu	sāb	tsā
Beads	ǀurin (ǀyuri)	ǀyuri
Other	ǀkhara	ǀkχara
Selfsame	ǁeī	ǁeī
To walk	dā	taī
Clay	ǂgoa-b	ǂgoai
Sea	huri-b	huri
Interrog.	tari	tari

Or if we like to glance at the ǀAi-Bushman on the North-west Kalihari, we shall come to the same conclusion.

	Khoikhoi.	*ǀAi-Bushman.*
Man	khoi-b	khoe
Male	yaore khoi-m (ǀKora)	yau-khoe
Child	ǀgōa-ī	ǀgoa
Father	ǁgū-khoīb	ǁgū-khoe

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	Khoïkhoi.		*ǂAi-Bushman.*
197	Cattle	go-ma-ï	goe
	Calf	tsaũ-b	tsaũ
	Sheep	gu-ï	gu
	Goat	biri-ï	biri
	Lion	χa-mi	χam
	Dog	ari-b	arigu
	Hare	ǀoa-ï	ǀoa
	Hartebēst	ǁkhama-ï	ǁkhama
	Nose	ǂgui-s	ǂgui
	Mouth	ɣam-s (ǀKora)	ɣam
	Tooth	ǁgũ-b	ǁgũ
	Ear	ǂgeis	ǂgẽ
	Arm	ǁoã-b	ǁoã
	Neck	ǀɣaub (ǀKora)	ǀɣaũ
	Leg	tẽ-b	tẽ
	Tree	hei-ï	hĩĩ
	Beard	ǀnum-s	ǀnom
	Hard	ǀgari	ǀgadi
	Black	ǂnũ	ǂnũ
	White	ǀuri	ǀũ
	To run	ǀgũ	ǀgũ
	To drink	ɣã (ǀKora) ã (Nama)	ɣã
	To eat	ǂũ	ǂũ
	To die	ǁõ	ǁõ
	To give	mã	mãme
	To catch	ǀkhõ	ǀkhõ
	Cap	ǀgabá-s	ǀgabá
	Pot	sũ-s	sũ
	Jackal	ǀgiri-b	ǀgirĩ
	Bull	ǁgo-b	ǁgõ
	Fish	ǁou-b	ǁou
	Snake	ǀɣau-b (ǀKora)	ǀɣau
	Rain	tũ-s	rũ
	Road	dao-b	dao
	Fat	ǁnui-b	ǁnuĩ

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	Khoikhoi.	*ǃAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǃgina-s	ǃgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaĭ (ǃKora)	ɣaĭ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ˜, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǃgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǃgun (ǃgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nĭge or nĭ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǃKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Kenhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man ǃkui goai*, and *woman ǃkui ǃaitĭ*, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men, ǃēga tũgẽn*, and *women ǃēga ǃgāgẽn*. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

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193 viduals of the same tribe do not form a plural at all from the same word, where another individual would do so. There is also a goodly number of substantives, which are not used in the plural, because they are of a collective nature. A dual exists only for the first personal pronoun.

802 As regards the numerals, it seems that the Bushmen languages have not developed them beyond *two*; some travellers speak of *three*; but this is evidently derived from the Khoikhoi word ǀnora or ǀnona for *those*.

The ǀAi-Bushmen, however, who inhabit the North Western Kalihari in the neighbourhood of Xaǂtsēs, (west from Lake Ngami or N‖gami) count up to twenty, and for the sake of completeness I give these numerals here, as I have written them down from the mouth of three individuals of the ǀAi tribe.

	ǀAi-Bushman.	*Khoikhoi.*
One	ǀguiï	ǀgui
Two	ǀgam	ǀgam
Three	ǀnona	ǀnona
Four	geië	haga
Five	ǀguim tsoum (*i.e.*, one hand)	gore
Six	ǀguisa	ǀnani
Seven	ǀgamana	hū (hūgu)
Eight	ǀnonadi	‖khaisa
Nine	ǀuitaï ‖gam	khoisi
Ten	‖ɣaiïko	disi
Eleven	tamkhumtsū	disi ǀgui ǀkha
Twelve	ǀgamané	„ ǀgam „
Thirteen	ǀnonané	„ ǀnona „
Fourteen	‖kheïsa	„ haga „
Fifteen	tsūba ‖ɣāe	&c. &c.
Sixteen	ǀgui naha ǂgana	
Seventeen	ǀgam naha ǂgana	
Eighteen	ǀnona naha ǂgana	
Nineteen	ǀgamsaragásara	
Twenty	tsutsarukēhā	

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I was so struck with the novelty of this discovery, in finding a Bushman tribe which could count beyond three, that I repeatedly cross-examined those individuals separately. I however still maintain the suspicion that this system of numerals is not genuine Bushman counting, but that we have to ascribe it to the influence of the neighbouring Bakoba tribes of the Touga River, or to the influence of the Mashona of the Lake n||Gami, who often used to extend their hunting expeditions westward as far as Xaïtses (Ghanze of Galton) and even to the jungles of |Khunobis (Tunobis of Galton and Anderson).

A remarkable feature of the Khoikhoi language is the decimal system of counting; a system not adopted from the Europeans, but which was established long before the Khoikhoi or Nomadic Hottentot branch split into tribes, and spread over the various parts of South Africa, as will be seen from the following schedule taken from various authors who lived and travelled among the different Khoikhoi tribes at different times:—

Witsen. Cape. 1691.	*Leibniz. Collect.* 1717.	*Valentyn. Cape.* 1705.
I. K'qui	—	kchui
II. K'kam	t?amma	k-ham
III. K'ouna	houna	n hona
IV. Hacka	haka	hoka
V. Kro	koro	kourou
VI. Nanni	nani	nanni
VII. Honcko	honko	honku
VIII. K'hyssi	k?heissee	kheyssi
IX. K'geessi	guissi	ghesi
X. Guissi	gissi	gissi

Kolb. Cape. 1719.	*Barrow. Eastern.* 1797.	*Liechtenstein. |Kora.* 1805.
I. G'kui	quai	t'koei
II. K'kam	kam	t'kam
III. K'ouna	gona	t'norra

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802 *Kolb. Cape.* 1719.	*Barrow. Eastern.* 1797.	*Liechtenstein. ǀKora.* 1805.
IV. Hakka	haka	hakka
V. Koro	gose	kurruh
VI, Nanni	—	t'nani
VII. Honko	—	honko
VIII. Khyssi	—	t'kaissee
IX. K'hessi	—	t'goissee
X. Gyssi	—	diissi

Schmelen. North-west Colony. 1814.	*Alexander. Great Namaqualand.* 1834.	*Knudsen. Great Namaqualand.* 1842.
I. Goei	'kooe	'gui
II. Kam	'tam	'gam
III. Nona	'oona	?'nona
IV. Haka	haka	haka
V. Kore	kore	gore
VI. Nanni	'nanee	"nani
VII. Hū	hoo	*hu
VIII. 'Kysa	'keisa	'khaise
IX. Koisi	koësé	khoise
X. Disi	deesee	disi

Vollner. Great Namaqualand. Red Nation. 1856.	*Tindall. N.E. Namaqualand. Wesley Vale.* 1852.	*Th. Hahn. Cape Town. ǀKora Captive* 1871.
I. ǀGui	ckui	ǀgui
II. ǀGam	ckam	ǀgama
III. ǂNona	qnona	ǀnona
IV. Haga	haka	haka
V. Goro	kore	koro
VI. ǂNani	qnani	ǀnani
VII. Hū	hu	hongu
VIII. ǁKhaisa	xkhaisi	ǁkhaisa
XI. Khoisi	goisi	kχoisi
X. Disi	disi	dyisi

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Th. Hahn. Oudtshoorn, E. Prov. 1871.	*Th. Hahn. Bergdamara, North Namaqualand.* 1875.
I. ǀKui	ǀkui
II. ǀKam	ǀkam
III. ǃNona	ǃnona
IV. Haka	haga
V. Koro	gore
VI. ǃNani	ǃnani
VII. Hũgu	hũ
VIII. ǁKhaisi	ǁkhaisa
IX. Khoisi	khoise
X. Disi	disi

A ǂNuwi-Namaqua from the Kaokoveldt counted in the same way as the Great Namaquas.

This much we know of the time when the numerals were formed, that it must have followed the period when the Khoikhoi family had left the isolating stage, and their language availed itself of the aid of pronominal elements in order to form derivatives ǀGui, ǀga-m, ǃno-na, ha-ga, go-re, ǃna-ni, hũ-gu or hu-ni-gu, ǁkhai-si, khoi-si, di-si, all have the derivative-pronominal-suffixes, i, m, na, ni, gu, ga, re, si. We also know that the Khoikhoi could not have invented the numerals before their domestic and social condition made counting and taxing necessary. As long as they were hunters, there was nothing worth counting, but when they had taken to breeding cattle and sheep, they had to count (ǃgõa) their flocks, and the richest man was the most honoured man. Hence it is that *ǃgõa, to count,* is also used in the meaning, *to honour, to respect,* and *ǃgõab* means not only *the number,* but also *the honour, the respect, the regard.* "ǀGõahe tamata hã," will a Khoikhoi indignantly say, "I am not counted," that is, "I am not looked at," if he thinks that he is unfairly treated.

The meanings of some of these numerals are very clear. *ǀGui, one,* is the *single,* the *lonely* one. For

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802 196 instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would ask, |*Gu*riseb hã ? Is he alone ?

|*Gam, two,* I derive from the root |ka, |kha, |ga, or |ya, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with*, " *added*," " *contributed*," *in connection with.*

|*Nona, three,* comes from |*no-na-s* or |*no-ma-s*, the *root*, the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger*, it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three*, because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the symbol of the abstract number *three.*

Haga, four, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gore, five,* which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *goreb,* ior palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, " *Goreb* |na ta ni tani" (I will carry it in the [482] palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. ?*Goreb* is also the Euphorbia candelabra, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the 802 196 number *gore* and the *gore*-tree have derived the name 137 from goreb (also koreb), the open hand. It is also 103 certain that the number *gore* and the tree *kore* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gore*-tree has served [314] from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Koreχas in the North-western Cape Colony; a |Kora told me that he was born at Koreχas in the Free State;

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another Koreχas is in the !Gami-ǂnus territory in Southern Namaqualand, and another Koreχas in the North-western Kalihari, between Gobabis and Ghanze. It is well known that the Euphorbia candelabra shows the most beautiful and gigantic forms in the Khalamba Mountains and in Sekukuni's country and the Hoogeveldt (Highlands) of the Eastern Transvaal. From this we may conclude, as the *gore*-tree does not grow in flats, but is, in very few exceptions, almost entirely confined to mountainous territories, that the Khoikhoi before they separated lived in a mountainous country. This circumstance allows us to account for the higher development which they received before their cousins, the Bushmen. It also points out to us the primordial "fatherland" of the Khoikhoi.

We come now to the number *!nani, six*, where I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation.

Hũ or *hũgu* (originally *hunigu*) mean the "mixed ones," the "amalgamated ones," from *hũni*, to stir, to amalgamate. For instance, if milk is thrown into coffee, a man says, "Hunire eibe ots ni !gãise ã." "Stir at first" (that is, mix the coffee with the milk), "and you will drink nicely." Whether here the seven colours of the rainbow gradually flowing into one another originated the idea of the number seven I cannot tell, but I think it possible.

!!Khaisi or !!khaisa, eight, is very clear from the root *!!khai*, to turn; thus !!khaisi means "turning number"—*i.e.*, four is turning back again.

Khoisi, nine, is not intelligible. All I can say is, that it has with *khoib*, man, the root *khoi* in common.

Disi, ten, from *di*, to do, would give us the meaning "*done*," "*finished*." And the Khoikhoi now continued *eleven*, disi-!gui-!kha; twelve, disi-!gam-!kha—that is, ten-one-with, ten-two-with, &c. &c., or simply with striking off disi, ten, !gam-!kha, two-with, and so forth. Twenty is !gam disi, two tens; thirty is !nona disi, three

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tens, &c. Hundred, disi disi, ten tens, or gei disi, great ten. For thousand, ǀoa gei disi, full-great-ten, is now in use, but I am not in the position to decide whether it is of very recent date or not.

If we had nothing else but these numerals, it would be enough to excite our admiration for the intellectual achievements of the pre-historic Khoikhoi. These numerals are the oldest records of philosophical thinking among the Red-men, and rank their inventors with the ancestors of our own Aryan race *as far as mental power is concerned.* But fortunately there are some more fragments and relics which open to us a clear view into the social, domestic, and religious daily life of the primitive Khoikhoi. He was a Nomad, and possessed large herds of cattle and sheep. The cattle (*gomân*) and sheep (*gūn*) were his riches (χ*ūn*). A rich man (gou-aob) was a fat man; he could afford to be fat (*gousa*), he could anoint himself with fat (*goub*). Therefore the word *gou-aob, fat-man,* is identical with ǀ*khū-aob, rich-man,* and both have now become the words by which rulers, kings, chiefs, masters, and lords are addressed; gou-aob, or gao-aub, being generally used for chief or king, and ǀkhu-aob for master or lord, sometimes simply ǀkhūb, in which form it is also used for the "*Lord in heaven.*"

Naturally the richest man had the largest family, he could afford to buy wives as many as he liked; to love, to court, is ǁă, originally ǁ*ama,* which fuller form is still in use for *to buy, to barter.* This shows that the Khoikhoi bought their wives, and there must have been a remembrance of that custom still, when they first came in contact with the black Bantu races; for the Zulus have the same word ǁama for marrying—viz., buying a wife, a word which, from its click, shows the Khoikhoi origin.

It is now clear that the richest man became the most influential man, and gradually rose to the station of a chief. He could buy as many wives as he liked, and thus

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ruled through the number of relations and such admirers who had to live on him. It is now still expected that a Khoikhoi chief must have an open hand and an open house; and the worst that can be said of a chief is, that he is *gei-||are—i.e., greatly-lefthanded* or *stingy*. It happens sometimes, that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal.

It was a great event in the history of the Hottentot language, when *!Guri-Khoisib*, the ancestor of the present nomadic Hottentots called himself the "Only-man," or *khoikhoib*, the man of men—*i.e.*, man *par excellence*; when he formed from the root *khoi* such abstract words as *khoisi*, friendly, human; *khoisis*, humanity, friendliness, kindness, friendship, or *khoiχa* and *khoiχasis*, kind and kindliness; *khoisigaǂus*, marriage, intimacy, friendship; *khoiχakhoib*, most intimate friend, or, as we say in German, *Herzensfreund*.

There is, indeed, a great and striking difference between the feelings and ideas of a Bushman and a Khoikhoi.

This word Khoikhoi opens to us another page of the records of the pre-historic Hottentots. It proves that besides the Sān or Bushmen, there were no other nations known to the Khoikhoi. The present Bergdamaras are called *Dama*, the conquered people, and also *!Haukhoi*, the strange people, or foreigners—*i.e.*, people of another nation or tribe. The very fact that the word Da-ma is a derivative, while Khoikhoi and Sā are not, shows us that the word Sā and Khoikhoi were formed some considerable time before Dama—that is, before the time the Khoikhoi came in contact with black races. For instance, all the names of the Khoikhoi tribes are derivatives, as can be seen from the following enumeration !Kó-bi-si, ǂAu-ni, ǂNu-be, !Ko-ra, !Go-na, !Go-ra-χa, ||Ha-bo-be, !Ga-mi-ǂnu, Ou-te-ni-, &c. This indicates that these tribes came into existence only after the agglutinative character of the Khoikhoi language was fully established, and perhaps most of them, after the primitive

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Khoikhoi family had separated. Here I may add that the Khoikhoi name for Betyuana is Bri or Biri (Briqua of the Cape Records), and this appellation is generally derived from *biri, goat;* thus the Tyuana are the *Goat people.* But I am more inclined to derive the word *Biri*qua from ba-*Beri*, or ba-Pedi, or ba-Beli, a Tyuana tribe, who formerly lived more to the South, in the present Free State, and are of Suto (Basuto) extraction, who form again a sub-family of the Tyuana.

Before the Khoikhoi left their primordial "Fatherland," the various degrees of relationship were already established. Father as genitor was ||*gŭ-b;* as protector *ī-b;* as master *saub;* as friend *āb, tatab, abob* and *abo-īb.* Amongst many other names for mother was that suggestive expression *ei-gos*, the one *who looks upon*—viz., the child (from *ei* upon, and *go* to look, to see). Strange enough, uncle and grandfather, or ancestor, were called ||haub; the son-in-law was ||nu-ri-b, and he had to spend his first years like Jacob in the service of his father-in-law. He was the *old man's* companion in the hunting-field as well as in the war. Polygamy was customary, as we can see from the appellations *gei-ris*, the *elder wife*, the *great-wife*, and ||*ā-ri-s*, the *younger wife.* As we shall see in the following chapter, Heitsi-eibib, their great-grandfather, had a second wife. And the laws of *succession* and *inheritance* are now-a-days the same among the surviving tribes as they were before their separation. Law, ǂhanub means what is right, straight, what is in a straight line. A *great-man's*, or, to speak more familiarly, a gentleman's, word was a *true word* (*amab*), and it was a disgrace to a "*great-man*" to speak untruth, or to ǂ*humi or gāra.* Boys when they became of age were told *not to lie*, not to steal ||ā, and not to ill-treat the other sex, not to commit rape. The vendetta, ||*kharab*, was in practice, which means *the-doing-in-return.* Sin, guilt, and wickedness was expressed by the word ||o-re-b, evidently derived from the word ||*ō*, to die; ||oreb thus means what makes *liable to death*, and ||oreχa wicked, sinful.

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All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Tara-daob*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or ta means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler;* the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tās (contracted from gautaras), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xam|hās, who ruled the Cauquas (|Khauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xam|ha, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-|Khauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is *Xam|ha-b* and the mother is ‡*Arises*, the sons are—

1. ‡Ariseb geib—*i.e.*, ‡Arise the big one, or the eldest ‡Arise.

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559 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denounination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagā-mā-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called ǀgaob, and if it is a daughter ǀgaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnūb, the dark one, ǀhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀawab, the red one, ǀnubub, the short one, gā-χub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xam-ǀhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǀhās geis. 2. Xam ǀhas ǀnagu-mās. 3. Xam ǀhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǀUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǀUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǀUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǀUrisi-s.

591 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was
234 entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in
562 accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

Ti χamse! My lioness! 542

!Gaibista ǂaote! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomasa ke ǂausi ǁgani !omaŋ!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǂGabi-ǂkhâtire! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamse! My lioness.

Gei khoits ǂaus! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [60]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174
(ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap
(pot sā-s, to boil, to cook sāi).

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(pot sũ-s, to boil, to cook sãi). Food, especially meat, is always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

We must also conclude that the process of melting ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general separation; for ǂarîb is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǂê, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gũagu), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂgaunga, Literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǁkoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgaîb), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's Journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *peek-oxen*, and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (sã-b or boχu).

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* "Their wives on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

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The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsuiǂgoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (ǁamab, trade, ǁamaga, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-ǁkhara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǀAmaa tribe), and of the ǀKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-ǂhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǀKhâsati (ǀKhusaseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreya the Zebras, *a* Orionis χami, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarub*, from *tara*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǂgarí-b, ǁgob, ǂi-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǂgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received them on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǂgamiseb, Lion-killer, ǁOtsitamab, The One who cannot die, Aoguiǁb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

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103 Names of places
and rivers up to this day tell us of battles once fought, such as !*Khami* and !*Khama*, Battlefield, !*Khe-||na-ta*, "You cannot catch me;" !*Khetoa*, the last one caught; ‡*K*χ^{i}χ*as*, peace; !*Huritamas*, "I am not afraid." Other names again bear testimony to the love for dancing and singing, like !*Gai||nais* and !*Gai||nai*χ*as*, "Good, pleasant singing," ‡A χ*ais*, "Reed-dance." And even sentimental feelings seem to be as characteristic of them as of the writers of fashionable novels now-a-days. ||*Ai*||*ke*, "Dying from love," has probably been the scene of a very tragical love affair.

791 Prophets (gebo-aoga, *i.e.*, seers) could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan. We shall see hereafter that Heitsiebib, Tsu-||goab and the Moon, all were endowed with the power of prophecy.

196 I have already shown in the forms derived from *khoi*, that the Khoikhoi are able to form abstract words.

This distinguishes them most favourably from all the Bushmen tribes, and proves how high their mental development must have been before they emigrated from their primitive territory.

I shall give only a few specimens. ‡*Ei*, to think, from ‡*ani* to cut to pieces, to slaughter, hence, ‡*eis* (‡*anis*), the thought; ‡*ei*-‡*ei*-*sen*, to consider, to think over again; ‡*ei*-‡*ei*-*sen*-*s*, the result of one's own consideration, idea, perception.

Ĩ, to appear, to shine; *ĩ-ib*, form, shape, likeness, appearance; *ĩas* and *ĩ*χ*a*, full of form, beautiful, pretty, handsome.

Si, to come, to arrive; *si* (from *sini*), to cause to arrive—*i.e.*, to send; *siaen*, to send oneself—*i.e.*, *to work*; German, *sich anschicken*.

A, yes; *ama*, true; *amab*, truth: *amaib*, truthfulness, love of truth.

!Nams, love, fondness; *mam*|*namsa*, fond, dear; !*nam*, to love.

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ǀAmo, eternal, endless, ǀamosib, eternity. This ǀamo is derived from ǀâ to be sharp, to be pointed; hence ǀamo, the end, the point; *o* is used as the *a privativum* in Greek, and means without. Thus ǀamo, what is without end. 196

ǀKhom, to have mercy; ǀkhoma, mercy.

ǀu, to forget; ǀû, to *forgive*—*i.e.*, to forget the hatred.

‡Khâ, to refuse; ‡khala, stubborn, wicked; ‡khâ-hasib, wickedness, badness. Why missionaries have committed the absurdity of forming from a Hebrew root the word *elo*χ*oma*—*i.e.*, being without élohim—is to me a riddle, when we have a very pregnant Khoikhoi word to express wicked and wickedness.

Tâ, to feel; *tâsi*, the feeling, taste, sentiment; *tâ*ǂ*kha*, to feel with—*i.e.*, to condole; tâ-ǂkhasib, condolence (German Mitgefühl).

ǀ*Aua*, clean, neat; but *aua*, sacred, pure, refined, handsome, beautiful; also *aua*χ*a*; auasib, holiness, sacredness, purity.

To show what the Khoikhoi mean by *aua* and *aua*χ*a*, I may give the following conversation I once had with an old Namaqua. A girl, a niece of his, used to bring daily some milk to my camp. Her lovely face and the pure expression of the eyes had struck me repeatedly, and I could not help being complimentary to the old man. It was indeed one of those faces

> Which tell of days in goodness spent,
> A mind in peace with all below,
> A heart whose love is innocent."

I used in my conversation the word tsa (beautiful), when the old man almost indignantly said, "No, every girl can be tsa, but such an appearance as hers we call *aua*χ*a* (full of purity)." This was amongst Khoikhoi who had no missionary yet, and who still lived in national primitive independence.

Nothing, however, is more convincing of the abstract power of the Khoikhoi language than the great number 196 822

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of names for the various divisions and subdivisions of colours. The colour itself is *tsîb*—*i.e.*, appearance. It must be remembered that the colours named in the following are not all which are known to the Khoikhoi, which must surprise the more if we recollect that they have been collected in the most barren territory of South Africa, in Great Namaqualand. For this reason we need not doubt that, among the other tribes, not only the same words were in existence, but that also more subdivisions were known. Be this however as it may, we are told that Demokritus knew only of four colours, and that in China the number of colours was originally five, while we shall learn from the following that the Khoikhoi distinguished very strictly between ǃuri, white, ǂnũ, black, ǁam, green, ǃawa (ǃaua, ǃava), red, ǂhoa, blue, ǁhai, fawn-coloured, ǁhuni, yellow, ǂgama, brown, ǁkhan, grey, ǁnaiǂa, ǁgaru, dotted. Then we have the following subdivisions:—ǃuri-ǁhuni, whitish-yellow, ǃurisi, whitish, ǂnu-ǁho, black-patched, ǂnu-ǁgaru, black-dotted, ǂnu-ǂura, black-shining (German, *schwarz-schillernd*), ǃava-ǂura, red-shining, ǃava-ǂgani, with white and red patches, ǃawa-ǁho or ǁgi-ǁho, chestnut-colour, ǃavara or ǃavaχa, reddish, ǁam-ǂura, green-shining (for instance, the colour of the Naja Haje); ǁǂgama-ǁho, brown-dotted, ǁǂgama-ǁgaru, the same, ǁǂgama-ǂhoa, brownish-blue (the colour of Bucephalus Capensis); ǁǂgama-ǂura, brown-shining, like the Vipera Cornuta. The colour of the rainbow is always ǃam, green; only in two cases I heard that it was considered to be ǃare, red. The name of the rainbow is tsawirub and dabitsirub. In Bible translations of missionaries we read ǃari-ǁhaseb. This is very incorrect, and nothing else but a verbal translation of *vuis-bow*. As to tsawirub, the etymology is not quite clear; tsawib is the ebony-tree, which much resembles in appearance the weeping willow; the leaves are *dark green*, ǂnu-ǃam, and *tsaloχa* bile-coloured, from tsaloab, the bile. Now it is difficult to say whether the

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ebony-tree has been called after the green colour of the bile, and also whether the rainbow, *tsawirub*, received its name from *tsabab*. ǃUri is a derivative from the original ǃû, and certainly has with ǃ*ubus*, egg, the root ǃu in common; consequently ǃuri means egg-coloured, and the egg *par excellence*, the ostrich egg, is white. The same root for white and egg we had in the ǃAi Bushman language. ǃAm, green, means originally *springing up*, or *shooting forth*, like in German *ausschlagend*, used for the fresh green leaves; ǃa, to hit, ǂnou-ǃa, and ǂnou-ǃan, to beat —to hit, German, *treffen*; ǁnau-ǃa and ǁnau-ǃan to hear —to hit, *i.e.*, to understand; mû-ǃa and mû-ǃan, to see or to look—to hit, *i.e.*, to observe, to perceive, to acknowledge. ǃAva, red, is nothing else but ǃaua, blood-coloured, from ǃau, to bleed, or ǃau-b, blood. ǃHuni is yellow, that is, the colour of clay or ground, from ǃhu-b, ground, earth, clay. ǂGama, brown, is the colour of ǂgâb, originally ǂgamab, the colour of a *vley*; the vley is a water-pond, which is dry in the winter, and then the bottom shows a brown colour. ǃKhan, grey, is the colour of the ǃkhani, Bos elaphus. ǃNai-ǂu is the colour of the ǃnaib, giraffe and also of the zebra. ǃGaru is dotted like a leopard, hence this animal is called ǃgurub. The other name of ǃgarub, leopard, however, is more significant; he is also called χoasaûb, the mark—scratcher, from χoa to scratch, and saû to mark, to imprint.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adding some remarks on Khoikhoi poetry, and on the so-called "*Reed-dance*," ǂâb, to which in the following chapters repeatedly reference will be made.

The Khoikhoi have two kinds of poetry, sacred and profane. The sacred hymns, as well as the profane songs, are sung accompanied by the so-called Reed-music or Reed-dances. The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations, and songs of praise in honour of Tsuǁgoab, Heitsiebib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs.

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533 and the performance with dancing is called *|geib* while the general profane songs are called *||nai-tsanati*, and to perform them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba χaire*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition, is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it. In such a case the performances have much in common with the mediæval German "Singspiel." We can also compare them with our modern operas. If an illustrious stranger visits a place, he is often welcomed with a reed-dance while entering the place. Thus the first Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, who came to the ||Heisiqua Hottentots in the Calodon district, was received with a reed-dance. The Dutch Governor van der Stell, on his journey to the Copper Mountains, the present Copper mines, was honoured in the same way. Hop, a burgher of Stellenbosch, who in Governor Ryk van Tulbagh's time went on an expedition to Great Namaqualand, received the congratulations of the ||Habobes at the foot of the |Kharas mountain in a grand reed-dance performance. Alexander received the same honours from his Namaqua host, the famous Jonker Afrikaner |Haramûb; and up to this time the traveller, if he only understand how to fraternize with them, will gladly be admitted to witness their simple merry-making.

533 535

533 If chiefs have become unpopular by some whimsical or despotic orders, very soon the tongue of the women—of whom a Khoikhoi proverb says "that they cannot be as long quiet as it takes sweet milk to get sour"—will lecture him in a sarcastic reed-song. Once I saw a chief sitting by, when the young girls sung into his face, telling him "that he was a hungry hyena and a roguish jackal; that he was the brown vulture who is not only satisfied with tearing the flesh from the bones, but also feasted on the intestines." On another occasion, a very old

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man had married a very young girl, and her friends sung:

The geiris (first wife) is dismissed, his only great thought is the ǃaris (second wife); or, as we should say, "Age does not prevent a man making a fool of himself."

Other songs again are of a very simple character: "Don't, please, kill my antelope, my darling antelope; my antelope is so poor; my antelope is an orphan,"—and are simply an instance of the thrift of poetical productiveness. Or they are of a comical nature, sympathizing with a patient who suffers from gripes:

Poor young ǁKharis got into a fright,
She is suffering from gripes,
And bites the ground like the hyena which ate poison
The people run to see the fun!
They all were very much frightened!
And still they say—oh, it is nothing!

This reminds one very much of the style of Heinrich Heine; and even more of the way of the Middle-High-German poet, Nithart. I saw this play, "The Gripes," performed, and honestly confess that I laughed until the tears came. Helmerding could here have found his match in caricaturing people.

Every larger kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-ǂgun-aob*, the leader. He teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes, and if a boy should remain out of class, he is sure to get the whip severely. Also the girls, if they are too lazy and do not pay attention enough, receive now and then the whip, but then generally on the kaross, merely to make a noise and to frighten them. The reed-music sounds exactly like the playing on a harmonium. It is very pleasant indeed to hear it at a distance. Boys who perform well, are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called *ǂkho-ǂkha, to touch the body*, which means, "to praise a person in a song."

Such was the culture of the Khoikhoi before they migrated from the grave of ǁGurikhoisib, and such was it

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000 still at the time when Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape, and when Governor Jan van Riebeeke hoisted the banner of the Netherlands at the foot of Table Mountain, below the old Khoikhoi kraal ǂHu-ǂgais. And such we find it still to be amongst the tribes of Great Namaqualand, and the remnants of the ǃKora and the so-called Cape Hottentots.

114 The orthography of the few specimens of the old Khoi-
197 khoi language of the Cape Colony, given by Witsen, Kolb, Valentyn, Ludolf, Leibniz, Thunberg, Spaarman, Le Vaillant, Barrow, Liechtenstein, Burchell, &c., is very much distorted, when compared with that of the excellent publications of Schmelen, Knudsen, Vollmer, and Tindall. Nevertheless, the language of the Khoikhoi tribes, such as the Kochoquas, Charigurunas, Hessaquas, Outeniquas, Attaquas, now swept from the face of the earth, and the present living idioms of the Namaquas, ǂGonaquas, ǂKhauas, ǃAmas, and ǃKoras, and few remnants of the Chrichriquas, the present Griquas, show the same structure, the same sex-denoting tendency, the same agglutinative peculiarity, the same decimal system of counting, and an equal abundance of abstract ideas and expressions well fitted to interpret the most sublime and sacred feelings of the human heart.

000 An unmerciful fate has overtaken the Khoikhoi; the most powerful tribes have been annihilated, and with them their traditions, sacred as well as profane. Those still extant have lost so much of their national peculiarities by contact with civilization, and have adopted such a number of Indo-European beliefs and customs; and the Christian ideas introduced by missionaries have amalgamated to such a degree with the national religious ideas and mythologies, that for this reason I have in the following pages preferred to give less than I could give, lest I should be accused that from a certain natural interest in, and sympathy with, the Khoikhoi, I had been carried away to assign to them a higher station in the

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scale of culture than they are entitled to claim. I wanted to represent the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi and the worship of their Supreme Being in its true light, and had therefore to leave out every legend or myth, which, although it may be genuine, gives to the foreigner reason to believe that it savours too much of missionary influence.

A friend of mine the other day in Cape Town, when we were speaking about the traditions of the South African races, told me in a blunt way that these stories were insipid, and some even very repulsive; no sensible and educated man would look at them! I had to remind my friend that, as to the repulsiveness, he simply showed that he was very little acquainted with Greek mythology, and as to the charge of being insipid, the same was said at the beginning of the Nursery Tales collected by Grimm, which are now translated into Dutch and English; and that men of world-wide experience are happy to fill up their leisure hours with reading those simple tales over again, which, in their childhood, were heard from the lips of some old nurse.

To the man of science, these so-called insipid and repulsive stories have the same interest as the Bathybius Haeckelii has to the biologist, and a common lichen to the botanist, who would perhaps pass unnoticed a famous race-horse, or a gigantic cabbage.

NOTES TO THE FIRST CHAPTER.

[1] Tsûi-ǁgoab, &c. On the title-page I have written Tsuni-ǁgoam, because this is the reconstructed original form. The nasal ˜ was originally an *n* or *m*; thus we have still the forms ǀhu*n*-khoib and ǀhũ-khoib, ǂ*Anisa*-ǂgaobeb and ǂ*Aisa*-ǂgaobeb, ǂ*Gama*-ǂgorib and ǂGã-ǂgorib, ǀ*Khuni* and ǀ*Khũi*, &c. As to the suffix *m* in ǁgoa*m*, it is more primitive than *b*. Some Cape Dialects, and especially the ǀKora, have preserved *m*

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where the Nama uses *b*; thus, ǃKora ǁkhām, Nama ǁkhāb; ǃKora ǧām, Nama ǧāb; ǃKora mūm, Nama mūb, &c. &c. *Vide* Th. Hahn, "Die Sprache der Nama" (Leipzig, 1870), p. 67, 3; also p. 29, sub Dritte Person, and p. 65, ǂgā.

[2] As to the prehistoric condition of the Hottentot race, *vide* Th. Hahn, "The Graves of Heitsi-eibib," in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* (May, 1878), and Friedr. Müller, "Allgemeine Ethnographie" (Wien, 1879), pp. 78 and 93, &c.

[3] Cattle, sheep, and goats. All the records of the Dutch and English and Portuguese navigators agree on the point that the Khoikhoi they met with at St. Helena Bay, Saldanha Bay, the Cape, Mossel Bay, Algoa Bay, were rich in cattle and sheep. The Hottentot sheep is particularly known for its long tail and hair in place of wool. We are led to believe that the Central African natives originally had no sheep. Certainly the Kafir, the Zulu, the Tyuana, the Herero (Damara), and Mbò had no sheep; and the present Herero sheep is the true type of the old Hottentot sheep. The Herero come from the heart of Africa, from parts where no sheep are to be met with.

[4] Of the hospitality and kind-heartedness of the Khoikhoi, Kolb and Valentyn give some striking proofs. It is also a prominent feature in the character of the Khoikhoi that they are *not* inclined to steal.

[5] In the "Idioticon Hamburgense," p. 101, by Michael Richey (Hamburg, 1735), there is the following remark:—"Hüttentüth, Schimpfwort auf einen unnützen Artzt, welcher beim gemeinen Mann heisset: Doctor Hüttentüth, de den Lüden dat water besüht." Then again, "Bremisch Niedersächsisch Wörterbuch" (ii. p. 678):—"Hüttentüt, so nennt der gemeine Mann in Hamburg einen Stümper in der Arzney Kunst." Both remarks evidently show that the word Hütentüt, or Hottentot, means something irregular, something which is out of order, something

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extraordinary and confused. Dapper, in his excellent work, "Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa" (Amsterdam, 1670), p. 626, expressly says that the name Hottentot has been given by the Dutch to the natives they found at the Cape of Good Hope, on account of the curious clicks and harsh sounds in that language, and "that the Dutch also apply as a reproach the word *Hottentot* to one who stammers and stutters too much with the tongue." Sutherland, therefore, in his "Memoir respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjemans of South Africa" (Cape Town, 1846), ii. p. 2, footnote, in what he says about the origin of the word Hottentot is wrong. "It appears," says this author, "that the term Hottentot is either an original native appellation, belonging to some tribe farther north or north-east (which tribe is apparently lost), and applied to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Cape by the early Portuguese settlers on the coast; but the meaning of the term it would seem almost impossible to trace, as hitherto its roots have not been found either in the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Hottentot, the Arabic, or the Sichuana languages, although sought for by some learned persons who have taken much interest in the research. Yet the Arabic word *oote*, to strike with a club, and again the word *toote*, a missile or projectile of any kind, referring to the well-known weapon of the Hottentot as well as of the Kaffer, may favour the idea of its Arabic origin, to which the Dutch might have added the Holland, for it is sometimes found Hollandootes.—(*Where?*)—Hence, perhaps, the corruption Hottentootes. Hollandootes would thus mean, of course, a people struck down —conquered by Holland."

* Ku-néne, means nothing else than the Great River, from the adjective néne in the Mbó language, meaning, great, big, large. The derivation of Zambesi is not quite clear, but so much we know, that this river was known by that name already to the early Portuguese. On a very old coloured map of Africa, from about the year 1600,

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600 we find the River *Zambere*; on the map attached to Dapper's work the *Zambere* is also marked. Valentyn, in his admirable work on the Dutch East Indian Colonies, gives a map, on which also a part of South Africa is sketched, and where the said river is pretty fairly laid down with the two names *Zambesi* and *Empondo*. The Kunene's name is also to be found with the quite correct translation "Groote Rivier."

[7] *Gorcb.*—That the Khoikhoi transferred other names of certain parts of the body, or utensils and furniture, to plants, is quite evident from the following examples:—||oāb, arm and branch of a tree; ǂgeigu, the ears, and the leaves of the trees and plants; ||haran, the flowers, or little pockets from |ǁhās or |ǁhōs pocket, bag. We, for instance, call a certain flower in Germany *Pantoffelblume—i.e.*, the slipper-flower.

[8] *All the daughters are called after the father.*—Mr. G. Theal, our excellent South African historian and custodian of the colonial archives, who spent many years among the frontier Kafirs, N!gika and |Galeka, informs me that they have adopted the same way of name-giving from the Khoikhoi, and that this custom is still in vogue at the present day. Here we have also, as in so many other instances, an evidence that the Khoikhoi exercised an influence on the Kafir.

103 [9] ||*Hu-!gais.*—This is the name by which Cape Town is known wherever the Khoikhoi tongue is spoken. This name consists of two words, ǁhū the root of a verb, meaning "to condense," hence |ǁhū-s, an old word for *cloud*, the word is still used; ||hūs is also a game, and especially the game where |Gurikhoisib, who is also called ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb, or *lightning*, loses all his copper beads. This is metaphor; and |ǁhūs or the |ǁhūs game is the game, battle, or fight in the clouds—the thunderstorm. In the thunderstorm ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb loses the lightning, which falls down to the earth; !gai is to bind, to surround, to tie, to envelop. ||Hu-!gais

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consequently means "veiled in clouds." And, indeed, 103
every inhabitant of Cape Town will admit that this is a very significant name for "Table-mountain." We still say, if the clouds envelop the top of "Table-mountain," he has his "tablecloth" on.

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CHAPTER II.

The religious instinct should be honoured even in dark and confused mysteries.—SCHELLING.

SACRED FRAGMENTS AND RELICS.

OUR IN this chapter I propose to give extracts from the accounts of former travellers as much as my own observations, reserving for my next chapter the inferences I have drawn from them.

Worship of Heitsi-eibib.

788 Corporal Müller, travelling with the Hottentot interpreter Harry along the False Bay, east of the Cape, in October. 1655, says:

"We were marching generally in a S.E. direction; after marching half an hour one morning we saw a strange proceeding of the Hottentot women on the side of our path, where a *great stone* lay. Each woman had a *green* branch in her hand, laid down upon her face on the stone, and spoke words, which we did not understand; on asking what it meant, they said, '*Hette hie*,' and pointed above, as if they would say, 'It is an offering to God.'"—("Sutherland Memoir respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans," vol. ii. p. 88.)

As will be seen from the sequel of this chapter, the word "*Hette hie*" is only a distortion of "*Heitsi-eibib*," and the form of worship, described here at the cairn, is nothing else but the Heitsi-eibib worship, as it is practised still up to this day all over Great Namaqualand and in

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!Koranaland, where Heitsi-eibib has changed names, and 788
the worship is offered to !Garubeb or Tsũi-!|goab.

Worship of Tsũi-!|goab (Dawn), !|Khab (Moon) and Heitsi-eibib (Dawn-tree).

Dapper, as early as 1671, speaking of the Khoikhoi 776
at the Cape of Good Hope, says: 821

"They know and believe that there is *One*, whom they call *humma* or *summa* (*i.e.*, in Nama or !Kora *!homi*, *heaven*), who sends rain on earth, who makes the winds blow, and who makes the heat and the cold. . . . .

"They also believe that they themselves can make rain, and can prevent the wind from blowing. . . . .

"It appears also that there is a certain superstition about the new moon. For if the moon is seen again (the new moon) they crowd together, making merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, and singing; clasping their hands together, and also murmuring some words (singing hymns). . . . .

"Nay, their women and children are seen to kneel before erected stones and bow before them."—(O. Dapper, "Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa." Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 626, 627.)

Hcitsi-eibib, or Tsũi-!|goab, Worship.

Nicolas Witsen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, commu- 776
nicates to his learned friend Jobst Ludolf, in Germany, the following interesting letter, dated Cape of Good Hope, February 19, 1691, forty years after the landing of Governor Jan van Riebeeke at the Cape:

"Nobilissimus vir miscebat sermonem cum aliquot Hottentottis, qui pro sua erga ipsum familiaritate docebant nihil dissimulando '*se adorare Deum certum aliquem*' cuius caput manus seu pugni magnitudinem haberet; grandi eundem esse et deducto in latitudinem corpore; auxilium vero eius implorari tempore famis et anonae carioris aut alterius cuiuscunque necessitatis. Uxores

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 suas solere caput Dei conspergere terra rubra,-(toroo) Buchu et aliis suave olentibus herbis, oblato quoque eidem sacrificio non uno. Ex quo demum intelligi coeptum est, Hottentottos colere etiam aliquem [2] Deum!

Tsūi-||goab, ǃGuru-b, and ||Gaunab.

Valentyn, a very trustworthy authority, who was a man of high education and of a classical training, and who had an eye to observe what many others overlooked, tells us in the fifth volume of his great work "Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, &c. &c., vol. v. p. 109: "I heard from the chieftains and various others that they call '*God*' in their language not only the '*Great Chief*,' in saying, if it thunders, the *Great Chief* is angry with us; but they generally call 'God' in their language *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (Tsūi-||goab); but the *Supreme Ruler* they call *Khourrou;* the *Devil*, *Dangoh* and *Damoh;* a *Spectre* whom they fear very much, *somsoma*." And p. 158 our author continues: "I must say, that I really observed many things amongst them which looked like religious worship. . . . .

776 821 "It is certain, when the new moon reappears, they have that whole night a great merry-making and clasping of hands. They also, ten or twelve of them, sit on the banks of a river together, and throw some balls or dumplings, made of clay, into the water. . . . . It also is certain that I often heard them speaking of a *Great Chief* who dwells on high, whom they call in their own language *Thikwa* or *Thukwa*, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning. They also know of a *Devil*, whom they call *Damoh*, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often persecuted them; but in carefully examining this, it is nothing else but their *somsomas* and *spectres*. Some of them also call the Supreme, *Lord* (Nama ǃKhūb) from which it is evident that they believe in more than one [3] Khourrou."

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'Valentyn then continues telling us that he had a conversation with a Hottentot who had been trained by the Dutch clergyman van Kalden, and he (Valentyn) found the man so well informed about the Christian religion and discovered in him such an understanding of religious matters that it was quite a pleasure to hear him speaking. As to Valentyn, he touched on his return voyage from the East Indies, in 1705, at the Cape. He ha[d] been a minister of the gospel in Amboina, &c., for mor[e] than twenty years, and took a great interest in native customs and manners, of which he had acquired a great knowledge.

ǂKhūb, the Moon, and ǀKhūb, the Lord.

The missionaries Plütschau and Ziegenbalg, sent by the King of Denmark, Frederic IV. to India in the commencement of the eighteenth century, touched at the Cape, where they had an opportunity of intercourse with the Hottentots (Khoikhoi).

Plütschau saw how the natives danced in the moonlight, singing and clasping their hands together. The missionary asked whether they worshipped the Moon? The answer was, that they could not exactly say this, but it was the old custom of their ancestors to do so. *They worshipped a Great Chief.*—(W. Germann, Ziegenbalg und Plütschau, Erlangen, 1868, pp. 62.)

ǂKhūb, the Moon, and ǀKhūb, the Lord.

Another traveller of the seventeenth century, Wilhelm Vogel, tells us about the Khoikhoi he met at the Cape: "Of God and His nature they know very little or nothing, although one can observe that they have some worship of the moon. At new moon they come together and make a noise the whole night, dancing in a circle, and while dancing they clasp their hands together. Sometimes they are seen in dark caves, where they offer some prayers, which, however, a European does not understand. While doing this they have a very curious behaviour, they turn

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821 their eyes towards the sky and one makes to the other a cross on the forehead. And this is, perhaps, a kind of religious worship."—(Wilhelm Vogel, "Ostindianische Reise," p. 67.)

||Khâb, the Moon; Tsûi-||goab, the Dawn; |Khûb, the Lord; ||Gaunab, the Destroyer.

776 We now come to the worthy German Magister, Peter Kolb, whose reports have been repeatedly doubted by European writers, but without any good reason. Any traveller or missionary who is well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Bergdamaras, a black tribe in Great Namaqualand, which entirely has adopted Namaqua manners and language, and which preserved these elements even much better than the Namaquas themselves, will endorse the greater part of Kolb's book on the Hottentots. The good and kind-hearted old Magister bore no hatred against the natives, and he is a great admirer of their simple and unvarnished manners. He has paid special attention to the religion and worship of these savages, and his observations on this subject deserve well to be noticed. Kolb quotes first from other authors, and gives last, but not least, his own observations:—

"Saar, an officer of the Dutch Government (p. 157), distinctly says: 'One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, '*when the day dawns*, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens. From this one may conclude that they must have some idea of the Godhead.'"—(Peter Kolb, p. 406. German edition. Nüremberg, 1719.)

From Father Tachard, Kolb also quotes: "These people know nothing of the creation of the world . . . . nothing of the Trinity in the Godhead . . . . *but they pray to a God.*"—(Kolb, p. 406.)

The contemporary of Kolb and Ziegenbalg, was also a Danish missionary, Böving, who says: "*There are some*

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rudera and traces of an idea (perception) of a God. For they know, at least the more intelligent among them, that there is a God, who has made the earth and heavens, who causes thunder and rain, and who gives them food and skins for clothing, so that also of them may be said what St. Paul says, Rom. i. 19."—(Kolb, p. 406.) 776

Kolb's own experience runs thus: "It is obvious that all Hottentots believe in a God, they know him and confess it; to him they ascribe the work of creation, and they maintain that he still rules over everything and that he gives life to everything. On the whole he is possessed of such high qualities that they could not well describe him. . . . . Then our author continues, that nobody has given better information on the subject than the above-mentioned Böving.

"Because the station of a chief is the highest charge, therefore they call the Lord '*Gounia*, and they call the moon so, as their visible God. But if they mean the Invisible, and intend to give him his true name, they call him Gounia Tiqûaa—*i.e.*, the God of all gods. He is *a good man and does not do any harm to them*, and therefore they need not be afraid of him!" Kolb affirms that his own experience, gathered during a long residence among the natives, is, "*that the Khoikhoi give the moon the name of the Great Chief.*" He had observed how they performed dances in honour of the new moon, and how they address the moon in singing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk." In offering this prayer they look towards the moon. 776 821

After our author has described the whole performances, and all the rites connected with the religious worship of the Hottentots, he exclaims: "And who now dares to deny that this dancing, singing, and offering invocations at the time of the full moon and new moon, is not a religious worship!" (P. 412.)

I need not quote any more authorities on this subject

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776 821 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, *who promises men immortality.*

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of less power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, ǂgai-aogu) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the ǁGauna worship of the ǂAuni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to ǁGauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Touqûa*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaqua believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also ǁGaunab, as they call the Enemy of Tsûi-ǁgoab.

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

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"Once on an occasion," says Kolb, "a Hottentot 778
[Kamma, whom I caught in the act of dancing and singing round such a spot, told me, that he, on a journey, slept at this place, and was not devoured by a lion who approached him during the night at a few yards distance only. He, the Hottentot, could not help thinking that a saint (ghost) inhabited the spot, and had protected him, and he considered it his duty not to forget this 'kindness.'" (P. 419.)

Tsĕi-||goab, and ||Khanneti, the Pleiades.

The first Khoikhoi missionary, George Schmidt, was 821
sent in 1737 by the Moravian Mission to the Cape. He settled amongst the Hessequas, a tribe inhabiting the present Caledon district, on the banks of the Sonderende River. The place formerly called Baviaanskloof, now Genadendal, is still occupied by the United Brethren.

"At the return of the Pleiades," says Schmidt, "these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones on their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors.

"The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, &c.), nienties, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, and us a good year.'"—(*Bader Magazin*, 1831, p. 12, and Burkhard's "Missionsgeschichte," Africa, vol. ii. p. 9.)

Tsĕi-||goab.

In the Appendix to his Travels, De Jong, commander 776
of a Dutch vessel, who spent a considerable time at the Cape, quotes from George Schmidt's reports, and says: "They have no religion or rites, and they only believe

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776 that there is a Lord, whom they call Tui'qua. They also believe in a devil, to whom they give the name 'Gauna, but they do not care much about him."—(De Jong, "Reisen nach dem Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung," Hamburg, 1803, vol. i. p. 274.)

||Aâsi, the Moon, and |Khoi, the Lord.

776 821 By order of the Dutch Governor, Ryk van Tulbagh, an expedition was undertaken to the Great Namaquas, which reached as far as the Kamob river, about lat. 27°. In the "Journal of Hop, the commander of that expedition, we find the following remark: "Their (the Namaqua) religion chiefly consists in worshipping and praising the new moon. The men stand in a circle together and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, and the women, clasping hands, dance round the men. They continually sing in a praying manner, that the last moon had protected them and their cattle so well, and they hope the same from this new moon. The Cabonas (very likely the ||Habona or ||Haioben) whom we met, praised the moon, particularly that *Ae* (in Hottentot the moon is masculine) had brought them into contact with a nation from whom they had received so much kindness. Although these were the only rites, *we also observed that they had some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Chuya* (the Nama |Khûb or |Khumib), and who is great and powerful. For if they want to express that something is beyond their conception, then they say it is a work of 'Chuya.'"—("Hop's Journal," pp. 88, 89.)

Heitsi-eibib, ||Gounab, and |Garib.

609 We should have expected that the Swedish travellers, Thunberg and Sparrmann, men of great learning, would have been able to give us more particular information about the religion of the Khoikhoi. It, however, appears that their great learning on the one side made them underrate the natives. On the other hand, the natives, as sensitive as

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children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterize the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who travelled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.) "Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hottentots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hauteur.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-

14:Haim L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

774 ments. He very soon turns against himself, by stating
that the Khoikhoi *must* believe in a Supreme, but very
powerful and fiendish Being, from whom they expect rain,
thunder, lightning, cold, &c.; and he adds that various
Colonists had told him *that the Khoikhoi curse at the
thunder*, calling him "'Gutseri and !Gaunari," and
"throwing something at the lightning and thunder.—
(Sparrmann, German edition, p. 196. Compare in the
sequel the hymn to the Thunder and to the Lightning
with this statement.)

778 Sparrmann also makes mention of those mysterious
cairns. He describes their size to be three to four feet
in diameter. This is the general size of those Heitsi-
eibib cairns we meet with in Great Namaqualand. He
searched in vain in one of those stone heaps for cu-
riosities and antiquities; all he found was a few pieces
of wood (p. 549).

The Graves of Heitsi-eib.

764 The learned Dr. Lichtenstein, who travelled in 1803
769 with the Dutch Commissioner de Mist through the
Colony, gives a few but very valuable remarks. Lich-
tenstein and party were travelling in the Eastern Province
Outeniqualand, and the field cornet Bademeier was with
them to show the road. "The well-informed Bademeier,"
says Lichtenstein, "who had offered himself to show us
the road for some distance, drew, not far from the road,
our attention to the grave of a Hottentot, who, according
to the general tradition of this people, long before the
Christians had immigrated into these parts of the world,
had been considered to be a great doctor and a wise
man, and whose memory was honoured by the custom,
that each Hottentot who passed by threw a fresh
branch of flowers on the grave. We actually saw some
half-dried branches which might have been thrown there
only a few days ago. The grave consisted of a heap of
stones about twenty to thirty yards in circumference.

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It is interesting that this circumstance, which had not been observed by former travellers, serves as a proof of the higher culture to which the Gonaquas had developed before the other Hottentots, because it was in their country to which this territory belonged. Afterwards we often found such graves towards the borders of Kafirland, but never have I met with anything of the kind in other parts of Africa."—(Liechtenstein, German original edition, p. 349.)

Afterwards the travellers came to the Camdeboo, and Bruintjesboogte, and Liechtenstein continues his journal, saying: "Before it became dark we passed a narrow spot in the mountain, which is called the '*Israelitische hloof*' (the Pass of the Israelites). Here are various large grave-mounds which are heaped up with stones, and the first colonists in their pious simplicity believed that these were monuments left by the children of Israel who passed here on their wanderings through the desert to the Canaan."

Liechtenstein again, speaking of the Ama-ǂkhoen-Kafir, says: "Amongst the ǂKhoen there is no trace of a religious worship. They believe in a Supreme Being, who has created the world; but, according to Dr. van der Kemp's assertion, there is no name for it in their language. But they have adopted a name from the Gonaquas (a Khoikhoi tribe) and they call God now *Thiko*. The Gonaquas, however, call him *Thuuke*, which word, according to van der Kemp, means '*the one who inflicts pain*,' and from some Kafirs I heard it also pronounced *Thoaque*."—(Liechtenstein, vol. i. p. 410.)

"To this I may add, that Edmund Sandilli, the son of the late Sandilli, who is now a prisoner at the convict station in Cape Town, told me that they use *u-Ti ǂpo* for God, a word they borrowed from the Hottentots.

The Kafirs evidently have also taken over the custom of which Liechtenstein speaks, p. 411: "There are spots which nobody will pass without adding a stone, a

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

769 branch, or a handful of grass. They themselves do not
769 know the reason of this practice; but these spots are very likely the graves of persons of high reputation, whose bodies pious superstition desires to protect from being injured by wild animals; and therefore every one who passes by enlarges the stone heap by adding new stones and branches."

Tsûi-‖goab.

776 Van der Kemp, a missionary, who died at Bethelsdorp (Eastern Province) about 1811, has published a Catechism in the Hottentot language. Unfortunately nothing but the title of it, which was written in the Eastern ‖Gonaqua idiom, has been handed down to us; and in this title appears the word *Thaickaw*, for God, undoubtedly the same as "Tsûi‖goab of the Nama, Tsu-‖goam of the ‖Kora, and Tuiqua or Tigoa and Tanquoa of the Cape Hottentots.

Further, Appleyard in his Kafir Grammar, p. 13, gives a short outline of the ‖Kora language, and notes the name God in Khoikhoi, as follows:

"Hottentot: Tsoei'koap.

Namaqua: Tsoei'koap.

Koranna: Tshu'koab, and says in a footnote: "This is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived their u-Tixo, a term which they have universally applied, like the Hottentots, to designate the Divine Being, since the introduction of Christianity. Its derivation is curious. It consists of two words, which together mean the *wounded knee*. It is said to have been originally applied to a doctor or sorcerer of considerable notoriety and skill amongst the Hottentots or Namaquas some generations back, in consequence of his having received some injury in his knee. Having been held in high repute for extraordinary powers during life, he appeared to be invoked even after death, as one who could still relieve and protect;

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and hence in process of time he became nearest in idea776
to their first conceptions of God."

Tsûi ǁgoab and ǁGaunab.

Leonhardt Ebner, a missionary who had worked amongst the famous Afrikander tribe or "ǁEiχa-ǁais, as they style themselves, whose chief was at that time Jager Africaner ǁHoã-ǂarab (Catrib), in South Namaqualand, gives for God the expression *Suquap;* he says it also means a "*sore knee,*" (p. 340). The following are the results of Ebner's researches concerning their religious ideas:—"They did not know of a God, but they believed in a devil, whom they called Gañab (*i.e.* ǁGaunab). This ǁGaunab fights with an old man, who is much more clever and wiser than himself. Because this old man could not bear any longer the wickedness of ǁGaunab, he made a deep hole and planted sharp-pointed sticks at the bottom of it. And one day this old man challenged ǁGaunab for a fight to this hole; and because ǁGaunab was not as strong as this wise old man, the old man threw him into the hole, where he perished. Rejoicing over this victory, the people slaughtered a big fat sheep."—(Ebner, "Reise nach Süd Africa," Berlin, 1829, p. 237.)

Here I may say that the Rev. Schmelen, missionary of the London Missionary Society amongst the Namaquas, married a pious half-caste Hottentot woman, who assisted him in translating the four Evangelists and a Catechism. For God he always employs, like Van der Kemp and Wuras, the expression Tsoeikwap (*i.e.*, Tsûi ǁgoab), and for devil 'Kaunap (*i.e.*, ǁGañab, or ǁGaunab). This is a clear proof that Schmelen, who spoke the Namaqua language fairly, must have clearly understood from his wife and other natives that, according to their idea, *Tsûi ǁgoab* was the *Supreme Good Being*, and that *ǁGaunab* was his opponent, nay, the *Supreme Bad Being*. We must most sincerely regret that Schmelen has not left some notes on the Hottentot religion to future generations.

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776 My father was an intimate friend of his, and often told me how well acquainted Schmelen was with the customs and manners of the Namas. In fact, he was a white Nama. He was an enthusiastic and zealous missionary, without suffering from fanaticism as so many missionaries do. I believe there is still a manuscript Hottentot dictionary of his somewhere in existence. He himself told my father that he had worked out a comprehensive dictionary with the aid of his wife.

We come now to the worthy Dr. Moffat, the Nestor among the still living old missionaries. He commenced his work in about 1815 amongst the above-mentioned Afrikander tribe, and he also undertook a journey towards the centre of Great Namaqualand.

In his "Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa" he says:—"While living among the Namaquas I made many inquiries respecting the name they had to denote the Divine Being, but could not come to any satisfactory conclusion on the subject, though I had the assistance of Africander (the chief) in my researches. The name they use is Tsui ǂkuap, or as some tribes pronounce it *Uti'kuap*.[2] . . . . In my journey to the back parts of Great Namaqualand I met with an aged sorcerer or doctor (ǂgaiaob) who stated that he had always understood that Tsûi-ǂgoab was a notable warrior of great physical strength; that in a desperate struggle with another chieftain he received *a wound in the knee*; but having vanquished his enemy, his name was lost in the mighty combat which rendered the nation independent; for no one could conquer the Tsûi-ǂgoab (wounded knee). When I referred to the import of the word, '*one who inflicts pain*,' or *a sore knee*, manifesting my surprise that they should give such a name to the Creator and Benefactor, he replied in a way that induced a belief that he applied the term to what we should call the devil, or to death itself; adding, that he thought death, or the power causing death, was very sore indeed. To

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him, as to many others, this Tsŭi-‖goab was an object neither of reverence nor love. During tremendous thunderstorms which prevail in that quarter, and which it might be supposed speak to the mind of man with an awful voice, I have known the natives of Namaqualand shoot their poisoned arrows at the lightning in order to arrest the destructive fluid." (Compare the foregoing quotations from Sparrmann.)

It is exceedingly to be regretted that men like Van der Kemp and Moffat, who had an education superior to their brethren, did not succeed in collecting sufficient detailed accounts on the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi. It is painful to think that a certain religious narrow-mindedness prevented them from seeing the spark of true religion and faith which was still left in the heathen's heart. It is indeed advisable for all missionaries to learn from St. Augustine, "*What is now called the Christian religion has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh: from which time the true religion which existed already, began to be called Christian.*"

Missionaries are too apt to treat the religions of heathens as *devil's work*, as *inspirations of Beelzebub*, and they do not hesitate to express this to their converts; nay, they even ridicule and expose their superstitions and religious manifestations. Hence the fear of a savage to communicate the sacred feelings and yearnings of his heart, especially to a man who is sent to destroy them.

Moffat tells us that he had the chief, Africaner, to assist him, and still he could not arrive at a satisfactory result. Africaner was a convert, and how now, if he himself felt ashamed of communicating what he was bound to consider a foolish and absurd superstition. He was a chief, and did not like to make an unfavourable impression; at least, he took very good care not to make a fool of himself.

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Heitsi-eibib ǁKhāb, ǂGama-ǂgorib, Tūsib and ǀAub, the Serpent.

769 Captain James Alexander, later Sir James Alexander, had, no doubt, a very fascinating way of gaining the confidence of the natives. The Namaquas even now speak of him in the highest terms, and praise his social and familiar habits. An old Namaqua said to me of him "ǀAva-khoĩ khemi ko tsā ǀhūb ke,"—That man had the flavour of a Redman,—meaning to say that the English traveller knew how to fraternize with them.

Alexander's observations, therefore, we must consider very valuable. He was the first to supply us with specimens of Khoikhoi folk-lore. In these pages we can only reproduce his notes on the mythology and religion of the Namaquas:—

"These Namaquas," says Alexander, "thought that they came from the East. In the country there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones on which had been thrown a few bushes; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap. They mutter, 'Give us plenty cattle.'"—(Alexander, "Expedition of Discovery," i. 167.)

821 "There is a strange story about the moon which is a little better than their usual ignorant notions. The moon, they say, wished to send a messenger to men, and the hare said that he would take it. 'Run, then,' said the moon, 'and tell men that as I die and am renewed, so shall they also be renewed.' But the hare deceived men, and said, 'As I die and perish, so shall you also perish.' [262] Old Namaquas will not therefore touch hare's flesh; but the young men may partake of it—that is, before the ceremony of making them men is performed, which merely consists in slaughtering and eating an ox or a couple of sheep."

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On the 3rd of August the waggon went on to Aneip (ǀAn-ǂeib) or Wetfoot, and I went out of the way, with Jan Buys and two or three men, to see a hole which was supposed to be inhabited by Heije Eibib, or the Devil, and was the wonder of the country."—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 250.) 778

Again: "This water-place was called Kuma Kams (Goma-ǁgams), or the water of the beast tribe, and near it was a heap of stones, eight yards long by one and a half high, *in a cleft between two eminences*, which the Namaquas said was a heap over their deity Heije Eibib (Heitsi-eibib). . . . .

"I turned aside to get water at the fountain, 'Ahuas, or blood (ǀAus). In this was said to dwell a snake, which guarded it; but, strange to say, when the fountain was reached it was found to be dried up, and a water-snake, about six feet long, brown above and yellow below, lay dead beside it. The Namaquas immediately cried out, 'Some one has killed the snake of the Fountain of Blood, and it is therefore dried up.' Not far from the Fountain of Blood a young Bushman and his wife was met, and the woman accused her husband of having committed a great crime. She said that the day before they had drank at 'Ahuas, and the Bushman, seeing the snake there, killed it. He excused himself by saying that he was a stranger in that part of the country, and did not know that the snake he had killed at the edge of the water was the snake of the fountain. 778 825

"'Ahuas was not the only fountain in Namaqualand which was superstitiously believed to be preserved by a snake. It was singular enough that it should have dried up immediately after the death of the snake.

"Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisip, in the bed of the Kuisip River, near our 778

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

778 last watering-place, *without first having made an offering* and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him; and I asked him what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisip.

"'Before any Bushman,' said ǂNumeep, 'digs for water at Kuisip, he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the ǃnaras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare, as an offering to Toosip, the
[779] old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip.

"'No; I have never seen him, nor has anybody else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman, with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai, nor has he a wife.'

"'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?'

"'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbock, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 125.)

Here we have the most open-hearted confession of a Namaqua (Khoikhoi) who was in great anxiety. The human heart is always more communicative when in sorrow and troubles, especially among savages, whose manners, like those of children, are still very simple and natural, and not dictated by the rules of an absurd etiquette and fashion.

Heitsi-eibib, Kabib, Heigrib, and ǂGama ǂgorib.

787 About the year 1842, the missionary work amongst the Namaquas was commenced more vigorously, chiefly by missionaries of the Rhenish Mission. The Rev. Knudsen has left us a translation of St. Luke, up to this date unsurpassed in style and correctness by any

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

other missionary who attempted "the difficult task of 797
translating the Bible into Khoikhoi.

Knudsen, however, changed the Khoikhoi Tsũi-||goab into Elob, taking it from the Hebrew Elohim; while for Devil he left the name of the evildoer ||Gaũab. The word Elob is now generally used wherever the Gospel is preached in Great Namaqualand, but it has not supplanted yet the old Tsũi-||goab.

Knudsen possessed a great natural talent both for languages and ethnology. To this it is due that he has provided us with some very remarkable legends, which give us a good insight into the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi; and his notes are of great value, not only because they confirm what has been stated by former travellers and missionaries, but because they have been collected amongst Khoikhoi (the !Ama-, or !Amaquas, of the "Cape Records") who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, from Berg river allalong the west coast to the mouth of Olifants river. When Knudsen came amongst them they had "left the colony just twenty-seven years. The tribe during that time could hardly have exchanged the old Cape idiom for the Namaqua, as, with very few exceptions, they had not intermarried with Namaqua women.

I am therefore justified in saying, that in the following 773
notes we have some religious relics of the so-called Cape Hottentots. Knudsen's account now runs thus: "Heitsieibib or Kabib was a great and celebrated sorcerer among the Namaqua. He could tell secret things, and prophesy what was to happen afterwards. Once he was travelling with a great number of people, and an enemy pursued them. On arriving at some river he said, 'My grandfather's father, open thyself that I may pass through, and close thyself afterwards.' So it took place as he had said, and they went safely through. Then their enemies tried to pass through the opening also, but when they were in the midst of it, it closed again upon them and they perished."

773 "Heitsi-eibib died several times and came to life again. When the Hottentots pass one of his graves, they throw a stone on it for good luck."

"Heitsi-eibib could take many different forms. Sometimes he appeared handsome, very handsome, or his hair grew down to his very shoulders; at other times it was short again."

"At first they were two (Heitsi-eibib and ǂGama-ǂGorib). One (ǂGama-ǂGorib) had made a large hole in the ground and sat by it, and told passers by to throw a stone at his forehead. The stone, however, rebounded and killed the person who had thrown it, so that he fell into the hole. At last Heitsi-eibib was told that in this manner many people died. So he arose and went to the man, who challenged Heitsi-eibib to throw a stone at him. The latter, however, declined, for he was too prudent; but he drew the man's attention to something on one side, and while he turned round to look at it, Heitsi-eibib hit him behind the ear, so that he died and fell into his own hole. After that there was peace, and people lived happily."

The Death of Heitsi-eibib.

It is said that when Heitsi-eibib was travelling about with his family, they came to a valley in which the raisin-tree was ripe, and he was there attacked by a severe illness. Then his young (second wife, ǁāris) wife said, "This brave one is taken ill on account of these raisins; death is here at the place." The old man Heitsi-eibib, however, told his son ǂUrisīb (the whitish one), "I shall not live, I feel it; thou must therefore cover me, when I am dead, with soft stones." And he further spoke, "This is the thing which I order you to do. Of the raisin-trees of this valley ye shall not eat, for if ye eat of them I shall infect you, and ye will surely die in a similar way."

His young wife said, "He is taken ill on account of the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

raisins of this valley. Let us bury him quickly and let us 773
go."

So he died there and was covered flatly with soft stones, according as he had commanded, Then they went away from him. When they had moved to another place, and were unpacking there, they heard always from the side whence they came a noise as of people eating raisins and singing. In this manner the eating and singing ran :—

"I, father of ǃUrisib,
Father of this unclean one,
I who had to eat these raisins and died,
And dying live."

The young wife perceived the noise came from the side where the old man's grave was, and said, "ǃUrisip, go and look!" Then the son went to the old man's grave, where he saw traces which he recognized to be his father's foot-marks, and returned home. Then the young wife said, "It is he alone; therefore act thus :—

Do so to the man who ate raisins to the windward side,
Take care of the wind, that thou creepest upon him from the leeward,
Then intercept him on his way to the grave,
And when thou hast caught him do not let him go."

He did accordingly, and they came between the grave and Heitsi-eibib, who, when he saw this, jumped down from the raisin-trees and ran quickly, but was caught at the grave. Then he said :—

"Let me go! for I am a man that has been dead that I may not infect you!" But the young wife said, "Keep hold of the rogue!" So they brought him home, and from that day he was fresh and hale."—(*Vide* Bleek, "Reynard the Fox," p. 80.)

The evidence of Francis Galton and Charles Anderson on the subject corroborates what has been given in the foregoing, but contains nothing new. I therefore make no quotations from them. During my wanderings

773 amongst the Namaquas, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-||goab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-||goab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-||goab, Tsûi-||goab, and Tsuni-||goab in Namaqua; and Tsū-||goam, Tsûi-||goam, Tsûi-||khoab and Tsûi-||goab amongst the |Kora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-||goab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
533 the |Gami-‡nus in the ||Kharas Mountains, amongst the ||Haboles or so-called Veltschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ||Kharas, and by the Gei-||Khous, ||O-geis, and the ‡Aunis of the |Khomab Mountains
[821 East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
535] Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a |gei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

533 "*Tsûi-||goatse!*
539 Thou, oh Tsûi-||goa!
Abo-tse!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida tse!
Thou our Father!
|Nanuba |arire!
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud!
Ẽn ᵐxuna ǂire!
Let please live (our) flocks!
Ẽda sida ǂire!
Let us (also) live please!
‡Khabuta gum goro!
I am so very weak indeed!
||Gâs xoe!
From thirst!

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533
539

ǃAs χao !
From hunger !
Ẽta ⁿ χurina amre !
That I may eat field fruits !
Sats gum χave sida ǂtsao !
Art thou then not our Father ?
Abo ǂtsao !
The father of the fathers !
Tsûi-ǁgoatse !
Thou Tsûi-ǁgoa !
Ẽda sida gangantsire !
That we may praise thee !
Ẽda sida ǁkhava ǃkhaitsire !
That we may give thee in return (that is, that we may bless thee).
Abo-ǂtse !
Thou father of the fathers !
Sida ǃKhutse !
Thou our Lord !
Tûsi-ǁgoatse !
Thou, oh, Tsûi-ǁgoa !

If a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness, they also assemble [illegible] and, while dancing, sing the following :— [21 535]

ǃGurub di ǃGeia.
The Hymn of the Thunder.

ǃNaurmatse !
Son of the Thundercloud !
ǃGari-khoi, ǃGurutse !
Thou brave, loud-speaking ǃGuru !
‡Oâse gôare !
Talk softly please !
ǃHaiti ǃam u-kâ-tamâ !
For I have no guilt !
ǃUatere !

533 Leave me alone! (Forgive me!)
539 ‡*Oütago χuige!*
For I have become quite weak—*i.e.*, I am quite stunned, I am quite perplexed.
ǀ*Gurutse!*
Thou, oh ǀGuru!
ǀ*Nanus tatse!*
Son of the Thundercloud!

[535] Another song-dance I saw performed in the following manner:—There was a *solo*, sung by a person who played the part of the lightning; the other part being represented by the inhabitants of a kraal, of whom a member was supposed to have been killed by the lightning.

ǀ*Nabas di* ǀ*gris.*
The dance-song of the Lightning.

Chorus: ǀ*Aibe* ǁ*nuris* ǁ*nanus!*
Thou Thundercloud's daughter, daughter-in-law of the Fire.
Ti ǀ*gûba go* ǀ*gunus!*
Thou who hast killed my brother!
ǀ*Gotses gum di* ǁ*na* ǁ*goro!*
Therefore thou liest now so nicely in a hole!

Solo: ǀ*Gôise te go se* ǀ*gûba a* ǀ*gun.*
(Yes), indeed, I have killed thy brother so well!

Chorus: ǀ*Gôise gum di* ǁ*na* ǁ*gnû.*
(Well) therefore thou liest (now) in a hole.
"‡*Gorob khemi go* ǁ*nanus.*
Thou who hast painted thy body red, like ‡Goro!
"*Sem-*ǁ*nabe* ‡*nabe tamaus!*
Thou who dost not drop the "memus."
"‡*Ei*χ*a*ǁ*khaǁnubiab aon!*
Thou wife of the Copper-bodied man!

775 An old ǁHabobe-Nama, by the name of ‡Kχarab, who had great-grand-children, and told me that he had big grown-up children when the Mission Station Warmbad,

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

was destroyed, 1811, by Jager Afrikaner |Hõa|arab, said to me: "Tsûi-||goab was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib, from whom all the Khoikhoi tribes took their origin. But Tsûi||goab was not his original name. This Tsûi||goab went to war with another chief, ||Gaunab, because the latter always killed great numbers of Tsûi||goab's people. In this fight, however, Tsûi||goab was repeatedly overpowered by ||Gaunab, but in every battle the former grew stronger; and at last he was so strong and big that he easily destroyed ||Gaunab, by giving him one blow behind the ear. While ||Gaunab was expiring he gave his enemy a blow on the knee. Since that day the conqueror of ||Gaunab received the name Tsûi||goab, "*sore knee*," or "*wounded knee*." Henceforth he could not walk properly, because he was lame. He could do wonderful things, which no other man could do, because he was very wise. He could tell what would happen in future times. He died several times, and several times he rose again. And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. Tsûi||goab gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."

"Tsui||goab lives in a beautiful heaven, and ||Gaunab lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of Tsui||goab." I could not for a long time understand what was meant by the two heavens, and could not help thinking that we had here some Christian ideas transferred into the Hottentot mythology. But the worthy Rev. Wuras, of Bethany, Orange Free State, Superintendent of the Berlin Mission, who has been now more than fifty years amongst the |Koras, writes to me in a letter, dated Bethany, Orange Free State, July 9, 1879, that the Koranas always told him *Tsui||goab* lived in the *Red Sky*

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Honemot FX13

773 and ǂGaunam in the *Black Sky*, and those two Beings fought together in former times, and Tsûiǂgoab received a blow at his knee from ǂGaunam. Tsûiǂgoam was a great chief and sorcerer among the ǂKora, and possessed numbers of cattle. Mothers also used to tell their children to beware of ǂGauna, as he is a great evil-doer, who could kill them.

In the following chapter, where we will trace all the names back to their workshop, we shall see what Tsûiǂgoab has to do with the *Red Sky*. The Koranas again say that Tsûiǂgoab made the first man, and that the snake was together with the first man on the earth. The person from whom the Rev. Wuras heard this was a man far over hundred years of age. Although this note savours much of the second chapter of Genesis, I repeat it here because throughout the Khoikhoi territory the belief is extant that in every fountain is a snake."

192 776 To return to Tsûiǂgoab, I have to remark that, wherever I met colonial Khoikhoi or Namaqua, whether Christians or heathens, the word *Tsui-ǂgoatsi* is used interjectionally, as we say, "*good God*," or simply "*God, what will become of me!*" &c., either as an expression of surprise or anxiety—viz., "*Tsu-ǂgoatsi, who will help me!*" or "*Tsu-ǂgoatsi, what have I done, that I am so severely punished!*" But it is also used as a formula of imprecation, thus:—"Tsu-ǂgoatsi, sats ǂguitsa ‡an, ǂhaviota hâ ǂkhoiǂ," "Oh, Tsu-ǂgoa, thou alone knowest that I am without guilt," or "‡Eta ta khami dire, ɣaveta si Tsûiǂgoaba ‡an," "Do what you think, but you will know—*i.e.*, find out Tsui-ǂgoab" [that he will see your doings, that he will punish you]. Here we have a very clear instance that Tsu-ǂgoab is looked at as the avenger, similar to the Dawn, Saranyu in the Vedahs. In the following chapter we shall discuss this point more closely, when we enter on the original meaning of the name Tsûiǂgoab.

776 Here it may not be out of place to mention an incident I experienced on a journey in Great Namaqualand.

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We were on the outskirts of the Kalihari, about latitude 776
26°, and wanted to go to a Mission-station in westerly direction. The distance to our next water was calculated three days' hard riding with the ox-waggon. We, however, had made the calculation without the host, because, after three days, we found ourselves still another twelve hours from the water. We had only for ourselves a little water in a cask, which, however, was almost consumed. In the night before the fourth day we lost our road, and it was only after some hours that we discovered our mistake. If we had to pass another twenty-four hours like this, not one of us would have seen the next day. Even in the night the air appeared to come from a hot oven. I scolded the guide, a raw heathen from the !Habobe tribe, angrily for his carelessness, and asked, "What have you done? to-morrow we will be eaten by the jackals and vultures. Who will now help us out of this trouble?" The man coolly answered: "Tsĭi-!goab gum ni hoidao"—"Tsĭi-!goab will help us." I: "What nonsense, you and your Tsĭi-!goab are both stupid fools!" He: "Amase ti !hŏkhoitse, !hŏb mi hui,"—"Truly, Master, he will help." In the morning, about nine o'clock, we reached the water. After we had quenched our thirst, and were relishing a cup of coffee and a pipe, and talking over our troubles, laughingly, my guide said, "Ti !hŏtse !harits ka ko !gunte-‡goo hă, χaveb ke Tsĭi!goaba ko ‡khĭisi, tat !hŏb ko nosiri hui !hŏtsa mŏ-!gants ka !hui?"—"My dear Master, yesterday you could almost have killed me, but the Lord refused you (to do so), but have you now convinced yourself that the Lord has helped?"

We require no further evidence to see what the rawest Namaqua, with all his heathendom, means by Tsĭi-!goab.

But still it may not be uninteresting to hear the evidence of another Hottentot.

The famous !Nanib, who fell so bravely in the battle of ‡Hatemmas, when surrounded by the treacherous tribe of the !Gan-gûas, who simply out of spite made common

14:Main L-S (ca. 1870-1897) 1981 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 course with the Damaras against their own flesh and blood, before he received the finishing stroke, was called upon to turn a Christian, and answered, "*Never*; my Tsiiligoab is as good as your Christ." He was strongly opposed to missionary work, and considered the missionaries to be a set of mischief-makers. His brother, ǂHaigu‡ab or ǂAriaimab, the present chief of the ǂHaboben, is as bitter an enemy of the missionaries as he was himself. With this younger brother I had once a conversation about the origin of his tribe, when he told me: "That very thing, the ǂHaboben, has been made by Tsui-ǂgoab in this country, and ǂKhîb has made us, and given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow; and if we ask payment for our grass and water, we do the same what you white people do in asking payment for your lead and powder."

As to Tsuib, about whom I quoted from Sir James Alexander in the preceding pages, I have the following from a Namaqua, an old ǂAuni. Very heavy thunder-clouds were towering above the horizon. We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. "Ah," he said, "there comes *Tsui-ǂgoab* in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by *Tsuib*." I asked him what he meant by *Tsuib*? He answered, "When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tsuib ke ǂâbe re ǂgû. Tsuib covers the earth.*" This reminds one of 2 Samuel xxiii. 4. "And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springeth out of the earth by *clear shining after rain* or the *splendour of the rain*."

A second good Being who bears all the characteristics ascribed to Tsiiligoab is Heitsi-eibib. He is stated

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1930) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabi- 776
tants of Great Nama-qualand and the North-western
Cape Colony.

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this
Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great power-
ful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had
plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors [322
of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon 342]
rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who
possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of
their houses, with the *front* towards sunrise. All the
graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the [343]
deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib
conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed
his people. He was very clever and wise, and could
foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst
the Bundle-Zwart, or ǂGamiǂnun, I heard the following
story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied,
among the ǁHaboben, ǁKharagei-khoin, and ǁO-geis.

Heitsi-eibib's battles with ǂGama-ǂgurib ǁHoā-ǁgei-ǁgaib,
ǂAnab and the Lion.

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ǂGama-ǂgurib, 773
ǁHoā-ǁgei-ǁgaib and the *Lion* lived on the other side, on
three roads, in the middle (between him and his people).
There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And
these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent
for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a
rumour why they did not come. He then started to look
after them, and came first to the place of ǂGama-ǂgurib.
But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally
does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another).
ǂGama-ǂgurib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-
eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare
was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to
ǂGama-ǂgurib: "I have come to look after my people."
But on the place of ǂGama-ǂgurib there was a hole, and

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Homemet FX13

773all the people who passed this place were thrown by ǂGama-ǂgorib into this hole, and so they perished. ǂGama-ǂgorib challenged Heitsi-eibib, and said: "Come, let us play the "ǂHi-game."

And first Heitsi-eibib was thrown into the hole. But he spoke to the hole, and said: "Hole of my ancestors, heave up your bottom a little, and give me a lift, that I can jump out." The hole obeyed, and Heitsi-eibib jumped out, and ǂGama-ǂgorib could not prevent it. They played a second match, and Heitsi-eibib was again pitched into the hole, but ǂGama-ǂgorib was exhausted. Again Heitsi-eibib said: "Hole of my ancestors, give me a lift that I may jump out." The hole heaved up, before ǂGama-ǂgorib could prevent Heitsi-eibib from jumping out. And they played a third match, and Heitsi-eibib pitched ǂGama-ǂgorib into the hole, by giving him a dead blow behind the ear, and the air resounded ǂap!

And ǂGama-ǂgorib perished there. And Heitsi-eibib spoke again to the hole: "Hole of my ancestors, heave up your bottom, that my children may come out." And the hole raised the bottom, and all the children of Heitsi-eibib came out. And Heitsi-eibib cursed the Hare: "From this very day I curse thee; thou shalt not carry any more messages; thou shalt not eat during the daytime; thou shalt only be allowed to eat during the night, and then only will your voice be heard."

Thus he cursed the Hare, and the Hare ran away into the field, and still runs up to this day."

Heitsi-eibib started for ǁHaõ-ǂgai-ǂgaib's kraal. He arrived there, but he did not greet the master, and passed on. And he was called by the messenger, and that messenger's name was ǂAmah. But Heitsi-eibib refused. And he was again called. The second time he went up to the kraal of ǁHaõ-ǂgai-ǂgaib. Heitsi-eibib greeted the man and sat quietly down. And the man said: "What is the news?" Heitsi-eibib answered: "I have no news." Again, ǁHaõ-ǂgai-ǂgaib said: "Where art thou going to?"

14:Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

And he answered: "I am going in search of my people."773 And on the place of ǂHaŏ-ǂgai-ǂgaib there was also a hole. And ǂHaŏ-ǂgai-ǂgaib had a stone on his forehead. This stone he always gave to people passing his place, and telling them to throw the stone at him; and if they threw the stone at this man's forehead, it jumped back from there, and struck the man who threw it, so that he fell into the hole and perished. Heitsi-eibib was very clever, and knew all this, for he was a great sorcerer. The other then told him to take the stone and throw it. But Heitsi-eibib said: "Shut thine eyes, and I will throw." And when the other shut his eyes, Heitsi-eibib, instead of throwing the stone at the man's forehead, hit him with it behind the ear, and killed him at once. The man fell into the hole and perished. And Heitsi-eibib cursed the messenger ‡Amab, and after he had given him a good flogging he said: "From this day thou shalt not be any more a messenger."

From here Heitsi-eibib started for the place of the Lion, who lived on a tree. He arrived there, but was not called. He passed, and then returned to the tree and asked the white Vulture (ǂUrikurus), who looked after the house of the Lion: "Where is thy Lord the Lion?" ǂUrikurus said: "I do not know; perhaps he has gone this way to hunt." The Lion, however, lived on the tree, where he had his nest. So Heitsi-eibib took the fire-drill (daro-heib), and made fire and destroyed the tree. And he said: "From this day the Lion shall not live any more on a tree; he shall now walk on the ground. And thou, white Vulture, thy voice shall not be heard any more from this day." And the Lion had no messenger from that day.

The end of this story is told by the ‡Aunin, in the following version:—The Lion and Heitsi-eibib were, in the commencement, on very good terms. And the Lion's son one day came to the water, where Heitsi-eibib's daughter was, to fetch water. And he insulted the girl. The girl went to the father and complained. Heitsi-eibib

14:Hatn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hammond FX13

77]said: "I am now tired of the impudence of the Lion and his children, and I am not going to suffer from them any more. They have killed enough of my people. The Lion, however, had *wings, and he used to fly high into the air, and when he saw game or people, he came down like lightning from the sky and killed all the cows, and feasted on them the whole night. In the morning he tried to fly home, but on account of being too lazy and heavy from feasting on the most of the game, he could not fly, and had to walk home through a narrow pass in the mountain. Here Heitsi-eibib lay in ambush, and waited for him, and came unexpectedly down from behind the rock, and cut his wings off. From that day the Lion is without wings, and has to walk on the ground. And since that day there is enmity between Heitsi-eibib's people and the Lion's children.

Heitsi-eibib's Birth.

There was grass growing, and a cow came and ate of that grass, and she became pregnant, and she brought forth a young bull. And this bull became a very large bull. And the people came together one day in order to slaughter him. But he ran away down hill; and they followed him to turn him back and to catch him. But when they came to the spot where he had disappeared, they found a man making milk tubs (ikwesi). They asked this man, "Where is the bull that passed down here?" He said, "I do not know; has he then passed here?"

And all the while it was he himself who had again become Heitsi-eibib.

Another Legend of Heitsi-eibib.

On another occasion people slaughtered a cow. And Heitsi-eibib became a pot. And the people filled the pot with meat and fat, and made a fire. But the pot absorbed all the fat; and when they took out the meat there was no fat in the pot.

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Heitsi-eibib's Graves.

His graves are generally to be met with in narrow 773
passes, between two mountains, on both sides of the road. Those who pass by throw pieces of their clothes, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or flowers, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, and stones, on those graves. And this they do to be successful on their way. They generally, if hunting, mutter the following prayer:—

Oh, Heitsi-eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi-eibib!

Sometimes honey and honey-beer is left as an offering at his graves. The Namaquas say that if he returns from his walks over the "*veldt*, in the evening, he is glad to see that they still honour him.

He gives the Khoikhoi good advice, and tells them how to kill the Lion's children and other wild animals. He also prevents danger befalling men, if they honour him.

Another Legend of Heitsi-eibib's Birth.

On another occasion young girls went out to fetch firewood, and one girl took a ||hobe-i-gû (a kind of juicy cucumber grass), chewed it, and swallowed the juice. And she became pregnant from this juice, and she was delivered of a son, who was very clever, and she called that boy Heitsi-eibib. And all the other young women came and helped her to nurse the child, and he soon became a big man.

Heitsi-eibib and his Mother.

Once on an occasion the mother and other friends of hers were travelling. And her boy was very naughty

14:Hahn L-S fea. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hemamet FX13

77 and fretful, and his mother had to stop, while her friends were going on. She went on again and carried him, when he again was naughty, and dirtied himself and his mother. And she had to clean him. In this way he went on, until the other women were out of sight. Then he suddenly became a big man, and forced his mother to the ground, and committed incest. . . . . (In Khoikhoi the word is Xai-ai, cum matre omit.) After this he again became a baby, and when she came to her mother, she put him down on the ground, and did not take any notice of him. At last her mother said: "Don't you hear your child crying?" The daughter said: "I hear; but let big men help themselves, as big men do."

‡Garikhoib: or Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion.

The first man, whose name is ‡Ei-gaikhoitsâmab, came with all the animals together on a flat rock in the ‡Gobiganni River to play the "ollie-game. "‡Ei-gaikhoitsâmab had lost all his beads, and said to the Baboon, "Go then, and fetch all my copper beads which I have in reserve at home." The Baboon went, and when he came to the house of ‡Ei-gaikhoitsâmab the dogs attacked him, and pulled him to the ground. There was the mother of the man, the mistress of the house, but she did not care to interfere, and the Baboon nearly fainted. After a while she called the dogs, and took the Baboon into the house, and put herbs on his wounds, and healed him. She also gave him milk and "oiengire. He sat awhile and looked round and saw the skulls of various animals as trophies fastened on the poles of the hut. Then ‡Ei-gaikhoitsâmab's mother gave to the Baboon copper beads, and he brought them to the man who played the flute with the Lion. There was the Leopard, there was the Golden Jackal, there was the Hyæna, there was the Red Cat, there was the Wild Dog, and there were all the Snakes. All looked at the game. The Baboon delivered the copper beads, and ran away and sat on the top of a

14:Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

cook, and cried down to all the animals, "In ǂEiχaǂkha!773 ǂnabiseb's house I have seen the skulls of all the animals."

"What bitch's son," said ǁGurikhoinib, "has the courage to drink the thunder-rain-water of ǁKhubitsaos? Towards the side of ǁKhubitsaos I see the thunderstorm raining." The Lion said: "I shall run towards ǁKhubitsaos, and I should like to see who will prevent me from drinking it." "I will," said ǂEiχaǂkhaǂnabiseb. And both parted in anger. When it became dark the man arrived at his mother's kraal, and he put his weapons in order; he poisoned his arrows with fresh poison, and he sharpened his spears. And his mother anointed him with butter which had been melted over the fire; she took it from the sacred tub, and she sprinkled sweet-smelling ǂkuibs on her son, and *pave*-ed him, to encourage him. The next morning he went to ǁKhubitsaos, where the Lion lay waiting for him under a large mimosa tree. At first he let the dogs drink. After they had done drinking he told them to keep watch on the movements of the Lion. And he kneeled down, and he washed at first the sweat off his brows and out of his eyes, in order to see clearly, and then he drank of the water, throwing it with two fingers into the mouth, so that he also could watch the Lion. Since that day all Namaquas when in the veldt, drink the waters of the ponds and fountains in this manner. Eiχaǂkhaǂnabiseb got up, took his arrows, and drove them into the Lion; he took his spears, and drove them into the Lion; he shouted at his dogs, "Ari ǂkhe, Ari ǂkhe!" and the dogs attacked the Lion and pulled him down. The Lion was exhausted, and could hardly breathe; he was half dead from the loss of blood, which also soiled the water. The Man at last called his dogs, collected his spears and arrows, and went home. And his mother took the calabash with sour milk and poured for him, and she smeared him with fresh-roasted butter and *pave*-ed him:

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773 Gei khoia-ǂatse!
Gomma khoma gǂkse,
Gei ǂgoma ǂnaoχatse,
ǂAva ǂgotse,
Gei- ǂava-ǂgos ǂatse!
Ti daiti go ǂtse-!
‡Otse ta go daisi tamatse!

Thou son of a great woman,
Thy body looks like a "cow's body;
Thou big acacia with large branches,
Thou red Bull,
Thou son of a red she-Bull (*i.e.*, of a heroine)!
Thou who drankest my milk!
Thou whom I did not give the breast slowly (*i.e.*, thou whom I nursed very carefully, and gave much milk).

And she sprinkled him with sweet-smelling Buchu.

And the Lion's mother sat up late until the evening-star had set. And she sent her messenger, the Jackal, to ask at ǂGurikhoaib's kraal after her son. And the Jackal went, and when he approached the kraal he heard from afar the melodies of the reed-dance, and the girls singing and praising the deeds of ‡Eiχaǂkhaiǂnakhoeb.

Tǂkχatse,
Gei ‡nouroa ‡gomatse!

My sweetheart,
Thou daring one!

"Aie!" said the Jackal, "there are great rejoicings! One can smell the fat dropping into the fire; the smell and smoke of the flesh of fat ewes lies over the kraals. And ‡Eiχaǂkhaiǂnakhoeb's dogs can eat fat, and I must tie the belt round my empty belly."

He went back to the mother of the Lion, and told her what he heard, and also said: "Call the Leopard and the Hyæna, and let us be off to ǂKhuhitsaos. Let them take digging-sticks to dig a grave for my child." And they

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

went; and towards the dawn, when they came near the 775
pond of ǂKhubitgoe the Lion awoke, and he was shivering from the cold, and he raised his voice:

"Aisi'! tĕ', tĕ tĕ', tĕ tĕ' tĕ, tĕ' . . . . . dire ǂKhuǂnomab ke tĕ-te, tĕ-te, tĕ-te, tĕ-te . . . . . hĕ."

"Alas! tĕ . . . . . ." (imitation of the Lion's voice) "the Son of the Mimosa" (or, Mimosa-root) "has con——quered me!" (again imitation of the Lion's voice).

He said it with a mournful and tremulous voice, like one who is expiring. His mother said: "Hark! that is the voice of my son." And she went and found him in the agony of death, and his eyes were broken.

And she wept:

"Did I not tell thee, my son,
Beware of the one who walks quite straight,
Who has sharp spears and poisoned arrows,
Whose dogs' teeth are like poisonous arrow-heads?
Thou son of the short-eared one,
Thou yellow child of the Lionrail,
Why didst thou not listen to what thy mother told thee?"

And there he died, and they buried him. And they returned again to ǂAvamab; and when they passed the kraal of ǂGurikhoinib, he shouted: "Has the son of the short-eared one not drunk enough of the water of ǂKhubitsaxu, that his mother walks alone over the fields?" And the girls of ǂGurikhoinib's kraal said: "No; he has become ill on account of drinking too much of the water at ǂKhubitsaxu. It is no water for jackals; only big men can drink that water without taking ill."

Since that day all Khoikhoi will kill the Lion's children wherever they meet them; and the Lion also, if he finds a man unaware, will kill him, to "revenge the death of his great-grandfather.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women.

773 The ǂKhunuseti (Pleiades) said to their husband, "Go thou and shoot those three Zebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home." And the husband went out only with one arrow, and he shot with his bow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed the Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, and the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. And because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there he sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger.

And the ǂKhunuseti said to the other men: "Ye men, do you think that you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, we defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed game."

What an old Namaqua told me of ǂGaunab.

Some people say thus: The Rainbow (Tsavirub) has been made by ǂGaunab. The Rainbow is a fire which he has kindled. My grandfather also called the Rainbow "ǂAib" (i.e., *fire*). He said that ǂGaunab deceives the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. And my grandfather said that these people are called ǂGaunu-ǁi-khoin (*i.e.*, devil-dying-people. These ǂGaunu-ǁi-khoin we also call Sobo-khoin or ǂHai-ǁoin (*i.e.*, people of the shadow, or ghosts, ironical, people with a fawn-colour). Formerly the Namaquas used to leave old and aged people in the kraal with some food and water; and they shut the kraal, that no wild animals could enter, and there the people died the devil's death (ǂgaunu-ǁi). And such people were not buried, but were devoured by the vultures. Even rich people, who had food enough, getting afraid of the witchcraft of which they supposed aged people to be possessed left them behind in the kraal.

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What the same old Khoikhoi told me about the Pleiades.

If the Pleiades set in a thundercloud—*i.e.*, covered by a thundercloud—then they call this cloud the ǂnû-ǂnaib ǂnanub. ǂNûb is a certain mythological Being, who makes in the winter the hoar-frost, and this hoar-frost they call ǂNûb di ǂgoaba, the excrement of ǂNûb. 221 775

Superstitions and Charms.

In giving the fragments of the Khoikhoi religion and 787 mythology our chapter would be incomplete if we omitted what we know of the superstitions of the Khoikhoi. No religion is without superstition, and there is hardly a man, be he the most radical freethinker, who, if he only carefully observes himself, would not find that on more than one occasion he has been influenced by superstitious fear. If anything proves that we are linked in an unbroken chain to primeval men, and that our religious ideas are rooted in the past, this fact, that the most cultivated mind cannot rid itself of superstition, should convince us of such a connection.

Goethe, who makes Faust say:

"From faith her darling miracle hath sprung,"

certainly speaks from experience. Superstitions, no doubt, are like belief in miracles, because they do not explain events rationally. And so long as man exists on this earth, and hearts crave for an explanation of the wonderful works of the Invisible, so long will there be religious faith with superstition as her darling child. Even where the religious ideas have been developed to the purest conceptions of the Invisible, the heart clings stubbornly to some old superstition, because we imbibed it with the mother's milk: "No nation has yet completely purified itself from superstition—that is to say, from the remnants of earlier religious notions."

And where the religious sentiments of a race are still

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[illegible] in an undeveloped state, there superstition will manifest itself in gloomy and direful forms. This is actually the case with the Bantu race, where a tyrant rules despotically with an iron rod, by the aid of a wicked set of demoniacal sorcerers. The true religious sentiments in this case are nipped in the bud.

Here, one day, the writer of a History of Culture and Civilisation in South Africa will, I am sure, justify the policy of the greatest statesman who ever came to our shores, which policy consists in breaking the power of the chiefs, and opening to the individual a prospect of sharing in the blessings of civilisation. Those who at present cry down this policy, either to gain their own selfish object, or who, from a certain faint-hearted feeling —the so-called Exeter Hall philanthropy—advocate the right of barbarism and heathendom, will for ever be stained with the mark of Cain as traitors to the cause of civilisation in South Africa. To train the savage to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; to teach him to submit to the law, not out of fear for punishment, but for the sake of moral principle; to teach him to respect his neighbour and to love him as the brother who has in common with him the one "great-grandfather"—this is true religion and true philanthropy. It is a work which can be done only in the course of centuries, and not in one day. If it could be done in one day, we should not meet with savagery, witchcraft, and superstition in native communities, even those that parade in the mission reports as model congregations from whom we civilised Christian races could learn.

Here I give some specimens of superstitions as I found them on mission stations, as well as in the *veldt* among the heathens. It is a curious fact, while the ancient myths may be forgotten and the heathen form of religion may be abandoned, superstitions only transplant themselves like spores on the new ones, and carry on another parasitical life.

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1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house 774
with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches 372
are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die.

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle 224
a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the 372
fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, 777
the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful.

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station 224
Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:—
"They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like resin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success.

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great 823
Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives 825
a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâbeb*, "the one which lives in a hole."

5. If before the commencement of the *rainy* season 825
snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year.

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Here I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally seen*, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

125 equal to that of a waggon wheel; *and when it visits the Orange River mouth*, it is a sign *of a good season for rain.*"

126 The name for snake is ǂnu-b (sing. masc.), and for fountain ǂnu-s (sing. fem). Blood is also ǂnu-b; bloody, full of blood, saturated with blood, ǂnu-χe. According to Khoikhoi custom, as I pointed out in the first chapter, the *daughter* is always named after the *father*. It is therefore obvious that the fountain water ǂnu-s, is considered to be the daughter of ǂnu-b the snake. But ǂnu originally means *to flow*. And ǂnu-b, the snake, or ǂnu-s, the fountain, is nothing else than saying, *he flows* or *she flows*. The snake, however, is the one who *flows* over the ground, and in German we say, "Der Fluss oder der Bach *schlängelt* sich durch das Thal" (*i.e.*, the river or the brook *winds* through the valley—*i.e.*, *it moves like a snake, winding*). It is now quite transparent that the original meaning of ǂnu-b, snake, was *the one who flows*, and was identical with ǂnu-b, blood, which also meant *that which flows*, the "*flow-er*." It does not require an explanation why the blood flowing through the veins should be called the "*flow-er*." A similar idea connects in the Teutonic languages, *blut, blood, lloud, blód, blôth, plaut, blast*, with the Latin *florius*, and *fluitare* and *fluere*, although the change of consonants does not appear to be quite in accordance with Grimm's law. (*Vide* Weigand's "Deutsches Wörterbuch, Blut.")

The streaming and flowing of the cloud—that is, the rain—is also derived from the root ǂnu. ǂAu-ib, or, as it is generally written by the missionaries, ǂnuib (it should at least be ǂnuib), is the rain; to rain, is ǂnu-i or ǂnui—that is, to be streaming, to be flowing. ǂAu signifies also *to bleed*, and consequently *to be angry, to have an ill feeling*. Thus one often can hear, ǂAutsi-ts khoib ke, That man bears an ill-feeling against thee—*i.e.*, that man has been hurt by you, he bleeds, he feels sore, and craves for satisfaction. This phrase expresses extreme pain. We say also, *My heart bleeds.*

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The colour red, ǂava, also takes its origin from ǂan, to bleed; hence ǂava or ǂaxa, blood-like, blood-coloured—*i.e.*, red. 116

And at last, *to milk* is also ǂav—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—viz., the milk.

To return now once more to ǂoób, snake, and ǂoas, fountain, we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying *he* or *she flows* or streams—viz., the water, which in Khoikhoi can be either masculine ligami, or feminine ligama, according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words become appellatives, meaning the flow-er. And as these words came from the same root, ǂan, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herbs, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of ǂoab and ǂoas, and made sure *that in every fountain lived a snake.* 116 123 125

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo-European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "*a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon.*" All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernæ Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:— 171

ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίῤῥοος· ἔνθα δράκαινα
κεῖτο δεινὴ, θοὸς υἱὸς, ἀνὴ κραναὴν βλώσκων

At the fountain of Arne watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Müllenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once

14:Hahn L-S (ea, 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[7] a Lindwurm's (*i.e.*, a dragon's) trail was to be seen, now a brook is *winding. Beowulf kills the dragon who lives in the lake. Acheloos, the River-god, became a serpent when Hercules fought for Deianeira. Siegfried kills the dragon in the cavern on the Rhine; and many more instances too numerous to mention. (See on this subject, Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," Berlin, 1860, especially pp. 58, 59, &c.; Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 252; "On Serpent Worship," Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," pp. 186, &c.; Müller, "Amerikanische Urreligionen.")

§25 So much as to the Serpent and Fountain superstition among the Khoikhoi. I have eagerly searched, but in vain, for indications of a serpent worship among the Namaquas, as we find among the Kafir tribes, especially the Amazulu. What I heard and saw with my own eyes amongst the natives may here find place at once.

§25 Not so many years ago a sorcerer died. When he felt
754 his end approaching, he whistled, and all at once snakes of all sizes and of all descriptions came and assembled round their master, and crept over him, so that the eye-witness from whom I have this, and other people who were in the hut, cleared out as fast as their feet could carry them. The same person told me that he had a dispute once with that sorcerer about the power he exercised over the snakes, when the man told him that, if he doubted his witchcraft, he would call as many snakes as he wished to see. Upon which he whistled, and snakes of every kind approached from all directions, and the sorcerer took them from the ground and put them round his neck.

§25 In January, 1872, I was on the mission station Warm Bath (or Nisbet Bath), in Great Namaqualand. I offered payment to the value of three and four shillings for large snakes, especially for very poisonous animals. No sooner was this known than a young fellow, of about twenty-two years of age, came to me and said he would bring as many as I liked, but he wished a goat for each pair. I agreed, and after some hours he returned with a pair of

14/John L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermann FX13

yellow cobras. Not seeing them, I asked, "Where are the $25
snakes?" And he opened the shirt over his chest, where I saw the heads of the two dangerous animals. He took them each by the neck, and I applied a dose of tobacco-oil with a brush to the mouth and nose of each, when they immediately fainted, and were secured in large bottles. Afterwards the same fellow brought me over so many other snakes, all alone.

On another occasion we were travelling, when a large yellow cobra moved towards the waggon with the intention of attacking one of my bullocks. I immediately grasped the shot-gun, and jumped down from the waggon, when the snake took to flight. I, however, gave her a very good charge in the neck and head; and in her agony she flung herself a distance of more than thirty yards into the bushes. It struck me that my people after this treated me with a certain awful respect, and telling each other, "Igni-nib ke, igni-nib ke," he is a sorcerer—he is a sorcerer, kept always at a respectful distance. I had some trouble afterwards to convince them of the contrary.

Snakes are also said to be very fond of milk. They go at night to the cows in the kraal and suck them, or even to women in the house. And if a woman refuses they bite her. The same thing happens when a cow kicks them off.

Another snake, the Kienie-igoh, is said to have genitals, and while women are asleep this snake tries to have connection with them. I was once at a kraal, and the people were in great excitement, and sate up the whole night, because a girl while milking had seen the Kienie-igoh approaching her. Not a single woman was to be persuaded to go to sleep, and everybody had some weapon to defend himself against the Kienie-igoh.

Another kind of snake, the Ellenakin, is said to live on the forehead of the eland-antelope.

7. To proceed in our account of superstitious customs [illegible]

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Honeman FX13

7. To ground on the result of superstitious customs and manners, Dapper, in his description of Africa, p. 621, tells us:—"Some of them wear round the neck roots, which they find far inland, in rivers, and being on a journey they light them in a fire or chew them, if they must sleep the night out in the field. They believe that these roots keep off the wild animals. The roots they chew are spit out around the spot where they encamp for the night; and in a similar way if they set the roots alight, they blow the smoke and ashes about, believing that the smell will keep the wild animals off.

I had often occasion to observe the practice of these superstitious ceremonies, especially when we were in a part of the country where we heard the roaring of the lions, or had the day previously met with the footprints of the king of the beasts.

8. The Korannas also have these roots as safeguards with them. If a Commando (a warlike expedition) goes out, every man will put such roots in his pockets and in the pouch where he keeps his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy have no effect, but that his own bullets will surely kill the enemy. And also before they lie down to sleep, they set these roots alight, and murmur, "My grandfather's root, bring sleep on the eyes of the lion and leopard and the hyena. Make them blind, that they cannot find us, and cover their noses, that they cannot smell us out." Also, if they have carried off large booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat. Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped."

9. Another sort of shrub is called jabil. Herdsmen, especially, carry pieces of its wood as charms, and if cattle or sheep have gone astray, they burn a piece of it in the fire, that the wild animals may not destroy them. And they believe that the cattle remain safe until they can be found the next morning.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

10. The root of a shrub called ǂKhurub is taken and cut to pieces, and minced on stones. If one is hungry, he takes the dust and goes to his neighbour's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the Aoǂâtse, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub ǂaibe are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (ǂgûlgurub), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and rains. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, so far as I could ascertain, the northerly breezes are called tuǂoab—*i.e.*, rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1930) 1881 PX13 Hottentot PX13

221 to the north it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

224 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
787 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

229 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (Ierzah) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
825 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which we already met in Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then scream out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the brooding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden cutting pain, runs off. Then rejoined approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

229 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game, into the air

14.Nama 1-6 (ca. 1879-1881) 1981 FR15 Hartmann FR15

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck. 224 [971]

19. About a future life there are certain indications from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this. 821 775

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǂGoaxaga (masc. plur.), ǂHaiǂnaga (masc. plur.), Sobakhoin (com. plur.), and ǂHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǂNoka ǂgoma ta-ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǂgoma—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand. 776

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǂHaiǂnab ke ǂi, *Fawnfoot* has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǂnoreun. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǂKhamab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǂgao, ǂgoe) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǂgoena ǂkhoa khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǂgoena death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by 778 775 741 744

14.Stain L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Homeoor FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ‡gauna
777 titen. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
778 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
779 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ‡gauna ‡ora khoin.

936 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of
[778] their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǂGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

778 It is, therefore, not strange that ǂGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAmi-Namas, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǂGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsûiǂgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[779] is strange that the ǂGobe-Bushmen, the ǂAi-Bushmen, the ǂNumin, and especially among these the Hat‡guin (or wooden arms), all know ǂGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsûiǂgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǂGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sin and Khoikhoin. Tsûiǂgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǂGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǂGauna; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǂâb

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hememan FX13

881 river, among the Gei ǂKhauas at ǂNuis, and among the ǂOgeis, on the banks of the ǂKhan river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

843 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, goitarse), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 431 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repeatedly and apologise, until he hears the word "ǂtago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me!" He laughed, and thought that I was in fun. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

14 Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermanus FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed 434
that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not for- 931
given him. I afterwards made him a present of ammuni-
tion, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most
precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my
cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission 731
Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 272
1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower- 282
garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the
station; but honey-beer (‡kharis) was also made in
immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had
too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my
father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness,
and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad
use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy
moderately, that He never again will give you a year so
rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there
has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a
few years ago, I asked the old chief, ‡Aigaob of
Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some
honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and
your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell
him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again get
honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad 821
omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will 717
certainly return home, and they say, "‡Gaunabi go daba
hâ," we are overpowered by ‡Gauna. They commence
to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ‡ê go ni," war is ap-
proaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the
appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of
a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent
date, which show that the mythological power is still
alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (huri-‡oab) is blowing,

821 827 the Namaquas say: "‖Hib ke ai lâ," or "Gnoob ai lâ," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

825 787 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chewed to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

785 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

832 34. Another most powerful charm is the Dabe, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This dabe is generally found in ant heaps. The dabe is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

777 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the ‖Gonu-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-‖khosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the ‖Khosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

18.Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 P X:9 Hermannsburg P X:9

tribes—who could deny? Nay, even the short time that the Bastaers, a branch of the Hottentots, stood under the sway of the tribe of the Gei(Khaun, has left an impression on those natives which manifests itself in softer manners and a kinder disposition towards strangers, if compared with the manners of the more northerly Hottentots towards the Kaffirs and Ovambeland.

NOTES TO THE SECOND CHAPTER.

[1] There must have been a peculiar-shaped stone fetish, such as Wangemann describes in "Ein Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika," Berlin, 1868, p. 300: "In a great channel, worked by the rain, we found a big granite block, about six feet in diameter and as round as a ball, which rested on a basis of a softer material. This stone the Bechuanas worship as their God. They dance round it on one leg, and at the same time spit at it. The place's name is *Cha Batoa*, close to Sekukuni's stronghold.

[2] The honourable gentleman had a conversation with some Hottentots, who were on the most friendly and confidential terms with him. They informed him that they worshipped a certain god, whose head was as large as a head of fat, who had a hollow in his back, who was possessed of gigantic proportions. To him they prayed for assistance in times of famine, scarcity, or in any other calamity. It was a custom that their wives spread on the head of this deity a red kind of earth, kooka, or other sweet-smelling herbs, this being not one of their offerings only, but one of many. *From this it can be seen that the Hottentot worship also a god.*

[3] Almost verbally the same said a Namaqua, who never had come in contact with missionaries, and who led a Bushman life in the mountains west of *Geiseb* (about latitude 24° 25', and longitude 16°). He said: "[Gurutse ogu go [Khûb ta gobe, tire mi khoiga;

14 Maio 2-9(09. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermanos FX13

‡goleñeqa goma ra." The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord is speaking; He is scolding them.

* As to Valentyn's authority, I may add that he refers to certain documents of the Governor, Simon van der Stell, and to the very learned Secretary of the Dutch Government at the Cape, Grevenbroek, who had written a Latin essay on the Hottentots; all these documents were also put at Valentyn's disposal.

* This is nothing else but the *Tsĕi-‖goab* worship, as I have identified in the third chapter *Tsĕi-‖goab*, with the Dawn. It is still the way of the Aborigines of Great Namaqualand to leave their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and to implore *Tsĕi-‖goab*.

* *Gounis*, evidently from the verb gou or gao, to rule. I am, however, suspicious that Kolb, who often is careless in expressing the clicks, has understood ‖Gounis—*i.e.*, ‖*Gaunu*, the Bad Being, the demon who is opposed to *Tsĕi-‖goab*.

* The evil-doer, who fights against *Tsĕi-‖goab*, is ‖*Gounab*, and that insect *Mantis fausta*, is also called ‖*Gounab*, both derived from a root ‖gau. As will be more minutely explained hereafter, ‖*Gounab* means the destroyer, from the root ‖gau, to destroy; and Mantis is called ‖*Gounab*, from the root ‖gau, to show, and is the "*one who shows luck*." Here we have an instance that the same word spoken in a different tone will have a different meaning.—*Vide* Theoph. Hahn, "Die Sprache der Nama," p. 23. The same instance we have in the language of the Mandengas, Steinthal, "Mandeneger Sprache Berl," 1877, § 34; and in Siam, *vide* Bastian, "Monatsbericht der Kongl. Preuss. Akademie in Berlin," Jan. 1867, p. 357.

* To this I could add, from experience, that I have often observed true gratitude shown to me by Namaquas whom I had helped in troubles either with food, ammunition, or medicine. This convinced me beyond doubt, and will also convince the greatest sceptic, that

14 Stats 1-5 (ca. 1879-1887) 1881 FX12 Hottentot FX13

the Khoikhoi know how to be thankful, and are very sensible of kindness bestowed upon them.

* The *Bader Magazine* of 1816, p. 366, offers some remarks on the Religion of the Khoikhoi, quoting Adams' "View of Religions." But when comparing Adams with Kolb, whose remarks we have given above, there is no doubt that Adams, who never was at the Cape, must have drawn from Kolb.

* This journal is contained in "Nieuwste en beknopte Beschryving van de Kaap der Goede-Hoop, nevens een Dagverhaal naarbet binnenste van Afrika, door het land der kleine en groote Namaquas," Amsterdam, 1778. The Expedition started from the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of July, 1761, and returned safely to the Cape on the 27th of April, 1762. According to p. 50 of that Journal, the most northern latitude they reached was latitude 26° 18'. As their instruments were not very exact, we cannot expect a great correctness of observation; and as every one who is acquainted with the territory in question can learn from Hop's Journal, the most northern spot they reached was the "Ford of the Xamob River," about twenty miles south of the present Rhenish mission-station, Keetmanshoop or Zwartmodder (latitude 26° 32'), thus the corrected latitude of Commander Hop's most northern point should be 26° 50'. Seventy years afterwards Captain Alexander, later Sir James Alexander, who managed to reach Walefish Bay by land, took almost the same route, and crossed the Xamob River at a place ‡Nanebis, only a few miles below the above-mentioned ford. The grandson of one of the members of that expedition, Jacobus Coetsee, is now a wealthy farmer at Misklip, at the foot of the Vogelklip Mountain, the most northerly station of Sir Thomas Maclear's astronomical survey; and the descendants of Pieter Marais, another member of the same Expedition, are wealthy, and much respected farmers in the town of Stellenbosch.

14.9Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 9 X 15 Hottentot 9 X 15

177 "I must remark, that from what I observed and could gather, on the graves of *Hoiti-eibib* branches are thrown only, and not on any other.

"*T'guteri* is nothing else but *|gitteri*, the imperative form of *|gi*, to go, and therefore means, "Go—thou—please," *i.e.*, "Get away, be off!" *T'gouaan* is the interjectional form, or, as we should say, vocative of *||Gouna*, formed by the suffix *tse* or *se* (masc. 2 pers. pron.); thus *||Gouna-tse* means *||gouna*, thou—*i.e.*, Oh! *||Gouna*; and *|gitteri ||Gounatse* is, "Be off *||Gouna*," or, in Biblical language, "*Get thee hence, Satan.*"

[21] "The Namaquas nowadays still shoot with arrows at the lightning, and tell him to be off.

178 "The learned Doctor shows by this remark simply that he had not carefully enough studied the works of former travellers, like Dapper, Kolb, Thunberg, Sparrmann, as can be seen from the foregoing pages, where I quoted from them. It will appear from the following pages that we meet these graves (*Hoiti-eibeb*) all over South Africa, wherever in pre-historic times the Hottentot race had lived, and that the multitude of these cairns in the East corroborates the opinion, stated by traditions and customs, that the nomadic Khoikhoi, to whom this stone-worship is peculiar, had spread over South Africa, coming from the East. The very fact that those graves are heaps of stones, and not of earth, also serves as a proof that the pre-historic Khoikhoi lived in a mountainous, rocky country, and not in sandy flats like the Bushmen. And the word *|Ho*, rock, which appears in names like *|Hoaxoias*, "Fountain in the rock," or *‡Nuhoas*, "Black rock" and *Aeuhoas*, "Red rock," or *|ho-ab*, a single conical granite hill, and *|ho-mi*, mountain (rock), is common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and shows that it was in existence before they separated; while in the *|Ai* Bushmen (North-west Kalihari) the *|Kats* of the Okavango Dorstveldt, there is no word for stone, because there are no stones to be met with. An *|Ai* Bushman, to whom I showed a stone, and

14 Plates 1-5 (pp. 1879-1880) 1881 - FR13 Namaquas FR13

asked for the word in his tongue, said: "The Namaquas call it pei, but we have no name for it, because you will not see stones in our country."

"This is not a bad specimen of the geographical notions of the South African Boers. A Boer once said that he should like to go to England, but he did not exactly know the *Outspan*, or halting-places, on the road.

"How this name may have been introduced to the Kafirs I have, I think, clearly shown in an essay, The Graves of Heitsi-eibib, *Cape Monthly Magazine*, May, 1878, p. 263, where I say: "The Kafirs, however, on the east coast, who must have made their inroads and encroachments on the Red man's territory at least two thousand years ago, had even a friendly intercourse with the Hottentots; they intermarried with each other, as is evident by the present remnants of the ǂgunas or ǂgunaqua tribe." And I can add that every anthropologist at first sight, if he masters a number of Nǂka, ǂKaleka, and ǂKhoen, easily will discover Khoikhoi blood in their veins.

Women, on the whole, are said to be more religiously inclined than men; they are the guardians of the language and of the religion of their tribe. The children imbibe with the mother's milk the first accents of the language of the tribe, and with the language the religious ideas. The Germans have the pregnant and beautiful expression, "*Muttersprache*," mother's language. We speak of "*Vaterland*" but not of "*Vatersprache*," and we are well aware why.

The Kafirs are renowned polygamists, and we can well imagine that after having been victorious in a battle, they, according to their custom, may have killed the men, but certainly spared the female prisoners, with the view of increasing the number of their wives, as it is considered a great honour and a sign of wealth amongst them to have a large family.

Now, it will be clear how it was possible that the

14 State L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 P.R.S. Hammer P.R.S.

children, as they are entirely left during their infancy to the care of the mother, were the medium through which the Hottentot clicks got introduced into the Kafir idioms (Zulu, ǂKhosa, &c.); and with these elements they introduced the mother's religious ideas and the name of the Supreme Being, Tsitsigoab."

" *Vide* Theoph. Hahn, Der hottentottische Tsui-ǁgoab und der griechische Zeus: *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1870, p. 452.

" Here we have a specimen of the blundering I spoke of in the beginning of the first chapter, where I protested against the indiscriminate use of the word *Hottentot*. It is obvious that after the word *Hottentot* has become so deeply rooted it would be difficult to annihilate it. But it must be used either to designate the whole race, Bushmen and Khoikhoi, or it must be simply applied to the Nomadic Hottentot or Khoikhoi. Or, from the Khoikhoi words for Bushmen and Nomadic Hottentot, Sa- and Khoikhoi, we should form, analogous to our "Indo-Germanic," a word Sasi-Khoikhoi, to be applied to the whole race. Missionaries, who live among the natives, and the superintendents of missions at least, should not commit any blunders as regards the ethnological nomenclature. Thus, we read in a mission tract, written for general edification: " *Along the east coast are distributed the various tribes of the Hottentots, Namaqua, Herero, Damara.*"—*Vide* Dr. Wangemann, "Maleo und Sakakuni, Ein Lebensbild aus Süd Afrika," Berlin (1868), p. 53. That the Herero, a Bantu nation, suddenly were transformed into clicking Hottentots I had to learn from Dr. Wangemann.

619 " ǂEiqua . . . . This tribe is a branch of the ǂAmas (the Amaquas of the Cape Records) who formerly inhabited the country between Bergriver and Olifants river. The ǂAmas again were a branch of the ǂKhauas (Cauquas of the Records) whose head-quarters were in the Worcester district, the present Goudini. It appears that the greater

14.Hatta L-S (ps. 1878-1889) 1881 FR3 Hottentot FX13

number of the so-called Cape Hottentots were tribes who were more or less connected with the ǂKhoeas, and acknowledged that tribe as the paramount tribe, as about fifteen or twenty years ago the Gǁkhoas of Great Namaqualand had the supremacy over all the Nama tribes. Certain it is that the Gǁkhoas once ruled from the borders of Ovamboland to the mouth of Olifants river, and that all the tribes of Great and Little Namaqualand sent annually a tribute to the paramount chief, generally consisting of a heifer, buchu, spears, and copper or iron beads, and milk-tubs. The last tribute of that kind was paid in 1863; and in 1856 even from Koranaland the chief Poffadder came to do homage to ǁOasib on ǂHoeseus, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springbucks," were a branch of the Gǁkhoas.

To return to Jager Afrikaner and his tribe, the ǁEiχa-ǁain, they formerly occupied the valleys of the Upper Olifants river and the Upper Brande-River, in the vicinity of the Witsenberg, a mountain named after Witsen, the famous burgomaster of Amsterdam. Early in the Cape Records, in Simon van der Stel's time, we meet a chief of that vicinity by the name of Harramac, which is ǁHara-mǂ, as no name or word in Khoikhoi ends in c or k. And we meet this name again among the chiefs of the ǁEiχaǁain. This justifies the conclusion that the Harramac of the Cape Records was an ancestor of the ǁEiχaǁai-chiefs. The following names have still come down to us: Taaiχab, about 1720; ǂGarnχab, about 1750; ǂGarnχamab, about 1780; ǁHôajarab geib, 1790–1823; ǁHaramǂgeib, 1823–1861; and ǁHôajarab Jan Jonker, 1861. . . . . It appears that their love of freedom was the reason that they left their native hills and dales, under the rule of the old chief ǂGarnχamab, and went to the north as far as the ǁHartam, where they in some way or other came under the sway of a Boer Pienaar, living on the Groot Doornberg farm, near the present Calvinia. Pienaar's injustice, however, was so

14 Plate L-S (ca. 1870-1887) 1881 PX13 Hammer PX13

provoking that he was killed by the Afrikaners, as the ǂEχ'aîsin were styled by the Boers; and under the guidance of ǂGarχamab's son, Jager Afrikaner ǂHâtarab, they fled with the Boer's flocks and ammunition towards Griqualand, and from there again all along the Orange River to South Namaqualand, where they settled at ǂHanis or Blydeverwacht. Here the German missionaries, the brothers Albrecht, and afterwards Moffat and Ebner, came in contact with the tribe, who embraced Christianity. Jager Afrikaner died in 1823, and his second son, ǂHaraxab, the famous Jonker Afrikaner, called by the then paramount chief of Great Namaqualand, Gamab, started with one part of the tribe towards the north, against the Herero, who encroached upon the Namaquas, and, with few exceptions, conquered and enslaved them. With Jonker ǂHaraxab's death, however, the late Andersson and Green, and other Europeans, were the cause that the Herero rose, and in a war of nearly ten years, reconquered their freedom. The present chief is ǂHâtarab, son of the late ǂHaraxab. Since 1842, after the visit of Captain Alexander, with a short interruption, they had a permanent mission station at ǂAiǂgams, at the foot of the gigantic Auas mountains in North Namaqualand. Space does not allow us here to go into particulars, but this much we can say, that the history of this ǂEχ'aîsin tribe would fill the most interesting pages of South African history, not lacking in romance and recording deeds of which our mediæval knights need not be ashamed.

699 " *Half-caste Hottentot women.*—The title of this valuable translation is: " Annoe Kayn hoesati Nama-Kowapna gowayhiihati. Diihiiko Hoekayn na Kaykoep-Bridekirk, kipga. 1831;" or, written with the letters of the standard alphabet, ǂAnu ǂgaǂhoati Nama-gobab ǂna χoaxêhâti. Holy good news, Nama-language in they have been written. Diheko ǂHuǂgais ǂna geiǂKhub Bridekirkih χa. Printed Capetown in, great-man (*i.e.*,

14 Stein L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Mr.) Brückner by, 1831. When this pious woman had just looked over the last proof-sheets, she said, "My task is done, I feel my end is near." She returned with her husband, Mr. Schmelen, to her country, Little Namaqualand. They were, however, not far from the Cape, in the neighbourhood of Melks farm, close to the river Berg, when she was taken suddenly ill and died. Her grave is not far from the western slopes of Piquetberg.

* I am afraid that Moffat has allowed himself to be misled, by saying that some called God *U-tixoah*. He appears to have heard something of the Kafir *U-Tikgo*, where *U* is the prefix noun. The Khoikhoi language does not employ prefixes.

* *Shoot their poisoned arrows.*—The Urjangkut, a tribe belonging to the black Tatars, used to scold at the thunder and lightning to drive it away.—A. Bastian, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1872, p. 380.

* August. "Retr." i. 13. "Res ipsa quae nunc religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera religio, quae jam erat, coepit appellari Christiana."—Max Müller, "Chips," vol. i. xi.

* *They were ridiculed.*—The following extract, taken from a German Mission Tract by Dr. Wangemann, Superintendent of the Berlin Missionary Seminary, will serve as a specimen of the information given to the European public concerning the religious emotions of the savage, and how prejudice is excited against him:—"The Bible, the word of the Almighty Lord, is so full of wisdom, beauty and truth, that a simple child and the greatest savant will find satisfaction and pleasure in it. But it is different with the legends of all the heathens. They are full of absurdities and silliness, and also so full of filth and dirt, that one soon sees they only say what man in his stupidity thought to be nice and agreeable, and what he, in his sinful ideas, invented about a self-made god. Thus it is with the fables of the Bantus. *They are not worth knowing.*"

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—Dr. Wangemann, "Lebensbilder aus Süd Afrika," vol. i., p. 82, Berlin, 1871.

If the heathens were as black as they are painted here by Dr. Wangemann, there would be no hope of operation for the missionaries in the heart of the savage, and all that they heard of the progress of the Gospel among the heathens would be untrue. Does the prophet not say: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil! Jeremiah xiii. 23. And how will our author then explain to us what St. Paul says to the Romans i. 19: "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them."

We hardly can believe that Dr. Wangemann is so ignorant about the savages as he, according to the above statement, appears to be. If this be the case, the sooner he cedes his position to a more enlightened man the better. But if he is well informed, and we have no reason to doubt this, we must presume that he blackened the heathens simply to make the success of his mission work appear in a whiter light. It is very painful to us to charge Dr. Wangemann with this stratagem, which, pharisaical as it is, does not do credit to a director of Missions.

[471] "There is an almost direct coincidence between this Khoikhoi myth of the moon and one among the Fijians, which is very strange. And still we are not justified in concluding that the one nation has borrowed it from the other. "Two gods," the Fijians relate, "disputed whether eternal life should be conferred upon mankind. Ra-Vuka, the moon, wished to give us a death like his own; that is to say, we were to disappear and then return in a renewed state. Ra-Kalavo, the rat, however refused the proposal. Men were to die as rats die, and Ra-Kalavo carried the day." The temptation is great to explain the coincidence of decisive strange customs and peculiar

34.Hahn L-5 Ga. 1879-1880) 1881 PR13 Harvard PR13

legends, by supposing that the people among whom they are found descended from a common ancestry in primordial times. But such coincidences merely corroborate the old maxim that among different varieties of men, in different regions, and at different times, the same objects have given rise to the same idea.—Pouchet, "Races of Man," London, 1876, pp. 451 and 452. 171

* *After the death of the snake.*—I shall hereafter, in the third chapter, come back to this superstition, and only now mention that the words, ‡aa-b snake, ‡aa-b blood, ‡aa-e fountain, ‡an to bleed, ‡an to flow, ‡an to bear ill-feeling, ‡ari (from ‡ani to stream) to rain, ‡ara red, are all derived from the root ‡AU to flow, to stream, and we shall see why it is that in every fountain there is a snake. 170

* Alexander is mistaken if he calls ‡Nanuep a *Bushman*. The name of this so-called Bushman proves sufficiently that he was a Khoikhoi. The ‡Ansi tribe live in the territory here spoken of. The poor Namaquas are also called by the others, Bushmen, especially when they are servants, or if they lead a Bushman's life, and have no cattle and sheep. 169

* *Labouring under an attack of dysentery.*—Sometimes the brackish water works so strongly on the bowels that one who drinks it is immediately taken ill. 168

* ‡naras.—This fruit is a Cucurbitaceæ, almost as large as a newborn child's head. The flesh of it is eaten raw, and the seeds are kept for the dry season, when there is no fruit. The seeds taste almost like almonds, and are at present to be got from confectioners in Cape Town. The Topnaars or ‡Aonin of Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, and all the Bushmen tribes along the coast of Great Namaqualand, live partly on this fruit. It is to be met with from the Orange River mouth as far as latitude twenty-one degrees: but it grows only on the sandy coast. 157

* *Redmen*, or ‡Aon-khoib, is identical with Khoikhoib, 101

16.Anon.L-8 (no. 1870-1907) 1881 F 913 memoirs F 913

181 while the Europeans are called ‡Ui-khoin, white men, and the Bantu ‡Nu-khoin, black men. For Tsoup, or Tsuip, see the third chapter.

182 * *The difficult task of translating the Bible.*—I mention this the more, as I had not long ago the opportunity of convincing myself that a missionary, in a farewell circular letter addressed to his brethren, that "*he were the only man who was destined by the Lord to give the Khoikhoi the Bible in their language.*" What I have seen of the publications of the said missionary does not corroborate this opinion, and I can state that his publications require much polishing in style and grammatical corrections.

* *They had left the colony.*—The mission station, Bethany, in Great Namaqualand, was founded by the Rev. Mr. Schmelen in 1814, who left with about three hundred ǂAmas the station Pella in Bushmanland, and trekked north until they came to the beautiful fountain ǂUǂgamis on the banks of the ǂKhaigib River. The ǂAmas bought the rights of this place and neighbourhood from the then paramount chief of Great Namaqualand, Gamab, for axes, knives, iron spears and timber-beams; and Schmelen gave the place the new name, Bethany. Amongst the leaders of the ǂAmas were the Xamǂ (Lion tail) and ǂKhaiǂgoa (Cat rib) families, or, as they are now styled, the Amrals and Boois. Their language is the one in which Knudsen's St. Luke is translated, and we have in this way an excellent specimen of the old Cape Hottentot idioms. In 1850 they told my father that they were called upon by the Dutch Government in 1803 to fight against the English. The Namaqua, according to the Cape Records, lived in 1665 as far South as the Olifants river. They have always been, and still are, by far the most powerful tribe among all the Khoikhoin.

* At first sight this myth shows some resemblance to the words of the Lord to Adam: "Of every tree in the

14.Mann I-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1891 FK12 Hermann FK12

garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the [116]
knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for
in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,"
Genesis ii. 16, 17; and Adam still partaking of the
forbidden fruit, died. I heard the same myth on the
outskirts of the Western Kalihari, where I met ostrich
hunters from the !O-gain tribe who never had a mis-
sionary, and almost every ‡Anni of the !Khomm Moun-
tains and every Gei!khau knows it too. I myself have [117]
eaten of the fruit of the so-called wild raisin tree, or
‡oits, and the consequence was that I had an attack of
dysentery. The natives having no medicine often succumb
to such attacks. It is besides a well-known fact, that
the flowers and herbs at a certain time of the year prove
detrimental to cattle and sheep. Various diseases break
out, known by our colonists as *paisicke* and *bloedsicke*.
Sometimes cattle suddenly swell up and die, and the
natives then remove to more healthy spots.

"This hymn of Tsūi!goab, compared with George [118]
Schmidt's statement, which we gave in one of the pre-
ceding pages, shows us that Tsūi!goab was invoked by
all Khoikhoi with the same prayer, in the same way as
we now a days all over the world invoke "the Father in
Heaven" with the "Lord's Prayer," which Christ taught
his disciples. At the same time this hymn confirms the
fact, "that a poetic form is more easily remembered than
a prose form, and that it is better adapted for securing
the strict accuracy of historical myths." I am of opinion
that the greater part of the Khoikhoi myths, especially
those which tell us of the heroic deeds and fights of
Heitsi-eibib and Tsūi!goab, were all in a poetic form, of
which such verses as are here and there interwoven in the
prosaic parts of the present myths are fragments. For
the last fifteen years these epical myths have been sung
and performed exactly in the same way as the "Songs
of Samaxab and Geilaub," men who distinguished
themselves in the late Namaqua and Damra war.

14 Plate L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX13 Hottentot PX13

CHI I was present at one of these ceremonies, and an old Namaqua told me that, in his young days, Heitsi-eibib and Totsiigoab were honoured in the same way.

One sees the whole fight, in which dancers and pipe-blowers are actors. We see the cows and sheep driven off by the horsemen, and we see them retaken; at last the daring and plucky Gciqaub receives a mortal wound by a bullet of the enemy. They strip him naked, and leave him a prey to the vultures, which soon approach and commence to devour the body. At last, the friends having slain the enemy, return and collect his bones in a grave, and sing a very doleful burial song.

146 * χurina, χuna . . . χurina (plur. com. obj.), from the singular form χuri-i, are roots, berries, honey, and bulbs, food which is found in the field. The bulbs are called also ‖hani, and a long mountain range in Central Namaqualand is called after the ‖han, the ‖Han-‡ani Mountains,—*i.e.*, the Bulb Mountains. In Colonial Dutch these bulbs are called *Uientjes*. The ‖Han-‡ani or ‖Han‡ans Mountains are the same which Captain Alexander wrongly spells Unuma. Xuna (plur. com. obj.), however, from singular χui, means simply things, and in this case it means cattle and sheep; in Colonial Dutch, *vee*, *groot vee*, and *klein vee*. χurina and χuna evidently have the same root, χu, which means "*something*," a thing which has a concrete substantial origin, while ‖khois is abstract, and means matter, German *Urstand*, *Sache*.

* ‡Gorab is ochre, red clay.

* Som-‡aub is the "morass."

* ‡Eiχa‖kha‖nabieb is the other name of ‖Gurikhoinib, the Khoikhoi Adam. ‡Eiχa, from ‡ei, copper, is copperlike, full of copper, copper-coloured, brass-coloured. ‖khāb is body and ‖nabiteb is the backbone (*Rückgrat* in German). The thunder-cloud has often a brazen colour, a sulphur tint. Here one can see how mythology and ancestor-worship flow into one another. Here ‡Eiχa‖kha-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

ǁnabiseb is identical with ǀNanub, the thunder-cloud—196
i.e., with Tsûiǁgoab; and in another myth he changes names with ǀGurikhoisip, the ancestor of the Khoikhoi. We shall have to recur in the third chapter to these names again.

" We shall see more particularly in the third chapter that 000
ǀaub the snake, and ǀavib the rain, come from the same root ǀau, to flow. If there is plenty of rain, the fountains will flow very strongly. In every fountain again there is said to be a snake, hence the natives say, if the snakes go much about—that is, if the fountains flow very abundantly —then it will be a good year. Tsuǁgoab, the ancestor of men, the creator of the Khoikhoi, lives in the thunder-cloud, where he causes the cloud *to* ǀau, to stream—that is, he causes the water-snake to come down. Thus the ǀKora say, that the snake and the first man originally lived together. Here I may at once add a note, which I forgot to give in the text. This remark very likely also comes from Wuras:—

"There is hardly a trace of religion to be found among the Korana; but the old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsûi-koab had made two persons, a man *Kanima*, ostrich feather, and a woman, Hau na Maos, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (kiri), a qûiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield. From Tsûiǁgoab they expect all the good things. He lives at the other side of the blue sky, in a light sky. They also talk of a Kaunaam, who is an evil-doer. They fear him very much." (*Vide* Burkhard, "Die Evangelische Mission," vol. ii. p. 71) Bielefeld, 1860. It should be noticed that we have here again *Yellow Copper*, which is identical with ǀNabas, or ǀNanus, the wife of ǂEiχaǀkhaǁnabiseb.

" The ǂHi-game is an old kind of duel amongst the 578
Khoikhoi. If a man takes offence, he challenges the

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578 other man by taking a handful of dust, and holding it out to his adversary. The enemy then beats the challenger on the hand, so that the dust falls to the ground, and the challenge is accepted. If the other is a coward, he will not beat the dust to the ground, and then the one who made the challenge throws the dust into his face. In duelling together two men try to kick each other, or to knock each other down by fencing with knobkirris, or to throw each other with spears, covering themselves the meanwhile with their shields. This kind of duelling was called ǂhigu.

261 "For this reason the Namaquas pretend not to eat the flesh of the hare. The fact, however, is that they believe, by eating hare-flesh, they will become as faint-hearted as a hare. They, for instance, eat the flesh of the lion, or drink the blood of the leopard or lion, to get the courage and strength of these beasts. The same custom we find among the Malays, Polynesians, and Indians of America, and other savages who drink the blood of wild animals or slain enemies, in order to become ferocious and courageous as they are.

000 "*The lion, however, had wings.*—Ctesias, "De Rebus Indicis," speaks of griffins in the following way:—"There is also gold," he says, "in the Indian country, not found in the streams and washed, as in the river Pactolus; but there are many and great mountains, wherein dwell the griffins, *four-footed birds of the greatness of the wolf, but with legs and claws like lions.*—Ctesias, "De Rebus Indicis," 12; according to Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 3:8, Herodotus repeatedly mentions these griffins (Γρύψ), iii. 116; iv. 13, 27, 79, 152.

"*Veldt*, or, in proper Dutch, *veld*, means the fields, the uncultivated grounds, the grazing-grounds and sheep-walks.

"ǁHûs-game literally translated is *the cloud-game*, from ǁhûs, an antiquated word for cloud. This ǁhûs game is also called ǂkhoros, a kind of *dice*. Why is the ǂkhoros called ǁhûs? Here we have again metaphor. When the battle in the clouds is fought

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

between Tsūi‖goab and ‖Gaunab, or ǂEiχa‖kha‖nabiseb and the lion, we see the lightnings—*i.e.*, the *dice* of Tsūi-‖goab thrown to the earth. And this phenomenon in Nature, the lightnings dropping to the earth, have afterwards given rise to the story of ‖Gurikhoisib or ǂEiχa-‖kha‖nabiseb playing at dice with the lion. In our legend the thunderstorm is expressly mentioned.

[a] *Vientjes*, the Colonial Dutch expression for the various kinds of eatable *bulbs*. It means onions.

[b] ‖Khubitsaos—lat. 23° 29′, long. 16° 28′. I have been to the spot. It lies on the southern slopes of the ‖Khoma Mountains of the highlands of North Namaqualand. There is a pond of about fifty yards in length and fifteen in breadth. On the banks of the pond grow mimosa bushes; and on the south corner, about five yards from the water, is a very old mimosa tree. I had a man of the Gei‖khau tribe with me, by the name of Doūsamab. It was quite interesting to see how he pointed the spot where the lion lay, where ‖Gurikhoisib kneeled and cooled his face with water, where the dogs made the first attack on the lion, &c. The good fellow got quite excited and warm when he saw that I took a great interest in the matter; the more so when he afterwards saw me taking observations in order to fix the place on my map. In ‖Khubitsaos, or, as it also is pronounced, ‖Gubi-tsoas, we have again the root ‖gū, *to cover*. In the third chapter the meaning of ‖gurub will be found, according to this root, to signify the coverer (Sanscr. Vritra).

[c] *Gares* is an extemporized love song; Khoikhoi mothers, or nurses, are in the habit, while washing or anointing a child, suddenly to extemporize a song of praise, and this way of praising is called *gare*.

[d] *Took the calabash with sour milk.*—Calabash, from *calebasse*, Sp. *calabaza*, Sicilian *cara vazza*, Portg. *calabaça* and *cabaça*, from the Arab *garah*, a kind of gourd, and *aibas*, f. *aibasah*, dry, so that it signifies a *dry gourd* scooped

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out, in which *milk* and other drinkables are carried. The Khoikhoi use the calabash also for churning purposes, and produce butter by shaking the calabash. In Namaqua the calabash is ābas; the root is ā, to drink, consequently ābas, the tub for drinkables, German *Trinkgeschirr*. One place is called *Ababis*, on account of calabashes growing there in abundance. In Spain these calabashes serve as wine vessels, and are called either *calabaza* or *calabacino*.

" *Thy body looks like a cow's body*, means thou hast a beautiful, fine, fat body.

" How strong the belief is among the Khoikhoi that animals even are revengeful, can be seen from the following historical fact:—When the ǃAmaquas had settled at Bethany, they went out to shoot the Hereros or Cattle Damaras, and to rob them of their cattle. Once they had a wholesale massacre amongst the Damaras. One man especially distinguished himself by extraordinary bloodthirstiness and cruelty. They had returned home, when after some time a black lion came and took that man out of his hut, tore him to pieces and killed him. The distance from Bethany to Damaraland is about 250 miles. Still up to this day the ǃAmas believe that that black lion was a Damara who had taken the shape of the beast, and had come that distance in order to revenge his people. Also of elephants and snakes, especially of the so-called dassies-adder, it is said that they can detect the criminal among hundreds of people, and kill him, without turning their ire on anybody else.

" I have called this legend the Orion myth, because most of the stars belonging to the constellation Orion act a certain part in it.

In the sequel of the third chapter I shall give an explanation of the names and the meaning of this myth. The Aldebaran, or *a* Tauri, is the aob of the myth, and ǃKhunuseti, or the Pleiades are his wives. His bow is

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π^2 Orionis; his sandals, ǁharon, are ε and δ of the Hyades; his kaross is ϑ and γ of the Hyades; δ, ε, ζ Orionis, are the zebras, ǀgoregu, Leo is the lion. The arrow ǂab is marked by i, d, c, Orionis, of which again it is called ǁnaus, the arrowhead, and c is the opposite end, where ǂams, the feather is fixed. It is very strange indeed that the Pleiades, the rainstars of the Khoĭkhoi, stand so close to the Hyades, the rainstars of the ancient Greek. And that Orion among the Greeks, as well as among the Khoĭkhoi, served as a base for a myth of a hunter. Certain it is that the Hottentot myth is of very old date, as the ǀKora, for instance, had still, in Burchell's time, the same names ǀKhũseti for the Pleiades, and ǀgoregu for Orion. And another Khoĭkhoi tribe, the Geiǁkhauas, who formerly lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, have still these names and the same version of the above-mentioned legend.

The Namaquas call the stars the eyes of the deceased. One star is ǀgõaros, the little daughter; α and β Centauri are called mũra, the two eyes. (Whose eyes? certainly of some being; and here we have a remnant of an old myth.) Then μ 1 and 2 Scorpionis are called Xami di mũra, *i.e.*, the eyes of the lion. There seems to be another lion in the Orion myth. Venus has various names, one is ǂonob, *the man with the fingers cut off*. The New Zealanders believe the Pleiades to be men with one eye (Bastian). And in Australia, according to Ridley, the Pleiades are called worrul—*i.e.*, *bee's nest*. In Greenland the Pleiades represent dogs chasing a bear (Bastian). And among the Bambaras, Bapedis, and Amaǁkhosa, the Pleiades are the messengers of the rainy and planting season. The Indians of North America believe these stars to be dancers.

"It is interesting to see how widespread is the superstition connected with the umbilical cord of a child. After the cord has fallen off the New Zealanders place it in a mussel—that is to say, in the same shell with which

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it had been separated from the mother—and put the umbilical cord with the mussel on the water of a river. If these things remain above the water and do not sink the child will be lucky; if, however, the mussel capsizes it means early death, &c. (Hooper, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, 1869-72). The Alfurus in Celebes keep the umbilical cord, with great care, as a charm (F. W. Diedrich). The Kalmoucks in Asia use it as a charm in lawsuits (R. Krebel "Volksmedicin," p. 56). In Germany the umbilical cord is pulverized and given to a sick child as medicine (M. R. Buck, "Medic. Volksglauben aus Schwaben," 1865, p. 56). And Fischhart says in "Gargantua," cap. 39, of the cowardly soldiers who took to flight: "Etliche zogen ihre Kinderpelglin herfür, meinten, also dem Teufel zu entfliehn." For more contributions on this subject, *vide* Ploss, "Die Glückshaube," &c., in *Ethnolog. Zeitschrift*, 1872, iii.

[a] In Syria also, at the spot where Typhon went into the ground, the river Orontes took its origin: *φασὶ δὲ τυπτόμενον τοῖς κεραυνοῖς* (*εἶναι δὲ δράκοντα*, namely, Typhon) *φεύγειν κατὰ δῦσιν ζητοῦντα τοῖς μὲν ὀλκοῖς ἐντεμεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καταδύντα δὲ εἰς γῆν ἀναῤῥῆξαι τὴν πηγήν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενέσθαι τοὔνομα τῷ ποταμῷ*.—Strabo, C. 751, e. *Vide* Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," Berlin, 1860, p. 59. "We heard now why the Christians were imprisoned. They had refused to contribute money towards the superstitious customs which the Chinese observe in times of great droughts; they then pray to the *dragon of the rain* for wet weather. . . . . On each house pieces of paper are fixed containing prayers, and also the likenesses of the *dragon of the rain*. . . . . Also images of this dragon made of wood or paper are carried in procession. And if it does not rain, the dragon is smashed.

Under the rule of KiaKing there was a great drought. The dragon would not send rain. The emperor banished the poor dragon to the province of Torgot.

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But all the mandarins prayed for his return, when at last the emperor ordered him to be brought back."—*Vide* Huc und Gabet, "Wanderungen durch das Chinesische Reich," bearbeitet von Karl Andree, 1867, p. 67.

The ancient Egyptians represented Knuphis, the god of the snakes, holding a jug, out of which a stream of water flows.—*Vide* Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," p. 61.

In the Old Testament we have also the water and serpent brought into connection. Thus in Amos ix. 3, the Lord says, "And though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, *thence will I command the serpent.*" A similar idea to that expressed in the quotation from Strabo is contained in the words of Ezekiel xxix. 3: "I am against thee, Pharaoh, King of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, *My river is mine own and I have made it for myself.*" Also Ezekiel xxxii. 2, in the prophecy against the same king: "Thou art as a *whale in the seas; and thou camest forth with thy rivers.*" And in Isaiah xxvii. 1, we read: "And he shall slay *the dragon that is in the sea.*'

"In Germany there is a belief that at the birth of every child a new star appears in the sky. If a person dies, his star falls down from the sky to the earth. Among the Indians of California the Pleiades are said to be women who went to heaven. The aborigines of Peru believed that every animal had a representative amongst the stars. The Yurucares-Indians believed the same.—Bastian, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1872, p. 357. The Kirghiz also transfer their deceased to the stars, from where, if invoked, they can come to the earth.—Bastian, "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Psychologie," 1868, p. 89. The Caribs of the West India Islands saw their immortal heroes in the constellations of the stars.—Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 261.

But even if we had not these proofs of a future life

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among the Khoikhoi, we should come to the conclusion of the existence of such a belief, from the custom that they bury their dead with the face towards the east. To them also our "Ex oriente lux" had a deeper meaning. Peschel, in his "Races of Man," p. 259, correctly remarks: "Again, if we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb. The meaning of this significant custom is, that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth." The graves are covered with stoneheaps and branches of thorns to prevent the hyenas devouring the bodies.

That the pre-historic myth-makers thought very much about the riddle of a future life, we have seen in the myth of the Moon, who sent the Hare to men with the message of immortality.

This feeling of a future life is not as dim as some ethnologists and travellers and missionaries like to represent it. I shall refer to what I experienced myself.

769 Once I met on the outskirts of the Kalihari a party of Namaquas in an ox waggon, which belonged to a woman of rank (Geikhois), who was with the party. I knew her very well, for she had treated me very hospitably when I once stayed at her kraal. I was very much surprised to find her so far away from her home, and asked: "What brings you into these waterless hunting grounds; since when are women going to shoot game?"

"My dear friend," she said, "don't make fun, I am in great distress; we lost a great number of sheep and cattle through the drought and the Bushmen, and I am going to the grave of my father, who died in the hunting fields; I am going to pray and weep there; he will hear my voice, and he will see my tears, and he will give luck to my husband who is now out ostrich-hunting, so that we can

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buy again milk-goats and cows, that our little ones may live."

"But your father is dead!" I said; "how will he hear?"

"Yes, he is dead," she answered, "but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grand-parents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours."

Is there a difference between this woman and Napoleon III., who, like the old Kings of France, was so eager to play the part of the Eldest Son of the Church, and who was certainly addicted to ancestor worship, if the recently published will of April 14th, 1875, is genuine? "We must remember," writes the Emperor, "that those we love look down upon us from Heaven and protect us. It is the soul of my great uncle which has always guided and supported me. Thus will it be with my son, also if he proves worthy of his name."—(*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1875); *Vide* Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 261.)

Another custom, which also proves that the Khoikhoi believe that the person in the grave is not quite dead, is that of throwing water on the grave shortly after the burial. When asked why they do this, they say, in order to cool the soul of the deceased. The grave is also called ǁaus—*i.e.*, "the unhappy, discontented;" ǁau signifies "dissatisfied." If, for instance, an ox is slaughtered, the cattle can be seen to hold a gathering at that spot, throwing up dust with their horns and feet, and the bulls especially commence roaring like lions. Then the Khoihoi say: Goman ta ǁau, the cattle are dissatisfied—*i.e.*, they protest against the death of their comrade. Another word is ǁauäm, which also means, to protest, but in a very energetic way.

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CHAPTER III.

I shall indeed interpret all that I can. But I cannot interpret all that I should like.—GRIMM.

COMMENTARY TO THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER, AND ANALYSIS OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES.

I HAVE endeavoured to give a collection of the fragments of a very old mythology, in which are contained the remnants of a primæval religion. I am sure that a good number of my readers are disappointed because they missed that high flight of ideas, and that beautiful but deceptive charm which poetry adds to the mythology of the Aryan, and even to that of the Polynesian races. As I said in the first chapter, this collection will be considered very insipid and tasteless, and I shall not be surprised if some will find fault with me for not employing my time in researches concerning a worthier object. I am fully aware of such objections; nay, I hear similar expressions daily; but the more I hear, the more I am alive to the difficulty of my task.

I do not reproach those who, comparing these myths with our Indo-Aryan mythologies, find them very insipid. My readers are Aryans, they belong to that race of mankind which in science, arts, and religion will for ever serve as a standard to all other races on the surface of the earth.

The characteristic of true science always has been to draw objects of the most simple nature and the most simple organization under its microscope, in order

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to discover the origin of the object, and the mutual connection and reciprocal working of the various powers in Nature.

If we look at the present standard of zoology and biology, it was the study of the most simple organisms which led to results which the wildest imagination of our greatest philosophers never could have dreamt of. The theory of evolution has become an established fact, and there is no science, at present, which could deny its invigorating and propelling power on all the other sciences, and on itself. A short glance at the controversial literature on Darwinism—a literature which, by itself, is sufficient to fill a magnificent library—shows that the cudgels were taken up *pro* and *contra*, by the very best men on both sides; but after a hard and severe contest, the theory of evolution carried the day. If our anatomists and zoologists would have been satisfied with the investigation of the structure and organization of the most developed animals only, they never would have arrived at such astonishing facts, whose full importance is beyond human conception, and only can be dimly guessed.

The same with the science of comparative mythology, and its mother, comparative philology. What has been achieved by this science for the knowledge of the condition of our pre-historic races, we admire in the works of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Bopp, Pott, von der Gabelentz, Kuhn, Grimm, Schwartz, and Max Müller. But all those men had chiefly as their object of investigation the Aryan races; very little or nothing, comparatively, has been done in the realm of the languages of the Great Dark Continent, with the exception of the Hamitic languages. The science of language and the science of religion are, as regards South Africa, entirely in an embryonic state. Pott and von der Gabelentz, famous through their discoveries in the Aryan realm, were the first to draw an outline [1]sketch of the Kafir-Congo, or so-called Bantu languages; and a few years before them, Norris, in Prichard's "Natural

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History of Man," was the one to analyse the Khoikhoi idioms, and to show them their place among the tongues of the world.

Then followed the late Dr. Bleek, who succumbed under the gigantic work he had begun to give to us, after the model of Bopp, a comparative grammar of the South African languages. Bishop Callaway has commenced to collect materials for the foundation of a comparative mythology of the South African races, but nothing of any importance has been done since. The fact of the matter is, that there is a great lack of that truly scientific idealism, which will, uninfluenced by public opinion and newspaper criticism, pursue its course with an indomitable spirit, fully convinced that it is done in the service of the elevation of mankind. There is no Chair as yet for Comparative Ethnology and the Science of Language in our colleges, where the younger generations could be made acquainted with the natural and mental condition of the aborigines. Our native policy will remain a fruitless experiment as long as we do not know our coloured brethren. And the great stumbling-block to carry out a fruitful native policy is the mutual hatred between the Europeans and aborigines. There is such a hatred, and it is dangerously increasing. Who can deny that nine-tenths of the white population of South Africa look down upon the aborigines as a superior kind of the baboon tribe. And still we pretend to be good Christians, and call ourselves "Christenmenschen." We do not see how paradoxical and pharisaical we are. If we only knew more about the way of thinking of the natives, if we only could imagine that there is in those black bodies a religious sentiment which craves for a sight of the Unknown, as our own heart yearns for the Invisible, we would soon drop our self-conceit.

This ill feeling can only be removed if Ethnology and Comparative Philology will form one of the subjects in our code of higher education, and I should think that, after twenty years, the stumbling-block in the progress

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of civilization in our colonies will be removed. Only a sound study and an unprejudiced knowledge of the native mind will qualify us to produce a sound and safe native policy.

We will learn to appreciate in the native what is good, and be anxious to bring the good qualities to a harmonious development. For his faults and vices our education and training will supply the necessary remedy. This would be the practical value of the study of Ethnology, under which heading I comprise the theoretical study of the South African languages, for the purpose of learning the prehistoric condition of the Aborigines, and their present natural condition, customs, manners, and religion.

When Bopp, Pott, and Grimm laid the foundation-stone of that glorious work, the Comparative Grammar and Comparative Mythology of the Aryan races, we should not forget that more than twenty centuries had contributed towards the bricks and mortar and tools with which that magnificent temple was erected. And here, in South Africa, what have we to boast of? Since Sir George Grey left our shores, and Dr. Bleek is not more amongst us, it almost seems that the work, so energetically commenced, is going to collapse. We cannot yet think of constructing such an edifice, which could stand a comparison with that grand temple erected by Bopp, before all the materials are prepared and their collection is secured. Our task, and that of the next generation, is to collect every possible and reliable material; and what already is collected should be thrown on the market, to be moulded and shaped into bricks. The linguistic and ethnological world, both of Europe and America, daily ask, *Quid novi ex Africa?* The foundation-stone is well laid, but where are the languages, the myths, and legends of those nations, of whom we had some dim idea, and whose existence has been confirmed by the discoveries of Cameron and Stanley? And in the most southern part

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of our continent—that is, British South Africa, a vast territory bordering in the north on the banks of the Kunene and Zambesi rivers—there lives a most unique race, represented in two peculiar branches of the Hottentot race, by the Khoikhoi and Bushman family. What may I ask, has been done to secure the necessary materials for a comparative study of their languages, mythologies, customs and manners? There are sundry translations of parts and extracts of the Bible, but more or less in one and the same Khoikhoi dialect. Twelve dialects, spoken in Great Namaqualand, are still unrecorded. The little we know of the !Kora, which bears the most ancient type of the Khoikhoi, like Sanscrit among the Indo-European languages, is very insufficiently known, and this tribe is now on the point of dying out. Of the old Colonial Khoikhoi, the so-called Cape Hottentot, we know little or nothing. The few words recorded by Witsen, Ten Rhyne, Hervas, Kolb, Valentyn, Leibniz, Spaarmann, Thunberg, Barrow, Liechtenstein, and Le Vaillant, and few others, are written in such unintelligible and distorted orthography that they are useless for comparative purpose. Even the student who is well acquainted with a Hottentot dialect is hardly able to use these specimens with any success.

Four years ago a man of the tribe, to whom the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, brought the Gospel, died at Bredasdrop; eight months ago, another old Cape Khoikhoi died at Moddergat, Stellenbosch district; another last year close to the Paarl; and six years ago one in Cape Town, who all spoke their old language.

The late Dr. Bleek therefore was misinformed when he stated that the old Cape type had entirely died out. There are at this moment some alive, *and it is of vital importance that our Government should grant* a small sum for the purpose of searching for such individuals, and collecting from their lips these long-forgotten dialects.

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I said ethnology should be taught at our colleges, and I have also pointed out the practical result it would have for a sound and just native policy. If this could be done, and a warm enthusiastic interest for these studies be instilled into our rising generation, the eyes of the scientific world would look with admiration towards the Cape.

But our students must be taught, "what to observe, and how to observe." To draw the public interest towards these studies we require an ethnological museum, after the model of the ethnological museums in Berlin, Leipsic, and London. What we possess in this respect at the Cape is not beyond the appearance of a curiosity shop. But before we can expect valuable contributions towards such an institution, we must have men who understand the importance of this science; such men, however, we must educate up to the mark. And have we not got in Cape Town, close at hand, all that we could wish for? There is the Breakwater Convict Station, with natives from almost every tribe in South Africa. There are at present chiefs from whose lips valuable information of the history of their tribes and wanderings could be collected; of the customs, of the manners, and of the laws of inheritance and relationship. Instead of that, we are treated by newspaper writers with fruitless controversies about our right to locking up savage tyrants and allowing them a smaller number of wives than they had been accustomed to. Is there a place in the whole of South Africa where, with so little expense, anatomical measurements and studies for anthropological purposes could be carried on?—results for which our Darwins, Huxleys, Haeckels, Weissbachs, Vogts, Fritschs, and other anthropologists beg and crave; and still, it seems, there is no ear to hear them! Is there a better opportunity for our Cape Colleges to demonstrate anthropology, *ad oculos*, than at the Breakwater?—where the method of anatomical measurement could be taught with greater success?

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And if the Cape Government has no eye and ear, or no means for the establishment of such an anthropological institute, is there no influential *savant* who would raise his voice to induce the various Governments of the civilized world to co-operate in founding an "International Anthropological Institute at the Cape of Good Hope?"

Most of our young college students become public men. They enter the civil service; some become field-cornets, judges of the peace, members of Parliament, and magistrates or magistrate's clerks; others, again, farmers and merchants. Every one almost will come in contact with natives. Our college students come from every part of South Africa. Does it not lie in the power of our Government, in connection with the Educational Board and the Philosophical Society, to organize and to encourage the collecting of linguistic and mythological materials, which materials should be published under the superintendence and editorship of an enthusiastic and competent scholar? In this way only should we be able to supply the scientific market in Europe, where hundreds of hands stand ready to coin the ore thus produced. This would not only give to all comparative sciences—especially to comparative psychology (*Völkerpsychologie*)—a new stimulus, but it would be the most expedient and cheapest way of furthering the progress of comparative sciences in our country.

The fragments recorded in the preceding chapter are, if we read them without a commentary, on the whole not very poetical—nay, some are of a repulsive character. As soon, however, as we put them under the microscope of the etymologist, we shall find that these myths are not more meaningless than the germs of those mythologies which have filled with deep devotional feelings the hearts of our own Aryan ancestors, before they migrated to the South, North, East and West.

But to come to a clear understanding the reader

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should be careful not to mix up terms of such essential difference as religion and mythology. Many an educated man we hear expressing the idea that mythology and religion, as far as heathens and savages are concerned, are synonymous. They seem not to know that *there is only one religion common to all mortals*, and that this religion is based on faith. Mythology, however, is a secondary element in the history of the development of the human mind; wherever religion crops up, mythology will serve as a cloak to disguise her true beautiful form; and in the same way as the cloak sometimes adopts the form of a statue, or of the human body, in the same way mythology often copies in a bewildering manner from religion.

If we want to understand the original meaning of a myth, we have to trace it back to its fountain. We have to study the history of the names of the persons who act a part in a mythological tale back to its origin, by stripping off all garments, which time and every new generation have added to it, until we arrive at the naked root and original meaning of the word. The comparative philologist, in a certain sense of the word, works like the Bushman, who, with a keen eye, well acquainted with the habits and—may I use the expression—the way of thinking of the game, follows on their track and examines every pebble turned in their hasty flight. Sometimes the footprints are very clear, where the soil is very soft. Sometimes they disappear altogether on rocky ground; and here it is where the hunter has to call in his practical knowledge of the nature of the game and the topographical condition of the country. So the mythologist with the honest endeavour to feel and think like a primæval man, with an almost childlike way of expressing himself, and at the same time well trained in the method and practice of comparative philology, has to follow up the history of a mythological name, until he arrives at the true meaning of it. He always must bear in mind "*that language is*

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always language—it always meant something originally," and "*that it is the essential character of a true myth, that it should be no longer intelligible.*"—Max Müller.

"The facts of language, however small, are historical facts, and require an historical explanation." Therefore, I shall try in the sequel of this chapter to give for each mythological name a rational and etymological explanation, inasmuch as I do not care to have these myths considered a conglomerate of meaningless and insipid tales.

In the growth and change of the Khoikhoi mythology we find an analogy to the growth and change of mythology among the Aryan nations. Amongst the Khoikhoi also, as amongst the Aryans, there was a "tendency to change the original conceptions of divine powers, to misunderstand the many names given to those powers, and even to misinterpret the praises given to them. In this manner some of the divine names were changed into the half-divine."[2]

Tsûi||goab.

I shall begin with that name which calls forth even to-day the deepest feelings of devotion and reverence in the heart of a Khoikhoi. *Tsûi||goab*, originally *Tsuni||goam*, was the name by which the Red-men called the Infinite. Modern translators and interpreters, such as serve on mission stations, generally explain it, "*Sore or wounded knee*," from *tsû* or *tsûi*, wounded, sore, and ||goab or ||khoab, the knee. And I myself, some ten years ago, have in a controversial paper, "Der Hottentotische Tsûi||goab und der Griechische Zeus," been in favour of this explanation. After a more careful study of the matter, however, I have now good reason to discard my former opinion, and to replace it, as I hope, by a more reasonable explanation, based on the method of sound etymological investigation. For if the former translation were correct, and if this name by

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which the Infinite is invoked were so transparent as to demand such an interpretation, Tsûi||goab could not be a mythological being, but simply a person who acts a part in some common fable. Let us therefore try a new analysis.

The word is composed of two independent roots, *tsu* and *||goa*. *||Goa* means to walk, to go on, to approach, to march on, to come on. Now in Khoikhoi it is exactly the same whether I say, *mu-b* or *mu-m*, seeing-he, he-sees, or *mu-b*, *mu-m*, the-eye—*i.e.*, the-seer, the-seeing-one. The same, there is no difference whether I say, *||goa-b*, *||goa-m*, coming-he, approaching-he—*i.e.*, he comes, he approaches —or whether I say, *||goa-b*, *||goa-m*, the-approaching-one—viz., day, or the morning, the dawn; or if I say, *||goa-b*, *||goa-m*, the-going-one, the-walking-one—*i.e.*, the knee.

We have in Khoikhoi the following words:—*||Goa-b*, the morning, the daybreak; *||goa-b*, the knee; *||goara*, the day dawns, it dawns, it is dawning. Metaphorically *||goa* means also "*to pray*," because it is an old Khoikhoi custom to go out away from the house as soon as the first beams of the dawn shoot up in the East, and to kneel behind a bush to pray. The original "*||goatara, |gore ǂa niga*," "I go out to pray" (|gore or |gure, to pray), has dwindled down into "*||goatara*"—*i.e.*, "I go," *I pray*, just as our "*I wish you a good morning*," has collapsed into "*Good morning*," and even "*Morning*."

It is now obvious that *||goab* in *Tsûi||goab* cannot be translated with *knee*, but we have to adopt the other metaphorical meaning, *the approaching* day—*i.e.*, the dawn.

We come now to the root *Tsû*. It meant originally "what is sore, what is wounded, what is hurt, what is painful." Derivative forms were *tsuni*, *tsûi*, and *tsû*. Now, among the Nama-tribe generally, *tsû* and *tsûi*, mean "sore, wounded, hurt, affected with a wound, or with pain; while *tsû*, a more dilapidated form of *tsuni*, has a

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196 776 metaphorical meaning, "unpleasant, difficult, troublesome, painful." This, however, is not the case in all Nama dialects; sometimes the two words are promiscuously pronounced and applied. From this tsû, by reduplication, is formed a verb, tsû-tsû, to hurt a person, and ǂnou-tsû-tsû, to hurt a person by beating, or, as we say, *to beat a person black and blue.*

The colour of a wound is *red*, especially of a fresh wound received in a battle, and thus *tsu* can signify *red*, just as ǀava or ǀaua, "red," meant originally *bloody*, blood-coloured (ǀau-b, *blood*). *Tsuǁgoab* or *Tsûiǁgoab* therefore, verbally translated, is *the-red-morning, the-red-daybreak*—*i.e.*, the *dawn*.

This etymology is strengthened by the following circumstances:—First, I have said in the second chapter that the ǃKoras believe *Tsûiǁgoam* to live in the Red-Heaven or Red-Sky. Then, in the next pages will be proved that ǂ*Eiχa*ǁ*khaǁnabisb* and *Tsûiǁgoab* are identical, and in the Hymn of ǂ*Eiχa*ǁ*khaǁnabisb* is said of him, "*thou* who painteth thyself with *red ochre*." And, third, when the *day dawns* the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: "Oh, Tsuǁgoa, All-Father." We are also told that the Khoikhoi, especially their women, paint themselves with red ochre, if they offer prayers at the cairns of Heitai-eibib (Dapper, Witsen).

Here, as it often happens in mythology, as well as in our daily life, a person is often called after the abode or place he inhabits. We have in our Colony names as *van Breda, van Gent*, &c., meaning originally certainly nothing else, but *the man of Breda, the man of Gent*. In the same manner the ancient Khoikhoi in their yearning after the Infinite transferred the name of his supposed abode upon Him who thrones on high. Hence the origin of the name *Tsûiǁgoab* for the Supreme Being.

776 The myth now tells us that *Tsûiǁgoab* is the avenger of men, and that he kills ǀGaunab, the evil-doer. He

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also can see what is going to happen in future; he is a seer, a prophet. In the Vedic mythology Saranyu, the Dawn, is also the avenger, and can also predict what will happen. The Germans have still the proverbial saying:— 776

Es ist nichts so fein gesponnen,
Es kommt doch endlich an der Sonnen.
(Nothing is so finely spun,
It must come before the sun.)

The Sanskrit *Saranyu* or *Dyaus* has etymologically certainly nothing to do with the Khoikhoi *Tsûi‖goab*, and certainly the one is not derived from the other. And still, in a certain sense, *Dyaus* or *Saranyu*, and *Tsûi‖goab* stand in very close connection, according to the maxim that the human mind all over the world is the same, and consequently will use certain striking phenomena in Nature as a base for the same figure of speech.

Other names for the Infinite among the Khoikhoi are *ǀKhûb*, *Tusîb*, *ǀNanub* *ǀGurub*, *Heitsi-eibîb*, *‖Khâb*, *ǂEiχa-ǀkha‖nabiseb*, and *ǀGurikhoisib*. Of these we shall treat hereafter. As *Tsûi-‖goab* is always mentioned in connection with his opponent, or better with the demon *‖Gaunab*, we shall have at first to deal with him, and to analyze his name, and then we shall see how mythology set to work, generation after generation, until it produced the legend with the variations recorded in the preceding chapter.

‖Gaunam.

If the name of Tsûi-ǀgoab only fills the mind of a Khoikhoi with joy, gratitude, and veneration, the name of *‖Gaunab* always confers to him the idea of pain, misery, and death. The root ‖Gau means to destroy, to annihilate, to mangle; from this we have the derivative ‖gaurà, bad, spoiled, worthless, infected; ‖gaub, destruction, ruination, annihilation; hence *‖Gaunab*, the destroyer, the one who annihilates. 196 776

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176 Who was now, according to the idea of the ancient
776 Khoikhoi, the destroyer? Certainly nobody else but the night, *Tsuχub*. We have the root ||ǒ, and from this the following derivatives:—||ǒ, to die; ||ǒm, to sleep; ||ǒ-b, death, illness, disease, ||om-s, sleep, ||oreb, guilt, sin, what is liable to death, crime; ||oreχa, wicked, sinful, guilty, criminal. Now, the night makes the people fall asleep or to die (||ǒ ||*om*), to be in a death-like state. The Khoikhoi say that ||Gaunab lives in the black heaven or black sky. The night sky, however, is the black sky. Consequently the black sky, at whose approach men ||*o*, die, or ||om, *sleep*, is the night sky—that is, ||*Gaunab*, the destroyer.

It will now be obvious that originally the words ||*Gauna* and *Tsûi||goa* were intended for nothing else than to illustrate metaphorically the change of day and night. Then the words Tsûi||goa and ||Gauna came down to the following generations, whilst their original meaning was lost. Mythology and religious sentiment stepped in at once and set to work. There was the belief of a power which sends its blessings to the earth to benefit men. Man died every evening, and the dark night covered him; the approaching dawn opened his eyes to new life, he felt refreshed. He turned his eyes towards the East, and saw the sky red, blood-red, sore like a fresh battle-wound. Blood had been spilled, a battle had taken place; so he fancied in his simple puerile way of thinking; and as he came to life with the dawn, what was more natural than that his mythological instinct invented the story of a battle between ||*Gaunab*, who lives in the black sky, and Tsûi ||goab, who lives in the red sky, in the dawn? Tsûi||goab was now a hero, who had received a wound at his knee. The rosy dawn was exchanged for a lame, broken knee.

776 Every tribe, every clan, every family, naturally has an ancestor, and if his name is lost, the myth-forming power very soon will invent one. Such ancestor, naturally enough, is a hero, who does wonderful things.

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Tsūi-||goab, the giver of all blessings, *the Father on high*, 776
All-Father, the avenger, who fought daily the battle for his people, thus was identified with the ancestor of the tribe whose name was forgotten. Hence we have the ancestor-worship growing together with the worship of the Infinite —that is, *vice versâ*, *Tsūi||goab*, the dawn, became the mythical ancestor of the Khoikhoi.

Each tribe afterwards ascribed to this hero such qualities as were peculiar to, and popular among, themselves. And as there are other powers in Nature which also bestow blessings on men, like the rain, the thunder-storm, the moon, the wind (especially the rain, wind, the sun, the clouds), and as these powers also have been personified, it was only quite natural that they are either identified with the Supreme Being, or that they are considered as emanations or relations of his. Therefore it is that this Being must have a wife, ǃUrisis; a son, ǃUrisib, like every human father, grandfather, and hero. Hence we find, not only among the Khoikhoi, but among all other, especially the higher, mythologies, a real Olympian genealogy.

ǃ*Khub*

Tsūi||goab is also called ǃ*Khūb*. This is the general 196
term with which a chief, a ruler, a rich man, a master, is 576
addressed. If *Tsūi||goab* is the father and ruler of the 776
Khoikhoi he must be rich (ǃ*Khū*) and powerful. ǃKhūb signifies the Lord, and is derived from the root ǃ*Khū*, to be laden with something. A pregnant woman is a ǃ*khūi* or ǃ*khuni taras*—*i.e.*, a laden, a burdened woman. A rich man has always been an influential man, a ruling man; hence it is that ǃ*Khū* has adopted the meaning to rule, to be a lord. *Tarie||naba ra ǃkhū?* (who is king there? or, who rules there?) has become identical with *Tarie ||naba ra gao-ao?* (*gao-ao-b*, king, chief).

This brings us to the next point, to show how, in the 776

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capacity as ǀ*Khūb*, *Tsūi*‖*goab* is identical with ǀ*Nanub*, the thunder-cloud, and ǃ*Gurub*, the thunder.

ǀ*Nanub*.

ǀ*Nanub* is in Khoikhoi the *thunder-cloud*, and shows the root ǀ*na*, *to filter, to stream*. It means especially that kind of streaming which a man can observe if he digs for water in the sand of a periodical river. That filtering and streaming together of the water from various sides is ǀ*nā*. Therefore, ǀ*Nanub* is the filterer, the pourer, or, to speak in South African Dutch, "'de Zuiverwater," an expression which well applies to the nature of the rain-pouring cloud.

ǃ*Gurub*.

ǃGurub, on first sight, makes the impression of being an onomatopoeticon, imitating the sound of the thunder; but this is only a delusion. The root of ǃgurub is ǃgū, which means to cover, to envelop (in German, umhüllen, verhüllen, bedecken). The following will plainly show what the Khoikhoi understand by the word ǃgū. I once had bought ostrich eggs, some of which were already on the point of breaking open and producing chickens. I did not like to destroy the rest, and asked the Namaqua who had given them to me how to hatch them, when he said: ǀ*Giri-*ǂ*nams* ǀ*khats ni* ǃ*gūte* (You must *cover* them with a jackal caross). Also the skin or cloak which the women wear round the lower body for the purpose of covering it, is called ʾǃ*gubīb*, *the coverer*. From this, ǃ*gu* again, two mountains in Great Namaqualand are called *Geitsi-*ǃ*gubīb* (Great ǃGubīb), and ǂKharisi-ǃgubis (Little ǃGubis). The Geitsi ǃgubīb is a crater-shaped mountain, without being of volcanic origin. ǃ*Gurub* therefore means the coverer, and was one of the names of the thunder-cloud ǀ*Nanub*, which covers the sky. A savage believes, that if it thunders, somebody is speaking out of the cloud, or the cloud itself is speaking.

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In the same way as the Infinite was called the Dawn, Tsūi||goab, now the Thunder, in the same manner, accepted the name of the thunder-cloud, for his abode, and hence he was called ǃ*Gurub*. In the Rigveda the cloud is also called vritra—*i.e.*, the coverer—and Vritra is also the name of the demon slain by Indra. Here, quite independently from the Khoikhoi, the ancient worshippers of Dyaus have developed almost the same idea. In the Rigveda, it says, that Indra with the Maruts (winds) fights Vritra, who keeps the sunlight from the earth.—(*Vide* Benfey, "Sanskrit Dictionary," p. 895; and Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," pp. 50, 95, 132.)

One often hears the following sayings among the Namaquas:—ǃ*Nanub ga ǃguruo, ob ge geise ni ||na*—that is, if the cloud is *covering* (rising from the horizon, and towering one above the other towards the zenith), then it will pour down very much. And again: ǃNanub ga ǃhomgu ei ||goeö, on ge khoina, ǃnanub ge ǃhomga ra ǃgū-ǂgā (or ǃguruǂgā), tira mi. If the thunder-cloud lies on the mountains, then the people say the clouds *envelop* the mountains. And again: ǃAvi-||aib ǃnati ge ǃkhunusete ǃnanubi ra ǃguru-ǂgāhe. In the rainy season the Pleiades are enveloped by the thunder-cloud. All these sayings clearly show the true meaning of ǃGurub, that it originally meant the *coverer*; and only in the course of time, when this first meaning was forgotten and lost, by the agency of the myth-forming power, it assumed the meaning, the *thunderer*. That there is still a recollection of the first meaning is quite certain. An old Namaqua said to me once, after a heavy thunderstorm had passed over the country: "ǃGurub ke geise ko ǃavi," meaning, "the thunder-cloud has rained very hard."

Here the original meaning crops up again. For ǃ*Gurub ra ǃavi* is generally said, ǃ*Nanub ke ra ǃavi*, or ǃ*Nanub ke ra tū*, the cloud is raining. The cloud, ǃ*Nanub*, is often implored thus:

ǃNanutse!

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196 Sida ǃKhutseǃ
776 ǀAvire or ǀavi geire!
(Oh Cloud, our Lord, let rain, or simply, rain then!)
And in the preceding chapter, ǃGurub is called, in a hymn, ǀ*Nanumatse*, thou son of the cloud. Consequently there is no doubt left as to ǀNanub and ǃGurub.

Identity of Tsūi‖goab and ǃGurub and ǀNanub.

776 It is not necessary now to enter into any further analysis in order to identify ǀNanub and ǃGurub with Tsūi‖goab, lest we should become very tedious in our explanations. I will briefly point out the most essential parts of comparison and similarity. Tsūi‖goab, ǀNanub, and ǃGurub, are all in the same manner implored, "*let rain.*" ǃGurub especially is addressed, "*not to speak too angrily to men;*" who else, then, can he be than the All-Father, Tsūi‖goab, who scolds his children? Valentyn, as we saw in the second chapter, also quotes both names for the same god, *Tuiqua* (*Tsūi‖goab*), and *Gourrou* (*ǃGurub*). Leibniz ("Collectanea Etymologica," Hannover, 1717, p. 377), always uses the name *Thoro*, for God, which is nothing else than ǃGuru; t' generally being applied by those ancient travellers and writers to express the click, or a click with g, h, k.

‖Khāb, Heitsi-eibib, ǀGarubeb and Tsuib.

196 776 *‖Khāb*, originally ‖Khami, still in ǃKora, ‖Khām, is derived from the root *‖Khā, the same, again;* for instance, the pronoun ‖khāb, the same, and words like ‖khaba or ‖khava, again, in return; ‖khara, to punish, to revenge—that is, to do to a person the same that he has done to others; ‖kharas, punishment, retaliation; ‖khai, to turn, to bring back—for instance, ‖khai gomaba, turn the ox; ‖kha-‖kha, to teach, to train—*i.e.*, to turn over and over again, to turn a person again and again, until he learns to go the straight course; all these derivatives come from the radix, ‖Kha. As I pointed out some pages back, there is no difference in Khoikhoi if I say mū-b, he-sees, or ˢmūb, the eye—*i.e.*, the seer—and ‖goa-b, he walks, or

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||goa-b, the knee—*i.e.*, the walker; in the same way there is no difference if we say ||Kha-mi, ||Kha-m, or ||Khā-b, he-is-returning, or the return-er—that is, the moon. When after a few dark nights the silver crescent of the moon appeared again on the western horizon, the ancient Khoikhoi would say, "*Ah, there he is again.*" And when, in the course of time, the pronoun of the third person had also accepted the office of a sex-denoting classifier or article, then the predicative, ||Kha-m or ||Khā-b, he-returns, he-is-there-again, became the appellative, ||Khāb, or ||Khām, the returner *par excellence*. When even this meaning was lost, the next generation beheld ||Khāb as a *nomen proprium* of the moon.

The resemblances between ||Khām, the Moon, and Tsūi||goam, the Dawn, are very striking. We said in the second chapter that the moon promises immortality to men, and when they were deceived by the hare, he is also the avenger, punishing the latter. Tsūi||goab every morning gives life to men, and from the battle with ||Gaunam he received a wound; also the hare scratches the moon's face. Of Tsūi||goab it is also said, like the moon, that he often dies and rises again. He (Tsūi||goab) being a person of supernatural powers can take all kinds of shapes, he also can disappear, or become suddenly invisible. It is the same again with the moon, who assumes different shapes, and sometimes disappears altogether. The disappearing of the moon is called ||ŏ, to die; on the dying or disappearing of the moon, especially if there be an eclipse of the moon, great anxiety prevails. One would almost believe that a great calamity has befallen a kraal, such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen the people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertakings. Does it not sound to us as if we hear the old Psalmist praying:—

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776 Have mercy upon me, O God—
821 Cast me not away from thy presence;
Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation!

That the Moon is identical with Tsûi||goab, as the "Lord of Light and Life," can, after these explanations, be no longer doubtful. And it is also obvious from the antiquated and obliterated nature of the name itself, that the Moon was already worshipped as *the Visible God* of the Khoikhoi before their separation.

196 776 We come now to Heitsi-eibib. As to him, the etymology of his name offers considerable difficulty. Generally, interpreters translate it "prophet," "foreteller," "the one who can predict what will happen." And this translation or etymology is based on cutting Heitsi-eibib up into two words—*Heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order; and *eibe*, before, beforehand, previously. Consequently Heitsi-eibib would mean the foreteller, the prophet. Here, again, as we remarked in the analysis of Tsûi||goab, if the word Heitsi-eibib is so transparent as to be so easily explained, the whole mythology in regard to him would collapse into a meaningless and insipid fable. We therefore must look for a more satisfactory and rational explanation.

To the linguist it will be quite clear that only two roots, *hei* and *ei*, are contained in the word *Hei-tsi-ei-bi-b*; all the other syllables are suffixes. *Hei* means everything that belongs to the *wood or shrub line*, anything that has a wooden nature. We have thus hei-b, a pole, a stick, a staff, a collection of trees (German, *Gebüsch*); hei-s, fem., a tree, and hei-ī, a tree in general, a piece of wood, or a shrub. From this *hei* we have derivatives like *hei-χa*, rich in wood, full of shrubs, full of trees; heitsi or heisi, wood-like, having the appearance of a tree, (as adjective derivative), and heirab, the juice of the mimosa tree (gum arabic). But there is also a verbal derivative, *hei-sī*, to send a stick (from hei, stick, and sī, to send)—that is, to order, to send a message. This *sī*, to send, must not be mixed up with si, suffix pronominal

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and suffix adjective, which is identical with our *ly*. With *si*, to send, the following compounds are formed:—*Asi*, to cause to drink; asi gomana, bring the cattle to the water, let the cattle drink; daisi, to nurse, *i.e.*, to cause the child to drink, to put the child to the breast. Thus, to come back to *heisi*, it signifies, originally, to send a stick, a staff, and then, to send a message, to order. Chiefs, if they send a man with a summons to another person, give the messenger, as a credential, their staff, the emblem of their power; hence the name heisi-aob, the staff-bearing man—*i.e.*, the messenger. The man summoned is simply touched with the staff and he has to follow immediately. Here, however, we have not to do with the verbal derivative *hei-si*, to order, but with the adjective derivative heisi or heitsi, wooden, wood-like, having a tree-like appearance. For we have the form Heitsi-eibib, and not Heisi-eibib. Only the adjective suffix *'tsi* can change into *si*, and *vice versâ*, but the verbal form *si*, to send, could never change into *tsi*. Thus, we have Geitsi|gubib (masc. sing.), name of a mountain, and ǂKharisi|gubis (fem. sing.), also a name of a mountain; ||gūtsi||gubib (masc. sing.), the male frog; ||gūsi||gūbis (fem. sing.), the female frog; sirtsi|gūbib (masc. sing.), the male bat; sirsi|gubis (fem. sing.), the female bat. But *asi*, to cause to drink, or *daisi*, to cause to suck—*i.e.*, to nurse, or *heisi*, to send a message—could never be transformed into *ātsi*, *daitsi*, *heitsi*, maintaining the same meanings as verbs. Therefore *Heitsi* in *Heitsi*-eibib is the adjective derivative suffix for the masculine gender, and the only correct translation therefore is, *tree-like, or similar to a tree.*

The fact also that the other and shorter name of *Heitsi-eibib* is *Heigeib*, Great-Tree (from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, great), forces us to translate *Heitsi* into *tree-like*. In the sequel we shall see that this *Heitsi-eibib* is identical with *|Gurikhoisib*, whose other name is ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb. And of this person the Lion, in our second chapter,

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196 says: ||*Khū*!*nomab*, *Mimosaroot* has killed me. And be-
776 sides, on the graves of *Heitsi-eibib*, as we have had repeatedly occasion to show, branches of trees, pieces of wood, and flowers are strewn as an offering.

These evidences are strong enough to defend our position against any insinuation in favour of the translation "to send a message."

We have now to analyse the meaning of *eibe* or *eibi*. *Eis* or *eib* means the surface—for instance, !*hub-eib*, earth's-face, orbis terrarum; *eis* or *eib* also means appearance, likeness; for instance, ||*eîb* *eiba* ta ho‡ui tama, I do not find out his appearance—*i.e.*, I do not identify him, I do not know him. Then we have the names *See-eis*, !*Hom-eib*, ‡*Khoa-eib*, *Aniχa-eibib*, all containing the root *ei*, with the meaning face, appearance, likeness. Consequently the only correct translation of *Heitsi-eibib* is, "the One who has the appearance of a tree," and this tree is the magnificent *Dawn-tree*. When, especially in our latitudes, we look towards the East at daybreak, who, if he has any love for the grandeur of Nature, does not admire those beautiful beams and rays shooting up from a central point like the gigantic branches of a magnificent tree.

776 The points of comparison between Heitsi-eibib and Tsûi||goab and ||Khāb are here again very striking, and leave no doubt as to their being identical. All three come from the East, and this is why, as already stated, the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the deceased are also placed towards the East, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess waggons place them in such a position, that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Khoikhoi, when asked for the reason why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsûi*||*goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi-eibib*, came from the East." Both are invoked as "*Father*" or "*All-Father*." Every prayer commences *Sida* Itse, or Abo-Itse. Both

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are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. 776
They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.

Heitsie-ibib, however, is full of tricks, and his character 773
is not altogether blameless. The sacred legend accuses 835
him of the same crime as that for which Hippolytus and Œdipus have become famous.

It is impossible to deny that the story of Heitsie-ibib committing rape on his mother, taken in its literal meaning, is very repulsive, and not at all in accordance with the code of morals and decency among the Khoikhoi. The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called [10] Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry of indignation against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom was cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged.

The myth of Heitsi-eibib and his mother is certainly not 773
of a recent date; it could not even have been formed at the time when those abstract words "humanity, purity, truth, faith, self-respect, friendship, love, decency," and many more of those beautiful abstract expressions with which the Khoikhoi abounds, were formed. It is one of the oldest mythological relics brought down to us, like an erratic block, and shows that there was a period, below the first layers of culture, when the feelings of morals and decency among the Hottentots were still a *tohu wabohu*, similar to a period in the primitive history of our own race.

The Namaqua, from whose lips I gathered that legend, told me that when he heard it from his grandfather, the

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old man was of opinion that the story was a very repulsive one. Such things were not done now. This shows us that the story must be a very old one. But if we take the trouble to divest it of the repulsive crust which language and mythology in their natural decay have formed around it, we shall find this old myth intelligible, and discover a meaning in the most meaningless, and a taste and a flavour in the most insipid.

A few pages back, I identified *Heitsi-eibib* with the moon. If we now transfer this legend from the earth to the sky, we shall soon discover that it is nothing else but an illustration of what passes in the journey of the moon from the first quarter until it is the full moon, and back until it is the last quarter.

At first Heitsi-eibib is a baby, and his mother carries him on her back in the Hottentot fashion. A look at the evening sky, when the crescent disc of the moon appears almost above, or on top of the sun, no doubt gave rise to the idea of a mother carrying her child. He is dirty like a helpless child, and the mother who carries him receives a share of the filth. This we translate into our language: The sun sinks into the hazy horizon, into the banks of mist, her face is no longer clear, it becomes dusk, even small patches of clouds appear before her. Then, when the other people are absent, *Heitsi-eibib* gets big, and throws his mother to the ground, and covers her. In our modern style we should say: Every day the moon grows bigger until we have the full moon; the stars are not to be seen, they are absent in the daylight. At the full moon, when that planet has reached her greatest size, the sun sinks immediately below the horizon, her light disappears, and the glorious light of the moon rules now on earth, where formerly sunlight ruled.

Heitsi-eibib then becomes small again, he resumes his former childlike appearance, his mother does not take notice of him, she throws him aside. This, again, everybody can observe how, from full moon to the last

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quarter, the moon loses in size, until at last nothing of ǁKhāb is to be seen. His mother, the sun, has thrown him away.

I have, in the preceding pages, also drawn a comparison between *Tsūi|goab*, the Dawn, and *Heitsi-eibib*. In Greek mythology we meet with a similar interpretation of the changes produced in Nature by the rising and setting sun. Œdipus marries Jocaste (the Dawn), after he has killed his father Laios (the Night). Still more striking is the similarity of ideas in the myth of Hippolytus and Phædra, when compared with Heitsi-eibib and his mother. Delbrück has most ingeniously endeavoured to prove this legend to be the explanation of the phenomenon we see passing every month in the sky, between moon and sun.

The Khasias in North-western India have also brought sun and moon into connection, accusing him of being inflamed with love for his step-mother, the sun, who throws ashes in his face. And for this very reason it is that we see the spots in the moon.

The Esquimo also accord to the moon an unnatural love for his sister the sun, who smears some mud over his face to frighten him away.

On the Isthmus of Darien we also meet with the superstition that the so-called man in the moon is guilty of incest with his sister.

The various ideas which different nations have entertained about the moon, and also about the so-called man in the moon, are very curious. It is impossible to give here a survey of all the superstitions and legends of this kind. The most interesting may, however, here find a place. It is very peculiar that the moon and the hare are brought into connection in various parts of the world. Besides the Khoikhoi, the Herero, a Bantu nation in South-west Africa, have a superstition, that, if it is the last quarter of the moon, Omueze uanos' ombi—that is, the moon—has burnt the hare (Hahn, "Hererogrammatik," p. 155). In Germany

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171 (Westfalia, Soester Börde) the country people say, that if a
773 hare screams in the daytime, he is asking food from the moon. Adolf Bastian tells us somewhere that the Japanese see in the moon a rabbit pounding rice in a mortar. The late Hans Conon von der Gablentz, the great commentator of Ulfilas, showed me a drawing of a Chinese coin, on which was to be seen a hare sitting under a bush, and the moon above it.

Benfey, in the "Panchatantra," relates an Indian fable, according to which Indra puts the hare into the moon (Benfey, "Panch.," 1,348, 2,549). The Roman Catholic missionaries, Huc and Gabet, travelling in Central Asia, came to a city where the feast of the moon-cakes was celebrated. Their host, a disciple of Buddha, gave to each of them a cake on which the likeness of a hare and the moon was imprinted. In the Hitopadesa, the hare represents himself to the king of the elephants, as the messenger of the moon. In fact, one of the Sanskrit names of the moon is *çaçin*, "the one with the hare" (*vide* Benfey, "Sanscrit-English Dictionary," çaçin and çaça-dhara). The god of the moon is often represented sitting in a carriage drawn by two antelopes and having a hare in his hand. The natives of Ceylon also pretend to see a hare in the moon. In Saxony an old nurse told me that a hare was to be seen in the moon. Also, if a child is born with a split lip, or a so-called hare-lip, in Northern Bavaria and in Westfalia, and in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, the nurses will ascribe it to the influence of the moon. Shakspeare evidently must have known also some of these superstitions regarding the moon, when Caliban says to Stefano, "I have seen thee in the moon!" Be this enough. It would, indeed, fill a small volume to enumerate all the various ideas each nation entertains about the moon.

Garubeb.

006 This name of Heitsi-eibib is a mere local appellation

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This name of Heitsi-eibib is a mere local appellation 776
in use among the ! Kora of the Middle Orange River and 196
the River of ||Haintas. An old !Kora at the convict station, Cape Town, told me that !Garubeb often died and rose again; that on his grave are strewn branches and stones; that he was a great chief, and possessed plenty of cattle. The etymology of the name does not offer great difficulty. *!Garu* means *spotted, tufted.* !Gā is grass; !garu, therefore, is what grows in *tufts*, like grass. Here, in South Africa, it is a characteristic of the grass that it does not equally cover the whole ground, but that it stands about in tufts. Evidently the word *!gamirob* comes from the same root, *!ga*, from which !garubeb, and !garub, the leopard (the spotted one), derive their origin. Stars mean accordingly *the dots, the points*, those who stand *in tufts*. The myth says also that Heitsi-eibib's mother became pregnant in swallowing the juice of a certain grass. We can now either translate !Garubeb, *the grass-man*, or *the spotted-one*. I am, however, more inclined to adopt the latter interpretation, and that for the following reason:—In the preceding pages I have shown the identity of Heitsi-eibib with ||Khāb, the Moon. A look at the moon's spotted face explains easily the name, !garubeb, the spotted-one. Whether the ancient Khoikhoi saw in the spots of the moon a great many grass tufts, I cannot say, but it is not imposaible.

Tūsib.

Tūsib is also a local name for Tsūi-!goab, or, better, !Nanub. Tū means *to rain*. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the *green shining* colour over the earth (*vide* note in second chapter, Tūsib).

!Gurikhoisib and ǂEiχa!kha!nabiseb.

Like Heitsi-eibib, !Gurikoisib, or, as he is also called, ǂEiχa!kha!nabiseb, defends the Khoikhoi against evil-

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776 196 doers, especially against the Lion. The etymology of |Gurikhoisib offers no difficulty. |*Guri* means *single, only, alone.* Khoi-si-b derives from the root *KHOI*, meaning *man*; with the suffix *si* it has a more collective meaning, like *mankind*; therefore, |Gurikhoisib, means the only man, the first man, primitive man. Here the worship of the Supreme Being and ancestor-worship have become amalgamated.

The name ‡Eiχa|kha||nabiseb consists of three words —‡eiχa (from ‡ei), brass-like, |kha, body, and ||nabiseb, the back-bone; thus the whole name conveys the meaning: "The man whose body has a brass-coloured back-bone." This is the lightning, who descends from heaven (|homi), or from the cloud (|nanub) to the earth. [302] Here we have, perhaps, the explanation why the Khoikhoi women on certain occasions anoint themselves with red ochre, and also for the purposes of worship make marks with red ochre (torob) on certain sacred stones and cairns.

782 302 I remarked previously that we have reason to believe that there was among the Khoikhoi also a period when *human* sacrifices formed a part of their offerings. They still cut off a finger. I shall not be surprised if continued investigations corroborate the idea that the painting of the sacred stones with red ochre was merely an act to replace the cruel offering of human blood by a simple symbolical ceremony. It may also be that the red lightning, in killing a man, and thus demanding blood, might in the commencement have led to human sacrifice; and that the red colour of the lightning and the bloody sacrifice together afterwards introduced the use of red ochre or other red paint into the worship of the Khoikhoi. I have already quoted in the second chapter from Ludolf's "Commentary," p. 228, "Uxores solere conspergere caput dei *terra rubra.*" In place of this terra rubra (red ochre, *tōrob*), they also use frequently the red tannic juice of the Acacia giraffæ.

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The Ostiaks, when they kill an animal, rub some of the blood on the mouths of their idols. Even this seems at length to be replaced by red paint. Thus the sacred stones in India, as Colonel Forbes Leslie has shown, are frequently ornamented with red. So also, in Congo, it is customary to daub the fetishes with red every new moon.—*Vide* Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," p. 270.

ǃUrisib and ǃUrisis, Tsēb and Sūris.

The myth tells us that ǃUrisib is Heitsi-eibib's son. The root of this word is ǃū, as it is still preserved in the ǃAi Bushman, where it originally means the egg, and white. Certainly the word ǃū served, in the second instance, to express the colour *white*, and the ostrich egg, of which the contents are eaten, of which the shell serves as a water-cask, and of which the Bushman makes his ornaments, is *white*. Here in our myth is ǃUrisis, the Sun, the white one; but as the shape of the *Sun* is round, and as its colour is white, it is not unlikely that it was originally called *the egg par excellence*. According to the Khoikhoi custom of giving the son the name of the mother, the son of ǃUrisis was *ǃUrisib—i.e.*, Tsēb, the day, the daylight. ǃUrisis, the white one, however, is again called *Suris*, the Sun. Suris gives the root *su*, to broil, to be hot; Soris or Suris, therefore, means the broiling-one, the heating-one, the inflaming-one. Derivative forms from *sū* are *sūi*, to boil, *sūs*, the pot, or the boiling instrument. *Sureb* or *soreb* (masc.), *sores* (fem.), the lover, the sweetheart, the one who is inflamed—viz., with love, or who inflames with love; *Soregu*, to court, to fall in love, to be in love.

It is now obvious that ǃUrisis is Soris, the wife of Heitsi-eibib Tsūi‖goab, the Dawn, and that the son of this marriage bond is ǃUrisib—*i.e.*, Tsēb, the Day, or Daylight. The etymology of the word *tsē* is very obscure, and will never be unveiled. I have searched in vain for a satisfactory explanation, and, failing in this, I addressed

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Mr. Krönlein, a missionary who pretends to have some knowledge of the Khoikhoi. He told me that he derives *tse* from *gei*, to grow, to develop. This is quite unscientific, as there is not a single instance in the Khoikhoi idioms of the *g* changing into *ts*. It seems that the original root is quite lost, and so is its meaning. I shall, however, make some suggestions of my own, that perhaps may lead those who still labour among the Khoikhoi on some track.

[194] We have numerous instances in Khoikhoi that *ia* contracts into *e*; and we have also the fact that *ts* has worn off into *s*; again, we have the instance that *e* and *i*, in forms like *bi* and *be*, or *si* and *se*, are promiscuously used. If we now reconstruct *tse* we shall get the form *tsia*; tsia then becomes *tsē* or *tsī*; and *tsī* becomes *sī*. Now we have in Khoikhoi the verb *sī*, to come, to arrive, to approach. I have, in the analysis of the name Tsūi‖goab, shown that ‖goa means to come, to approach, and here we have only in tsēb another form, which in meaning is identical with ‖*goab*, the approaching one—viz., day. I wish, however, to be clearly understood; this derivation is a mere suggestion, and nothing more, but I claim for it a greater possibility than one would claim for such an etymology as is offered in *tse* from *gei*.

ǂ*Gama*ǂ*gorib*.

Almost identical with ‖*Gaunab*, the opponent of *Tsūi*‖*goab*, is ǂ*Gama*ǂ*gorib*. The etymology of this name offers great difficulty. ǂ*Gama*, from the root ǂ*gā*, signifies to sink down, to fall down, to drop, by sinking down to enter the ground; but it is also transitively used to throw down, to put into the ground, to plant. ǂ*Gori*, again, from the root ǂgo, *to go to one side, to jump out of the way, to give road*. For instance, if a person meets another, the one will say to the other, ǂ*go*, make room, give way, go to one side; therefore ǂGamaǂgorib is *the one who in falling down, or throwing*

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himself down, always moves to the side. This is certainly nothing else but the lightning, whose nature it is never to go in a straight line, but always to go out of the original course. We previously stated that the ǀGurikhoisib was also called ǂEiχaǀkhaǀnabiseb, and we interpreted this name with Lightning. ǀGurikhoisib is a good Being, but ǂGamaǂgorib is a bad Being, and so is ǁGaunam.

We need not be surprised at such idiosyncrasies in mythology, and especially in the so-called *lower mythology.* This is only a repetition of the maxim that the religious sentiment of mankind originally saw in Nature the working of demons; and that only after a higher state of culture the idea of a good Being is developed. After the evidence produced, we must admit that the Khoikhoi mythology, although it bears in many respects comparison with the myths of Greece and Eran, must be classified with the *lower mythologies,* for the simple reason that the Khoikhoi language has not yet left the agglutinative stage.

Ghosts and Spectres—ǀHaiǀnun and Sobo-khoin.

The ghosts and spectres are called ǀHaiǀnun, fawn-feet, or Sobo-khoin, men of the shadow. These words are of a very simple etymology. As to fawn-foot, ǀHai ǂnub, we also say in German, *ein fahles Gespenst* or *fahl wie ein Gespenst.*

ǀHaũǀgaiǀgaib, ǂAmab and ǀ̃Oas.

ǀHaũǀgaiǀgaib and ǂAmab are also mythological persons, but their derivation is not quite clear to me. The same, ǀ̃oas, the hare, which certainly has nothing to do with ǀoã, to mourn, as some interpreters explain it; rather it may be derived from ǀ̃oa, to oppose, to go against somebody, to meet.

ǀKhuausti, the Pleiades.

It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of

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|Khunuseti, the Pleiades.

821 196 It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of this name. |Gu, or |khu, or |go, and |kho, also |ko and |ku, in the various Khoikhoi idioms of Great Namaqualand, mean close, next; hence |khu or |gu, to come, to heap, to cluster, to join; |gu-khoib, the nearest man —*i.e.*, neighbour; |gu-se, adv., closely; |gure or |gore to approach the gods—*i.e.*, to pray, as we have in German, *Jemanden angehen;* in Latin, adire deos, adire regem. From this |gu or |khû we have the derivative |gunub (|khunub or |kunub), meaning both finger and reed, and also joint of the finger and joint of the reed. Thus the original meaning of finger is the one who closes himself up to the other, the one who approaches the other, the one who joins the other—*i.e.*, the join-er, the link, the branch, the twig; and speaking and thinking in the way of a primitive man or a child—nay, even in our own phraseology—are not the fingers the twigs and branches of the hand? Hence, also, a shrub-like acacia, which branches off like the fingers of the hand, is called in the plural form |kununti and |kunuseti. Here we have the same name for the accacia and for the Pleiades, and I think we are with this in the possession of the key to unlock the original meaning of the name Pleiades. |Khunuseti, or |kunuseti, the Pleiades, mean exactly the same as the Latin Vergiliæ—that is, the stars of the offshoots, the stars of the branches (Jupiter Viminius). As we have seen in the second chapter, at the return of the Pleiades, Tsûi|goab is particularly invoked to give rain. After the rain, the earth shoots forth herbs; branches link to branches, and leaves join to leaves. This is the one explanation of |Khunuseti.

But |Khunuti is also applied in the meaning of branch, lineage, family. Thus, I once heard a man speaking of the |Khunuti—*i.e.*, families of a clan. In the Orion myths we have |Khunuseti, the Pleiades, the daughters of Tsûi|goab; and if they are the daughters, the Father's—*i.e.*, Tsûi|goab's—name must have been |Khunusib. Thus, we get |Khunuseti, the *Offshoots*, the *primordia* of

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the Khoikhoi. Now in Khoikhoi the clan or tribe is never called after the father, but always after the mother; the same with families. Thus we have the Nama-s, ǀAmas, ǁKhaus, ǀGami‡nus, ‡Khaχas, never Nama-b, &c., in the masculine form as a tribal appellation. Thus ǀKhunuseti means nothing else but primordium, *Uranfang*. This explanation is supported by the fact that the Pleiades, like Tsûiǁgoab, the All-Father of the Khoikhoi, come from the East, where the Khoikhoi say is their "*Fatherland*." Very curious to say, in Zulu we have Uthlanga—that is, reed. It is not impossible that, as so many things and customs have been adopted by the southern Bantu from the Khoikhoi, this Khoikhoi word also, *ǀKhunusib* or *ǀKhunuseti*, was misunderstood or, better, misinterpreted in a one-sided way, which lay nearest to the grasp of the Zulu mind; and thus ǀKhunusib Uthlanga was explained reed, while it meant offshoot. Thus it is that the Zulus say they take their origin from Uthlanga, the reed. Inquiring from the natives of Great Namaqualand the true meaning of ǀKhunub and ǀKhunuseti, I received the following explanations:—

(1.) Those who stand together.
(2.) Those who are heaped.
(3.) Those who stand together like fingers.
(4.) Those who cluster together.
(5.) The thorn-stars.

This latter explanation again brings to our mind the name the Lion gives to ǀKurikhoisib Tsûiǁgoab. He calls him ǁKhuǀnomab, Root of the Thorntree.

Now, I do not mean to say that my explanation is absolutely right, but I can at least claim as much right and notice for it as others claim for their explanation of this name. My opinion is also supported by the fact that the Khoikhoi calculate their time according to the rainy season. With the setting-in of the rains commences their year, a new turn of life. We can also now understand the meaning if it is said of Tsûiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib

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that they are possessed of plenty of cattle, The Pleiades in a certain sense represent a flock. Dr. Callaway correctly remarks that the meaning of Uthlanga has been lost, while the word has come down to the present generations. And it is the same with the word ǀKhununseti. That the Namaquas have not borrowed this name from the Bantu (Herero) is quite obvious, because they have been too short a time in contact with the Herero, who, besides, have no myth about Uthlanga, and also have no clicks in their language. In ǀKora we have the form kūseti (contracted from ǀkunuseti), and in Cape Hottentot we have ǂgōti and ǀkūti (contracted from ǀgonoti and ǀkunuti). This confirms beyond doubt that the Khoikhoi not only had the same name for the Pleiades previous to their separation, but that, in those remote days, there already existed among them a sidereal mythology and worship. In the second chapter we saw that in George Schmidt's time, at the return of the Pleiades, the same prayer was uttered which is still annually heard among the heathen Khoikhoi of Great Namaqualand.

Among the Israelites ideas seem also to have existed which connected the Lord with the Pleiades and Orion. "Seek him," says Amos (v. 8), "that maketh the Seven Stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into morning, and maketh the day dark with night: that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: the Lord is his name."

And again, "Which maketh," says Job (ix. 9), "Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades." And the same author (xxxix. 31) asks: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?"

[This translation is not quite in accordance with the Hebrew text. It should be, "Canst thou *join* the *links* of the Pleiades?"]

It is certainly to be considered of extraordinary importance that the Pleiades and Orion are mentioned

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together; it cannot be merely accidental. And of the Lord the same Prophet Amos says, "It is He that buildeth His stories in heaven?" And have we not heard and seen, in the second chapter, how Tsūi||goab also buildeth his stories in heaven?

As to the connection of the Pleiades with the religious ideas of the various nations of the world, it is certainly a strange coincidence that they, or, better, the brightest of them, Alcyone, a star of the third magnitude, were considered to occupy the apparent positions of the central point round which our universe of fixed stars is revolving.

We have also to note what Max Müller says in his "Lectures on the Science of Language" (London, 1866, vol. i. 8), and especially the foot-note 5:—"In the Oscan inscriptions of Agnone, a Jupiter Virgarius (djorei verehasioi, dat. sing.) occurs, a name which Professor Aufrecht compares with that of Jupiter, who fosters the growth of twigs (Kuhn's "Zeitschr." i. 5, 89). This explanation is more analogous to the idea of the Khoikhoi, where Tsūi||goab is invoked for rain, that the grass and bushes may grow.

Professor Max Müller certainly has his reasons for deriving πλειάδες from πλέω, but after what has been explained in the preceding pages, I think no objection could be raised as to a derivation from the form πλείων (comparative); and thus πλειάδες would mean, "those who are in a heap, those who are many." The πλειάδες, or priestesses of Zeus at Dodona, sang, "Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be a great Zeus." Here the Supreme Being of the Greeks, Zeus, is also brought into connection with the Pleiades. We speak of a "Song of the Spheres" (*German, Sphärengesang*), and the Psalmist says, "The heavens declare the glory of God."

Now, why were the priestesses called πλειάδες, generally translated *pigeons*. Here, like Uthlanga and |Khunuseti, the original meaning was lost, and the word

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only brought down to posterity. A certain kind of pigeon was called πελειάς. Pigeons are, as Plato would say, ζωᾶ πολιτικά; they are always in numbers, in heaps. In the woods around the Temple of Dodona were numbers of pigeons, which were under the protection of Zeus. And when the original meaning of πλειάδες (the "heaped stars") was forgotten, the word πλειας (pigeon), derived also from the same root, was applied to the priestesses who sang the "Hymns of the Spheres" and were called pigeons. When this etymology was forgotten, the circumstance that at the rise of the Seven stars on the eastern horizon the shipping season commenced, the phonetical coincidence of the root of Pleiades and the word πλεῖν (to navigate) led to the new explanation, "the shipping stars." We may be almost certain that the name πλειάδες existed long before the Greeks thought of crossing the Mediterranean and the stormy Pontus Euxinus.

This explanation of mine is merely a suggestion, on which I shall be glad to learn the opinion of competent etymologists in the Indo-Germanic realm.

Conclusion.

121 My task so far is done. My intention was solely to produce such evidence as to prove the strong, but hitherto unjustly underrated, religious sentiment of a race of men of whom it is generally believed that they belong to the lowest of the low. Although, on the one hand, these myths must be grouped among the *lower mythology*, it does not follow that the religious sentiment expressed in them should not be strongly developed. Before the Khoikhoi called *Tsūi ǁgoab* (the Dawn), ǁ*Khâb* (the moon), or *Heitsi-eibib* (Dawn tree), Gods, it was first necessary to form a clear idea of the *Godhead*. And this they have done in a most emphatical way; the name ǀKhūb, the Lord, the Ruler, bears testimony to that. This name was formed long before the tribes

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separated to migrate to the right and left, and we are correct in presuming that at that time their religious ideas were much purer than we find them now, where various circumstances have worked to accelerate their annihilation. /21

If religion means faith in a "Heavenly Father" who is near to his children in their troubles; if it expresses the belief in an almighty and powerful Lord, who gives rain and good seasons; if it involves the idea of a "Father of Lights, from whom cometh down every good gift and every perfect gift, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;"—if this father is an avenger, who sees everything, and punishes the bad and the criminal, and rewards the good; if religion manifests that craving of the heart after the Invisible, if not here on earth, then in a better world to see Him face to face; if it indicates a sense of human weakness and dependence on the one hand, and an acknowledgment of a Divine government on the other;—we cannot for a single moment hesitate to assign to the Khoikhoi the same place in Nature that we claim for ourselves. The great gulf which separates man from the animal kingdom is the gift to express the feelings and yearnings of our heart in articulate speech. This gift, in a very great measure, cannot be denied to the Khoikhoi.

The time has passed when we could build up science by lofty theories. What we require are positive facts. Such facts as regards the Science of Religion in reference to the Khoikhoi I have tried to produce. I only regret that they are so few, owing to the difficulty a traveller has to contend with, if he searches for those precious jewels which are the most sacred and dearest to the human heart. I shall, however, feel amply rewarded if, in the shape offered, they will be of use to the student of the Science of Religion, and if they have opened to us new avenues into the pre-historic intellectual and religious condition of the Khoikhoi. I have only produced the

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ore, and done my best to clean it; the student must mould it into shape. For the purpose of facilitating a better understanding, I have now and then made an excursional trip to other races, and pointed out the striking resemblances between those nations and our Khoikhoi. If, however, somebody should be induced to infer from this that I belong to that class of scholars who, for the sake of upholding some biblical dogma, grasp at such analogies, I beg herewith most emphatically to protest against any such insinuations. It has not been done to claim anthropological or ethnic relationship for the worshippers of Tsūi||goab and those of Dyaus or Jehovah or Buddha. Nothing could be more opposed to my scientific views, which in ethnological and mythological matters may be condensed in the following words—"The same objects and the same phenomena in Nature will give rise to the same ideas, whether social or mythical, among different races of mankind, in different regions, and at different times." And if this be correct, which I have no doubt it is, we have thus to explain the *psychical identity* of human nature.

I hope that these pages may be an impulse to missionaries to look deeper into the eyes of a Hottentot. Perhaps they may discover some more sparks of the primæval revelation. Missionaries, I regret to say, are so apt to treat the heathen gods as demons or evil spirits (*Abgötter, Götzen*). It is also very wrong to teach the heathen so eagerly, as is done by certain missionaries, our dogmas, and to tell them of the differences of Calvinism and Lutheranism. There is something like fanaticism in this—a zealotism which can never bear fruit. To them, also, the poet gives the warning:

> Grau, Freund, ist alle Theorie
> Und ewig grün des Lebens goldener Baum.
>
> (Grey, friend, is all theory,
> And green the golden tree of life.)

The abode of true religion—I mean of the true yearning

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and craving after the Infinite—is our heart, which becomes deaf and dumb as soon as it is surrounded by the mist and clouds of dogmatism. The key-note of true religion is love—a key-note which is never touched in the fanatical controversies of our modern dogmatists.

What I have said I mean, "without offence to any friends or foes." I do not pretend that my comments and inferences are absolutely infallible, so as not to admit of the opinion of others. And I shall be glad to hear such opinions, little concerned whether my own views be overthrown, as long as it will serve to solve one of the most interesting, but at the same time most difficult, problems —namely, the discovery of the Origin of Religion.

The greatest satisfaction to me, however, would be if this little book will induce my countrymen to look with a different eye at the natives, especially at the unjustly cried-down Hottentots, the gipsies of South Africa. They undoubtedly possess every disposition for social improvement, but the dearth of water in South Africa, which always compels its inhabitants to renew their wanderings, has precluded any density of population, one of the most necessary factors for the progress of civilization. We should never forget that the social condition of our Teutonic ancestors at the time of Cæsar was little better than "that of the Khoikhoi, but their language was even then Aryan in dignity." "But as the Greeks had to learn that some of these so-called barbarians possessed virtues which they might have envied themselves, so we also shall have to confess that these savages have a religion and a philosophy of life which may well bear comparison with the religion and philosophy of what we call the civilizing and civilized nations of antiquity" (Max Müller, "Hibbert Lect.," 70).

To judge from the fragments we just had before us, we can clearly see that the Khoikhoi very early, long before their separation, had an idea of the Supreme Being, whom they all invoked by the name of Tsŭi-!goab,

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just as the name Dyaus was used among the ancestors of our own race, and has been handed down to us, to our historical times. Certain it is, also, that hand in hand came the decay of the nationality went a retrogression and decay of the religious ideas. I do not speak too boldly if I maintain that the Khoikhoi language, if its makers would only have had the necessary inducement, must have become an inflecting language. And then the intellectual vivacity of the Khoikhoi, combined with their mythopœic power, undoubtedly would have produced as charming and fanciful mythologies as we admire in the myths of Eran, Hellas, and Thule.

NOTES TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

[1] Confer Pott: Die Sprachen vom Kaffer und Kongostamme, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, ii. 5–26, 129–158. Hans Conon von der Gabelentz on the same subject in the same Proceedings, i. 241.

[2] Max Müller, "Chips," ii. 262.

[101] [3] ǀAva-khoin—*i.e.*, Redmen—is a name which the Khoikhoi often employ, chiefly in order to distinguish themselves from the much-hated black races, whom they sometimes call *χun*, things, or more emphatically, *arin*, dogs.

[4] Theophilus Hahn, Der Hottentotische Tsūiǁgoab und der Indogermanische Zeus: *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1870, p. 452.

[5] The Bushmen whom Livingstone met in the Kalihari told him that death was sleep. Similarly Arbousset tells us about the notions of the Bushmen of Basutoland, and the same idea is entertained by the ǀKham Bushmen in the Northern Colony.

[6] Zuiver water is a corruption, for the correct word is "*Zypelen*," to filter.

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[7] In South African Dutch the Igubib is called broek-karos, the trouser-shaped cover or skin. The word broek is Dutch, meaning trousers, and karos is a corrupt form of the Khoikhoi kho-ro-s, a diminutive form of khōb, skin, hide.—*Vide* On the Formation of Diminutives, Theoph. Hahn, "Sprache der Nama," § 20, 1.

[8] On the suffixes mi, m, bi, b, *see* Theoph. Hahn, "Sprache der Nama," p. 29.

[9] Suffix tsi, *vide* Theophilus Hahn, Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentoten, p. 45 im *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden," 1868, n. 1869, vi. and vii.

[10] *Orlam.* The meaning of this word is not quite clear. At present this word signifies in South African Dutch a shrewd, smart fellow. Thus they say, "Die kerel is banje orlam" (that fellow is very shrewd). Those Hottentot clans who left the Colony, and now live in Great Namaqualand, call themselves *Orlams*, in distinction from the aborigines, the Namaquas, and by this they mean to say that they are no longer uncivilized. If, for instance, they give a traveller a man as a servant, they say, "He is very *orlam;* he is not *baar*" (he is very handy; he is not stupid). In the North-western Colony, about the mission station Steinkopf, lives a large family of the *Orlams*. They manufacture stone pipes, and are Bastard Hottentots, who say that a trader, by the name of Orlam, came about a hundred years ago to Little Namaqualand, and afterwards stayed amongst the Namaquas and married a Hottentot girl. The truth is, that about 1720 there was a man at the Cape of the name of Orlam, who had come from Batavia. He was a trader, and visited chiefly Little Namaqualand and the Khamies-bergen. Peter Kolb, in his "Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum" (Nuremberg, 1719, p. 818), explains Orlam to be a corruption from the Malay Orang lami (old people, people who have experience—*i.e.*, shrewd people); and Baaren, he says, is a corruption of Orang bari, meaning "*new hands*," without experience. Bari, how-

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ever, is a good Dutch word, which we meet with in the various Teutonic languages; thus English, bare (barefaced, barefoot); Anglo-Saxon, bar, boer; Swedish, Danish, and German, bar; Dutch, baar; O. H. German, par; meaning uncovered, destitute, naked, raw, without anything. A. Wilmot, in his "History of the Cape Colony" (1869, p. 134), seems to have followed Kolb, because he says (1727) there were two classes of people in the service of the Company in India and at the Cape, named *Orlam-men* and *Baaren*—the former of whom consisted of well-known persons who had served for several years, and the latter of new-comers and comparative strangers, &c. Then, in a foot-note: "From a corruption of two words in the Malay language—Orang lami, an old person or acquaintance; Orang baru, a new person."

THE END.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[2] THIS volume is the first of a series designed to provide in a scientific manner a comprehensive survey of what is at present known about the racial characters, cultures, and languages of the native peoples of Africa. The rapid improvement in anthropological technique since the beginning of the century has led to far more complete and systematic studies by workers in the field than had previously been attempted, with the result that a vast amount of detailed information about numerous individual tribes has been rendered available. All this information needs to be sifted and correlated before it will be possible to arrive at a correct appreciation of the data and problems of African ethnology.

To this must be added the increasing public interest in all things African, which makes it desirable that the results of scientific research should be so presented as to be of service not only to the theoretical anthropologist and the specialist student of African ethnology, but also to the general reader and especially to those whose sphere of activity brings them into intimate daily contact with the African Native. To the administrator, the missionary, the economist, and the educationist, each in his own way now moulding the life of the Native into conformity with the standards of European civilization, a thorough knowledge and understanding of the people with whom he is concerned is an indispensable preliminary to the successful execution of his task. It is the hope of the editors that applied anthropology no less than the purely academic science will find in this series the groundwork upon which it may build for the future.

The series has been so planned as to take into consideration cultural rather than political boundaries. Each volume is written by a specialist in full touch with current anthropological thought, and with an extensive first-hand knowledge of the areas and peoples with whom he is dealing. In the presentation of material special prominence will be given to the descriptive analysis of social organization, manners, and customs, economic and political life, religion and magic, as it is felt that, apart from their greater theoretical interest, a full critical discussion of these cultural aspects and the part they play in the life

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121 of the people is the main contribution that anthropology as a practical science has to make to the future government and well-being of Africa. The wider problems of racial movements and the diffusion of culture, in the analysis and interpretation of which lies the key to the ethnological history of Africa, can only be dealt with adequately once each separate cultural division has been studied in detail. These and the contactual relations existing and developing between Europeans and Natives will form the theme of the concluding volume.

J. H. Driberg.
I. Schapera.

This present series of books on Africa is not a publication of the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures. It could not be so, since work was begun on it before the plans of the Institute for its own publications had been settled. The Institute, however, welcomes this series very warmly, not only because the authors are members of the Institute and help it substantially in many ways, but also because the Institute naturally takes the keenest interest in all scientific publications dealing with African peoples and languages. Such publications materially assist the furtherance of its work, and this is particularly true of the present series. It is not the purpose of this short preface to make a critical study of the books included in the series, but I can say without reserve that they present an instructive and invaluable survey of the peoples of the continent of Africa, which will be most welcome to both the anthropologist and the practical man, and will therefore meet a real need. That they will find many friends and attentive readers among the members of the Institute is certain.

Professor Dr Diedrich Westermann,
Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

Berlin,
April, 1930.

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superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

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STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.Lit.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[101] 114 The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[161] The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

● 121 Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

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121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

123 161 177 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more ; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty ; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man ; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab ; Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100 ; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned " Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of " a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* " a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Go:tis* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

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revealed any satisfactory means of separating the Bushmen from the Hottentots physically." He therefore believes it more serviceable for the present " to regard the Bushmen, Hottentot and Strandlooper as members of one and the same racial group, i.e. the Bush race." Without making specific mention of the Korana, he states that the work of Broom and Allen has revealed the presence and wide distribution of an Australoid element in the Native races of South Africa. This appears to be the most logical way of regarding the matter. Hence it would not seem that Australoid features are *peculiar* to the Korana.

On examining the literature to find what ground exists for these statements about the Korana, no data derived from known living or dead Korana could be found.

As making statements about the Korana, before any anthropometric survey of certifiable specimens was available, seemed to me to be somewhat precarious, I availed myself of the opportunity to examine some living Korana of known parentage to see whether they agreed in physical characters with the published statements.

The foregoing review clearly shows the rather unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Korana. It is therefore important to gather all relevant information which may lead to a real understanding of the physical nature of these people.

Elsewhere in this volume, cultural, linguistic and musical data concerning them have been discussed, and judged according to these standards, there is no doubt that *the Korana are Hottentots*. In the next portion of our study we shall turn our attention to the earliest descriptions of the Korana, to see if new light may be derived from them. The historical method of approach, although seldom used by anthropologists, happens to be of undoubted value in this instance.

It is however essential while discussing the historical evidence to bear in mind the defects inherent in the mode and time of its collection.

In the first place those old observers were not trained anthropologists,—anthropology had not yet been established as a science—nor with very few exceptions, such as Lichtenstein or Holub, were they even medical men. Hence we cannot expect to find any precise anatomical descriptions, but only those of a general and superficial character,—those relating to the colouring or the more striking external features—information in which one may trust the faithful observer, although here and there individual differences in terminology may exist. But when there is a series of corroborative observations, drawn from different authors regard-

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121 ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

127 144 In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. *With Bantu:*

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

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Hitherto I have used the term " Hottentot " without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

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121 (11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the
144 Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this " Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term " San " race as an alternative to " Bush " race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as " Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the " Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

144 What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these " Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

127 Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what
142 we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

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141 Owing to practical difficulties of measurement the nasal index is seen to vary over a wide range but is definitely platyrrhine in all but three cases, (Nos. 6, 8 and 9), one of whom is of mixed descent. Cranial capacities were calculated by means of the Lee-Pearson formula corrected by the addition of 200 cc. (Drennan op. cit.) The figures obtained show a relatively low capacity, all were microcephalic, except the two largest (Nos. 6 and 11), which were mesocephalic. In stature the Links individuals are short, the tallest not exceeding 5' 6" in height, the average for the group is about 5' 3". The Intermembral index was calculated from direct limb measurements. Indices ranging between 72.1 and 87.5 were obtained for Links. Such results in the Korana are remarkable, for, according to Drennan (11), this index in the human race does not go higher than 83, the index for the Pygmy, and in the Bushman it only reaches 67.

To sum up, we may say that, according to this material, the average Links Korana of to-day is a mesaticephalic, microcephalic, platyrrhine, orthocephalic, chamaeprosopic individual, of short stature and fairly dark complexion. He shows little prognathism or eversion of the lips. In fact he is essentially the same in form and features as the type we have learnt to call the " Bush type."

This short resumé of the chief physical features of the Links group should be contrasted with Shrubsall's description of the " typical Hottentot " skull—" a true Hottentot skull may be briefly described as dolichocephalic, akrocephalic, leptoprosopic, mesoseme, platyrrhine, and leptostaphylinic " (33).

If Shrubsall's " Hottentot " standard is to be accepted, it follows that these Links Korana, in spite of the fact that they are Hottentots, are anatomically speaking not Hottentots, but are Bushmen.

114 The position we have reached then is this :—that in the published work of the three earlier writers on the physical anthropology of the Korana, there is nothing to show that their material was of unquestionable Korana origin.

121 142 Hence investigation of persons or skeletal material of definitely known Korana origin is necessary to discover what the skeletal characters of the Korana really are. We know from the historical evidence that the modern Korana are extremely bastardised. They nevertheless did, and some of them still do, present typical " Hottentot " features as defined above. The typical " Hottentot " features persisted in one woman seen at Bloemhof, whom I was unable to measure. She was so like a subject

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of Daniell's, that she could almost have stepped out of the pages of his sketch-book. Her skin was of olive-yellow tint, her face was broad with high cheek-bones, coming to a point at the chin which was so characteristic of the Hottentot of the earlier descriptions. Nevertheless from the somatometrical evidence (i.e. from investigation of a group of definitely known Korana), we can refer *most* of these particular Korana to the "Bush type." They do not conform to the definitions laid down both here and by Shrubsall for a "typical Hottentot."

This may be because (1) of the known Bushman admixture in the Links, or because (2) the typical Hottentot has not been accurately described.

We may rely on the evidence relating to the external features of the "typical Hottentot," for, as we have seen elsewhere, it has been extensively corroborated.

We cannot be so sure about the evidence relating to skeletal characteristics. In information derived from skeletal material a possible source of error may exist. There is no way of knowing in a good many cases the actual origin of such material. The investigator has to take it on trust, unless the pre-burial history is accurately known.

It is in deciding questions that might otherwise be in doubt that field work is so desirable in South Africa.

L. Schultze (36) investigated the external appearance of the "Nama Hottentots" in this way, but unfortunately took no measurements. His results go to show that the Namaqua are also very mixed in their features showing both Bushman and Bantu traits. He mentions that prominent eyebrow-ridges are found in the Nama also.

The presence of two persons among the Links (Nos. 5 and 6) having well-marked eyebrow-ridges, confirms Broom in ascribing "Australoid" features to *some* of the Korana; but in view of Schultze's findings among the Namaqua and the fact that such features have been found elsewhere amongst Bushmen, the possession of Australoid features is not to be considered characteristic of or even common in these Links Korana. These features could have been brought into the Korana by such "Australoid Bushmen," especially as both Links showing eyebrow ridges were Bushmanoid. There is even a possibility that they are Boskopoids. A surprising fact that emerges from these considerations is that there is little trace of Bantu influence apparent in the physical structure of the Links. Yet we know from the historical facts that they have lived in close alliance with the Bechuana for many years.

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always language—it always meant something originally," and *"that it is the essential character of a true myth, that it should be no longer intelligible."*—Max Müller.

"The facts of language, however small, are historical facts, and require an historical explanation." Therefore, I shall try in the sequel of this chapter to give for each mythological name a rational and etymological explanation, inasmuch as I do not care to have these myths considered a conglomerate of meaningless and insipid tales.

In the growth and change of the Khoikhoi mythology we find an analogy to the growth and change of mythology among the Aryan nations. Amongst the Khoikhoi also, as amongst the Aryans, there was a "tendency to change the original conceptions of divine powers, to misunderstand the many names given to those powers, and even to misinterpret the praises given to them. In this manner some of the divine names were changed into the half-divine."[2]

Tsûi||goab.

I shall begin with that name which calls forth even to-day the deepest feelings of devotion and reverence in the heart of a Khoikhoi. *Tsûi||goab*, originally *Tsuni||goam*, was the name by which the Redmen called the Infinite. Modern translators and interpreters, such as serve on mission stations, generally explain it, "*Sore or wounded knee*," from *tsû* or *tsûi*, wounded, sore, and ||goab or ||khoab, the knee. And I myself, some ten years ago, have in a controversial paper,[3] "Der Hottentotische Tsûi||goab und der Griechische Zeus," been in favour of this explanation. After a more careful study of the matter, however, I have now good reason to discard my former opinion, and to replace it, as I hope, by a more reasonable explanation, based on the method of sound etymological investigation. For if the former translation were correct, and if this name by

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only brought down to posterity. A certain kind of pigeon was called πελειάς. Pigeons are, as Plato would say, ζωᾶ πολιτικά; they are always in numbers, in heaps. In the woods around the Temple of Dodona were numbers of pigeons, which were under the protection of Zeus. And when the original meaning of πλειάδες (the "heaped stars") was forgotten, the word πλειάς (pigeon), derived also from the same root, was applied to the priestesses who sang the "Hymns of the Spheres" and were called pigeons. When this etymology was forgotten, the circumstance that at the rise of the Seven stars on the eastern horizon the shipping season commenced, the phonetical coincidence of the root of Pleiades and the word πλεῖν (to navigate) led to the new explanation, "the shipping stars." We may be almost certain that the name πλειάδες existed long before the Greeks thought of crossing the Mediterranean and the stormy Pontus Euxinus.

This explanation of mine is merely a suggestion, on which I shall be glad to learn the opinion of competent etymologists in the Indo-Germanic realm.

Conclusion.

121 My task so far is done. My intention was solely to produce such evidence as to prove the strong, but hitherto unjustly underrated, religious sentiment of a race of men of whom it is generally believed that they belong to the lowest of the low. Although, on the one hand, these myths must be grouped among the *lower mythology*, it does not follow that the religious sentiment expressed in them should not be strongly developed. Before the Khoikhoi called *Tsūi‖goab* (the Dawn), ǁKhâb (the moon), or *Heitsi-eibib* (Dawn tree), Gods, it was first necessary to form a clear idea of the *Godhead*. And this they have done in a most emphatical way; the name ǀKhûb, the Lord, the Ruler, bears testimony to that. This name was formed long before the tribes

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

separated to migrate to the right and left, and we are correct in presuming that at that time their religious ideas were much purer than we find them now, where various circumstances have worked to accelerate their annihilation. /21

If religion means faith in a "Heavenly Father" who is near to his children in their troubles; if it expresses the belief in an almighty and powerful Lord, who gives rain and good seasons; if it involves the idea of a "Father of Lights, from whom cometh down every good gift and every perfect gift, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;"—if this father is an avenger, who sees everything, and punishes the bad and the criminal, and rewards the good; if religion manifests that craving of the heart after the Invisible, if not here on earth, then in a better world to see Him face to face; if it indicates a sense of human weakness and dependence on the one hand, and an acknowledgment of a Divine government on the other;—we cannot for a single moment hesitate to assign to the Khoikhoi the same place in Nature that we claim for ourselves. The great gulf which separates man from the animal kingdom is the gift to express the feelings and yearnings of our heart in articulate speech. This gift, in a very great measure, cannot be denied to the Khoikhoi.

The time has passed when we could build up science by lofty theories. What we require are positive facts. Such facts as regards the Science of Religion in reference to the Khoikhoi I have tried to produce. I only regret that they are so few, owing to the difficulty a traveller has to contend with, if he searches for those precious jewels which are the most sacred and dearest to the human heart. I shall, however, feel amply rewarded if, in the shape offered, they will be of use to the student of the Science of Religion, and if they have opened to us new avenues into the pre-historic intellectual and religious condition of the Khoikhoi. I have only produced the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

ore, and done my best to clean it; the student must mould it into shape. For the purpose of facilitating a better understanding, I have now and then made an excursional trip to other races, and pointed out the striking resemblances between those nations and our Khoikhoi. If, however, somebody should be induced to infer from this that I belong to that class of scholars who, for the sake of upholding some biblical dogma, grasp at such analogies, I beg herewith most emphatically to protest against any such insinuations. It has not been done to claim anthropological or ethnic relationship for the worshippers of Tsũi||goab and those of Dyaus or Jehovah or Buddha. Nothing could be more opposed to my scientific views, which in ethnological and mythological matters may be condensed in the following words—"The same objects and the same phenomena in Nature will give rise to the same ideas, whether social or mythical, among different races of mankind, in different regions, and at different times." And if this be correct, which I have no doubt it is, we have thus to explain the *psychical identity* of human nature.

I hope that these pages may be an impulse to missionaries to look deeper into the eyes of a Hottentot. Perhaps they may discover some more sparks of the primæval revelation. Missionaries, I regret to say, are so apt to treat the heathen gods as demons or evil spirits (*Abgötter, Götzen*). It is also very wrong to teach the heathen so eagerly, as is done by certain missionaries, our dogmas, and to tell them of the differences of Calvinism and Lutheranism. There is something like fanaticism in this—a zealotism which can never bear fruit. To them, also, the poet gives the warning:

> Grau, Freund, ist alle Theorie
> Und ewig grün des Lebens goldener Baum.
>
> (Grey, friend, is all theory,
> And green the golden tree of life.)

The abode of true religion—I mean of the true yearning

everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research in my own special field, permitted, I made it a rule to note down only those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [173] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethno-

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

logical material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn, (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's(70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2nd ed., 1894.

problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

123 161 177 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Go:ti* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

[215] 2. Midwifery

One can gain an insight into the intimate problems in this field only after one has acquired the confidence of the older women after a lengthy stay in the country, making a serious broach of the question possible. Once one has this confidence, one is probably safe from deliberate lies. However, one should never depend on the information of one person, but always test the reliability of what one has heard on other people in different places, without ever revealing the least bit of information which one has already acquired. In this way with time and patience I was able to acquire information that was plausible and not contradictory about a series of points from the natives. It was impossible for me to make direct observations in this area. I have tried to fill out the gaps by having a trusted person show me personally the techniques which I had learned were used with pregnant women, those giving birth, and those who have just given birth.

a) Pregnancy (!kx̃u·i, !go/m, v.). The Hottentot woman does not usually consider missing a period the first symptom of pregnancy, but rather the discomforts of pregnancy, *//gao·rab, such as loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, etc., assuming that the person concerned otherwise does not suffer from these disturbances. The loss of color in the face during pregnancy they designate with the same word that is used for make-up: /ho/bo. Whether the afore-mentioned custom of painting the face originally had some connection with pregnancy is difficult to decide.

The Hottentot women claim that they can definitely determine pregnancy in the second month by massaging the abdomen and by feeling the changed uterus through the wall of the stomach. As soon as pregnancy is suspected, the greased abdomen is massaged 2 to 3 times a week by two women for 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The massage begins at the middle line between the breasts and works downward. They work sideways along the curve of the ribs with wide spread thumbs, and work back again with all five fingers flat, from the area above the iliac crests to the front wall of the abdomen. They listen very carefully to see if they hear a gurgling in the large intestine. If they have found gas, [216] they are satisfied. They push it down on the left side of the body until it escapes to prevent it going "to the head," because there it would produce fever in the woman. The massage ends with a gentle pressing upwards of the groin on both sides of the middle line between the breasts.

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this. 843 826

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October. 843 805 221

b) Delivery. (//ora·s, giving birth, !na·/es, being born; one also hears the word ˢsu/bu·s, relief, ha/s, getting. oa·s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority. 844 [578] [124]

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous !náras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[1] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂĀunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidized by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Àmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[1] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

I add no more. I would not be thought indiscreet through writing what ought to be concealed or revealing state secrets. At the request of the commander in charge of the Cape I have put in writing much that it is worth knowing regarding the life, habits, and condition of the natives both far and near. I am glad that this has pleased the Council of the India Company, and still more glad am I to devote all my efforts and thoughts and sleepless nights to the public good, though I be trampled on.

Now farewell, reverend sir, and may you enjoy lasting health. Be indulgent to this little composition which has been thrown together from my note-books and odd pages of writing. It is a rough sketch, embodying matters of hearsay as well as information gathered from reliable witnesses, written records, authentic documents, and my personal observation. My informants must bear the responsibility for what they say. Many statements have been filtered through the dull ears of four or five interpreters, and then poured forth in a bold, rash, and barbarous style by men who believed they understood what was told them, though they really understood nothing. They interpret badly, but endeavour by their boldness to make themselves believed, and they often contradict themselves. Inevitably they all miss the true sense, and our understanding is darkened and we get false notions of the real facts. I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province, and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus.

I pray God to preserve you long in health and strength for us, and may your love for me not grow cold, for you know that I would give myself, my fortune, and my life for your wellbeing.

[p. 300 is blank]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16] 173

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the "Right Hand" tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great "trek" from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the "Links" or "Left Hand" tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came "from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up." 124 173

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved. 127

[16] *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.
[17] Op. cit. p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure 114
Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates
had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening 126
and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically
correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would
have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conven-
tional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the ani-
mals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies
came other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will
illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large,
South African ant-eater, the aardvark, which animal is very difficult to
shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same
evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot
term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising
word-tone (/kxubu·s), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a
falling word-tone (/kxu·bus). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently
in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the
necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the
language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical
signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding
one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate
similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple.
After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native,
reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once
whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that
the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this
method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the con-
viction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound
relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic
viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of
similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology
and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving
the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks 194

Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and
learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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128 veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

● 126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, */Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to */Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with */anusa*, " correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer */anutama*, " not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, " as it is spoken " among the *//aremŋ// ais* at Bloemhof.

(A). HISTORICAL TEXTS

173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from */Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

193 The Korana people say *huri xu da na xã /kũ* " we come from the
167 sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xã* means " to trek in order

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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114 Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

●126 534 Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the "Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

534 A drum, named */khais*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called *//hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper " *The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added " You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele:ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

533 [114] [115]

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

534 184

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

534

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour : " *The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

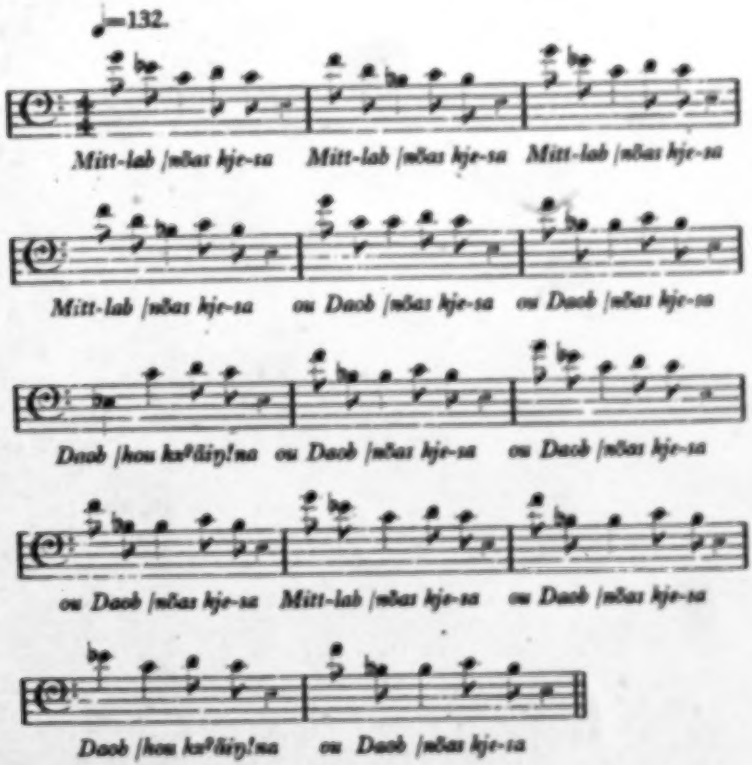
533 126 115

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana
126 texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first
115 was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

533 Ex. 3. *Mittlab /noãs kjesa*
539



This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mittlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Old Daob ! It is his cow !
Daob ! You have a beard all over your face !

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

FOREWORD.

114 Olfert Dapper, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Dapper and his wife Trijntje Heeres, was born in Amsterdam in 1636. Of his private life very little appears to be known.* The available records show that he registered as a medical student at the University of Utrecht in 1658, but there can be little doubt that he soon abandoned his studies and took to writing. The degree of M.D. which adorns the title pages of his books seems to have been conferred upon himself by his own authority; there is at any rate no record of his graduation, nor of his having ever practised medicine. All his energies must have been devoted to reading and writing, for in his comparatively short lifetime (he died in 1689) he produced a number of large and important works. His first book, an historical description of Amsterdam (1663), said to be far superior to anything previously done on the same subject, was followed by a Dutch translation of Herodotus (1665). From now on he seems to have applied himself with indefatigable zeal to learning all that he could about foreign lands. As a result of his studies he composed the great series of geographical works upon which rests his fame. The first to appear was a description of Africa (1668), which met with so favourable a reception that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to geographical writing. In 1670 appeared an account of the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Far East, followed by an exhaustive study of Asia (three parts, 1677-1680), and finally by several works on the Near East.

Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, dealing as it does at considerable length with the topography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the whole continent and its adjacent islands, was long regarded as one of the most authoritative early accounts of Africa. For many years after its first publication it was freely quoted, translated and plagiarised. Even so well known an authority on early Cape affairs as Abraham Bogaert, who visited the settlement six times, has in the chapter he devotes to the Hottentots in his *Historische Reizen door d' oostersche Deelen van Asia* (1711) drawn practically all his 114 information and many of his actual sentences from the pages 127 of Dapper. And yet, like all Dapper's other geographical works, the account of Africa was essentially a compilation.

*The biographical details here given are based upon the short sketches of Dapper in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 7, and Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

[p. 1]

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127 He does not appear to have ever left Holland to see with his own eyes any of the countries he describes. For his material he relied solely on printed sources and on memoranda specially prepared for him. That this circumstance does not guarantee the accuracy of his work is obvious. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that he ranged very widely in search of information, and that he had a shrewd eye for relevant detail. His work was comprehensive and painstaking, and as the first great compendium of modern knowledge about Africa it became deservedly famous.

The pages dealing with the Cape and the Hottentots are based to some extent upon the anonymous *Klare ende Korte Beschrytinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (Amsterdam, 1652), itself a compilation, which he pillages freely enough when it suits his purpose. He also used very sparingly the records of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595). The bulk of his information, however, is not to be found in any contemporary published account. He says himself in the foreword to his book that most of what he relates, especially about the tribal divisions, manners and customs of the Hottentots, is derived from manuscript accounts sent to Holland by a certain "diligent observer" at the Cape, and that he has added only a little from printed sources. In his text, too, he refers several times to information sent over by men on the spot.

Theal, in a brief notice of Dapper's book,* points out with justice that the pages dealing with the Cape seem to have been prepared by someone who was not there at the commencement of the occupation, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was obviously studying the customs, manners and language of the Hottentots. He goes on to suggest that Dapper's unnamed correspondent was probably George Frederick Wreede. There is much to be said in favour of this attribution.

Wreede was a runaway German student who enlisted in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and came to the Cape in 1659.** Here he devoted himself to a study of the Hottentots. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and was often employed as an official interpreter and messenger to the Hottentot chiefs. By November, 1663, he had compiled a vocabulary of Hottentot words with their Dutch equivalents, which the commander of the Cape forwarded to the

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*History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795, iii, 378.

**On his life and career cf. Theal, op. cit, ii, 139-141, 196-197; Godée-Molsbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika, i, 213-4.

Directors of the Company in Holland, with the request that it might be printed and some copies sent back to the settlement, where it would be useful. The Directors, though more anxious that the Hottentots should learn Dutch than that the settlers should become familiar with the native language, promised to have the work printed; but the promise never seems to have been carried out.* The manuscripts of the vocabulary are no longer preserved in the Archives of either Holland or the Cape. It is generally believed that they were lent to the historian Ludolf and never recovered, for in a biography written of him by Christian Junker and published in 1710 there is a long Dutch-Hottentot-Latin vocabulary whose source is not mentioned, but which is now universally attributed to Wreede.** The latter was rewarded for his studies with a small grant of money, and offered promotion by the Directors to any branch of the Cape service that he wished to select. He was ultimately appointed commander of Mauritius, where, after some vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death by drowning in 1672.

Wreede therefore seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with information about the Hottentots. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that the account upon which Dapper drew was written about the time that Wreede's vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663. Thus of the old chief Gogosoa he says, "In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old"; he speaks in the present tense of Herry, who died in 1663, and of the Chainouqua chief Soeswa, who died in 1664; he says (erroneously) that the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa died in 1661, but does not name his successor; he gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later; and so on. Whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede cannot be ascertained; it is equally probable that he may have obtained the latter's account of the Hottentots through the famous Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen, to whom many of his books are dedicated, and from whom, incidentally, Ludolf is supposed to have received the loan of Wreede's Hottentot vocabulary.

Dapper's informant certainly managed to ascertain a good deal more about the Hottentots than had previously been known. His long list of tribes, with the careful description of their known habitations and rulers, is the

*The relevant official correspondence is reprinted in Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 271-78.

**This vocabulary is reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 215-84.

114 first ever printed, the more authoritative list compiled by
127 van Riebeeck being of course preserved as manuscript in the Archives and not published for more than two hundred years. The discrepancies between the two lists seem to show clearly enough that neither Dapper himself nor his informant had access to the official records. His general account of Hottentot life is far more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, and reveals an intimate first-hand acquaintance with the people; while much of the information, especially in connexion with religion, legal procedure and marriage customs, is completely new. It deserves special praise for the way in which, passing lightly over customs simply quaint and curious, it discusses in detail the ordinary, daily life of the people, a feature which modern ethnographers too are now beginning to emphasize as of outstanding importance. With all its inaccuracies (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots.

114 The passages here reprinted from his pages on the Cape are those referring directly to the Hottentots; his description of the country, its climate, botanical and zoological resources have been omitted as irrelevant to the scope of this volume. The text followed is that of the second edition (1676, Tweede Deel, pp. 251-260, 263, 268-278), which, except that misprints have been corrected and several other slight errors rectified, is substantially the same as that of the first edition (1668, pp. 626-636, 643-653). The translation is the first complete one ever made into English. John Ogilby's *Africa* (London, 1670) was based largely upon Dapper's work, and its information relating to the Hottentots (pp. 576-583, 589-595) was all taken from the latter; but a good deal had been omitted, and much of what remains had been paraphrased. I have made no attempt to reproduce Dapper's rather laborious style or employ any corresponding archaisms. Mr I. W. van der Merwe, M.A., Lecturer in Nederlands and Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town, was kind enough to read through my translation and help me over some puzzling passages, but for the final version here printed I must assume all responsibility. I have occasionally taken the liberty of modernizing Dapper's punctuation, which in the original is apt to be confusing; and have used most (but not all) of his marginal notes as paragraph headings.

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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I add no more. I would not be thought indiscreet through writing what ought to be concealed or revealing state secrets. At the request of the commander in charge of the Cape I have put in writing much that it is worth knowing regarding the life, habits, and condition of the natives both far and near. I am glad that this has pleased the Council of the India Company, and still more glad am I to devote all my efforts and thoughts and sleepless nights to the public good, though I be trampled on.

Now farewell, reverend sir, and may you enjoy lasting health. Be indulgent to this little composition which has been thrown together from my note-books and odd pages of writing. It is a rough sketch, embodying matters of hearsay as well as information gathered from reliable witnesses, written records, authentic documents, and my personal observation. My informants must bear the responsibility for what they say. Many statements have been filtered through the dull ears of four or five interpreters, and then poured forth in a bold, rash, and barbarous style by men who believed they understood what was told them, though they really understood nothing. They interpret badly, but endeavour by their boldness to make themselves believed, and they often contradict themselves. Inevitably they all miss the true sense, and our understanding is darkened and we get false notions of the real facts. I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province, and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus.

I pray God to preserve you long in health and strength for us, and may your love for me not grow cold, for you know that I would give myself, my fortune, and my life for your wellbeing.

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11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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115 Leask, I discovered *!Korakje* at Witpoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Shepperd Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

127 In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomatapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Marais and Roos, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had " absented " himself from his post of scribe in the Company's service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Kei or Great Korana, bounded towards the north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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ing away from the main body of the Hottentots that had settled on the west and south coasts of South Africa? Wikar, alert observer though he was, does not seem to have troubled himself with these questions, for he records no evidence that might have solved them.

Of the subsequent travellers of the early times who visited the Korana—Truter and Somerville (1801), with their Secretary Borcherds, Lichtenstein (1805), show the same lack of curiosity as Wikar. Even the all-observing and accurate Burchell, (1811-2), is silent on this problem. We must come down to Rev. Campbell, of the London Missionary Society, to find a passing and indirect reference to our questions. He records the words of Cornelius Kok, the Bastard leader, who was in an exceptional position to know, as he came from the Western Province and Namaqualand, that "he had never heard of individuals of that nation living within the limits of the Colony."[1]

As we might expect, we can find no documentary evidence here. But the Korana themselves, like the other Native tribes of South Africa, have preserved traditions on the subject of their original home, which have been recorded for us by the early travellers and missionaries, or are to be unearthed from the Blue Books or other official publications. But it is well to be on our guard against accepting traditions, thus collected, wholesale and without due criticism, if we are to found definite conclusions on the evidence they may afford. First, the unreliability of popular traditions in matters of detail is notorious: a succession of distinct and separate historical events are found telescoped into a shorter series, thus abolishing the adequate notion of time; deeds performed by a multitude of heroes are ascribed to one commanding personality; the strict historic sequence of events is inverted; a more serious handicap—the Native mind has no conception of our calendar dates or of the stricter divisions of time. He does not count in years, but by generations, generally taken to be equal to thirty or twenty-five years by European interpreters. These are some of the wellknown vagaries of popular tradition.

In the second place, in the very early times the hasty traveller collected what he could and, not being necessarily trained in the stricter methods of research, was not always too critical. Leading questions to Natives always produce the desired answer and it is easy to overlay Native tradition with false colours, if the collector is unwary. Reliance on interpreters, where ignorance of the Native language makes it necessary, may be another source of the perversion of the evidence. All these

[1] Campbell, 1820. II. p. 260.

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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River.
173 He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kora*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for Kora died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[2]

115 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the
173 Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[3] He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

[2] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[3] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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173 .... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora ; hence the people were called Koranas."[6]

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station : " The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony " and he adds what seems his inference : " the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas."[7] Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Massow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

127 But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions ? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes : the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachoqua*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.[8] Of these, Stow has asserted that the *Gorachoqua*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the Dagverhaal, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from Arbousset, corroborating it with vague

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[6] *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.

[7] B. M. B. 1850, p. 212.

[8] For a full discussion, see my study " The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1931, p. 489 ff.

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stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriŋ ǁais*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (=*!Kuriŋ ǁaikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Caepman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. *passim*

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1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The " trek " of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.[12]

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taaibosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.[13]

3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the " riem " episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.[14]

4. The official records make no mention of the " trek " of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.[15]

5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederich Wuras collected from a very old Kora " near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called " *Chei am ⁰aub* " was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

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[12] Moodie I. 445.
[13] See genealogical lists further on.
[14] Md. I. p. 318.
[15] See " The *Lost Tribes of the Cape*," p. 498-499.

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them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16]

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the "Right Hand" tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great "trek" from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the "Links" or "Left Hand" tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came "from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up."

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved.

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[16] *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.

[17] Op. cit. p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

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121 ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

●127 144 In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. *With Bantu:*

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

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progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his " dagverhaal " (diary) he mentions the " tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, " daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it. 127 ● 144

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that " what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that " many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language " (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the " Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana " and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them " the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

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high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only.

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman..... The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage.... They fought ..... after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen:*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd " In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

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Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hareena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that " Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen." 127 144

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that " the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that " there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (25) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Korana among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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127 144 Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (merkmalen) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

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Hitherto I have used the term " Hottentot " without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

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121 144 (11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this " Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term " San " race as an alternative to " Bush " race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as " Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the " Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

144 What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these " Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

127 142 Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

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present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26). 127 142

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch kommen rötlichen variatäten haufiger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremde Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with. 127 144

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour. 127 142

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144 Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

192 144 Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of "Bush" admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical pepper-corn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

142 Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had "Bush" characters.

127 192 Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original "Hottentot" type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood: "Auch *Kaffer-blut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in beträchtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

127 Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other "Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

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the Korana as such, Australoid features being widely distributed throughout South African tribes, as Allen himself, Dart and others have shown (cf. Groutfontein "Bush" skull and the Snyderskraal skull mentioned in Allen's paper). 127

The data tabulated here (vide table) are from measurements made on living Korana of the Links tribe, taken according to directions contained in Stibbe (35) and Drennan (11). I have appended Fritsch's measurements and some figured from Shrubsall for comparison. My results differ somewhat from Fritsch's, possibly owing to the fact that his are from the skeleton and not the living subject, or more probably because they are drawn from another tribe—the Boshof Korana. But as neither Fritsch nor Shrubsall make any attempt to show that their material is of undoubted Korana origin I do not know how far such comparison is valid.

Out of the score of adult Korana we found, eleven were actually measured—of the eleven subjects examined, seven are, as far as we know, of "pure" Korana parentage, two are of mixed Griqua-Korana, one of Korana-Bechuana, and one of Nama-Korana descent. No. 2 is a supposed Korana skull, which I was enabled to measure through the kind offices of the Rev. H. R. Higgs of Bloemhof, from Schweizer-Reinecke, one of the last strongholds of the Korana. A study of the data given here reveals that the subjects examined, while not conforming to our definition of a typical "Hottentot" yet share certain features in common. Thus the cephalic index shows *mesaticephaly* bordering on dolichocephaly, three (Nos. 5, 7, and 13) of them are actually on the dolichocephalic side. Nos. 5 and 7 are "pure," No. 13 being of mixed descent. It will be noticed that No. 9, of Griqua-Korana parentage has a high cephalic index. 127 191

The cranial height index (length-height index) is more variable. Most of those examined were *orthocephalic*, one (No. 1) chamaecephalic, and three (Nos. 6, 10 and 11), all "pure" Korana, were hypsicephalic individuals (Nos. 6 and 11) were, as we have seen, not so characteristically "Bush" in their physiognomy, and also show some slight differences from the others in skeletal characteristics, e.g. the greater cranial capacity consequent on the larger dimensions of the head, the presence of a supra-orbital torus in the man, and their greater stature as compared with the other members of their group. These divergences may be Bushoid or Australoid affinities, but we are scarcely justified in thus describing them until after further investigation. The upper facial index is uniformly *chamaeprosopic*. 191

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] "!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the "!garisab plant."

> "When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [123]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called "!gu/bi-b or "xam#xa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai-/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called #oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, 538
in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a peo- 128
ple of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the [522] stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is 538
possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are 128
mentioned here in advance once and for all: 193

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kʻka	-gu
euphonic	-ha, -s		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-ta
Neuter	-t	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-s		-na

538 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles,
128 are:
193 i used very generally.
a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.
go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.
nĩ designates the future.
ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.
hã designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsĩ with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mĩ, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsĩ I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsĩ with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gĩrib tsĩ ǂami tsĩ ǂhĩras tsĩna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsĩs gye go ǂnãĩ, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsĩ gye go ǂnãĩhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word ǁa. In this case one can regard ǁa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gõati ǁa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this ǁa can be

dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 538 128 193

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness 538

In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call ǂʼaiǃgã́ʼmṹʼǁab, because its eyes (mṹʼti) are not in its face but on the back (ǃgã́ʼb) of its feet (ǂʼaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called ʻkǁoē-oren (kǁoēb ʻman,ʼ ʻo-re ʻto run up and devour the buried preyʼ). The man-eating female has in addition the special name ʻ/gãũ-ǂbes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears.ʼ The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-tikǁoēseb,

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

624 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

EDITOR'S NOTE

000 This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor [114] L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language ; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people ; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

128 The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. *or* B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. *or* Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

[p. 101]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Die erste Reise in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

128 veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, */Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to */Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with */anusa*, " correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer */anutama*, " not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Khois*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given *without the least alteration, just as I heard it* spoken. *I have* introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, " as it is spoken " among the *//aru nu// ais* at Bloemhof.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from */Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 167 The Korana people say *kuri su da na nâ /hâ* " we come from the west, migrating in search of better pasture." *nâ* means " to trek in order

Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentots" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people. 101

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65) 175 619

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony; they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the captaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of 131 619

the nineteenth century, five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Na‿ma·n is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are: 131 68

1. The ǂAo·/nin or !Go·/men, who are sometimes called *!Na·ranin by their neighbors because of their gourd (naras) fields, the Topnaars of the Boers.

2. The !Kχa·ragai·kχoĩn, shortened to !Kχa·r(a)kχoĩn, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.

3. The //Ha·bobe·n or Veldskoendragers.

4. The !Ga·miǂnũ·/n or Bondelzwarts.

5. The //Kχau·/gõa·n or Zwartbooĩs now settled in the northern kookoveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The //Kχau·ben or the Rooĩ Natie.

7. The /Kχa·ro‿õ·an or the Tsaibochen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop.

8. The //Ogain or Grootdooden.

b) *Gũ‿nũn is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The !A·maĩn or Bethanie Hottentots.

10. The /Hai·/kχau·an or Berseba Hottentots.

11. The /Kχo·besin or Witbooĩs.

12. The Gai·/kχau·an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes.

13. //At·χa//a·en or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, 1/4

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes *must still to* some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

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[facing p. 446 (a)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Bushmen FX10

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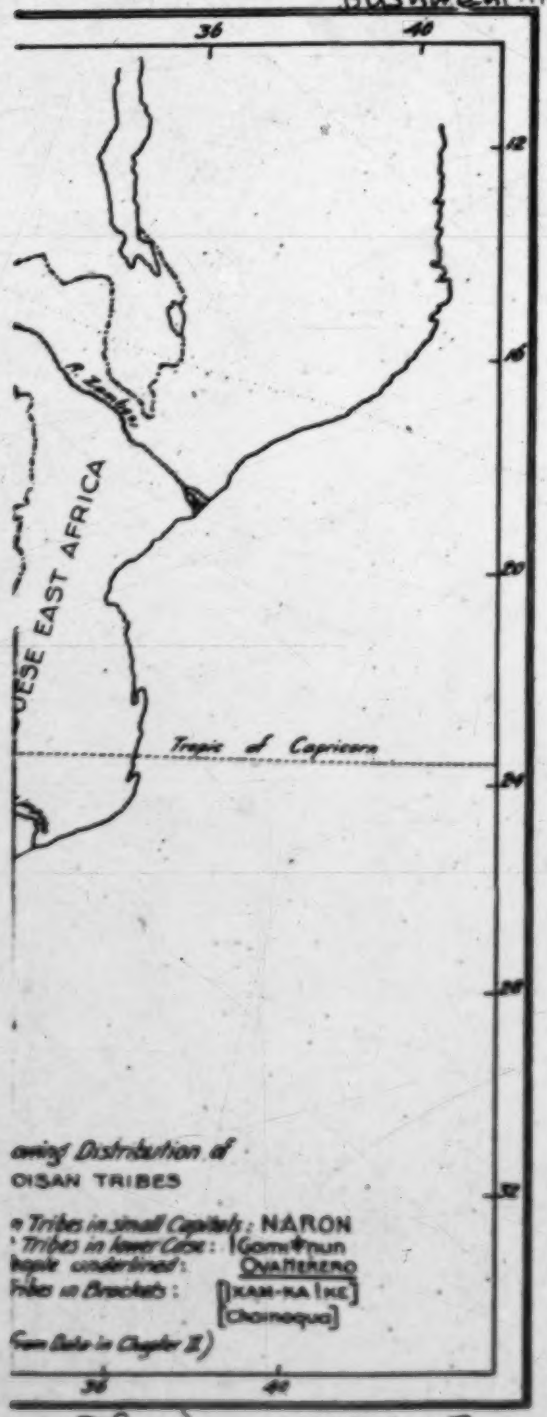

[facing p. 446 (c)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[facing p. 446 (4)]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOTS OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA[1]

BY A. WINIFRED HOERNLÉ

101 THE people with whom this paper deals live in the territory known to-day as the Protectorate of Southwest Africa. They form one branch of the people known generally as the Hottentots, but from the very earliest days of the Dutch settlement at the Cape this branch of the Hottentot peoples has been called the Namaqua, and Nama is the name by which they call themselves to-day. The meaning of the word is unknown, but it is, according to tradition, the name of a remote ancestor of all the tribes calling themselves by the name. The old form, Namaqua, is probably derived from the dual form, *Nomakka*, *Nomaŏ* being the masculine singular, *Nomas* the feminine singular, and *Noman* the common plural.

101 To the early Dutch settlers two groups of the Nama were ●131 known, viz., the Little Namaqua, inhabiting what is known to-day as Little Namaqualand, and the Great Namaqua who inhabited what is to-day known as Great Namaqualand. Both of these groups of people at times visited the settlement at Table Bay,

104 [1] In transcribing the Hottentot words, I have used the system of E. Meinhof's *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Choi Khoin*, Berlin, 1909, as this is the system used by the Nama themselves nowadays in their writing. It is not strictly accurate always from a phonetic point of view, especially for the breathed pronunciation, but it is the conventional script of the Nama, and in this paper which is not concerned with phonetics it seemed best to follow it.

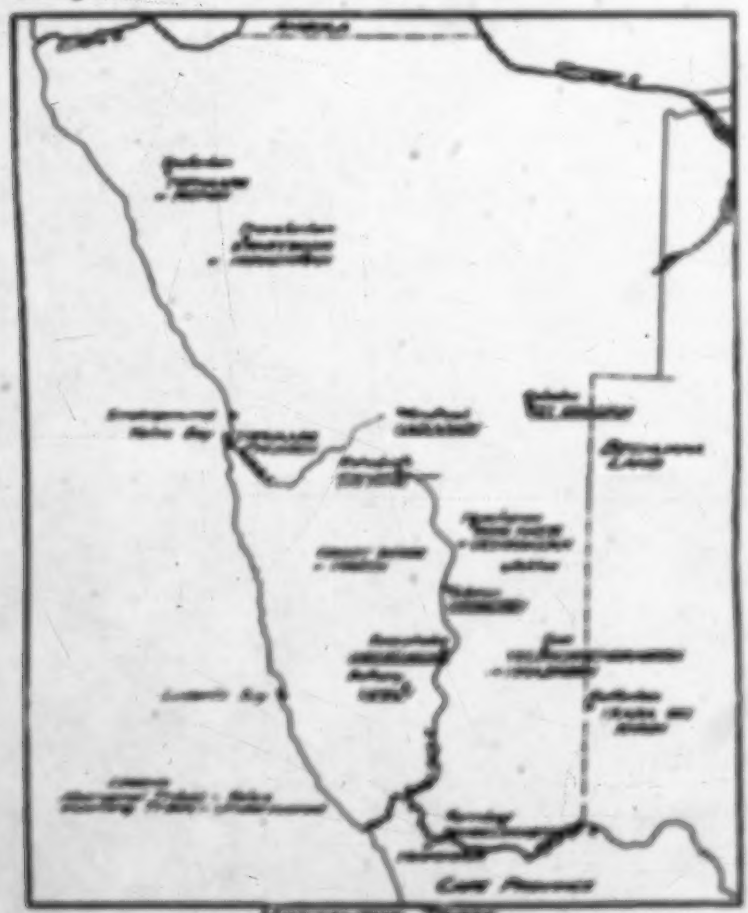
There are three tones in Nama each of which may give an entirely different meaning to an otherwise identical word. ' indicates a low tone, ' a medium tone, " a high tone. In order not to complicate the manuscript, I have indicated these tones only where it is essential in order to avoid confusion in the reading.

~ is the sign of nasalizing; ◦ indicates a long vowel; X indicates a harsh guttural *ch* something like the Dutch *ch*.

' / indicates the dental click, ᵖ the palatal, / the cerebral, // the lateral.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

101 and their area of migration seems to have been a very wide one
131 in the early days. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of the Hottentot peoples, and early in historical times they settled definitely in the country to the north of the Orange river.



HOTTENTOT TRIBES IN THE SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

131 The whole area of the Southwest African Protectorate is approximately 322,450 square miles, and Great Namaqualand

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 18. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Geddes-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, I, 46-61.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Here I shall not attempt to relate a regular history, my intention being to confine myself within the limits of a journal. Did these people spring originally from Ham, the son of Noah, with the exception of some Arabs of the stock of Shem who entered Africa later on? Or did the native races in Africa increase and multiply, and living frugally in a place unknown to fame, and denied sustenance for their numerous population by an unproductive soil, frequently send out their youth in quest of new lands to settle, until, it may be, these emigrants, spreading far and wide unobserved, finally settled in the remotest shores of Africa? These questions are not so important for us to answer; let us content ourselves with learning their ways of life and their dealings with others. But as a preliminary to this we must inquire for a little while into the nature and situation of the land they occupy.

CHAP. I.

The Situation of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Promontory known as the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the southernmost point of Africa. Its longitude, in respect of the Straits of Gibraltar, is 39 degrees, 35 minutes; and its latitude, in respect of the Hesperian Promontory and Ouerdane (?) is 34 degrees and 30 minutes. It was discovered in the year 1486 by Vasco di Gama, sailing under the protection of John, King of Portugal.[*] Its mountains tower up to heaven, but are barren and very unfriendly to man. The tribes here are little blessed with crops, lying under the influence of niggard stars. The barren land stretches out vast and formless in pure sandy deserts, with herbage ore thrusting through the surface, unrelieved by the blessings of vegetation, but friendly rather to thorns and thistles and rough briars, whose by assiduous and prolonged cultivation it be made to yield pasturage, which even then is but scant. Apart from the sandy wastes it consists of huge stony mountains with here and there a plain. Worthy of note, then, is a certain wide level expanse with a circumference of about three miles, where a bloody battle once took place, and which is called in consequence

[*] The Cape of Good Hope was first "discovered" by Bartholomew Dias in 1487, and doubled again by Vasco da Gama in 1497, on his famous voyage to India, the first by the Cape sea-route.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. IX.

Their relations with other peoples.

Who the people are that neighbour the Hottentots is not yet known; those who venture a word about the negroes (popularly called Kafirs) depend more on hearsay than on the witness of their own eyes. Thus one of our officers would have it believed that he learned the facts I shall now mention from the most remote branch of the Hottentot family, to whose territory he had been sent with a guard of six men. These Hottentots differ widely from the rest in their ways, although they are not yet known by a special name; and they told him, says our officer, that between them and the negroes lies a broad river which they cross in boats made out of hollowed tree-trunks in order to exchange goods [1]). The Hottentots are separated from one another by no boundaries.

CHAP. X.

Physical Characteristics.

The human race as a whole, apart from local and national peculiarities, is provided at birth with a character proper to itself; but no less wonderful is it that every single individual of the species, down through the ages and among so many peoples, should be supplied by nature with his own personal lineaments, distinct from those of other men, expressive alike of the inner and the outer man, and constituting an indelendable difference between one individual and another. Thus the Hottentots as a race have everywhere a dark and swarthy skin, as if scorched by the sun, and are generally endowed with a dry, warm blood. Yet the faces of some show much fairer, departing from their native dusky hue. Nevertheless the blackest are the loveliest in their eyes, and they think themselves never so finely adorned as when they sprinkle divers coloured earths upon their hair, or rub them, mixed with fat, upon their faces. For in this region there is a mountain that produces colours, which if carefully worked might perhaps be profitable.

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[1]) I have been unable to identify this officer or the journey to which reference is made. It may possibly refer to Riewertsz Cruse, who with fifteen men landed at Mossel Bay in 1668 and went eastwards overland as far as the Gourits R., bringing back reports of the Attaquas, "a little similar to the Cape Hottentots, but well supplied with copper and beads, which they obtain from another nation dwelling further east and somewhat darker" (D., Nov. 28, 1668).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaibosches and the Links were then still living together.

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaibosches and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabak*, *Matiti* and *Trieb* all agree that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Barlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Doukin River is disclosed by Hamuna to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this " hiving off " occurred in this intervening period.

Hamuna was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Konnab on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Doukin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the " Doukin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east " renders identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Doukin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River.

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[1] Campbell, 1813, p. 130-2.
[2] Campbell, 1820, II. p. 284, and Appendix III in Vol. II, pp. 348-351.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133

miles, without peninsulas of any size or any large islands off its coasts.[1] By far the greater part has an elevation of over 3,000 feet above the sea, while the area below 1,500 feet is merely a narrow fringe round the coast. Most of the interior consists of a high plateau region, rising gradually around its borders and passing by degrees into an encircling belt of much diversified country. The escarpment which bounds it on the south-east, south, and west is continued by the Drakensberg Mountains of the Transvaal, the Drakensberg or Quathlamba of Natal and the Transkei, the Stormberg of the north-eastern Cape Province, the Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Roggeveld, and Kamiesberg further south and west, and is continued northwards under less well-known names to beyond the Kunene River. These mountains appear to be of no great height when viewed from the interior plateau, but on the seaward side they fall steeply, though rather irregularly, to the much lower level of country on the west and south.

On the west, as far south as the Olifants River, the escarpment is separated from the ocean by slopes of a more uniform nature, but in the south the Great Karroo and long ranges of fold-mountains (the Cape Folded Belt) intervene between it and the coast. The coast-line on the west is generally low, almost unbroken by bays or promontories, and beaten all the year round by a heavy surf; on the south there are several prominent headlands, which, however, afford little protection to ships. The only good natural harbour of any size is Saldanha Bay in the south-west, but at Walvis Bay, Table Bay, Algoa Bay and other places ports have been constructed.

H B 132

The general characteristics of the climate are determined more by the physical conformation of the land than by proximity to the equator. The eastern escarpments of the high plateau intercept the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, so that over the greater part of the interior the rainfall is slight (5 to 24 inches). This, added to the elevation of the land, makes the climate in general dry, bracing, and suitable for Europeans, notwithstanding the fact that the northern part of the country is within the tropics. Owing to the gradual increase of altitude from the coast to the interior, there is a remarkable uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the region: at

[1] The description given above is compiled mainly from the following sources: S. Passarge, *Südafrika*, 1908, chaps. *Klima* passim; L. Schultze, "Südwestafrika," in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, 1910 (ed. H. Meyer), vol. ii, pp. 129–208; *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 1914, vol. iii "Africa", chaps. 1–10; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 2, 1918, esp. chaps. 8 and xxvii; *The South and East African Year Book and Guide* (ed. A. S. Bourne and C. G. Brown), 1929 edition, pp. 13–98 and passim.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

very many places, irrespective of latitude or longitude, it is very close to 63° F., which is also the mean for the entire area. The difference between mean summer and mean winter temperatures is, however, considerable, increasing from the coast inland, while the daily range of temperature is also generally great. Frosts are common on the plateau during winter. H B 132

By far the greater part of the country receives the bulk of its rainfall in summer. The winter rainfall area is confined to a comparatively narrow strip parallel with the west coast, and the constant rainfall area to a much smaller belt in the south. Generally speaking the amount of precipitation decreases from east to west, with areas of heavier rainfall along the south coast and in the south-west. The average annual rainfall of about 24 inches is fairly regular all over the eastern half of South Africa, reaching a maximum of 40 inches in Zululand, and diminishing gradually along the south coast to rise again in the Cape Peninsula. It rapidly falls to 10 inches in the south-western Karroo, from which there is a steady decrease towards the north-west in South-West Africa, but the mean value is again approached in Angola and in the northern and eastern Kalahari.

This contrast in the amount and incidence of the rainfall tends to explain very largely the lack in correspondence of the principal river-systems in the south and west respectively. On the west the rivers are few, and only the Kunene, Orange, Olifants, and Berg are perennial, of which the first two, the largest, not only rise within centres of high rainfall, but also receive no important contributions throughout the lower part of their courses. In the south, owing to the moderately high winter rainfall, the smaller rivers rarely cease flowing, but all the important ones, such as the Gouritz, Gamtoos, and Sundays, actually originate in the interior region of summer rains behind the coast ranges and pass through the latter to the sea by means of deep gorges. They receive insufficient water in their courses across the Folded Belt to maintain a constant flow at all seasons, and in times of drought may become a series of pools. H B 133

Since most of the larger rivers rise upon the interior plateau, their gradients, over stretches, are high; sometimes there are waterfalls, such as the Ruacana on the Kunene and the Aughrabies on the Orange, while rocky bars or rapids may occur in their channels within the coastal belt or just before it is reached. In consequence of this great slope, and of the intermittent supply of water, none of the rivers is navigable beyond its estuary. The mouths of the rivers

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain.

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another.

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface.

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached tambuti grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Karst region is a tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaus and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanam plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinanib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari.

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaus. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 22 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north.

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

H B 133 flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

H B 137 Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaux and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grewia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca* Grah., the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Irideae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Ornithoglum* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

H B 132 133 South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shows the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

of the Orange River is very dry. The evel arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaux and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit.

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles.

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the seasons are all inconstant. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 134

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H B 133

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 500 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea.

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 50 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°.

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *Inaras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur.

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood.

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX18

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short summary is given by Dr. R. I. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 6, pp. 31–40. Cf. also Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–60.

4: Hoernlé 'E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

MRS. R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, B.A. (*née* MISS A. W. TUCKER).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

312 361 731

NOTE.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalised *n* for the same reason.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

pleasant by reason of the trees along its banks, 6. Elands Kloof river.* These rivers, with which this region is copiously irrigated, are, for the most part at least, very wholesome with their sweet sun-warmed waters. 133

On the 17th October I visited the extensive gardens of the noble Company, the abundant source of fresh supplies to visiting ships. It was a lovely sight with its plantations of lemons, citrons, and oranges, its close hedges of rosemary, and its laurels, equal in height to a tall tree, all fragrant in the sun. Through it runs a river that rises at the foot of the mountain, the waters of which are the cause of its smiling fertility. It is the very essence of greenness set in the midst of thorns and barren thickets. From there I ranged with my eyes over the neighbouring mountains, and could plainly see, though at a distance, the source of the S.E. wind. For when the summits of the mountains in the vicinity are covered with a deep bank of cloud gradually creeping down, then comes the *stormy* South-Easter, its greater or less violence being in accordance with the rarity or density of the cloud, its largeness or smallness, its rise or fall. This cloud I have often seen with the naked eye descending from Table Mountain. I have noticed that this wind generally comes in great gusts and that it is always blowing, as if this were the kingdom of Aeolus. For although the stars keep ever on their way with unvarying course, they do not impart the same motions to the air. So here, while one wind, and that not a *steady* one, prevails on land, another at the same moment is found on the sea, blowing in two or three directions in the bay, and in still a different direction outside it. The cause lies in the various physical features of the mountains. For even if the air be quite still elsewhere, yet the mountain which is continuous with Table Mountain is always vomiting forth a gale, and is hence called Devil's Peak. 132

In this connection I might remark that if the physical features of different places were examined more accurately in the light of experience, the art of navigation might not wander within such ill-defined limits. At present the exponents of the art attribute the ignorance arising from their uncertainty to mysterious currents and wave pressures. But on what else can trade winds depend, if not on lofty snow-capped mountains, especially if you remember that these winds blow at the time of the melting of the snows? Where the quarter of the wind is unchanging, or changes but once a year, the only possible operative 000

* There is room for doubt as to the identification of rivers no. 5 and 6 in this list. Ten Rhyne's information is so slight. See *Journals of Barrow and Sollitaire*, ed. Mossop, V.R.S. 12, Appendix C. (E.F.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 31 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot. 132

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:— 619

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Saaqquas*.*) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, through inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting. [1+2] 439

*) The Saaqquas (see above, p. 30) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 130.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

or even a coach-and-six, like princes, and sometimes keep as many as ten horses for various purposes. Every year, too, along with the four cohorts of infantry the Colony reviews two squadrons of dragoons, ranged under their colours and very obedient to their leaders. This place also produces very hardy oxen, as swift as those found in India near the Ganges. ODD

Finally must be mentioned the very destructive wild dogs, which hunt up and down in packs of ten or twenty; when they come on sheep or calves, with the utmost savagery they promptly disembowel some and tear the udders and bellies of others with their long sharp teeth. In a moment they destroy a whole flock unless the watchful herds or trusty dogs can keep them off. 136

About the two-horned rhinoceros, the eland, the blaun, the bonasus, or hairy bull, and other animals, I think it unnecessary to write. I am afraid so many huge beasts may disgust you. There is only this I should like to add: I have been told by several people that on drinking half a pint of the blood of one of these animals immediately after its being taken, patients who have long languished in sickness have recovered. Nor would I have you ignorant that there is no animal that has been seen here of which the flesh when roasted is not suitable to men.

Nothing could be more wholesome than the air here, more clear than the atmosphere, more mild and temperate than the sky which but rarely thunders and lightens and then not for long. Exception must be made only of the blustering gales that blow every year from various quarters in the chilly South, and of the showery trade wind, the harbinger of rain. When these are raging I have seen the neighbouring mountains covered for several days with snow and frost, even in the middle of December, when the sun here is at its zenith, which is a very remarkable thing. In July I have seen water covered with ice, and hail in the valleys. Indeed lately hail of such size fell that a youth in his teens, a promising lad, the son of one of our citizens, was killed. He was coming home through the wilds with a slave, and he and his companion were overtaken by the storm four miles from the Cape and died of cold. Furthermore the struggle between the winds is sometimes so great that I have seen four ships riding at anchor together in our harbour all facing different winds at the same time, one East, one North West, a third North East, and the last South West. Even if but one wind blows at a time, it is very unsteady, shifting its quarter often in one and the same day, a fact supported by the universal testimony of all sailors, who state that in rounding the Cape they have often been aware of the greatest changes in the wind. 132

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation :

Ia was born at Saron (*Mouê*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river. 342 538

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See " History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ia* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabaê* and *Khoïe*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902). 132

Funeral of a Chief.

gommaê te !naoe o, ina /kabaê !naoe-ina /khaiê dibae, ina kaibaoe !naoroe, ina /karaê !aaibae, ina /kha: //o.h qtamaoni na namie, ina //na.ha //goiaie, ina /noi /karaba /kha ka?aoroe, ina /ha.ba tkaroe. 766 539

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Tataê* and *Ia*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Séron, which we had recently visited. *Tataê* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tataê* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 336 766 [84]

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants 601

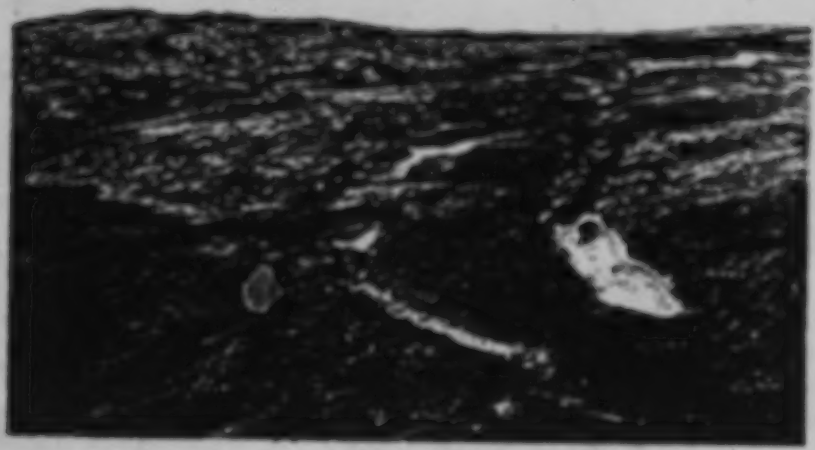
[See 13: Kirby, cat. 766, and plate 4. - Analyst]

1: Schultze--228 N-5 (1905-1908) 1907 FX13 Homeless FX13
Name

[Between 190 and 191]

133

Nara-Dune in the Kuiseb River.



Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.

[Between 362 and 363]

Plate XI.

A Tapuaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

Hottentot boy in an apron.

Acquisitions--The N-S (1964-1965) 1967 FA13 Harvard FA13 Nam

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilisation.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX18

H B 133 miles, without peninsulas of any size or any large islands off its coasts.[1] By far the greater part has an elevation of over 3,000 feet above the sea, while the area below 1,500 feet is merely a narrow fringe round the coast. Most of the interior consists of a high plateau region, rising gradually around its borders and passing by degrees into an encircling belt of much diversified country. The escarpment which bounds it on the south-east, south, and west is continued by the Drakensberg Mountains of the Transvaal, the Drakensberg or Quathlamba of Natal and the Transkei, the Stormberg of the north-eastern Cape Province, the Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Roggeveld, and Kamiesberg further south and west, and is continued northwards under less well-known names to beyond the Kunene River. These mountains appear to be of no great height when viewed from the interior plateau, but on the seaward side they fall steeply, though rather irregularly, to the much lower level of country on the west and south.

On the west, as far south as the Olifants River, the escarpment is separated from the ocean by slopes of a more uniform nature, but in the south the Great Karroo and long ranges of fold-mountains (the Cape Folded Belt) intervene between it and the coast. The coast-line on the west is generally low, almost unbroken by bays or promontories, and beaten all the year round by a heavy surf; on the south there are several prominent headlands, which, however, afford little protection to ships. The only good natural harbour of any size is Saldanha Bay in the south-west, but at Walvis Bay, Table Bay, Algoa Bay and other places ports have been constructed.

H B 132 The general characteristics of the climate are determined more by the physical conformation of the land than by proximity to the equator. The eastern escarpments of the high plateau intercept the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, so that over the greater part of the interior the rainfall is slight (5 to 24 inches). This, added to the elevation of the land, makes the climate in general dry, bracing, and suitable for Europeans, notwithstanding the fact that the northern part of the country is within the tropics. Owing to the gradual increase of altitude from the coast to the interior, there is a remarkable uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the region: at

[1] The description given above is compiled mainly from the following sources: S. Passarge, *Südafrika*, 1908, chaps. iii–xv *passim*; L. Schultze, "Südwestafrika," in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, 1910 (ed. H. Meyer), vol. ii, pp. 129–298; *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 1914, vol. on "Africa", chaps. i–v; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 3, 1918, esp. chaps. ii and xxvii; *The South and East African Year Book and Guide* (ed. A. S. Brown and G. G. Brown), 1919 edition, pp. 85–98 and *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

very many places, irrespective of latitude or longitude, it is very close to 63° F., which is also the mean for the entire area. The difference between mean summer and mean winter temperatures is, however, considerable, increasing from the coast inland, while the daily range of temperature is also generally great. Frosts are common on the plateau during winter.

By far the greater part of the country receives the bulk of its rainfall in summer. The winter rainfall area is confined to a comparatively narrow strip parallel with the west coast, and the constant rainfall area to a much smaller belt in the south. Generally speaking the amount of precipitation decreases from east to west, with areas of heavier rainfall along the south coast and in the south-west. The average annual rainfall of about 24 inches is fairly regular all over the eastern half of South Africa, reaching a maximum of 40 inches in Zululand, and diminishing gradually along the south coast to rise again in the Cape Peninsula. It rapidly falls to 10 inches in the south-western Karroo, from which there is a steady decrease towards the north-west in South-West Africa, but the mean value is again approached in Angola and in the northern and eastern Kalahari.

This contrast in the amount and incidence of the rainfall tends to explain very largely the lack in correspondence of the principal river-systems in the south and west respectively. On the west the rivers are few, and only the Kunene, Orange, Olifants, and Berg are perennial, of which the first two, the largest, not only rise within centres of high rainfall, but also receive no important contributions throughout the lower part of their courses. In the south, owing to the moderately high winter rainfall, the smaller rivers rarely cease flowing, but all the important ones, such as the Gouritz, Gamtoos, and Sundays, actually originate in the interior region of summer rains behind the coast ranges and pass through the latter to the sea by means of deep gorges. They receive insufficient water in their courses across the Folded Belt to maintain a constant flow at all seasons, and in times of drought may become a series of pools.

Since most of the larger rivers rise upon the interior plateau, their gradients, over stretches, are high; sometimes there are waterfalls, such as the Ruacana on the Kunene and the Aughrabies on the Orange, while rocky bars or rapids may occur in their channels within the coastal belt or just before it is reached. In consequence of this great slope, and of the intermittent supply of water, none of the rivers is navigable beyond its estuary. The mouths of the rivers

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX18

H
B
132

are always obstructed by sand bars, and most of the rivers are further liable to receive sudden freshets, which sweep down with great force and render the fords impassable until they have subsided.

Natural Divisions and Vegetation

The Interior Plateau

Topographically the interior plateau can be divided up into several regions, more or less sharply defined from one another by the shape and character of the surface and by the climate. Its heart is constituted by the Kalahari Desert, a huge sand and bush-covered plain standing at an average elevation of 3,000 to 3,500 feet above the sea, and devoid of running water except in the extreme north. The greater part of this plain forms the western portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, but it spreads south into that part of Bechuanaland annexed to the Cape and west into South-West Africa. The Orange River may be taken as marking its southern limit; westwards it reaches to the foot of the Nama and Damara highlands of South-West Africa, eastwards to the cultivated parts of Bechuanaland, and northwards to the Congo-Zambesi watershed, embracing the valley of the Okavango and the bed of Lake Ngami.

The Kalahari as a whole is arid and scored by the beds of dried-up rivers. Its surface is thickly covered with red sand and calcareous deposits, through which the basement rocks seldom show. In a few places, however, they project abruptly above the plains in the form of isolated bare hills, which though not high are conspicuous on account of the monotonous regularity of the surface from which they arise. The ground is undulating and is thrown up towards the west into extensive belts of parallel sand dunes, in part, however, fixed by vegetation, which cover a great portion of the country in the south and stretch with interruptions to beyond Lake Ngami.

Throughout the Desert there are extensive mud flats, which after heavy rains become pans and lakes of shallow water, and water is then also found in mud-bottomed pools along the beds of rivers. All over the country numerous small pans or vleis also occur in crater-like depressions where the rock rises above the desert sands. The water in these pans is often brackish and in some cases thickly encrusted with salt. The native routes lead from pan to pan, or from one waterhole in the bed of a sandy river to another. During the dry season the lack of water is so widespread in the Southern

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hotentot FX13
Bushmen FX16

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain.

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the west-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another.

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarikarri depression and the great sandy plain of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface.

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Kaoko region is a vast tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaux and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanam plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinamib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari.

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaux. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 12 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north.

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

H B 133 flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

H B 137 Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaux and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grewia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca* Grah., the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Irudaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalidae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

H B 132 133 South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit.

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles.

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H 8 132 137 341

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H 8 137 341

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H 8 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H 8 133

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FA10

it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea.

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 30 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°.

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Buchanan FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur.

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood.

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX18

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–86.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

Mrs. R. F. A. Hoernlé, B.A. (*née* Miss A. W. Tucker).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

●133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

312 361 731

Note.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalized u for the same reason.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The Journal

of Wilhelm Ten Rhyne

in which is given an account

of Saldanha Bay and Dassen Island

and principally of

The Cape of Good Hope

and the Natives of that Place called Hottentots.

The Arrival.

On the 10th of October 1673, under a clear sky but with clouds at the horizon as is usual near shore, with a south-south-west wind blowing and holding a course between South and East, we took soundings and failed to find bottom at 120 fathoms, but soon had the great joy of first sighting land at a latitude of 32 degrees, the factor pointing it out to us. Driven back, however, by a contrary gale, after various shifts and much anxiety how to reprovision ourselves, on the 13th of the same month we made Saldanha Bay with its crescent-shaped entry, in a calm air with a gentle South-East wind breathing, and cast anchor in a sandy bottom. 133

When we examined the bay in this shore to which we had so newly come and compared the outline in our maps with the reality as presented to our eyes, we had immediate cause to blame the carelessness of the draughtsman or his informant. There was but one feature which the map had in common with the reality, to wit, a hill on either side of the harbour's mouth. For the rest, the islands differed both in number and position: they were fewer than represented in the map, and differed in position four points in the compass. They were thronged with sea-birds of varied form and hue.

Here, because I yearned to refresh my spirits, wearied by the hardships of the voyage, with the charm of a strange land, I for the first time set foot in Africa. With me came the captain, the factor, and some few oarsmen that managed our boat. The hills spread out in a great circle, the mountains drew our eyes in all directions over the

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

vast expanse of heaven, and earth with the varied charm of many plants seemed to rival the rich gardens of Semiramis or Alcinous, or to present a vision of the Elysian fields in the midst of a wilderness. Of these plants I forthwith collected a generous supply that I might afterwards make offering of the actual specimens to the Botanical Muses.* I specially admired the enormous abundance of gum aloes, capable of an annual yield of thousands of pounds of bitter juice if cultivated. Then the approach of evening recalled us from our hunting to our ship where there were many sick men already almost at the last gasp. On our return we skirted a stony beach covered with a rich variety of shell fish. Then escaping without hurt from the dangers that might befall us (I must explain that eight Dutchmen recently who were hunting the hippopotamus perished wretchedly at the hands of the Hottentots on this very spot)[1]) we regained our crazy bark in the dinghy. Next day we weighed anchor, picking up a fair N.W. breeze outside the bay, and in the afternoon we sailed past Dassen Island, which is occupied only by a few posts established by the Illustrious East India Company, our great glory and protection, for catching seals and pasturing the sheep.

On the 14th of October at the fall of night a gentle S.W. breeze carried us to the shore and we cast anchor in 23 fathoms of water.

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charge of the Dutch post at Saldanha Bay were also murdered by Hottentots of the same tribe. A punitive expedition under Ensign Hieronymus Cruse was despatched from the Fort at Table Bay, but the Hottentots could not be got at, except for one slight skirmish, although 800 head of cattle and 900 sheep were looted from them and brought back to the Fort. The war which started in this way dragged on for four years, the Dutch, assisted by the Capemen and other local Hottentots, sending out several expeditions against Gonnema, who with his men always managed to escape in time, although not without the loss of his cattle and sheep. Peace was finally restored in June, 1677, when the Hottentots submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Dutch. (Theal, *op. cit.*, chaps. 30, 31, passim; D. 1673-1677, passim.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

On the 15th, with a gentle N.W. wind blowing, when we were rejoicing in the distant prospect of the long-desired Cape of Good Hope, we sailed past another island, Robben Island, distant according to the maps five miles from our fort, eight miles from Dassen Island, and about fifteen from Saldanha Bay. It is not made conspicuous by any lofty mountain peak; as a matter of fact only a low hill rises there. It is used as a prison for convicts employed in gathering shells to be burned for the lime for the new fort.* Here are many chameleons, smaller than the Indian variety, insects of every sort, small reptiles, various snakes, poisonous spiders as big as a man's fist, etc.

At four in the afternoon Table Bay received us, having lost abundance of men in this voyage, and on the next day the table of the Governor, an incomparable man.[2] We were summoned to his board by the sound of the bugle; and while rowing ashore our long-boat was hindered in reaching the sandy beach of Africa by a species of very large seaweed, commonly called *drombassen*. The whole of our smaller ship's boat would scarcely have sufficed to carry one plant. This seaweed is a sign to those approaching the Cape of Good Hope of their speedy arrival, as is also the presence of a species of sea-bird, an albatross of a whitish colour and small size. The place delighted us by its strangeness, the interest of the observer being excited to a livelier attention by the fact that the circumstances of the inhabitants of this part are still unknown to writers. For they say (and this is all they tell us) that a certain emperor spread his sway from the Mountains of the Moon to the Cape of Good Hope or the extremities of Africa; that his realm was divided into four kingdoms, and called Monomotapae.[3]

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* The present castle, founded 1666, occupied 1674 (the year after Ten Rhyne's visit), and finished 1676. (B.F.)

[2]) The Governor at this time was Isbrand Goske (1672-76), the first to bear the title Governor in place of Commander. He had been sent out specially to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked by the English or French, with whom the Netherlands were then at war, and the building of the castle was completed during his tenure of office.

[3]) Ten Rhyne hardly does justice to Hondius, Dapper and other earlier Dutch writers whose accounts of the Hottentots should have been familiar to him. Legends of Monomotapa and the vast wealth of this Empire were still current in his time, but of the Cape itself a good deal of accurate information was already available in published works.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Here I shall not attempt to relate a regular history, my intention being to confine myself within the limits of a journal. Did these people spring originally from Ham, the son of Noah, with the exception of some Arabs of the stock of Shem who entered Africa later on? Or did the native races in Africa increase and multiply, and living frugally in a place unknown to fame, and denied sustenance for their numerous population by an unproductive soil, frequently send out their youth in quest of new lands to settle, until, it may be, these emigrants, spreading far and wide unobserved, finally settled in the remotest shores of Africa? These questions are not so important for us to answer; let us content ourselves with learning their ways of life and their dealings with others. But as a preliminary to this we must inquire for a little while into the nature and situation of the land they occupy.

CHAP. I.

The Situation of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Promontory known as the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the southernmost point of Africa. Its longitude, in respect of the Straits of Gibraltar, is 39 degrees, 25 minutes; and its latitude, in respect of the Hesperian Promontory and *Guardasu* (?) is 34 degrees and 30 minutes. It was discovered in the year 1498 by Vasco di Gama, sailing under the protection of John, King of Portugal.[34a]) Its mountains tower up to heaven, but are barren and very unfriendly to man. The tribes here are little blessed with crops, lying under the influence of niggard stars. The barren land stretches out vast and formless in pure sandy deserts, with bronze ore thrusting through the surface, unrelieved by the blessings of vegetation, but friendly rather to thorns and thistles and rough briars, unless by assiduous and prolonged cultivation it be made to yield pasturage, which even then is but scant. Apart from the sandy wastes it consists of huge stony mountains with here and there a plain. Worthy of note, then, is a certain wide level expanse with a circumference of about three miles, where a bloody battle once took place, and which is called in consequence

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[34a]) The Cape of Good Hope was first "discovered" by Bartholomeu Dias in 1487, and doubled again by Vasco da Gama in 1497, on his famous voyage to India, the first by the Cape sea-route.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Bakkeley Plaats.[4]) There is also another plain, called by our countrymen De Buffelsjacht,[5]) perched on a mountain difficult of access, beyond which it is not yet known whether the country is flat or mountainous. But who could measure all those mountain heights, winding hills, and spreading plains?

Of the mountains near the Fort the loftiest is called Table Mountain, from its flat top, and from its height it is a beacon for those seeking this harbour. From base to summit it is said to measure five *leucae*.* And certain it is that it was after a very stiff climb and the loss of much sweat that I succeeded in scaling it. There were myriads of different plants; and at the foot of the mountain, which is cleft through the middle, I passed through a marshy grove of palmitides, with sharply reticulated roots. Once we met a terrifying troop of yelling baboons; and during our descent in the evening saw many "meteors." Sparks were dancing in every direction in the air, and the first sight of them terrified my companions, who supposed that these must be the blazing eyes of lions, noted here for their daring. But when I tried to catch them in my hand the sparks fled; and I learned subsequently that these "meteors" resemble in their marshy juice, which glows in the darkness, the meteor *bolis*. Another mountain which formerly gave its name to the place is called Lion Mountain, not from the roaring of the savage winds, but from its natural shape. On its summit are always posted two look-outs to give warning of the approach of ships.

The sheer snowy mountains with which all this region is hemmed in are naturally associated with rivers as a body is with its shadow. The most important are: 1. Bot river, 2. Palmiet river (?), 3. Berg river, which springs more obviously than the others from the mountains, 4. River Sonder End, rising among the mountains but of extent unknown as yet, 5. Breede river, a shallow stream, very

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4) Bakkeley Plaats is near the village of Vredendal, west of Van Rhynsdorp. The name is derived from the Malay *barkelehi*, to fight, and refers to a skirmish which took place here in May, 1668, between the Dutch stationed at Saldanha Bay and some Namaqua who had stolen some cattle and sheep from them and from other Hottentots. (D., May 17, 1668; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 134).

5) Probably the Buffelsjagt R. in the district of Swellendam, to which cattle-trading expeditions were often sent from Hottentots Holland. The country beyond was not fully known until after Schryver's journey of 1689.

* See note on opposite page. The height of Table Mountain is 3,582 feet, so that Ten Rhyne's estimate is somewhat generous.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

pleasant by reason of the trees along its banks, 6. Elands Kloof river.* These rivers, with which the region is copiously irrigated, are, for the most part at least, very wholesome with their sweet sun-warmed waters.

On the 17th October I visited the extensive gardens of the noble Company, the abundant source of fresh supplies to visiting ships. It was a lovely sight with its plantations of lemons, citrons, and oranges, its close hedges of rosemary, and its laurels, equal in height to a tall tree, all fragrant in the sun. Through it runs a river that rises at the foot of the mountain, the waters of which are the cause of its smiling fertility. It is the very essence of greenness set in the midst of thorns and barren thickets. From there I ranged with my eyes over the neighbouring mountains, and could plainly see, though at a distance, the source of the S.E. wind. For when the summits of the mountains in the vicinity are covered with a deep bank of cloud gradually creeping down, then comes the stormy South-Easter, its greater or less violence being in accordance with the rarity or density of the cloud, its largeness or smallness, its rise or fall. This cloud I have often seen with the naked eye descending from Table Mountain. I have noticed that this wind generally comes in great gusts and that it is always blowing, as if this were the kingdom of Aeolus. For although the stars keep ever on their way with unvarying course, they do not impart the same motions to the air. So here, while one wind, and that not a steady one, prevails on land, another at the same moment is found on the sea, blowing in two or three directions in the bay, and in still a different direction outside it. The cause lies in the various physical features of the mountains. For even if the air be quite still elsewhere, yet the mountain which is continuous with Table Mountain is always vomiting forth a gale, and is hence called Devil's Peak.

In this connection I might remark that if the physical features of different places were examined more accurately in the light of experience, the art of navigation might not wander within such ill-defined limits. At present the exponents of the art attribute the ignorance arising from their uncertainty to mysterious currents and wave pressures. But on what else can trade winds depend, if not on lofty snow-capped mountains, especially if you remember that these winds blow at the time of the melting of the snows? Where the quarter of the wind is unchanging, or changes but once a year, the only possible operative

* There is room for doubt as to the identification of rivers no. 2 and 6 in this list, Ten Rhyne's information is so slight. See *Journals of Bergh and Schrijver*, ed. Mossop, V.R.S. 12, Appendix C. (B.F.)

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[23]) Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 782 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[24]) Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 782 291 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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23) Probably the Berg R.

24) A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 383 ff.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

descriptions in Wikar and Wuras give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Gesicquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of caresses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-kaross, upon which she seems" (feigns) "to threaten him."

According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons"; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeeste Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20¼, Lat. 29¼. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂās* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂ'ās* and the reed-dance *ǂ'ā-s/aī-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lora" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 814 115

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit.

H B 132 133 H B 137

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles.

H B 133

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade

H B 132 H B 133 134

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur.

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood.

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The soil, which is fruitful both of corn and wine, provides a copious plenty of provisions and supplies. It even yields tobacco, which, if it were cultivated, would rival the American. The grain crop is wonderfully abundant, the increase of the harvest being sometimes forty-fold. I count ninety-nine stalks and as many ears from one grain of wheat, and in one ear which I rubbed out there were seventy-five grains. This is an astonishing yield, equal even to that of Sicily.

I have it on reliable authority that there are wide plains bearing wild onions and other vegetables suitable for food, and huge tracts of land full of supplies, such as leeks, shallots, edible thistles, spring onions and garlick. I have myself seen fields full of ambugia, which I have sometimes gathered and found fit for eating, together with *aciduli*(?) and wild asparagus of various species.

Fields have been shown to me which twenty years ago, and perhaps from the creation to that day, were a rude waste on which neither nature nor man had grown anything. But for the last twenty years they have been well sown, and with only two or three fallow periods in all that time, with no manure, and after the slightest turning of the surface with the plough, they have yielded an abundant harvest of wheat. At the time I saw them the corn was in the blade and promised a rich crop.

I remember that a sprig or cutting of an apple-tree two feet long took root when planted. A year later a slip was grafted on to it, and within the year it bore ripe fruit. Also a vine planted in June bore grapes the following December. Such fertility is unprecedented. But indeed all the fruits of other lands, those which genial Europe, fertile Asia, and America, the farmer's joy, pour from their open lap, can with few exceptions be seen flourishing here on our promontory and never disappointing the hopes of the husbandman.

I have seen heads of cabbage and marrows so big that hardly a pot could be found to hold them. The turnips here are equally large, so much so that I have used one for a stool when I got tired walking. Beets have been dug out of a bank in my presence so fleshy that they were as long and as thick as a man's arm. Such vegetables it has astonished me to behold, and the more so on finding them all deliciously flavoured.

Our vines here bear so well that a reliable farmer told me that in one vintage from eight hundred choice vines he got six casks (commonly called hogsheads) of excellent pale-red, dark-red, or yellow wine. And everybody assures me that the native vine produces so mellow a grape that

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nõ/ti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kxõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõ/hs (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !haŏi-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis. 291 556

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[88]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag. 301 [439] [556] [752] [415]

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[89]) 484 789

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat 293

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[88]) Horidius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper. [135]

[89]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 296). [751]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nuǂi·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kχao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kχao//nuǂi·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nuǂi·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari, is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kχāb) of the plant is well covered (χa) with hairs (/ũ·ǂgu) it bears the name /ũ·ǂχa/kχā·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (ǂhũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kχaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

136 252 262 [223 857] [225] [415]

Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, ǂ/xuri·s (in Little Namaland: /hu·/rob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size] 1/1

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

136 222 252 262

The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called *!nu/ms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva 2/1 of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kxū·ǂu·/nis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

222 136

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1/1 [see p. 16(A) - Anm.] 2/1 [see p. 16(B). - Anm.]

1:Schultze--16A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

●136
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Zonurus polyzonus Smith. Actual size.

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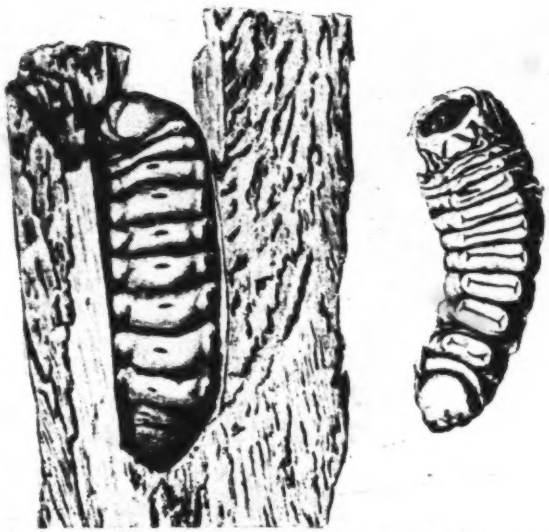
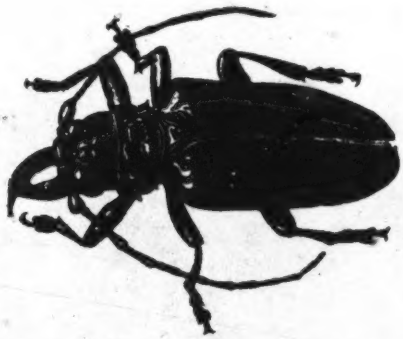
262

[p.189]



Larva of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size.



Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.

passages, pea-sized openings in the ground. If one follows these passages, one will come to the house at varying depths, sometimes only 1 to 1 1/2 feet under the surface, if a rock or hard layer of ground sheathes the soft ground and gives the house protection from above. Sometimes, however, one must dig down 6 feet before one reaches one's goal. 222 136

The underground dwelling has the shape of a lens, about 1/2 meter in circumference and 20 to 25 centimeters high. The material used for building is a brittle, fragile, yellowish-grey, paper-thin mass; it is resistant to water. One can immerge the house in water for days without its falling apart. It merely becomes soft and less fragile. 136

The house is built up of about 40 stories, each averaging about 1/2 centimeter in height. Although at first glance the labyrinth with its many hundred rooms that communicate on all sides may seem complicated, nevertheless a simple principal of construction can be divined: the spiral passageway. The innumerable spiral passageways are sometimes widely separated, sometimes right next to each other, sometimes with even, horizontal flights, sometimes with sharp angled axes and correspondingly steep paths, but the construction is always such that the course of each passage passes into that of the neighboring one without any interruption. Thus chambers, halls, corridors, gates and columns arise.

The composition of the inhabitants changes according to the season. In July of 1904 I found in one structure eggs, larvae in all stages up to the adult worker, workers of various sizes, large-chinned soldiers, [191] three queens about 2 1/2 centimeters long, and finally,* in addition to a few undeveloped insects, numerous nymphs,

*In the nests of Hodotermes viator (Latr.) I found a new Cetoniinae, Trichoplus aepytus Kolbe. The Hottentots know this companion of the termites well. It is about 9 centimeters long and of an even black color. They call it //k‡au≠ams.

mostly without wings.

These fat white nymphs, that are 12 millimeters long, are the goal of the Hottentot. First he shovels the whole house with its inhabitants and clinging earth into a sack. He sorts out what is edible in his hut. To do this he shakes the mass bit by bit into a vessel containing lukewarm water and stirs up the bottom with a stick 222 252

[272] 276

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (ǂxao) it, then stuffs (//hāǀ) it in his pipe, they call it ǂxao//hāǀb, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da·ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ǂnuni·//gaǀrus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kǂaǂrib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (ǂnaǀo·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·ǀdanib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called */ha·ǂmi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /āǂb, and *tsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [136] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, *!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 386
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gũ‡b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [293
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 825
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na·bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [136]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

1: Schultze--43A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr.,
1/2 natural size.

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ'ŝ) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kχu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253]

Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

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1. The Wild Animals*

*This will only be a list, and when it seems valuable in the interest of lucidity for those not familiar with local conditions, there will be a brief description of the huntable animals of Great Namaland [Footnote goes on to p. 269] according to their most obvious characteristics. Closer observations about their way of life and a completion of the list from the zoological standpoint will be given later.

The wild animals which the Hottentot still hunts represent only a skimpy remnant of the wealth of his former hunting grounds. All the wild animals which can be hunted are called am/nēn, [269] χa·manin, *χabaran or χamaren. The large wild animals of the Hottentot hunter are, except for the ostrich and the zebra, only of historical interest. Foremost stands:

1. The elephant, Elephas africanus (Blumenb.) (Cape D. ʾ/ʌ Oliphant) called ≠kχoa·b.

Although for two generations or longer no Hottentot has seen an elephant in his homeland, I still found a few recollections from the time when it was hunted. It is supposed to have been a major rule that none of the hunters should have intercourse with his wife the night before a hunt; otherwise the elephant would point at him with his trunk and throw earth at him. The guilty one could no longer take part in the hunt then.

The position of the teats in front on the breast and the shape of the vulva awoke the easily excited sensuality of the Hottentots. One Hottentot told me the following hunting story: Two brothers-in-law went out and after a successful hunt the older one warned the younger one not to approach the downed elephant from behind, but he paid no attention to the warning and was punished by an uncontrollable erection which made him walk lame (*/ī) and still makes him the laughing stock of all hearers of the joke. The wording of the story was: kχoē /uigukχa χa i gye gye !auhe ≠kχoana. okχa gye ≠k oasa gye !gam. ob gye gaiba go sī tsī: "tā kχaos /kχāb ai ī," ti go mī. χabeb gye ≠kχama go i tsī ≠kχoas di /oasa mũ tsī ≠gũi tsī /ī go /kχī. ob gye gaiba: "tareē dī tsi?" ob gye: "m'm, χū tomaī" ti go mī.

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832

ʾ/ʌ [i.e., Cape Dutch or Boer. – Analyst]

Nowadays the elephant has vanished from Namaland forever. In 136
the northern parts of Herero Land it is supposedly slowly returning.

Formerly the elephant was widespread in South Africa. In the Transvaal, in the territory of the Matabele chief, Moselikatse, Captain Harris found an astonishing number of elephants, alone in a valley, peacefully shut off, hundreds of giants. Today a hunter could roam through the Matabele land and the Mashona land for a year without finding an elephant. Kaffraria, Natal and Zululand which were inhabited by large elephant herds in the previous century are now forever depopulated. In northern Bechuan land (in the territory of the Bamangwato) and especially in [270] the Ngami Lake region the brutal business of the ivory hunters flourished. It has been estimated that for the annual world consumption of ivory a total of 100,000 elephants are killed. (74) South Africa has paid its tribute and is now bankrupt

74. H. A. Bryden, Kloof and Karroo, London, 1889.

in the ivory market. Only a few herds of elephants are kept in the southernmost tip, in game preserves in the Addo-Bush, in the Knysna and Zitzikamma forests.

2. Of the rhinoceros, uncertain whether Rh. simus Burch. or Rh. bicornus (L.), -- (Cape D. rhenoster), there is only a vague remembrance in Namaland, based on the name !na/ba·b. The name of the plant mentioned on page 201 indicates that the rhinoceros was formerly well-known in Namaland. As late as the second half of the eighteenth century the Rh. bicornis was widespread (cf. p. 168, no. 75) in the Cape colony. The last one is supposed to have been seen in the Addo-Bush in 1849.

3. The true quagga, Equus quagga Gmel. has been completely exterminated. Not even its Hottentot name remains for certain. Only once did a native mention the name /goa‡ab when I enquired after the vanished zebra that only has stripes on the front half of its body.

We have only a small amount of usable information about the former extent of the quagga in South Africa. It is certain that it once lived here in great numbers. In the great Karroo and in the plains of the northern Cape colony, in Griqualand and in the Orange Free State, it was usually found in the company of the black wildebeest and the ostrich. The Boers hunted the quagga to feed their Hottentot and Bushmen slaves and thus to save their cattle. They traded their hides

and did not desist until the last quagga had vanished from the earth. 136
That was achieved about 1880.

4. The zebra, !go·reb, is known to the Hottentots in two forms, which we differentiate as Equus Zebra L. (= E. montanus Burch (Cape D. wildepaard) and E. burchelli Gray (Cape D. bonta quagga). The first zebra, which the Hottentot himself designates as the smaller kind living in the mountains, he calls *//kǂao·! goreb, probably from the spurge (cf. p. 150), the juice of which he uses to poison the animals [224]
at their watering places. Another name for E. zebra is */hõ·/ !goreb, i.e. "the one marked black and white." This designation, which would be suitable for all zebras, is only understandable as a diagnostic term taken from its antithesis: [271] the dark striping of E. burchelli, that inhabits the broad plains, is scantier than that on the other kind, the white basic color of the body shines out and is broader and therefore they call this kind *!u·/ri!goreb or the "white zebra."

The remote mountain country in the west of the lower course of the Fish River and the eastern Namib plains in the northern border country are the last refuges of small zebra herds in Great Namaland.

At the end of the 80's the Equus zebra could still be found in the mountainous parts of the eastern Cape colony. In the mountains around Naroekaspoort (74) (70 miles from Willomore) a zebra herd,

74. Ibid.

except for one male zebra, was killed by the Boers and the natives. The lonely animal attached itself to the horses of a farmer that were pastured in the open, followed them on all their wanderings, followed them even into the kraal of the farm. There the zebra starved to death, since it refused to eat even the food that was brought to him from his former pasture grounds. [Picture. Equus burchelli Gray.]

5. The hippopotamus, Hippopotamus amphibius L., (Cape D. Zeekoe), called !kǂaos or *!kǂums, formerly numerous in all the rivers on the Cape, exists today in only a few examples in the lower course of the Orange.

6. The giraffe, Giraffa capensis (Lesson), (Cape D. kameel,) called !naǂi·b, as older travel reports all relate, could still be found at the turn of the [272] nineteenth century in Great Namaland but is now wiped out there and lives only in folk tales. [Picture. Young male giraffe.]

7. The ostrich, Struthio australis L., (Cape D. vool struis), called /ami·b (Illustration with the folk tales) can be met in all parts of Great

1: Schultze--79A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p271]

Equus burchelli Gray.

1: Schultze--79B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• 136

Young Male Giraffe.

Namaland, and in greatest numbers in the transitional zone of the Namib to the hinterland. I also saw them south of the Orange in the Little Bushman land. 136

Because of its incomparable sharp sightedness the Hottentot also calls it *//ga'ba mũ'ŝ (from *//ga'ba- to see far in the distance, mũ'ŝ = eye). The native hunter distinguishes among the females a certain hen that appears alone in a flock, is easier to drive off and has a tendency to grow fat. He gives her the name *ã-bes, distinguishing it from the other female ostriches which he calls */hai-! noro-s, "the one with the fallow back of the head." /naba-b (3. st.) is the young ostrich. 136 224

Next to the ostrich the bustards, Eupodotis species, are the stateliest wild birds of Namaland. 136

8. The lion, Felis leo L., (Cape D. leeuw), called ǂa-mi, has also disappeared today from the Namib and the bordering territories, its last refuge, and is only found in the northeast, in the transitional zone between Great Namaland and Kalahari.

9. The kudu, Strepsiceros capensis (A. Smith), called ǂaib begins the series of antelopes. Large, strong and of a wonderful symmetry, the kudu is rightly considered [273] the noblest horned wild animal of the South African savanna, just as in our woods the deer is, which the kudu also resembles in size. It is also like our deer in that only the male has antlers. There is no more beautiful trophy that the horns of an old kudu bull with their bold spirals.

The color of the kudu is a plain yellow grey. About seven narrow whitish stripes cross the back and hind legs. From the root of the tail to the back of the head, a stripe of somewhat longer hair grows along the middle of the back. It is too short to be called a mane. [Picture. Felis leo L.] But a stately beard begins between the lower jaws of the bull, descends down a middle line, decorating the front surface of the darker grey neck and continues sideways above the shoulders as a little neck-mane.

The kudu loves dense undergrowth and is restricted to the interior of Great Namaland in the mountainous parts. It becomes frightened when it observes an enemy. The nearest relative of this marvelous antelope,

[274] 10. the eland, Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), called !kǂaǂns is quite the opposite in its outward appearance. The short strong legs with the clumsy hoofs and the awkward burden of the bulky, extended body reveal nothing of the antelope. The long dark mane on the

1: Schultze--80A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Felis leo L.

136 forehead of the bull, the well-developed dewlap and the hump on the back over the shoulders rather give the impression of a gigantic bull. The long thin tail with its (black) tassel is also similar to that of a bull. The antlers of the male consist of strong stubby cones, of the female of less strong, slimmer and somewhat longer cones, which go up at an angle towards the back with a markedly protruding spiral twist in the lower half. Eight to ten thin whitish stripes across the back, which dissolve into the lower parts of the flanks, recall, as does the greyish-yellow of its general coloring, the skin of the kudu. The eland seems to be restricted to the extreme northeast of Namaland and even there is rare.

11. The "gemsbok," Oryx gazella (L.), called /gaêb, is the antelope of the flat semi-desert country. The border territory of the Namib and of the hinterland is at the time of the best pasturage his favorite territory.

The gemsbok has the size of a small deer. Next to the springbok, he has the most varied coloring of the south African antelopes. The basic color of the trunk and neck is a light grey-brown, that becomes whitish on the flag. A dark-brown stripe goes along its back, continues forwards to the short mane of the back, backwards broadly along the small of the back and into the long bushy tail, that at times seems very dark-black. A similar dark stripe extends from the throat down the middle of the neck and forks between the front legs. The prongs of the fork diverge as broad bands along the stomach and proceed to the hind legs. The white wedge-shaped field, which they have a tendency to bite into, continues to the area of the knee of the hind legs. A broad dark-brown band surrounds the upper leg of the front legs. The white area of the knees and hoofs is interrupted on the front side by a long, dark-brown spot. The black-brown marking of the face resembles a deep and richly cut mask which contrasts sharply with the exposed parts of the face that shine a brilliant white.

Young gemsbok, with little horns about the length of half a finger and bent at the ends, are colored an even light-brown. Only the bushy [275] end of the tail has a lot of black hair. A dark stripe that extends from the front edge of the eye towards the corner of the mouth indicates the black facial coloring of the grown animal (blurred over the forehead and nose). The Hottentot calls an oryx calf up to this stage /kza·reb. 136
An older calf, the horn of which is the length of a small arm is called 825
ǂaub. Finally the hunter differentiates the grown animal before the first

pairing as °ǂnũ///nãǂseb, i.e. "black horn," because the horns still have a fresh dark color, not the grey flaky surface of the older animal. The native hunter calls the old gemsbok bull that has been driven from the herd, //naisib. [Picture. Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young springbok ♂] 136 825

The horns (in the male stronger and stubbier) are like two strong spears, ringed in the lower half, up to one meter long, which diverge slightly on the flat of the forehead and then rise towards the back at a slant. The Boer name, "gemsbok," which has been accepted everywhere in South Africa, shows, as do so many other names, what a childishly vague memory of his school-days the Boer had when he approached the animal world of his new homeland. 136

12. The springbok, Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm., called //gũǂb, is in build, marking and size the prototype of the delicate light-footed gazelle. It has the size of a large deer. The symmetrical body rests on tall, slender legs; a slim neck bears the little head with the lyre horns. From the lower shoulder a dark-brown, wide band rises up obliquely and continues to the hips and separates sharply the light yellow-brown of the back from the snow white of the belly. In front, the brown of the back continues to the neck and the outer sides of the front legs. In back, it extends along [276] the outer side of the upper hind legs, but leaves the whole front half of them free. The flag is also white. From it a sharply drawn white stripe runs down the middle of the back and ends shortly before the center. The white of the belly also covers the breast and extends as a narrow band down the middle line of the neck to the throat. The face of the springbok is also white. The large dark eyes peer out expressively. A dark-brown band, that unites the upper lip with the front corner of the eye, enlivens the features. A spot over the eye and one on the forehead (at times, especially in young males, extended over the whole bridge of the nose) complete the simple, yet lively marking of the little animal.

The springbok lives on the open plains in herds of many hundreds, sometimes of many thousands. His striking movements have given him his name. The animals jump so high that in spite of the speed of each motion, a measurable length of time passes before they touch the ground again. They seem then, when they have nearly jumped straight up into the air, to stay up there for a second with all four legs. Even more graceful are the motions of these animals when they are suddenly disturbed and are propelled into the air as if by an invisible power, now to the right, now to the left, expressing their excitement in whimsical jumps which go half-forwards and half-sideways. Then they

1: Schultze--82A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.275]

Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young Male
Springbock ♂

set off in full flight. And then sometimes one sees them jump straight up into the air in the middle of the speediest gallop, leaping over the bushes like a kangaroo. The back is bent, the head outstretched and the broadly unfolded flabellum, a bundle of long snow-white erect hair, shines out. 136

The lamb of the springbok is called //gu·nib by the hunter. The old ram who has been pushed out of the herd is called °/gu·riseb or °/gurimãb, i.e. "he who stands alone." [825]

13. The steinbok, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), called !a·ris, is a small (the size of a fawn) reddish-brown antelope that usually grazes alone. The male is armed with straight, thin, smooth, black, pointed spearlike horns that rise straight up. There is often a striking black spot on the bridge of the nose, that extends halfway up to the eyes. Sometimes one hears a Hottentot, who wishes to make fun of someone's dirty nose, say: "!aris kǂoma ǂnũ ǂguisa ũ," i.e. "you, with a nose black as that of a steinbok." [522]

[277] 14. The klipspringer (see illustration p. 278) Oreotragus saltator (Layard) (Cape D. klipbok), called //kǂaĩ·is or //kǂaĩ·sis, could be called the chamois of South Africa. It lives in small herds exclusively in clefted mountain country. With certainty and grace it climbs over the cleft rocks. Without taking a running start, only bending the hind knees slightly, he jumps nearly straight up into the air the height of his own body to ascend the steep steps of the weathered gneiss and granite hills. He knows how to judge distances so accurately and so to judge the amount of strength needed, that even after a bold leap he can land with extraordinary certainty on an edge scarcely a handsbreadth wide. The hoofs of the little animal do not extend flat towards the front in a pointed triangle, like those of other antelopes, but are shaped like powerful cylinders that go up at a slant. The animal stands on the outermost tips of these hoofs as though on cothurni. [Picture. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.) Steinbok?]

The skin of the klipspringer is also remarkable. Thick bristly hairs form a soft, elastic cover, which rustles peculiarly when a hand runs over it. The tips of most of the hairs are colored a light yellowish and are set off sharply from the exposed dark parts of the shafts of the hair. The skin, that from a distance seems to be uniformly greyish-brown, proves on closer inspection to be brilliantly variegated. The male has horns like those of the steinbok.

1: Schultze--83A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p.277]

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.). Steinbok. ♀

15. The duikerbok, Cephalophus grimmi (Gray), called *tõa·s or 136 ●
also */ha/nu·s, lives, as the steinbok does, alone or in pairs. The male, more rarely the female, possesses a short, straight pointed spear-horn. The duikerbok ducks to the ground as soon as he has seen an enemy, and creeps away to a stretch protected by the thick bushes that are its favorite habitat.

[278] The blue wildebeest, Connochaetes taurinus (Burchell), called /gã·ob, resembles as does the closely-related gnu, pictured below, more closely a small calf than an antelope in its outward appearance, especially in the formation of its head, including the antlers. The basic coloring of the body is sometimes a darker, sometimes a lighter grey that changes into a light brownish tone on the small of the back and on the legs. The throat and the side parts of the front of the body are banded across. Sometimes they are broad, brownish-black, connected stripes, sometimes narrow, split stripes. The bushy black tail nearly rests on the ground. A long-haired semi-erect black mane extends from the back of the head to about the middle of the back. Behind the corner of the mouth, a bunch of hair like a beard sprouts forth. Towards the throat it becomes a thin shaggy mane that continues down the middle of the front of the neck for a ways. [Picture. Oreotragus saltator (Layard). Young klipspringer, ♂] I have seen neither the blue wildebeest nor his tracks in Great Namaland, only in Kalahari. If and where it might still be found in Great Namaland today, I cannot tell.

17. The red hartebeest, Bubalis caama (Cuf.), called //kχama·b, concludes the series of antelopes in the hunting districts of Great Namaland. It may [279] still be encountered in the most northern and north eastern border territories (Komas Highlands, Rehoboth and Nosob territory).

Right above the prominent swellings of the eyebrows, the tower-like sub-structure of the antlers rises. In front, it drops in a straight line to the forehead and to the bridge of the nose that is greatly lengthened and slanted steeply. In back, it drops in just such a straight line to the neck which sets stiffly on the shoulders. Thus the back of the animal's head seems to be completely missing. The nape of the neck and the bridge of the nose on the forehead run to a high triangular point. Antlers, that are bent back in a remarkable way, are set in this area. They are massive in the male, slim in the female. [Picture. Connochaetes gnu (Zimmermann). Black wildebeest. A bull.] The animal's back rises gently toward the front and then with a hump over the shoulder area. The overall coloring of the hartebeest is a light

1: Schultze--84A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.278]

Oreotragus saltator (Layard). Young Klippspringer, ♂.

1: Schultze--848 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Connochaetes gnu (Zimmermann). Black Wildbeest. A bull.

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

[533 825] [280] The tail is insignificant: "!naësi gye ǂkχaris ǂaresa ĩ" "it has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 825 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard, Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture. Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest♂] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called !hurdu· /garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (ǂkχã = to refuse) to be noticed (ǂhau) (-he pass. ending, -sa adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it *ǂhau·/hesagyeǂkχã·b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is *ǂhũiseb.

136 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipard), called !a·rub, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back [522] seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "!arub kχoma gaχu !gãba ũ," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis caffra Desm., (Cape D. graauwkat), called /hõǁa·b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

1: Schultze--85A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.280]

Bubalis caama (Cuv.). The red hartebeest, ♂.

136 resembles our house cat, the most but is stronger and above all has longer legs. The tail is slightly bushy at the end. The basic coloring is grey, mixed with light-brown tones, which are more prominent on the ventral side as far as the throat. The bending side of the front legs and of the hind legs from the heel down is colored more or less black. The stretching sides and outer sides of the front legs are spotted black, those of the hindlegs from the knee down have black crossbands. The rich black banding of the tail is irregular. On the belly as well as on the inside of the legs and in the area of the throat, the brownish-yellow sometimes lightens to a pure white. There are also black horizontal bands on the inside of the front legs.

21. The lynx, Felis caracal Guldenst., (Cape D. rooikat), called !hā‿b, is not uncommon in Great Namaland. The tufts of hair on the ears prove the identity of the pelt at first glance. The pelt is nothing special, colored an even brownish-red with little shading. Only on the head, ears and upper lip and on a stripe between the inner corners of the eyes and nose does any black appear.

Whether the other kinds of cats known in South Africa, the so-called tijgerkat, Felix serval Erxleben and the little Felis nigripes Burchell can [282] be encountered in Great Namaland, I cannot say. The Hottentots with whom I hunted, did not know them. The former is supposed to be not uncommon in northern Namaland (51), the latter

51. K. Dove, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Ergebnisse einer wissenschaftlichen Reise im südlichen Damaralande, (Ergangzungsheft Nr. 120 zu "Petermanns Mitteilungen," 1896).

could wander over from Kalahari in the east.

[857] 22. A favorite wild animal of the youthful hunter is a Viverridae, the "dwarf," a Cynictis species, probably Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), (Cape D. geel meerkat), called *!u‿ri/ēb, not unlike a weasel in flight. The little animals can often be seen sitting upright in front of the holes of their colony.

A related, but somewhat larger and darker kind, the *≠nū‿//ēb of the Hottentots, seems to belong to the Herpestes genus.

Whether the genet, Genetta, exists in Great Namaland, as I assume it does, I was not able to discover. It does not seem to be numerous although it is common in Little Namaland, in southern Hereroland and in the Kalahari and therefore could penetrate our territory from the south, the north and the east.

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /ga/mirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called */ha/rebab or */ha/retsub, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin than he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally grey.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho/mi, the same name they give the coastal eared seal.

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [283] 26. the "caparism" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales), Canis mesomelas Schrbr., (Cape D. fox), called /gĩ·rib, also frequently called /gai·rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

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* I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /gĩb = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (57) since the desig-

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

nation for odor of fat is not /gĩb but /gĩ/b. */gĩ·/ri - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

The light golden-brown color of its pelt has also given it the name gold jackal. A broad black stripe mixed with white covers its back like a caparison from the neck to the root of the tail and the upper parts of the flanks. The last two thirds of the long thin brush are black; the throat and a line along the upper lip have a whitish color.

27. One of the prettiest of the South African jackals is the silver jackal, Vulpes chama (A. Smith), called !kχama·b. The round brush, as soft as wool, is larger than the thin body and is just about as long. The body itself is no larger than that of a Cape hare. The back and the nape of the neck, the outside of the upper legs and the root of the tail are silver grey mixed with a fine dark color. The rest of the body is yellow-brown, shaded variously. The broad end of the brush is black and there are black specks on both sides of the first third.

A belief of the hunters is that whoever says the name of the silver jackal while hunting will not catch one. Whoever is forced to speak of it, therefore calls it *≠gai·ǂhetoma·b, i.e. the one (-b) who is not (toma) called (gaiǂ) (-he a pass. ending). [224]

28. Like the silver jackal, the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar), (Cape D. A-jackal), called //ãǂb, is a small, harmless fellow that never attacks a herd. Its greyish-brown pelt is highly prized. The bushy tail is long, but thin, its tip colored a blackish-brown.

29. In contrast to all its South African relations the Cape hunting dog, Lycaon pictus (Temm.), is dangerous in the highest degree. In packs he chases the fleetest game, attacks herds and even men.

The Cape hunting dog does not have the fine pointed nose of the jackal, nor the broad skull of the hyena. One would be more likely to take its head [284] for that of our household dog. Its pelt is checked a blackish-brown, white and a light brownish-yellow. On its neck and behind its shoulders the yellow flows together to form several rather large spots. A dark stripe usually extends along a middle line between the eyebrows over the skull and continues over the nape, becoming narrower. The trunk and neck are very long in proportion to the head. Inevitably we compare the animal to a house dog and therefore the legs seem to us to be relatively long and strong. The thin slightly bushy tail reaches a little farther than the heels.

Because the front black part of the animal's nose stands out from the lighter areas next to it like a "mush beard," the Hottentots call the wild dog *!gaǂu·b (from *!gaǂu· « to have food sticking around the mouth). The name of the animal may also not be mentioned on the hunt. [224]

136 30. That the spotted hyena, the Hyaena crocuta (Erxl.), (Cape D. tijger-wolf), developed from a crossing of the leopard and the hyena, is the firm conviction of the Boers. The dark-brown or black spots, which are scattered over the whole dirty yellow-grey short-haired pelt (except for the head and the lower part of the throat), plus its lust for killing and the force with which the animal attacks cattle, actually remind one of the leopard. Otherwise the animal outwardly as well as by its inner structure is a true hyena.

31. The brown hyena, Hyaena brunnea Thunbg., (Cape D. strand-wolf), differs from the tijgerwolf, in its smaller size, and in the uniformity of its brown to grey coloring which has only a few rather large vague dark spots. In the more beautiful ones the marking is somewhat sharper. Dark bands circle the front and hind legs. The markings are clearer on the former. The pelt has long hair, only the broad skull with the coarse stubby nose is covered with short-haired fur. The head sometimes seems to be peering out of a mane because the fur is especially thick and long behind the pointed ears and jaws.

How the Hottentot differentiates between the two hyenas just described, I was not able to determine with certainty. It is only certain that the general term for hyena, ǂhĩ·ras, is further specified in ᵒǂnũ/beǂhĩ·ras and !na/ibeǂhĩ·rab. I surmise that [285] the first word refers to the darker one (ǂnũ/ = black), H. brunnea, the second to the H. crocuta, the markings of which have always reminded the hunter of the giraffe (!na/i·b). Added to that is the constancy of the gender differences of the two names. The former always has a feminine ending, the latter a masculine ending. That would correspond objectively to the differences in the strength and character of the two animals and subjectively to the language sense of the Hottentots. But this is just mentioned as a guess.

32. The aardwolf, Proteles cristatus (Sparrm.), called /gĩǂb, concludes the series of predatory animals. This small predatory animal, about the size of a fox, resembles outwardly a hyena despite its gracefulness. The skull seems broad, the back slants down and ends in a dark, bushy tail, like that of the strandwolf, but the five toes on the front legs and the peculiarities of its teeth show that the animal is neither hyena nor dog and give it a special place as a representative of its own family.

Four to six black horizontal bands cross the yellow-brown trunk. They run into a black stripe that runs along the middle line of the back, which spreads out into a spot where the back is highest. The

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot formerly had against the hare, !õ·as, as wild game (66), has now vanished.

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66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kǂa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kǂa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called *ǀa·bara≠ga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tsoǀaru·s or tsoǀara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *ǂa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

1: Schultze--90A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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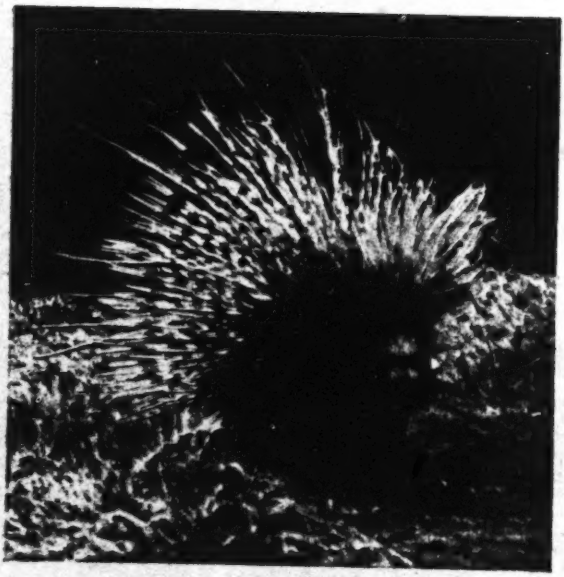

Hystrix africae australis (Peters.).

begin right behind the ears, lie like a dark-brown pelt. Towards the back they change suddenly into pointed white and dark-brown banded quills that are as thick as a pencil. From the nape to the beginning of the quills there is a comb of long flexible bristles that extends down the middle line of the back. When the quills are erect, the animal seems to be twice as tall as it actually is. The rattles at the rear end of the body complete the list of the animal's weapons of terror. 136

[287] The Hottentot name for the porcupine, !noa·b, is perhaps connected with !noa· = to become grey. Both words correspond in initial tone level and rising word-tone. !noa·b would then mean "grey head," corresponding to the general impression that the nocturnal animal arouses in the dark or the pale light of the stars.

36. The mouse and rat-like rodents are hunted and eaten by adult Bergdamaras as well as by half-grown Hottentots. A study of the skins and skeletons that I collected, will tell us how to classify the rat-sized animal which they call *!haēb. duru·s (3. st.) is a collective name for various mouse species. They distinguish a night mouse, tsū·χudurus or !uru·s, and a kind with a pelt striped lengthwise belonging to Arvicanthis which they call *≠goma·b. [224]

37. The ground squirrel, Xerus capensis Kerr., is called */ga·eta ≠nā/b.

38. The smallest hoofed animal, rodent-like in its mannerisms, the rock rabbit, Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), (Cape D. dassie), called !aũ/b, often finds its way into the hunter's pot. The young are called *//gī/bigu. The rock rabbit inhabits the clefts in the rocks in great numbers near watering places.

39. In conclusion there are a number of mamals to be mentioned which the Hottentot occasionally traps rather than hunts regularly. He will not let the aardvark, Orycteropus afer (Pall.), called /kχubu·s, escape if he should happen to meet it during the day in an open field. But he must be really suffering from hunger before he will decide to undertake an uncertain difficult ambush at night in front of its hole. (See Kalahari.) 224 136

40. Hunting the elephant shrew, Macroscelides, called baus (in Little Namaland called !kχau/≠guib) is an amusement for boys. They differentiate two kinds as far as I could see, justifiably so: a lazy one, which is easily caught, "sleepy mouse," *//um.baus, and the "quick mouse," *!kχoē·baus, which can be recognized by its bald ears that shine through reddish when it is alive. [857]

41. The baboon, Papio porcarius (Boddaert), (Cape D. baviaan), called /nē·/rab, or as the older people call him /nō.rab, is seldom

hunted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, distinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kχē.aob, "scout," and the oldest leader as */ga/ro /nē/rab, because it presses toward the water first [288] (!ga/ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in the herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill. 136 224

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of baboon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the Orange bush country. They call it */hai·/nē/rab, i.e. "pale baboon" because of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mischief). [Picture. Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack a leopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to every native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously that the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth. 136 825

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an expedition, !ha/mi·, that takes several days or weeks. 224

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game]. Only the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game (/kχuri·, //ga/m, u'ru). First he sights the game at great distances and, in spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes, recognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has developed the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intellect to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One need only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has been shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the trail is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly covered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a hundred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards the sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it and will then point out the direction with his finger where the search must continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground is overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the surrounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings back a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal has brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours [151]

1: Schultze--92A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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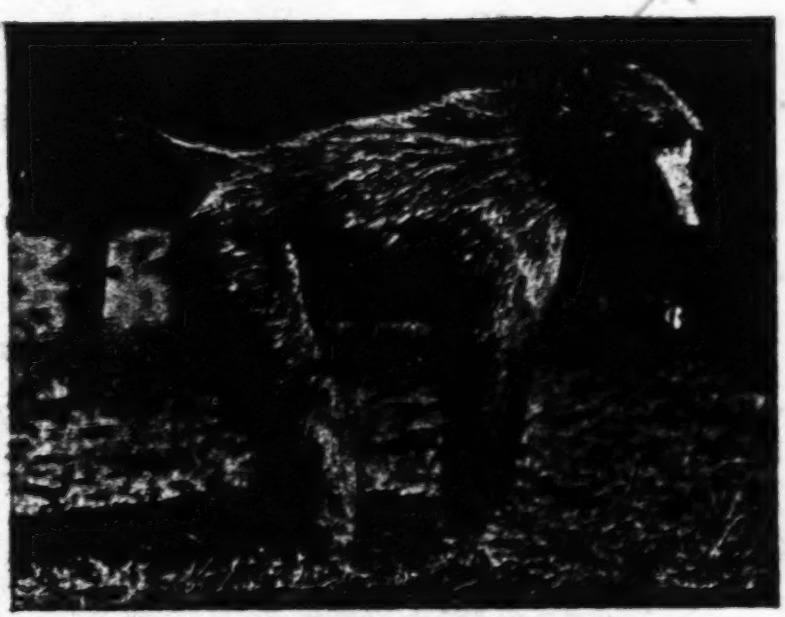
[p. 288]



Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.

538 gã·/tsi/ha·mabes, plays the part of the weaker party. However, it
825 is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX); in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.; Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

● 136 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this op-
538 portunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, ǂkχaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lesson), the giraffe, !naǂb.
(3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), the rock-rabbit, !aũb.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), the eland, !kχans.
(5.) Antodorcas euchore Zimmerm., the springbok, //gũb.
Folk tale name, ǂhãeb.
6. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), the steinbok, !aris.
(7.) Ovis aries L. platyura, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gomab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, !goreb.
(10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, hãb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gai!gãba, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, /garub.

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13. Canus mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal, /gĩrib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti !gã̃ /haisetse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ũsgyeb.

[454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, ǂhĩras (specifically °ǂnũbe ǂhĩras), also called "my sister Pointed Run," ti !gã̃ ǂgõbese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.

15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, !kχamab, hunters' name: °ǂgaihetoma·b (see p. 283); puzzling folk tale name: °hoagye-!gã̃·hãkχoĩ sõab, that is "the son (õab) of the sister (!gãs, kχois, "woman") of all (hoa) [mankind] (gye and hã̃, verbal particle)."

16. Felis caffra Desm., the wildcat, /hõab.

17. Mellivora ratel (Sparrm), the honey badger, /harebab.

18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), [Mierkatze], the "dwarf" /ẽb (specifically: °!uri/ẽb).

(19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.

20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, !noab.

21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 285), !õas.

22. Papio porcarius (Boddaert), the baboon, /nẽrab.

23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: hubais and hĩngatu·bus. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: batsíbab.

24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, °gãtsin/hamabes.

(25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kχinas.

26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala·migob (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).

27. Gallus domesticus Boiss, domestic chicken, hũnors (borrowed).

28. Corvus scapulatus Daud., white crow, gorab or !uri gorab.

29. Python sebae, python, °gai/aob. The rudiments of the rear [825] extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also °go/ma-ǂkχa·raseb, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python °!ga·/nigyen!gũ/b because the animal squeezes its prey to death (!ga/ni) and because his "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (!gũ/b).

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53%

30. Psammophis notostictus, sand snake, sanugyeõ aseb.

31. Varanus spec.[1/A], iguana, !no/ʔna b, °//nareb in the Bergdamara dialect.

[455] 32. Agama spec. (A. atra Daud. or A. planiceps Peters). Aro lizard, !aro b.

33. A Lacertidae, related to a Scapteira, /gabenau b.

34. Pelomedusa glaeata (Schoepff), a tortoise that lives in slimy water and therefore smells bad. The general term for tortoise is //kxuri· b.

35. Batrachia anura of various species, insofar as they can be included within the general term "frog," //gũ·ʔtsi//gũ·ʔbes. [Fig. --Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gĩ·rib.]

36. Muscidae of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "fly," /gĩna·s.

37. Orthoptera of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "grasshopper," °ǂnãǂ!au/ʔs; because of their hopping movements the grasshoppers are compared to a girl who dances (ǂnãǂ) and rages (°!auʔ).

[456] 38. Orthoptera from the families of the Hetrodidae and Stenopelmatidae; to the latter belongs the type of Maxentius called /kxu·nitsi//kxu·meb, that is "glutton belly."

39. Coprophage Lamellicornier from the group Scarabaeinae, types of "dorbeetles." The dorbeetle is called ǁau·tsi//ga·ǂ mabeb because of its burrowing movements in dung: he nestles up to the dung (ǁaub) exactly as one lies down at night (°//gaǂma·) close to the fire. The buzzing sound of his wings is compared in the tales to the bass of the reed pipes. In folk tales the dung beetle appears under the name ǂnagyeǂgaieb.

(40.) Formicidae, ants, ǂgoberu·gu.

1/A [German "der Leguan", In English were commonly called Monitor. —Ausl/ps]

1: Schultze--248A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gī·rib.

[p. 459]

1: Schultze--250A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Maxentius Stal spec., aff. pinguis Wlk. ♀

[p. 458]

1: Schultze--269A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.482]

Fig. -- Bitis cornuta L.

1: Schultze--282A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.499]

Felis leo L. ♂

1: Schultze--283A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• 136

[p.501]

Struthio australis L. ♀

1: Schultze--285A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.504]

Papio procarius (Boddaert.) an old male.

1: Schultze--287A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.507]

/gabestau-b (3. St.)

A member of the division Lacertilia that is called ?- and is related to the group Scapteira. 1 6/10 natural size. (This size seems improbable; it might be a misprint for "1/6 natural size!" -- Translator's note.)

1: Schultze--289A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[510]

Struthio australis L. ♂

1: Schultze--290A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[512]

Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg). Steenbok ♀

1: Schultze--299A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.524]

Methone andersoni Stal, (Oedipopide) by Kubub.
Natural size.

1: Schultze--302A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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A ǂanagyeǂgaieb Beetle.
(See page 456, number 39.)

1: Schultze--310A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Papio procarius (Boddaert) from the rear, demonstrating the posterior welts.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

and nineteenth centuries many of the larger game animals were driven out of the more southern regions, the quagga being totally exterminated, but most of them are still found in the Kalahari and northern parts of South-West Africa, as well as in the eastern lowlands (from Zululand to the Zambesi delta).

The kudu is the most common of the larger antelopes, the duiker and steenbok among the smaller antelopes still numerous over the whole country, while in the north and east herds of hartebeest, blue wildebeest, gemsbok, and eland are also found in fair numbers. Among the better-known antelopes peculiar to South Africa are the bontebok and the black wildebeest, both now surviving only in a state of semi-captivity on farms, and the springbok, still fairly plentiful in some districts and kept in small herds on many farms. It formerly inhabited in immense numbers the open treeless plains of all South Africa, and is celebrated for the vast " treks " in which it travelled in search of food or water. Small herds of elephant survive in a few strongholds to the east and south, and in parts of the Northern Kalahari. The zebra, giraffe, buffalo, and rhinoceros are still found in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the eastern lowlands, while the hippopotamus, formerly abundant in every river of the Cape, is now confined to the neighbourhood of the Orange River, and also occurs in the rivers of the Kalahari and the Low Veld of the east. Of carnivorous animals the leopard is still common in many mountainous regions over the whole country, as are also the wild cat, red lynx, spotted hyena, and jackal, but the lion, once so plentiful throughout the Cape Province, is now apparently extinct south of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Baboons are numerous in many mountainous districts, and the forests, even along the south coast, still shelter monkeys.

Birds especially prominent in South Africa include the starlings, the weaver-birds, the larks, the sunbirds, the shrikes, bulbuls, and swallows. Of game birds the most common are the ostrich, still existing in the wild state in various unenclosed parts of the country, though now chiefly known as a domesticated bird; the bustards (korhaans and paauws), the francolins or African partridges, guinea-fowl, sand grouse, quail, and snipe, as well as numerous varieties of waterfowl. The secretary bird (*Serpentarius*), a long-legged terrestrial relative of the hawks and eagles, is protected on the strength of its reputation as a snake killer. A tropical element, comprising such birds as parrots, louries, hornbills, rollers, and glossy starlings, penetrates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

H B 136

into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

B [262]

H B [164]

B [411]

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

278 759

not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

752

The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

[224] 278 752

Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to congeal the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipsweet or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

825 136

The gecko lizard, the D/ung D/ung, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

278 752

Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor head cloths.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kabroo, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In each case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

728
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on the island, he and another Hottentot[23]) managed to make land in a leaky fishing-skiff provided with two oars, the wind favouring them. They found the settlements of their fellow Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas again erected in the vicinity. The flight of these two savages was reported to Governor Riebeeck after a few days by a certain free burgher of Saldanha Bay,[24]) who came sailing from there. On the following day the Governor sent out six Dutchmen to go seeking along the shore until they came across the skiff or any sign of it. The men set out, with provisions of food for four or five days, and on the next day, just about eleven miles from the Fort, found the skiff lying high and dry in a pretty little sand bay, with the oars by it and some grass inside, as if someone had slept there at night. But they saw no people thereabouts, nor any Hottentots on the whole trip, although rhinoceros, elephants and other wild beasts were observed often enough. After a trip of four days, these six men at last came back to the Fort, without having achieved their object, and told the Governor of their adventure.[25])

[136]

At long last, in the month of February, 1660, the aforesaid Harry or Kamcemoea came to the Fort with the Chief Chore, accompanied by thirteen fat cattle and more than a hundred other savages, all unarmed.[26]) They entreated that we should be willing to accept these fat cattle as a token of friendship, and that they should again be permitted to visit us as before. In addition they agreed to let us plough the land within three hours' journey of the Fort with corn and other seed, but on condition that we did not plough up any more land than was already under cultivation. As soon as this compact had been concluded on both sides by word of mouth, the Hottentots were regaled in the Fort with bread, tobacco and brandy, from which they made themselves dead drunk. The others, as soon as they learned that the dispute was settled, also came running

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23) This man was a Gorachhouqua spy captured July 12, 1659, and used without success to guide Harry and the Dutch to the camping-places of his people. He was sent to Robben Island on Oct. 3, where Harry followed him in Oct. 20 (D. *ut cit.*).

24) D., Dec. 8, 1659. The escape had taken place "8 or 10 days" before.

25) Cf. D., Dec. 9-13, 1659.

26) Dapper's information is incorrect. The first pact was concluded on April 5-6 with the Capemen and their chief Gogosoa (D., *ut cit.*). Chore, "with a retinue of about 100 men, among them the eldest and principal of the tribe, bringing with them 13 head of cattle fairly old and young," did not come to sue for peace until a month later (D., May 5, 1660).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

On the 15th, with a gentle N.W. wind blowing, when we were rejoicing in the distant prospect of the long-desired Cape of Good Hope, we sailed past another island, Robben Island, distant according to the maps five miles from our fort, eight miles from Dassen Island, and about fifteen from Saldanha Bay. It is not made conspicuous by any lofty mountain peak; as a matter of fact only a low hill rises there. It is used as a prison for convicts employed in gathering shells to be burned for the lime for the new fort.* Here are many chameleons, smaller than the Indian variety, insects of every sort, small reptiles, various snakes, poisonous spiders as big as a man's fist, etc.

At four in the afternoon Table Bay received us, having lost abundance of men in this voyage, and on the next day the table of the Governor, an incomparable man.[2] We were summoned to his board by the sound of the bugle; and while rowing ashore our long-boat was hindered in reaching the sandy beach of Africa by a species of very large seaweed, commonly called *drombassen*. The whole of our smaller ship's boat would scarcely have sufficed to carry one plant. This seaweed is a sign to those approaching the Cape of Good Hope of their speedy arrival, as is also the presence of a species of sea-bird, an albatross of a whitish colour and small size. The place delighted us by its strangeness, the interest of the observer being excited to a livelier attention by the fact that the circumstances of the inhabitants of this part are still unknown to writers. For they say (and this is all they tell us) that a certain emperor spread his sway from the Mountains of the Moon to the Cape of Good Hope or the extremities of Africa; that his realm was divided into four kingdoms, and called Monomotapae.[3]

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* The present castle, founded 1666, occupied 1674 (the year after Ten Rhyne's visit), and finished 1676. (B.F.)

[2]) The Governor at this time was Isbrand Goske (1672-76), the first to bear the title Governor in place of Commander. He had been sent out specially to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked by the English or French, with whom the Netherlands were then at war, and the building of the castle was completed during his tenure of office.

[3]) Ten Rhyne hardly does justice to Hondius, Dapper and other earlier Dutch writers whose accounts of the Hottentots should have been familiar to him. Legends of Monomotapa and the vast wealth of this Empire were still current in his time, but of the Cape itself a good deal of accurate information was already available in published works.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Bakkeley Plaats.[4]) There is also another plain, called by our countrymen De Buffelsjacht,[5]) perched on a mountain difficult of access, beyond which it is not yet known whether the country is flat or mountainous. But who could measure all those mountain heights, winding hills, and spreading plains? [133]

Of the mountains near the Fort the loftiest is called Table Mountain, from its flat top, and from its height it is a beacon for those seeking this harbour. From base to summit it is said to measure five *leucae*.* And certain it is that it was after a very stiff climb and the loss of much sweat that I succeeded in scaling it. There were myriads [137] of different plants; and at the foot of the mountain, which is cleft through the middle, I passed through a marshy grove of palmitides, with sharply reticulated roots. Once we met a terrifying troop of yelling baboons; and during [136] our descent in the evening saw many "meteors." Sparks were dancing in every direction in the air, and the first sight of them terrified my companions, who supposed that these must be the blazing eyes of lions, noted here for their daring. But when I tried to catch them in my hand the sparks fled; and I learned subsequently that these "meteors" resemble in their marshy juice, which glows in the darkness, the meteor *bolis*. Another mountain which formerly gave its name to the place is called Lion Mountain, not from the roaring of the savage winds, but from its natural shape. On its summit are always posted two look-outs to give warning of the approach of ships.

The sheer snowy mountains with which all this region is hemmed in are naturally associated with rivers as a body is with its shadow. The most important are: 1. Bot river, 2. Palmiet river (?), 3. Berg river, which springs more obviously than the others from the mountains, 4. River Sonder End, rising among the mountains but of extent unknown as yet, 5. Breede river, a shallow stream, very

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[4]) Bakkeley Plaats is near the village of Vredendal, west of Van Rhynsdorp. The name is derived from the Malay *barkelahi*, to fight, and refers to a skirmish which took place here in May, 1668, between the Dutch stationed at Saldanha Bay and some Namaqua who had stolen some cattle and sheep from them and from other Hottentots. (D., May 17, 1668; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 134).

[5]) Probably the Buffelsjagt R. in the district of Swellendam, to which cattle-trading expeditions were often sent from Hottentots Holland. The country beyond was not fully known until after Schryver's journey of 1689.

* See note on opposite page. The height of Table Mountain is 3,582 feet, so that Ten Rhyne's estimate is somewhat generous.

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It is white even in its natural deposit, although black specimens are also found. But when the dog days scorch it with their tremendous heat, of its own accord it splits and shows a gleaming white surface. It surpasses the common salt of our country somewhat in pungency of taste, and forms a most agreeable accompaniment of food. Can this be the reason why (as already known in Aristotle's time) if one digs near the sea in Africa, one first finds sweet water, then, after a little, salt? 317

CHAP. II.

Animals.

This mountainous desert is a fitter habitation for wild beasts than for men; for here are to be found lions, the cruel enemies of flocks and herds, elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers or rather panthers, wolves, elks, hippopotamuses, wild horses, buffaloes, boars, mountain-bred *napes* (?), baboons, porcupines, hedge-hogs, *putorii* (?), lynxes, stags, rabbits, badgers, otters, hares, zebras of a most beautiful colouring, as if a furrier had inserted white stripes at regular intervals in a black hide, goats, mountain goats, ibexes, both spotted and ash-coloured, springboks, wild cats, shaped like tigers and grey, a species of fox which the Dutch call *jakhals*, and more rarely *Tamandua-Guacu* (?), differing only in size from the Brazilian variety. In truth an enormous supply of animals must harbour here, for in a brief space of time a few hunters brought the governor several thousands of pounds weight of animals they had taken, chiefly hippopotamuses, elks, ibexes, and similar creatures. Hence we can see into how serious an error Aristotle fell when he says that in Africa (where there is no lack of that beast whose teeth are precious at its death) the boar, the stag, and the wild goat are not to be found. 136

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*) Prodigiosae magnitudinis belvae, a me non semel conspectae, quas saepe cum vitae periculo venatum eunt nostrates: videatur Plin. lib. 8. cap. 25 & c. 26. (Beasts of enormous size seen more than once by me. Our countrymen often go to hunt them at the peril of their lives. *See* Pliny, Natural History, bk. 8, chaps. 25 and 26.)

†) Quae Marcgravius describit sub nomine Miemen delders. Hist. quadrup. lib. suo 6. cap. 4. (Described by Marcgravius under the name Miemen. *History of Quadrupeds*, bk. 6, chap. 4.)

a) de hist. anim. lib. 8 cap. 28.

b) Petron. in satyr. (The reference again is to Petronius *Satyrae*. §119, lines 15, 16. *Equi* seems to be corrupt. The passage in Petronius concerns the elephant. H.F.)

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CHAP. III.

Birds.

Among the birds, which are plentiful enough and of varied colours, are ostriches, peacocks, cranes, black storks, herons, geese, pelicans, ducks, penelopes, querquedulae, glaucia, divers, urinatrices, coots, boscades, penguins, partridges, red and ash-coloured pheasants, vanelli, figpeckers, the lesser gallinago, screech-owls, myriads of cephi, martins, swallows of various hue, colybrides, or suckers of a certain verticillated plant, and a certain kind of pelican called by the French *Flammants*, and by our countrymen, who learned the name from the Portuguese, *Flaminken*, with upstanding variegated plumage. 136

CHAP. IV.

Fish.

Here the sea and also the rivers yield their own wild creatures, sea-lions, sea-rabbits, guapervas of Brazil, whales, small sharks, tunnies (the glory of the table), salmon, rays, mulleta, mussels, gilt-bream, decumanae, eels, two species of carp (the inhabitants call them Hottentots' fish, since the Hottentots delight in them, because they are scaly, and haunt the rocks, and have a tasty flesh). Another large table fish is the *sterebras*. Then there is a species of dog-fish, which the Portuguese call *Cassaco*. Also oysters, lobsters, crabs, the true torpedo, turbines, cuttlefish, and viriform shells, among which is the Pareo, called by Pliny the sailing nautilus. But to enumerate all is impossible within the narrow limits I have set myself; I shall merely add one to conclude. When I was skirting the edge of a gently curving shore beaten by quiet waves in order to prosecute my researches into the offspring which the sea casts forth from her womb, I discovered certain animalcula firmly attached to the rocks, which by the innumerable living fibres they thrust out present a rosy hue, and are in consequence popularly known among the Dutch as rock-roses. [262]

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speckt, and of which he enumerates nine species, while I from my own observations have noted but three, described elsewhere.)

4) vid. supradem p.m. 123.

5) Balaenae quaedam species hic frequens Belgice wout-kapers & vin-visschen. (A certain species of whale common here, called by the Dutch wout-kapers and vin-visschen.)

6) vide Marcgrav. lib. 4. c. 12.

7) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 47.1. (E.P.)

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CHAP. V.

Insects and Poisonous Creatures.

Neither of the poisonous creatures nor of the insects could there be given any complete enumeration here. Among the latter are common various beetles, butterflies, mordellae, *glow-worms, locusts of different sorts, many worms,* millepede spiders of various colours, comparable in size to a man's fist, and several kinds of ant, which bury themselves in great heaps of food in the neighbouring mountains. The Treasurer asserted that these ant-heaps could be sparingly substituted for lime in the building of the new fort. I broke some open and disclosed myriads of ants swarming within. 136

Among the poisonous creatures snakes are common, differing in shape, size and habitat. There are vipers twice as big as I have found in France, salamanders, scorpions, sculopendrae, lizards, toads. Of the origin of these I discoursed with the Governor, a man of incomparable experience; I expressed surprise at the appearance of the toads in that place, which were three times the size of our native ones and had very long hind legs like (?) , with which they swept the ground. "You are surprised at this," said he in reply, forthwith ordering some specimens of toad-shaped fish of the genus Holothuria (water-polypes), with feet below their bellies, to be brought. "Look, these are the source from which our toads are born." And this I myself afterwards observed, to wit, a toad produced from this fish. I also disembowelled a fish of this sort in the presence of the Governor and found all the internal organs, especially the lungs with which they are generously supplied, to be like those of toads or frogs.

Other classes of living things I either did not see at all, or, if seen, in the very short time of my sojourn there, could not examine minutely. But I am inclined to adopt the opinion of the Stagirite, that in Asia the most savage, in Europe the strongest, in Africa the most various wild animals are brought forth. Hence has sprung the saying: Africa always produces something new. Aristotle gives as the reason that the lack of water gathers together different animals to relieve their thirst with the result that they copulate promiscuously. But this must be understood of the deserts of Africa, which otherwise is watered by many great rivers.

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000 squammosa, quâ impense delectantur. *Tabacum* infantes aeque ac senes, feminae ac mares, in maximis deliciis habent, ita ut quamvis suis invidiosi, fumantem tamen fistulam sociis per vices distribuant. Crescit in his oris *) *Ari Africani radix*, tanta pollens acrimonia, ut linguam non modo adurat, sed & acerrime lancinet, venenis merito accensenda. Hanc *Hottentotti* coquendo mitigant (igne nocivum expellente *sulfur*, volatilem simul & acrem ligante *salem*) ut esui apta sit haec radix, [1]) *erinaceorum* (qui hic mirae effigiei sunt,) dapes. Nonedulibus, veluti arefactis & pulverulentis *pellibus* (queis pro calceis saepe diu fuere usi) quin & *excrementis*, modo non solis, vescuntur incompositi omnes ad unum, etiam non excluso *Rege*, vilissima mendicabula, ut singuli ferè *Nigritae* sunt.

CAP. XVII.

De Modo Bellandi.

Nihil est hac plaga infestius, ubi tempestatibus atrox coelum, saxeique montes incolarum ingeniis congenera sunt; unde asperae & in flagitia astutae mentes cum molli nostratium indole haud conveniunt, bellum levissima de causa suscipientes. *Arma* illis sunt praeter coriaceam *lacernam* (qua clypei loco utuntur) *arcus* & *tela*: Haec vel *) *projectoria*, queis adeo accurate ad scopum collineare sciunt, ut ad quadraginta passuum distantiam, propositum offendant punctum, quoque prono jaciunt brachio; vel *jaculatoria*, quibus bipennibus magno nisu ad ariem vibratis, hostes transverberant. Ita plerumque impuro veneno hunc in modum inficiunt: viperum aliudve infestum

*) Alibi a me delineati. (Illustrated by me elsewhere.)

[1]) Quorum figuras alibi quoque dedi. (I have given drawings of these elsewhere.)

*) Vulgo Assagayen.

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**) The use of poisoned weapons is more generally associated with the Bushmen, but there is sufficient evidence that the Hottentots also knew and practised it. Ten Rhyne's description of how the snake poison is applied need not be taken at its face value. A more reliable account is given in the descriptive notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's journey to the Koperberg (1685-6). On one of the plates is figured a snake, called *hamachou* by the Hottentots (and rather doubtfully, and inaccurately, identified by Waterhouse as the mamba). The accompanying note says: "The natives set large traps for this snake and poison their arrows and assegais with its powerful venom. They first remove the skin from the upper jaw-bone, and disclose beneath it a small oblong bladder, full of little glands.... They

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Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assagais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[1]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Wainrhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also Schapera, *op. cit.*, 130 ff.

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with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![4])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[4]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey[4]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 15 or 18 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1896, Min. Proc. p. xvi).

[4]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator* spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

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A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character[70]. And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver nummi, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.[71] The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

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offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 6 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

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They use for the same purpose and hold in equal esteem the Canna plant, which is perhaps our hemp.[44] The seeds of it do not seem very different from those which I once ate in Madrid, fried in the pan with pepper, oil and salt, and called canamones by the Spaniards.

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The number of animals here of earth, air, and water, and both domestic and wild, is so prodigious that it is like living in a zoo. Let one example serve for all: more than a thousand elephants sometimes feed together in a herd, and some of them are of such a size that I have seen a single tooth (I should rather call it a horn) that weighed more than one hundred and thirty pounds. The number of snakes, amphibians, and insects is just as great. Each class of them splits up as a rule into four or more species, and these, I am astonished to perceive, are for the most part unknown to the Europeans and unrecognized in the writings of all naturalists. I do not want you to suppose that I am straying from the truth; you must know therefore that the most careful observers have reported the above facts to me, and have told me among other things that they have seen creatures grazing with horses' heads, long necks, short tails, like elephants in the rest of their parts and as big, of an almost incredible swiftness, and at the same time so little shy that they seemed domesticated. I have also heard credible witnesses state that they have seen ferocious unicorns as big as horses and like them in every limb, with a horn on the forehead as long and as thick as your arm. Others, of unimpeachable veracity, say that there are horses here with two horns, equally ferocious and of exquisite beauty. Some profess to have seen fine tall wild horses feeding in herds, and among them some fairer than snow, others darker than coal, some white with black mane and tail, and vice versa, some black with white mane and tail, all of them outclassing the Asturian breed and each a Pegasus in swiftness. I have seen with wonder a zebra of no less speed and rare beauty, artistically striped over his whole body from his ears to his tail and down his legs to the pastern with alternate bands of black and white two fingers thick. It was only in the size of his

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generally chew a certain herb called *canna*. They pound it root and stem together between stones and store and preserve it in bags made of sheepskin. In October, when we were approaching the Copper Mountain, everybody was gathering this herb on the surrounding mountains as a supply for the whole year. They use it as the natives of India use *betel* or *areca*. They chew both stem and root almost all day and become thereby intoxicated, so that on account of this effect and its pleasant smell and stimulating taste, one may safely expect some advantage from its workings" (Waterhouse, 162, 165).

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ears that he differed from a horse. On such a one Absalom may have mounted for his last ride.[87])

I have observed in the case of the hippopotamus, an enormous beast whose nature is to inhabit land and water alike, that he moves his upper jaw, a peculiarity he shares with the crocodile. They say also that the fat of this animal boiled and drunk is a cure for various diseases.

On the snout of a boar with terrible tusks that was taken by hunters I have seen a horn with a backward curve not above a finger in length. On other specimens I have seen two such horns. Furthermore I have seen at least three specimens of an underground boar unknown to Europeans and commonly called earth-pigs (ant-eater). Each of them weighed over one hundred pounds, and had large donkey's ears, a long snout, and for the rest in head, bristle and body resembled a boar, save that its tail was thick, projecting, tapering, and ended at a length of two feet in a sharp point. This creature is armed with no teeth, but has tremendous knife-like claws, four on the front paws, five on the back, with which it protects itself against all attack. With these it also digs a hole for itself, now in one place, now in another, on rising ground. This hole usually faces East, and has a narrow entry barely big enough to admit the animal; it then slopes gently down and continues in a straight course for several cubits, widening out more and more until at the end it forms a vaulted spherical chamber big enough to hold a man. When the ant-eater is hollowing out its den, it keeps casting out with its hind legs the earth that is scraped away in front by the fore-paws. In this cave it lies by day, but at night-fall it comes out in quest of food, feeding on ants or on their eggs, which it licks up by thrusting its thin tongue, which is a foot and a half in length, into a swarm of ants, or an ants' nest. Their diet is, I suppose, the reason that I found their flesh so tasteless and insipid. Some people tell me that they have seen specimens three times as big as I have described.

Experience has shown that the horses for domestic use which the Council imported from Persia and Java at a great price are long-lived, spirited, and excellent in every way[88]). They have thriven so well here and bred so fast that some of the settlers drive round in a coach-and-four,

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[87]) Horses were first imported into the Cape from Batavia in 1653; in 1665 they had increased so greatly in number that some were sold by public auction to the farmers, at an average price of £4 16s. (the cost of 4 or 5 fine large oxen); in 1689, they had so far deteriorated in size and condition that some stud horses were imported from Persia to improve the breed (Theal, ii, 33, 156, 357).

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or even a coach-and-six, like princes, and sometimes keep as many as ten horses for various purposes. Every year, too, along with the four cohorts of infantry the Colony reviews two squadrons of dragoons, ranged under their colours and very obedient to their leaders. This place also produces very hardy oxen, as swift as those found in India near the Ganges.

Finally must be mentioned the very destructive wild dogs, which hunt up and down in packs of ten or twenty; when they come on sheep or calves, with the utmost savagery they promptly disembowel some and tear the udders and bellies of others with their long sharp teeth. In a moment they destroy a whole flock unless the watchful herds or trusty dogs can keep them off.

About the two-horned rhinoceros, the eland, the bison, the bonassus, or hairy bull, and other animals, I think it unnecessary to write. I am afraid so many huge beasts may disgust you. There is only this I should like to add: I have been told by several people that on drinking half a pint of the blood of one of these animals immediately after its being taken, patients who have long languished in sickness have recovered. Nor would I have you ignorant that there is no animal that has been seen here of which the flesh when roasted is not suitable to men.

Nothing could be more wholesome than the air here, more clear than the atmosphere, more mild and temperate than the sky which but rarely thunders and lightens and then not for long. Exception must be made only of the blustering gales that blow every year from various quarters in the chilly South, and of the showery trade wind, the harbinger of rain. When these are raging I have seen the neighbouring mountains covered for several days with snow and frost, even in the middle of December, when the sun here is at its zenith, which is a very remarkable thing. In July I have seen water covered with ice, and hail in the valleys. Indeed lately hail of such size fell that a youth in his teens, a promising lad, the son of one of our citizens, was killed. He was coming home through the wilds with a slave, and he and his companion were overtaken by the storm four miles from the Cape and died of cold. Furthermore the struggle between the winds is sometimes so great that I have seen four ships riding at anchor together in our harbour all facing different winds at the same time, one East, one North West, a third North East, and the last South West. Even if but one wind blows at a time, it is very unsteady, shifting its quarter often in one and the same day, a fact supported by the universal testimony of all sailors, who state that in rounding the Cape they have often been aware of the greatest changes in the wind.

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The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

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it never injures the greatest glutton, even if he consumes whole bunches of the largest size. Indeed it is maintained that men invalided after a long voyage, their health broken by their sufferings, and perhaps afflicted with dysentery and gripes, have often been cured as if by a specific on eating berries and their skins together with a little bread. Sufferers from other diseases have also, it is said, been cured.

Then in this land there is, I might almost say, everlasting spring, by reason of the sunny flowers with their lively scents and gay liveries. Here too are mountains, hills, valleys, meadows, groves, all so filled with grasses, and shrubs, with grain, and aromatic herbs, that verdant Spain compared with such fertility would show like the barren deserts of Arabia or Libya. So sweet have I found the breath of these scents in my nostrils that at times I could have wished myself all nose the better to sate myself with perfumes the fragrance of which was as far beyond all pastiles and incense, and Sabaean thuribles, all the perfumeries of Italy and pharmacies of Spain, the shops of the dealers in spices, and the vendors of myrrh, as a rose is sweeter than a marigold. All these flowers proclaim the hand of the Omnipotent Creator in their structure, so perfect are they in all their parts, so delicate in design, so infinitely various, so bright, so manifold in their shapes of beauty; with the sweetness of their scent they seem to cry aloud God! God!; and as they spring up anew each returning year they show forth plainly in a symbol the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

The farmer here has no great cause to fear locusts, hail, blight, mildew or other disasters to his crops. The birds, however, unless prevented, as they usually are, by the skill and wakeful vigilance of the natives on guard, do sometimes ravage a field, a vineyard, or a garden. And there are root-worms, centipedes, canker-worms, caterpillars, beetles, as well as other insects so small that they are scarcely visible but almost elude the sight of our eyes, which sometimes devour vines, young corn not yet grown into the stalk, fruits, peas, and other similar vegetables. The crops are wormed, and the farmers wretchedly cheated of their hopes.

No tax, or at any rate a very small one, is laid upon the farmer. All that is required of him is that in the fourth year after he has begun to cultivate his farm he should pay a tithe of the grain harvested according to his own calculations; and the farm is given free to each man by

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kχai·ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *≠gũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classfy *!gao·beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ≠ha·ǂob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ≠garib), is supposed to have given its

1: Schultze--19A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Babiana spec.
2/3 natural size

Moraea spec.
2/3 natural size

Ina. /ob
2/3 natural size

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262
222

name to the place Karibib (ǂga·ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called */ũ·/ robis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (*ǂha·/ob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L. f. (called !kχa·ros) is [252] considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

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Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The !haʃni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

50. H. Schinz, Deutsche-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "ǂkχara-!goreb kχoma !haniχa tanasa ũ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, */ao·beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call *!kχõ·aireb, and which plant corresponds to the */a·mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

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If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: *!kχu·ib, or *tsã/χaǂgai-eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture. Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

F: Schultze--20A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size.

1:Schultze--20B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[195]

Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country:

a) *omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.]

) *!ga·/marib· (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ǂna·bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)*/kǁu·bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called */a·miǂai·b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na·ranin from the gourd fruit !na·'rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March.

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves

1:Schultze--21A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Omam! gaub.
1/2 natural size

the "Ostrich foot."
2/3 natural size

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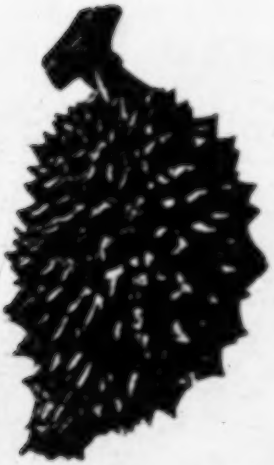
[p.197]



Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size.

252 262 415 ●137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[324 171] The cup for mashing "hai-os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush [412] wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ-ab (- arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call 137 tsa/ma-b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. 252 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, 262 'so'-robe-tsa/ma-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma-s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a-nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaũ's) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [223] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Aizoe capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped [illegible], are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa-/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[201] Finally, the food called //kʇani-b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kʇu-ǂnibe-b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is °!ga-riap!ga-ǂmi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaǂm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern, 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (°/nu-bi!o-ǂreb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !na/baǂkʇa/rab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After peeling out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called /go/a-b and !kʇo-bab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called °//nu/ǂmi), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called °/kʇo-rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 137 ● 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten. 262 [252]

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go-bo//nãi/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gi-gye/ga-mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Mariothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai-rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.] [824] [855]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kxãi/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites. 222 272 137 177 272

1: Schultze--25A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size.

Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.

1: Schuhkm--258 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Codon Royeni Thlg. Natural size.

1: Schultze--26A N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Nama

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[p.204]

Fresh

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers. 302 415 [237]

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu·ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.] [757]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nõu(e)n). The buchu, sãũb, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste: 302 137 303

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and °//gari-//ga·eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called °/u·i//kxao·b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names °!na·/robeb and °!u·/risã·b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried mushroom over a pot and [illegible] their results [illegible] 303 and [illegible] mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust. 303 302 [415]

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kũ·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

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the fat-pot (//gubusa) of the people. But the people came back while (hĩa) the jackal was still (ĩã "to remain") at (doba) the hut. Then the man (aoba) of the hut asked (tẽ): "Of which (mã) district (!āb) are you the jackal?" (-tsa personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nominative)* Then the

[193]

*The word *tumi "so," which is frequently attached to direct discourse, has merely the function of summing up, in contrast to the conjunction goma, which has an imperative sense. "Mã !ab ǂritsa goma" would mean: "Where do you come from? Answer! That's my command."

jackal answered (!eram): "I (-ta) [am] the jackal from the arobush district. [The fruit] of the aro tree (-na, ending of the neut. pl.) I eat (ǂũta), from the hari bush I eat, from the au bush I eat, yes indeed (gumo)!"*

[137]

*The *ǂa-ros bush is Zisyphus mucronatus Willd. (Rhannaceae). *ǂhari-s is Royena pallens Thbg. (Ebenaceae). ǂaũ's is Grewia flava D.C. (Tiliaceae). The jackal lives indeed from the berrylike fruit of these bushes, among other things.

Repetition. Then:

Thereupon the man said (mĩ): "Let (ẽ, imperative particle) me (-ta) see (gõ) you (-ti) excrete (ǂau)." Thus (ti) he says. Then the jackal excreted aroberries. And the man asked again:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted hari berries. Then the man asked:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted au berries and [again] the man asked: "Of [illegible] jackal?" And the jackal answered: "I am the jackal of the aro district. I eat aro berries, I eat hari berries, I eat au berries, yes indeed!"

Repetition. Then:

And the man said: "Let me see you excrete." Then the jackal excretes fat, and the man caught (!kǫõ) him (bi). But the jackal cried: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob), hold me differently." (!kǫõ "to seize," unu "to turn around," !gã "backwards"). And the man seized him differently. The

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain.

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another.

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with [illegible] water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface.

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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the country the appearance of a vast cornfield. Considerable portions, chiefly in the west and north, are, however, covered with dense thorn bush, while in the north-west the whole region is well timbered and merges into thick tropical vegetation. Along the river beds throughout the country are dense thickets of Acacia (*detinens*, *giraffae*, and *karroo*), almost impenetrable in parts and often harbouring great numbers of wild animals. Large forest trees such as mopane, commiphora, and here and there baobabs are found in the north. Succulents, such as the *Aloe dichotoma* and *Euphorbia dinteri*, abound wherever there is rocky soil, while leguminous and bulbous plants are an important feature of the vegetation in all parts. The most remarkable of these plants is the well-known *tsama* melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), which owing to its nutritive and thirst-quenching properties is a veritable staff of life in many parts of the country during the height of the dry season.

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Towards the western border of the Kalahari, as the superficial deposits become thinner, ridges of rock make their appearance and become more and more numerous, the ground-level rises generally, and the region passes by degrees into the highlands of South-West Africa, which form the western edge of the vast interior plateau. This whole territory is practically one great series of undulating elevated plains, intersected by small mountain ranges, of which the Brandberg near the coast rises up as high as 8,277 feet above the sea.

In the far north-west is a chain of rugged mountains stretching south-east through the highland region of the Kaokoveld at a distance of 25 to 40 miles from the coast. Further inland the north-east Kaokoveld consists of an elevated plain, sloping abruptly towards the Kunene River and Ovamboland; from it hills emerge to the south and west. Ovamboland, which shares the characteristics of the Kalahari region, is a slightly undulating sandy plain, intersected by a number of shallow watercourses filled by the Kunene overflow and draining to the Etosha Pan. Towards the south of the Kaokoveld there is a general decrease in height. This southern portion, a country of steep, rocky hills with narrow valleys, passes over to the east into the Karst region, for the greater part a wide plain sloping gently towards the Etosha Pan and characterized by the formations associated with dolomitic limestone. The usual features of this kind of country are met with: sink holes, subterranean caverns and springs, and the absence of defined waterways, due to the porous character of the surface covering.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

H B 137 Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaus and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grevia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca Grah.*, the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Iradaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalidae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

H B 132 133 South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit.

H B 132 133 H B 137

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles.

H B 133

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade

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H B 133 134

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H B 133

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of " Namib " or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea.

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 50 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°.

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a *region of precipices and rocks*, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur.

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood.

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or *Great Karroo of the Cape Province*. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents

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a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 32–41. Cf. also Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–86.

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Nama

PLATE XIV

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TOPNAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

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effusis collibus, & per immensum spargentibus oculos, coelum montibus suspensa terra diversissima *plantarum* gratia praedivites *Semiramidis Alcinoïve* hortos, aut *Elysios* in ipso deserto campos aemulari videbatur: ubi cumulatissimam earundem illico conquisivi sarcinam, ut viva exemplaria *botanosophis Musis* imposterum offerrem. Miratus praesertim ingentem *gummosae aloes* copiam, quae millena aliquot *amarissimi succi* pondera industrio quotannis expromere posset. Tum ad valetudinariam & jam pene agonizantem navim revocabat vespera *venatores*, petrosum maris tegentes* in reditu litus, multivario *ostracodermatôn* genere conspersum. Inde fortuitis nos subducentes periculis (quippe *Belgae* octo *hippopotamorum* venationi insudantes, miserrime nuper ibidem ab *Hottentottis* confecti erant) sublestam repetiimus acatio ratem; qua postridie, propitio extra sinum argeste (N.W.) solvimus; a meridie praeternavigantes b) *Daxinsulam*, paucis servatam excubiis c) *marinorum cuniculorum* capturae, *oviumque* pastioni ab *Illustriss. orientalium Indiarum societate*, decore ac praesidio nostro summo, designatis.

Pridie Iduum Octobris, sub noctem tranquillus ad litora nos impellebat mesolibonatus (Z.T.W.) ad viginti tres profunditatis orgyias ancoram fundantes.

*) I conjecture legentes.
b) Dassen Eylant.
c) Robben.

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* This collection was sent from India to the botanist Breyn, and forms an appendix to *Plantarum exoticarum Centuria prima*, published by him in Dantzig in 1678 (B.F.)

1) This refers to a party of eight freemen who had gone with the governor's permission, in June 1672, to shoot big game for the needs of their families. They crossed the Berg River at a ford near Riebeeck's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-Four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's Kochoqua, who after detaining them for several days murdered them all. (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 212; cf. D., June 28, July 11, July 14, 1672.) Soon afterwards four men in

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vast expanse of heaven, and earth with the varied charm of many plants seemed to rival the rich gardens of Semiramis or Alcinous, or to present a vision of the Elysian fields in the midst of a wilderness. Of these plants I forthwith collected a generous supply that I might afterwards make offering of the actual specimens to the Botanical Muses.* I specially admired the enormous abundance of gum aloes, capable of an annual yield of thousands of pounds of bitter juice if cultivated. Then the approach of evening recalled us from our hunting to our ship where there were many sick men already almost at the last gasp. On our return we skirted a stony beach covered with a rich variety of shell fish. Then escaping without hurt from the dangers that might befall us (I must explain that eight Dutchmen recently who were hunting the hippopotamus perished wretchedly at the hands of the Hottentots on this very spot)[1] we regained our crazy bark in the dinghy. Next day we weighed anchor, picking up a fair N.W. breeze outside the bay, and in the afternoon we sailed past Dassen Island, which is occupied only by a few posts established by the Illustrious East India Company, our great glory and protection, for catching seals and pasturing the sheep.

On the 14th of October at the fall of night a gentle S.W. breeze carried us to the shore and we cast anchor in 23 fathoms of water.

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charge of the Dutch post at Saldanha Bay were also murdered by Hottentots of the same tribe. A punitive expedition under Ensign Hieronymus Cruse was despatched from the Fort at Table Bay, but the Hottentots could not be got at, except for one slight skirmish, although 800 head of cattle and 900 sheep were looted from them and brought back to the Fort. The war which started in this way dragged on for four years, the Dutch, assisted by the Capemen and other local Hottentots, sending out several expeditions against Gonnema, who with his men always managed to escape in time, although not without the loss of his cattle and sheep. Peace was finally restored in June, 1677, when the Hottentots submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Dutch. (Theal, op. cit., chaps. 30, 31, passim; D. 1673-1677, passim.)

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On the 15th, with a gentle N.W. wind blowing, when we were rejoicing in the distant prospect of the long-desired Cape of Good Hope, we sailed past another island, Robben Island, distant according to the maps five miles from our fort, eight miles from Dassen Island, and about fifteen from Saldanha Bay. It is not made conspicuous by any lofty mountain peak; as a matter of fact only a low hill rises there. It is used as a prison for convicts employed in gathering shells to be burned for the lime for the new fort.* Here are many chameleons, smaller than the Indian variety, insects of every sort, small reptiles, various snakes, poisonous spiders as big as a man's fist, etc.

At four in the afternoon Table Bay received us, having lost abundance of men in this voyage, and on the next day the table of the Governor, an incomparable man.[1] We were summoned to his board by the sound of the bugle; and while rowing ashore our long-boat was hindered in reaching the sandy beach of Africa by a species of very large seaweed, commonly called *drombassen*. The whole of our smaller ship's boat would scarcely have sufficed to carry one plant. This seaweed is a sign to those approaching the Cape of Good Hope of their speedy arrival, as is also the presence of a species of sea-bird, an albatross of a whitish colour and small size. The place delighted us by its strangeness, the interest of the observer being excited to a livelier attention by the fact that the circumstances of the inhabitants of this part are still unknown to writers. For they say (and this is all they tell us) that a certain emperor spread his sway from the Mountains of the Moon to the Cape of Good Hope or the extremities of Africa; that his realm was divided into four kingdoms, and called Monomotapas.[2]

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* The present castle, founded 1666, occupied 1674 (the year after Ten Rhyne's visit), and finished 1676. (R.F.)

[1] The Governor at this time was Isbrand Goske (1673-76), the first to bear the title Governor in place of Commander. He had been sent out specially to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked by the English or French, with whom the Netherlands were then at war, and the building of the castle was completed during his tenure of office.

[2] Ten Rhyne hardly does justice to Horellius, Dapper and other earlier Dutch writers whose accounts of the Hottentots should have been familiar to him. Legends of Monomotapa and the vast wealth of this Empire were still current in his time, but of the Cape itself a good deal of accurate information was already available in published works.

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Here I shall not attempt to relate a regular history, my intention being to confine myself within the limits of a journal. Did these people spring originally from Ham, the son of Noah, with the exception of some Arabs of the stock of Shem who entered Africa later on? Or did the native races in Africa increase and multiply, and living frugally in a place unknown to fame, and denied sustenance for their numerous population by an unproductive soil, frequently send out their youth in quest of new lands to settle, until, it may be, these emigrants, spreading far and wide unobserved, finally settled in the remotest shores of Africa? These questions are not so important for us to answer; let us content ourselves with learning their ways of life and their dealings with others. But as a preliminary to this we must inquire for a little while into the nature and situation of the land they occupy.

CHAP. I.

The Situation of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Promontory known as the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the southernmost point of Africa. Its longitude, in respect of the Straits of Gibraltar, is 39 degrees, 25 minutes; and its latitude, in respect of the Hesperian Promontory and Guardasu (?) is 34 degrees and 30 minutes. It was discovered in the year 1486 by Vasco di Gama, sailing under the protection of John, King of Portugal.[1]) Its mountains lower up to heaven, but are barren and very unfriendly to man. The tribes here are little blessed with crops, lying under the influence of niggard stars. The barren land stretches out vast and formless in pure sandy deserts, with bronze ore thrusting through the surface, unrelieved by the blessings of vegetation, but friendly rather to thorns and thistles and rough briars, unless by assiduous and prolonged cultivation it be made to yield pasturage, which even then is but scant. Apart from the sandy wastes it consists of huge stony mountains with here and there a plain. Worthy of note, then, is a certain wide level expanse with a circumference of about three miles, where a bloody battle once took place, and which is called in consequence

[1]) The Cape of Good Hope was first "discovered" by Bartholomeus Dias in 1487, and doubled again by Vasco da Gama in 1497, on his famous voyage to India, the first by the Cape sea-route.

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Bakkeley Plaats.*) There is also another plain, called by our countrymen De Buffelsjacht,*) perched on a mountain difficult of access, beyond which it is not yet known whether the country is flat or mountainous. But who could measure all these mountain heights, winding hills, and spreading plains? 133

Of the mountains near the Fort the loftiest is called Table Mountain, from its flat top, and from its height it is a beacon for those seeking this harbour. From base to summit it is said to measure five *leucae*.* And certain it is that it was after a very stiff climb and the loss of much sweat that I succeeded in scaling it. There were myriads of different plants; and at the foot of the mountain, which is cleft through the middle, I passed through a marshy grove of palmitides, with sharply reticulated roots. Once we met a terrifying troop of yelling baboons; and during our descent in the evening saw many "meteors." Sparks were dancing in every direction in the air, and the first sight of them terrified my companions, who supposed that these must be the blazing eyes of lions, noted here for their daring. But when I tried to catch them in my hand the sparks fled; and I learned subsequently that these "meteors" resemble in their marshy juice, which glows in the darkness, the meteor bolls. Another mountain which formerly gave its name to the place is called Lion Mountain, not from the roaring of the savage winds, but from its natural shape. On its summit are always posted two look-outs to give warning of the approach of ships. [137] [134]

The sheer snowy mountains with which all this region is hemmed in are naturally associated with rivers as a body is with its shadow. The most important are: 1. Hot river, 2. Palmiet river (?), 3. Berg river, which springs more obviously than the others from the mountains, 4. River Sunder End, rising among the mountains but of extent unknown as yet, 5. Breede river, a shallow stream, very

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*) Bakkeley Plaats is near the village of Vredendal, west of Van Rheyneburg. The name is derived from the Malay harbeiskt, to fight, and refers to a skirmish which took place here in May, 1668, between the Dutch stationed at Saldanha Bay and some Namaqua who had stolen some cattle and sheep from them and from other Hottentots. (D., May 17, 1668; Coolen-Leinbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 194).

*) Probably the Buffelsjagt R. in the district of Swellendam, to which cattle-trading expeditions were often sent from Hottentots Holland. The country beyond was not fully known until after Schryver's journey of 1688.

* See note on opposite page. The height of Table Mountain is 3,582 feet, so that Ten Rhyne's estimate is somewhat generous.

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CHAP. VI.

Plants.

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To botanical studies I devoted greater attention, for this soil, barren though it be, abounds in plants of every sort, to the description of which I have set aside a special work. For, in the first place, if one takes a walk upon the shore one encounters conditions that produce a luxuriance of vegetable life. Here I myself have seen quantities of the plant kali, about the salt of which the ancients spoke so much and the modern pundits speak still more. Or, on the other hand, if one strolls across the flats, there is again an immense variety of plants, especially comely ericas, house-leeks of various kinds, luxuriant Star of Bethlehem plants, and narcissi. The bulbs of these often equal a human head in size, and specimens were long ago sent to Holland to satisfy the curious. There are also geraniums that smell sweetly by night. Or, again, if one ranges the mountains, there are woods full of trees and shrubs. Among the various species of tree one is more common than all the rest. It is called ironwood by the Dutch, but up till now it has been dedicated solely to Vulcan. And in the hills there is a fruit-bearing aloe, and good kind of scammony. In the garden there is the Indian nightshade, and a certain species of melon, which wonderfully restores the health of those who arrive after a long voyage by its diuretic quality. Then there is the Musa brought from the torrid zone (the Malays call it Piran, the Arabs Amusas), with regard to which we have it on the authority of those who have tested the matter, that they, like the coco-palm, flourish only inside, never outside, the tropics. Places which are nearer the equinoctial line have more and larger specimens of these fruits, which gradually decrease in number and in size according to the various degrees of declination from the Equator, and at length disappear. Thus it was only rarely that I found the Musa at the Cape of Good Hope, and always without fruit. In Bengal, outside the tropics, there are apples and pears of the Dutch variety, no coco-palms or Musae. But at Mesquetti, a place in the same kingdom of Bengal, and in Persia from the beginning of the tropic, these fruits grow, but without juice. The nearer they get to the line, the juicier and larger they become. A rough and uncultivated region imparts its own natural qualities to trees that are elsewhere soft and delicate, while an air more fine than their native air intensifies their strength.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed. 134 231

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil. 135 137

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle. 134 000

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattocks or dibble, but with a rake. 132 241

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a fluttation galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and 461 463 177

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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The soil, which is fruitful both of corn and wine, provides a copious plenty of provisions and supplies. It even yields tobacco, which, if it were cultivated, would rival the *American*. The grain crop is wonderfully abundant, the increase of the harvest being sometimes forty-fold. I count ninety-nine stalks and as many ears from one grain of wheat, and in one ear which I rubbed out there were seventy-five grains. This is an astonishing yield, equal even to that of Sicily. 134 241

I have it on reliable authority that there are wide plains bearing wild onions and other vegetables suitable for food, and huge tracts of land full of supplies, such as leeks, shallots, edible thistles, spring onions and garlick. I have myself seen fields full of ambrosia, which I have sometimes gathered and found fit for eating, together with *asfodill*(?) and wild asparagus of various species. 137

Fields have been shown to me which twenty years ago, and perhaps from the creation to that day, were a rude waste on which neither nature nor man had grown anything. But for the last twenty years they have been well sown, and with only two or three fallow periods in all that time, with no manure, and after the slightest turning of the surface with the plough, they have yielded an abundant harvest of wheat. At the time I saw them the corn was in the blade and promised a rich crop. 000

I remember that a sprig or cutting of an apple-tree two feet long took root when planted. A year later a slip was grafted on to it, and within the year it bore ripe fruit. Also a vine planted in *June* bore grapes the following December. Such fertility is unprecedented. But indeed all the fruits of other lands, those which genial Europe, fertile Asia, and America, the farmer's joy, pour from their open lap, can with few exceptions be seen flourishing here on our promontory and never disappointing the hopes of the husbandman.

I have seen heads of cabbage and marrows so big that hardly a pot could be found to hold them. The turnips here are equally large, so much so that I have used one for a stool when I got tired walking. Roots have been dug out of a bank in my presence so fleshy that they were as long and as thick as a man's arm. Such vegetables it has astonished me to behold, and the more so on finding them all deliciously flavoured.

Our vines here bear so well that a reliable farmer told me that in one vintage from eight hundred choice vines he got six casks (commonly called hogsheads) of excellent pale-red, dark-red, or yellow wine. And everybody assures me that the native vine produces so mellow a grape that

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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It never injures the greatest glutton, even if he consumes 000
whole bunches of the largest size. Indeed it is maintained that men invalided after a long voyage, their health broken by their sufferings, and perhaps afflicted with dysentery and gripes, have often been cured as if by a specific on eating berries and their skins together with a little bread. Sufferers from other diseases have also, it is said, been cured.

Then in this land there is, I might almost say, everlasting 137
spring, by reason of the sunny flowers with their lively scents and gay liveries. Here too are mountains, hills, valleys, meadows, groves, all so filled with grasses, and shrubs, with grain, and aromatic herbs, that verdant Spain compared with such fertility would show like the barren deserts of Arabia or Libya. So sweet have I found the breath of these scents in my nostrils that at times I could have wished myself all nose the better to sate myself with perfumes the fragrance of which was so far beyond all pastiles and incense, and Sabaean thuribles, all the perfumeries of Italy and pharmacies of Spain, the shops of the dealers in spices, and the vendors of myrrh, as a rose is sweeter than a marigold. All these flowers proclaim the hand of the Omnipotent Creator in their structure, so perfect are they in all their parts, so delicate in design, so infinitely various, so bright, so manifold in their shapes of beauty; with the sweetness of their scent they seem to cry aloud God! God!; and so they spring up anew each returning year they show forth plainly in a symbol the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

The farmer here has no great cause to fear locusts, hail, 136
blight, mildew or other disasters to his crops. The birds, however, unless prevented, as they usually are, by the skill and wakeful vigilance of the natives on guard, do sometimes ravage a field, a vineyard, or a garden. And there are rust-worms, centipedes, canker-worms, caterpillars, beetles, as well as other insects so small that they are scarcely visible but almost elude the sight of our eyes, which sometimes devour vines, young corn not yet grown into the stalk, fruits, peas, and other similar vegetables. The crops are wormed, and the farmers wretchedly cheated of their hopes.

No tax, or at any rate a very small one, is laid upon 000
the farmer. All that is required of him is that in the fourth year after he has begun to cultivate his farm he should pay a tithe of the grain harvested according to his own calculations; and the farm is given free to each man by

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Honeman FX13

[82] [176] instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would ask, ǂGuiseb hã? Is he alone?

ǂGam, *two*, I derive from the root ǂka, ǂkha, ǂga, or ǂgu, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with*, "*added*," "*contributed*," *in connection with*.

ǂNona, *three*, comes from ǂna-na-a or ǂna-ma-a, the *root*, the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger*, it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three*, because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the symbol of the abstract number *three*.

Hapa, *four*, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gure*, *five*, which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *gurub*, for palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, "*Gurub* ǂna ta ni tsi" (I will carry it in the [82] palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. *Gurub* is also the Euphorbia candelabrum, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the [82] [176] [187] [103] number *gure* and the *gure*-tree have derived the name from *gurub* (also *kurub*), the open hand. It is also certain that the number *gure* and the tree *kure* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gure*-tree has served [214] from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Kureǂgu in the North-western Cape Colony; a ǂKora told me that he was born at Kureǂgu in the Free State;

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

another Koreχas is in the ǂGami-ǂnus territory in Southern Namaqualand, and another Koreχas in the North-western Kalihari, between Gobabis and Ghanze. It is well known that the Euphorbia candelabra shows the most beautiful and gigantic forms in the Khalambe Mountains and in Sekukuni's country and the Hoogeveldt (Highlands) of the Eastern Transvaal. From this we may conclude, as the *ore*-tree does not grow in flats, but is, in very few exceptions, almost entirely confined to mountainous territories, that the Khoikhoi before they separated lived in a mountainous country. This circumstance allows us to account for the higher development which they received before their cousins, the Bushmen. It also points out to us the primordial "fatherland" of the Khoikhoi.

802 196 137 103

We come now to the number ǂnani, *six*, where I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation. 802 196

ǂĥ or *ǂâye* (originally *ǂnaiye*) mean the "mixed one," the "amalgamated one," from *ǂnai*, to stir, to amalgamate. For instance, if milk is thrown into coffee, a man says, "Hunis eibe ots ni ǂgûse ǂ." "Stir at first" (that is, mix the coffee with the milk), "and you will drink nicely." Whether here the seven colours of the rainbow gradually flowing into one another originated the idea of the number seven I cannot tell, but I think it possible.

ǁKhoisi or ǁkhoin, *eight*, is very clear from the root ǁkhoi, to turn; thus ǁkhoisi means "turning number"—*i.e.*, four is turning backagain.

ǂKhoisi, *nine*, is not intelligible. All I can say is, that it has with *khoiǂ*, *ten*, the root *khoi* in common.

Disi, *ten*, from *di* to do, would give us the meaning "*done*," "*finished*." And the Khoikhoi now continued *eleven*, disi-tgui-ǁkhe; twelve, disi-tgum-ǁkhe—that is, ten-one-with, ten-two-with, &c. &c., or simply with striking off disi, to tgum-ǁkha, two-with, and so forth. Twenty is tgum disi two tens; thirty is ǂnona disi, three

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

legends, by supposing that the people among whom they are found descended from a common ancestry in primordial times. But such coincidences merely corroborate the old maxim that among different varieties of men, in different regions, and at different times, the same objects have given rise to the same idea.—Peschel, "Races of Man," London, 1876, pp. 461 and 462. 171

* *After the death of the snake.*—I shall hereafter, in the third chapter, come back to this superstition, and only now mention that the words, ǂau-b snake, ǂau-b blood, ǂau-s fountain, ǂau to bleed, ǂau to flow, ǂau to bear ill-feeling, ǂavi (from ǂaui to stream) to rain, ǂava red, are all derived from the root ǂAU to flow, to stream, and we shall see why it is that in every fountain there is a snake. 086

* Alexander is mistaken if he calls ǂNumeep a *Bushman*. The name of this so-called Bushman proves sufficiently that he was a Khoikhoi. The ǂAuni tribe live in the territory here spoken of. The poor Namaquas are also called by the others, Bushmen, especially when they are servants, or if they lead a Bushman's life, and have no cattle and sheep. 101

* *Labouring under an attack of dysentery.*—Sometimes the brackish water works so strongly on the bowels that one who drinks it is immediately taken ill. 086

* ǂaeros.—This fruit is a Cucurbitaceæ, almost as large as a newborn child's head. The flesh of it is eaten raw, and the seeds are kept for the dry season, when there is no fruit. The seeds taste almost like almonds, and are at present to be got from confectioners in Cape Town. The Topnaars or ǂAunin of Walvish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, and all the Bushmen tribes along the coast of Great Namaqualand, live partly on this fruit. It is to be met with from the Orange River mouth as far as latitude twenty-one degrees: but it grows only on the sandy coast. 137

* *Bushmen*, or ǂAva-khoib, is identical with Khoikhoib, 101

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garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the 136
knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for
in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,"
Genesis ii. 16, 17, and Adam still partaking of the
forbidden fruit, died. I heard the same myth on the
outskirts of the Western Kalihari, where I met ostrich
hunters from the ǁO-gein tribe who never had a mis-
sionary, and almost every ǂAnni of the ǀKhoma Moun-
tains and every Geiǁkhau knows it too. I myself have 137
eaten of the fruit of the so-called wild raisin tree, or
ǂoña, and the consequence was that I had an attack of
dysentery. The natives having no medicine often succumb
to such attacks. It is besides a well-known fact, that
the flowers and herbs at a certain time of the year prove
detrimental to cattle and sheep. Various diseases break
out, known by our colonists as *galsiekte* and *bloedziekte*.
Sometimes cattle suddenly swell up and die, and the
natives then remove to more healthy spots.

" This hymn of Tsĕĕiǁgoab, compared with George 138
Schmidt's statement, which we gave in one of the pre-
ceding pages, shows us that Tsĕĕiǁgoab was invoked by
all Khoikhoi with the same prayer, in the same way as
we now a days all over the world invoke "the Father in
Heaven" with the "Lord's Prayer," which Christ taught
his disciples. At the same time this hymn confirms the
fact, "that a poetic form is more easily remembered than
a prose form, and that it is better adapted for securing
the strict accuracy of historical myths." I am of opinion
that the greater part of the Khoikhoi myths, especially
those which tell us of the heroic deeds and fights of
Heitsi-eibib and Tsĕĕiǁgoab, were all in a poetic form, of
which such verses as are here and there interwoven in the
prosaic parts of the present myths are fragments. For
the last fifteen years these epical myths have been sung
and performed exactly in the same way as the "Songs
of Samaxab and Geiseb," men who distinguished
themselves in the late Namaqua and Damra war.

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may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs.

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

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It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bantued Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned.

Hottentots

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The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant

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differences between the two peoples can be detected. Amongst themselves the Hottentots vary but slightly, save, of course, where there has been much recent intermixture with other peoples. Among the Korana, for instance, who have absorbed a good deal of Bantu blood, one may often notice individuals who differ from the normal Hottentot type in being of a darker complexion and in having a greater development of hair on the head and face, coarser features and broader noses. But in pure-blooded Hottentots the physical type is on the whole fairly uniform in all the divisions. The following description may therefore be regarded as a general survey of those characters which can be looked upon as common to all people of the normal Hottentot type.[1]

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In stature they are mostly of medium height. The fullest series of measurements are those given by Schultze for the Naman. He found that in 73 men the mean height was 162·4 cm., although the individual statures ranged from a minimum of 150·5 cm. to a maximum of 176·3 cm.; while in 27 women the mean was 149·7 cm. (min. 135·3, max. 162·3). The measurements recorded by other writers and of other groups of Hottentots correspond closely with these figures. The Hottentots thus appear to be appreciably taller than the Cape Bushmen, but only slightly taller than the North-Western Bushmen; while, on the other hand, they are on the whole somewhat smaller than the North-Eastern Bushmen.

Their skin colour is predominantly a light brownish-yellow, somewhat lighter in some cases than even in the Cape Bushmen. The skin itself is dry, and on the whole has little adipose tissue; it also displays the same propensity to fold as in the case of the Bushmen. In young people it is drawn smoothly over the muscles and bones, and has a certain pleasing and taut appearance. But in adults, and in particular in women who have borne children, its appearance is completely changed: the skin of the abdomen becomes flabby, and deep wrinkles readily form there, on the chest and on the face. There is little hair on the body; the arm-pits, pubes, and other parts are very sparsely covered with it, while the beard and moustache in men are only feebly developed. The hair is black and short, and has the same "pepper-corn" formation which characterizes the Bushmen. It rarely turns

[1] The most exhaustive analysis of the physical characters of the Hottentots is found in the volumes by L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis der Körper der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1908, esp. pp. 140–88. Of the earlier works the most important are Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, pp. 400–90 *et passim*, and R. Fischer, *Die Hottentotten-Kolonie*, Jena, 1913, esp. pp. 67–134 *passim*.

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142 grey before about the sixtieth year, but baldness is rare, even in extreme old age.

BH
141 The head on the whole is long, narrow, and low—appreciably longer than in the Cape Bushmen, and slightly narrower and higher as well. This is best illustrated in the figures given by Schultze. In the 73 Hottentot (Nama) men measured by him, the mean maximum length of the head was 192 mm., the breadth 140 mm., and the height 116 mm., while in the 14 Bushmen (mostly from the Southern Kalahari) whose measurements he also records the corresponding dimensions were 187 mm., 142 mm., and 113 mm. The mean cephalic index of the Hottentots was 72·9 (max. 78·5, min. 67·1), and that of the Bushmen 75·8 (max. 78·2, min. 72·9); and whereas 57 per cent of the Bushmen were mesocephalic, the remaining 43 per cent being dolicocephalic, only 15 per cent of the Hottentots were mesocephalic, the remaining 85 per cent being dolicocephalic and hyperdolicocephalic. The length-height (altitudinal) index was the same in both cases, 60·3 (orthocephalic); but the lower height of the Bushman head is here neutralized by its smaller length. In the breadth-height index, on the other hand, the difference in the shape of the head is again apparent. The average in Hottentots is 82·8, that in Bushmen 79·5. It was found by Schultze that the form of the head in the Hottentots tends to alter in that, with higher stature, the head on the whole becomes longer and not broader (i.e. more dolicocephalic), and also higher (i.e. more orthocephalic). It will be noticed that the variations in shape of the Hottentot head as a whole from that of the Bushmen lie in the same direction. They may therefore possibly be correlated with the increased stature of the Hottentots as compared with the Cape Bushmen.

The face in the Hottentots is low and flat, but slightly longer and narrower in proportion than that of the Bushmen, and somewhat different in appearance. The forehead is low and narrow, but the cheekbones are high and prominent, and with the relatively narrower lower jaw and pointed, retreating chin give a triangular outline to the face. The nose is short and extremely broad, although slightly narrower in proportion than the Bushman nose: the nasal index is 100, while that of the Bushmen is 115. Both, however, are markedly platyrrhine. The bridge is very low, the nostrils wide and directed forwards. The eyes, especially in young people, have the same peculiar fold of the upper eyelid and very narrow opening which characterize the eyes of the Bushmen. The iris is also dark brown. The ear is

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somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

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South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

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In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

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FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Journal* (January–June), p. [illegible].
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–9.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

THE NAMA.

I. Physical and Mental Characteristics.

101 1. The Nama nation lives in South West Africa. Its principal seats are in the territory between the Orange and the Swakop rivers. Ethnographically it forms a portion of the Hottentots, once a nomad people consisting of many tribes which wandered over the broad plains of Southern Africa before the arrival and expansion of the Europeans.

• 141 2. The Nama are mostly of medium height. Some of them attain a height of 1.70 m., which is the reason for the observation made in old reports that the Nama are a tall race compared with the Hottentots of the Cape. Their general height, however, varies from 1.50-1.65 m. Members of both sexes are frequently met with, however, who are less than 1.50 m. in height.

142 3. The colour of their skin is remarkably light. A light-skinned people among the dark races of Africa is in itself an enigma and leads one to the conception that the Nama migrated with other Hottentot tribes from Northern Africa in prehistoric times. This view gains in probability in the light of linguistic research and is supported by old legends.

The colour of the skin, which on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, is hardly different from that of European races, may be described as pale yellow, tinged, particularly in the case of the old tribe of the Red Nation, with a red undertone. Over the spine there is a darker patch. The membranes of the lips are a pale dull red.

141 142 4. The skull is of peculiar shape. The narrow forehead, which is usually slightly arched, has no bumps. The back of the head is more or less arched and never flat. The cheek-bones are prominent. The receding chin is pointed. The prominent cheekbones and pointed chin give the face an almost triangular appearance, especially in the case of elderly people, whose rounded cheeks have been superseded by numerous wrinkles. The root of the nose hardly protrudes, the bridge has the appearance of having been pressed back and ends in a flat, broad snub nose, the openings of which are clearly visible.

142 5. The prominent cheekbones and the flattened bridge of the nose cause the eye-lids to seem slanted. The glaring sun of the country and the frequent lack of vegetation force the awake muscles to contract, causing the eyes to blink and this counteracts the impression of slant-eyes. The iris is always

142 dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone emerging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells, for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of "peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

147 9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals countless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyge sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty; but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyge.

141 10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A number of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are to all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

the Korana as such, Australoid features being widely distributed throughout South African tribes, as Allen himself, Dart and others have shown (cf. Grootfontein "Bush" skull and the Snyderskraal skull mentioned in Allen's paper). 127

The data tabulated here (vide table) are from measurements made on living Korana of the Links tribe, taken according to directions contained in Stibbe (33) and Drennan (11). I have appended Fritsch's measurements and some figures from Shrubsall for comparison. My results differ somewhat from Fritsch's, possibly owing to the fact that his are from the skeleton and not the living subject, or more probably because they are drawn from another tribe—the Boskof Korana. But as neither Fritsch nor Shrubsall make any attempt to show that their material is of undoubted Korana origin I do not know how far such comparison is valid.

Out of the score of adult Korana we found, eleven were actually measured—of the eleven subjects examined, seven are, as far as we know, of "pure" Korana parentage, two are of mixed Griqua-Korana, one of Korana-Bechuana, and one of Namo-Korana descent. No. 2 is a supposed Korana skull, which I was enabled to measure through the kind offices of the Rev. H. R. Higgs of Bloemhof, from Schweizer-Reineke, one of the last strongholds of the Korana. A study of the data given here reveals that the subjects examined, while not conforming to our definition of a typical "Hottentot" yet share certain features in common. Thus the cephalic index shows mesaticephaly bordering on dolichocephaly, three (Nos. 5, 7, and 13) of them are actually on the dolichocephalic side. Nos. 5 and 7 are "pure," No. 13 being of mixed descent. It will be noticed that No. 9, of Griqua-Korana parentage has a high cephalic index. 127 191

The cranial height index (length-height index) is more variable. Most of those examined were orthocephalic, one (No. 1) chamaecephalic, and three (Nos. 6, 10 and 11), all "pure" Korana, were hypsicephalic individuals. (Nos. 6 and 11) were, as we have seen, not so characteristically "Bush" in their physiognomy, and also show some slight differences from the others in skeletal characteristics, e.g. the greater cranial capacity consequent on the larger dimensions of the head, the presence of a supra-orbital torus in the man, and their greater stature as compared with the other members of their group. These divergences may be Bushmanoid or Australoid affinities, but we are scarcely justified in thus describing them until after further investigation. The upper facial index is uniformly chamaeprosopic. 161

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Owing to practical difficulties of measurement the nasal index is seen to vary over a wide range but is definitely platyrrhine in all but three cases, (Nos. 6, 8 and 9), one of whom is of mixed descent. Cranial capacities were calculated by means of the Lee-Pearson formula corrected by the addition of 200 cc. (Drennan op. cit.) The figures obtained show a relatively low capacity, all were microcephalic, except the two largest (Nos. 6 and 11), which were mesocephalic. In stature the Links individuals are short, the tallest not exceeding 5' 6" in height, the average for the group is about 5' 3". The Intermembral index was calculated from direct limb measurements. Indices ranging between 72.1 and 87.5 were obtained for Links. Such results in the Korana are remarkable, for, according to Drennan (11), this index in the human race does not go higher than 83, the index for the Pygmy, and in the Bushman it only reaches 87.

To sum up, we may say that, according to this material, the average Links Korana of to-day is a mesaticephalic, microcephalic, platyrrhine, orthocephalic, chamaeprosopic individual, of short stature and fairly dark complexion. He shows little prognathism or eversion of the lips. In fact he is essentially the same in form and features as the type we have learnt to call the " Bush type."

This short resumé of the chief physical features of the Links group should be contrasted with Shrubsall's description of the " typical Hottentot " skull—" a true Hottentot skull may be briefly described as dolichocrotaphic, akrocephalic, leptoprosopic, mesosome, platyrrhine, and leptostaphyline " (33).

If Shrubsall's " Hottentot " standard is to be accepted, it follows that these Links Korana, in spite of the fact that they are Hottentots, are anatomically speaking not Hottentots, but are Bushmen.

The position we have reached then is this :—that in the published work of the three earlier writers on the physical anthropology of the Korana, there is nothing to show that their material was of unquestionable Korana origin.

Hence investigation of persons or skeletal material of definitely known Korana origin is necessary to discover what the skeletal characters of the Korana really are. We know from the historical evidence that the modern Korana are extremely hottentotised. They nevertheless did, and some of them still do, possess typical " Hottentot " features as defined above. The typical " Hottentot " features persisted in one woman seen at Bloemhof, whom I was unable to measure. She was so like a subject

ANTHROPOMETRICAL TABLE

No. and Sex	Tribe, district and race	Head			Face			Nose		Limbs		Stature	Indices					Cranial capacity
		L.	B.	Auricular height	Bizygomatic breadth	Upper facial height	Total height	L.	B.	Humerus	Femur	Total height (centimetres)	Cephalic	Upper facial	Cranio-facial height	Nasal	Orbito-nasal	
1 ♂	NoK	19.3	14.9	11.3	13.2	4.25	10.3	3.1	2.8	—	—	1647	76.5	40	33	122	—	1290
2 ♀	KJ	17.5	13.3	10.7	13.0	3.85	9.08	4.2	2.7	—	—	—	74.3	42	62	64		1175
3 ♂	KoB	19.1	14.98	12.0	12.9	4.7	9.85	3.9	2.9	60.35	84.35	1549	78	36	63	100	82.3	1322
4 ♂	K	19.2	13.00	12.2	13.8	4.7	9.6	3.9	4.3	79.30	91.25	1671	78	34	63	110	87.5	1342
5 ♂	K	19.35	14.5	11.9	13.5	5.30	8.9	4.2	4.3	73.25	92.25	1571	75	40	60	107	79.4	1343
6 ♂	K	19.4	14.9	12.4	12.9	5.7	11.2	4.4	4.0	69.00	93.50	1616	77	44	64	91	73.7	1369
7 ♂	K	19.4	14.6	11.2	13.35	5.1	10.1	3.9	4.3	71.50	93.00	1567	75	38	60	108	76.9	1347
8 ♂	K	19.3	14.9	11.7	13.4	5.5	10.5	4.2	3.65	63.15	84.70	1466	77	41	61	87	75.0	1303
9 ♂	GoK	19.1	15.5	11.45	13.8	5.7	10.85	4.5	3.6	70.75	97.75	1547	81	41	60	76	80.6	
10 ♀	K	18.6	14.6	12.4	12.95	4.8	9.9	3.5	4.1	67.75	94.00	1577	78.5	37	66	117	72.1	1275
11 ♀	K	19.6	15.3	12.6	13.2	4.9	9.6	3.6	3.6	71.75	95.00	1634	79	37	64	100	72.5	1433
13 ♀	KoG	18.3	13.8	11.4	12.7	4.5	9.6	3.65	3.75	70.50	94.00	1604	75.4	35	60	103	75.0	1197
17 ♂	KJ	18.6	13.3	13.6*	12.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	72.6	—	—	—	—	1305
18 ♂	KJ	18.9	12.45	13.2*	12.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	68.9	—	—	—	—	1230
19 ♂	KJ	19.3	14.0	13.4*	—	—	—	4.8	2.7	—	—	—	72.5	—	69.4	56.3	—	1490
Average Korean (Old-Korean)		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36.2	70.1	—	—	1425-50

K—Korean
J—Japanese
K—Ainu
G—Gilyak

*Ear-Gonion Angle

(No. 1-3 a Japanese) Korean skull from Sakuma Results, Nos. 17 and 18 are Pitcell's specimens, No. 19 is a specimen in the R.C.S. Museum.)

12: Mahigaard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hoffmeister FX13
Korea

[1962]

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost.

Caption 1

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 190)].[1]

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

[1] [See p. 88. – Analyst]

1: Schultze--4A N-6 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[194]
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171

A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on p. 8(3))

Plates X-XII, XV and XVII also serve as illustrations.

V&R

those that deviate, produce the following: The top of the skull has no special characteristics. The forehead is moderately curved. The crown, which slants in a moderately steep direction toward the sides [175] lies well-crowned, rarely protrudes forward and even more rarely backward and the knobs of the parietal bone do not stand out. The back of the skull is never flat, and projects forward sometimes moderately, sometimes considerably. When looked at from above, the top of the skull has a definitely ovoid form, the pointed pole turned toward the front.

The most characteristic part of this view of the skull is the narrowness of the forehead, but otherwise the brain section of the forehead reveals nothing remarkable. It is moderately rounded, of medium height and steepness but the protuberances of the forehead are not marked. However the projection of the eyebrows gives the forehead a strange appearance (especially in the lateral parts. A glabella roll is usually lacking).

The cheekbones usually spread out so far to the side that the cheeks under the eyes protrude like two powerful swellings.

The chin is barely rounded, runs to a point and recedes. Thus the whole face appears pulled out only upwards above the eyebrows to the edge of the hair but also downwards from the cheek bones to the chin, when all the peculiarities of the above-mentioned parts are well-defined.

The Hottentot's nose is to our eyes of extraordinary ugliness. The nasal bone is set so deep that in many cases it is not externally evident at all where the root of the nose is joined to the forehead. The bridge of the nose is so wide and rises from the face with such a flat saddle that it nearly disappears. The lower part of the nose is all the more prominent. The bridge which in profile progresses sometimes in a straight line, is sometimes concave and sometimes convex, ends in a flat bulb at the place where our nose is pointed. This bulb continues to form a short, uptilted nose base. The enormously wide, blown-up nasal wings spread out sufficiently at the bottom so that one can look into the large transversely placed nostrils as easily as into two chimneys.

The prognathism of the jaw is often emphasized by a proboscis-like extension of the lips. The upper lip with its shallow, middle furrow appears long when compared with the lower lip. The lips, brown, thick, cracked and puffy surround a medium-sized and normally straight mouth line. The receding chin and the sunken bony part of the nose make the area of the jaw protrude even more like a snout. (cf. Illustration, p. 176). The

● 162.

teeth are usually in a straight row, and, as is typical for ours, show an increase in size [170] in the upper incisors toward the middle of the jaw as well as of the bicuspids and the molars of both jaws and a similar decrease in size of the lower incisors.

The eyes, which have a dark-brown iris, peer out of lids of medium length, which are not widely opened. The connecting line of the outer corner of the eye with the middle of the caruncula lacrymalis often reveals a faint slanting of the lid (towards the outside and upwards), although this slanting is not at all evident to the casual glance nor does it deviate from corresponding findings in our race. The space between the eyes is large.

Even if there were no crows feet in the area of the eyelids, the fold of the upper lid is usually so well developed that the lid itself disappears at the middle and sides under it. In many cases a fine skin fold extends around the outer corners of the eyes like a sharp seam, sometimes passing without interruption into the medial part of the lid fold, sometimes separated from it by several millimeters of unfolded skin. (Anatomically this) corresponds to an epicanthus, but it is differentiated from the typical Mongolian fold in that it leaves the caruncula lacrymalis free. The well developed caruncula lacrymalis covered with nictitating skin [Picture. Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old.] is hidden under the tarsus of the lid in the rare cases in which it is not exposed. The part of the conjunctive tunica normally protected by the lids when the eyes are at normal aperture, is smooth and of a bluish-white color. On the other hand, the exposed part which suffers greatly from dust and smoke has a yellowish [177] color and an uneven surface. I never saw the upper tarsus descend with a sharp edge. The black lashes are short and thickly massed. The eyebrows are usually short and narrow, sparse, relatively thickest in the middle; the individual hair is curly. Sometimes the eyebrows are straight, sometimes curved; they are low and placed horizontally, (sometimes ascending towards the outside) and do not meet.

[Picture. Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old. (The same person depicted on page 176.)]

For purposes of orientation in the comparison of physiognomies, the portrait of a young Herero is included here (pages 178, 179.) (cf. also the portraits of the Bergdamaras [Kaffirs] the Betschuans and the Bushmen that follow later).

The ear is usually flat against the head. Either completely or semi-adhering lobes are the rule; I saw a Darwinian point only in the rarest cases and usually only indicated on the incurved helix.

(D:192)

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Horseman of thetribe of the Topnaars, about 30 years old.

1:Schultze--48 N-6 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

N2●

[177]

Hottentot of the tribe of the Topnaars, about 20 years old. (The same person depicted on p. 6 (A).)

The Hottentots and the darker Bushmen whose skin is light-brown or fawn-colored stand alone among the blackish-brown to black human races of their neighborhood. A pale, fawn-colored, brownish-yellow is the basic color of the Hottentot's body. On the face the skin is often brown but on the sole of the foot, it becomes the slightly tanned skin color of our race, even more so under the nails of the feet and hands, sometimes seeming yellower, sometimes pinker. They do not have our bright red lips. The mucuous membrane of the mouth (including the parts of the lips which are invisible when the mouth is closed) [178] and of the throat is a dull red tinted with violet. That is also true of the vulva. The glans penis, however, is a bright pink color. I never [309] saw a single case of circumcision.

The Hottentots cannot consciously move either the muscles of the skull or the ears, only the platysma, as I later tested.

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old]

The body hair is extremely scant. Because of this and the strong curl in each fine hair, wherever the hair grows in bunches (except for the eyelashes, the eyebrows, the moustache and the beard), it mats together into separate, isolated tufts between which the skin shines brightly. But these visible parts of the skin are not bald: The implanting of the hair in the skin is regular, at least no group arrangement can be identified which would correspond to those matted tufts. That is true for the hair on the skull as well as around the genitals and in the armpits. The stronger the spiral curling of the individual hair and the scantier the total amount of hair is, the firmer and smaller the tufts. There are variations in all stages from compact formations that measure only a few millimeters across to loose clumps that are centimeters large. Only in a few rare exceptions is the hair on the head so strongly developed that it forms curls as long as the finger, thickly massed, but individually differentiated, which then stand straight up in confusion or dangle around the head in a fantastic way (cf. Plate V.) The Hottentot himself [179] designates the black round knots of hair on his head with the same word that means goat dung (ǃnoǂa-s). The Boer compares these hair knots with peppercorns and calls the Hottentot "Pepperkopp". Among several hundred Hottentots I met [145] only one bald one.

The Hottentot has only those parts of a beard that our race has best developed, namely, a weak mustache (especially developed towards the side) and a chin beard. The separate hairs of these are well developed. He does not have side-whiskers and a complete hair covering

1: Schultze---SA N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hähnexem FX13

[illegible]
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17

Herero, about 20 years old.

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs.

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII).

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matron. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place.

B. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of deportment, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hõ!//gua *.

* I could not find the word "!hõ!" listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !hoi- to be bent, as from !hõ!- to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning [illegible]. [Picture. Hottentot woman of Berseba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "sa arii kgoma !hõ! //gũga (e)ĩ tu" i.e. "Your

[illegible]--GA N-6 (1901-1902) 1907 FX13 Statement FX13

[illegible]

[illegible]

Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on p. 7(A).).

A: Schultze--SS N-S (1903-1960) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• N2
301

Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.

1: Schultze--40A N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

●192
853

[illegible]

A nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 25 years old.

A Hottentot woman from Koetmanshoop in an apron.

A Topnaar Hottentot woman with a child in Abia skin.

A Hottentot woman from Koetmanshoop in a karos.

[Between 262 and 263]

Plate XI.

A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

Hottentot boy in an apron.

Plate XII

Toposa Nationalist girl.

Plate XIII.

142

Topnaar boys.

[Between 374-375]

1: Schultze--175A N-5 (1903-1906) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

142

an old Topnaar Hottentot woman [544a]

An old Bondelzwart Hottentot man;

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FXID

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AUEN BUSHMAN
Showing initiation cuts between eyebrows

L. Fourie

[facing p. iii]

OLD BONDELSWART (!GAMI ǂNUN) MAN

L. Schultze

OLD TOPNAAR (ǂAUNIN) WOMAN

[face p. 48

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

142

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 142 147

may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs.

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

B 142 141

It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bastard Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned.

Hottentots

H 141 142

The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

KORA (HOTTENTOT) WOMAN
Notice the excessive facial wrinkling

A. M. Cronin

"MOSARWA" BUSHMAN, S. KALAHARI

[facing p. 60]
H
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B
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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

differences between the two peoples can be detected. Amongst themselves the Hottentots vary but slightly, save, of course, where there has been much recent intermixture with other peoples. Among the Korana, for instance, who have absorbed a good deal of Bantu blood, one may often notice individuals who differ from the normal Hottentot type in being of a darker complexion and in having a greater development of hair on the head and face, coarser features and broader noses. But in pure-blooded Hottentots the physical type is on the whole fairly uniform in all the divisions. The following description may therefore be regarded as a general survey of those characters which can be looked upon as common to all people of the normal Hottentot type.[1]

In stature they are mostly of medium height. The fullest series of measurements are those given by Schultze for the Naman. He found that in 73 men the mean height was 162·4 cm., although the individual statures ranged from a minimum of 150·5 cm. to a maximum of 176·5 cm.; while in 27 women the mean was 149·7 cm. (min. 135·5, max. 162·5). The measurements recorded by other writers and of other groups of Hottentots correspond closely with these figures. The Hottentots thus appear to be appreciably taller than the Cape Bushmen, but only slightly taller than the North-Western Bushmen; while, on the other hand, they are on the whole somewhat smaller than the North-Eastern Bushmen.

Their skin colour is predominantly a light brownish-yellow, somewhat lighter in some cases than even in the Cape Bushmen. The skin itself is dry, and on the whole has little adipose tissue; it also displays the same propensity to fold as in the case of the Bushmen. In young people it is drawn smoothly over the muscles and bones, and has a certain pleasing and taut appearance. But in adults, and in particular in women who have borne children, its appearance is completely changed: the skin of the abdomen becomes flabby, and deep wrinkles readily form there, on the chest and on the face. There is little hair on the body; the arm-pits, pubes, and other parts are very sparsely covered with it, while the beard and moustache in men are only feebly developed. The hair is black and short, and has the same "peppercorn" formation which characterizes the Bushmen. It rarely turns

[1] The most exhaustive analysis of the physical characters of the Hottentots is found in the recent work of L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, esp. pp. 147–86. Of the earlier works the more important are Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 271–91 *et passim*, and E. Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*, Jena, 1913, esp. pp. 57–134 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

H
142 grey before about the sixtieth year, but baldness is rare, even in extreme old age.

B
H
141 The head on the whole is long, narrow, and low—appreciably longer than in the Cape Bushmen, and slightly narrower and higher as well. This is best illustrated in the figures given by Schultze. In the 73 Hottentot (Nama) men measured by him, the mean maximum length of the head was 192 mm., the breadth 140 mm., and the height 116 mm., while in the 14 Bushmen (mostly from the Southern Kalahari) whose measurements he also records the corresponding dimensions were 187 mm., 142 mm., and 113 mm. The mean cephalic index of the Hottentots was 72·9 (max. 78·5, min. 67·1), and that of the Bushmen 75·8 (max. 78·2, min. 72·9); and whereas 57 per cent of the Bushmen were mesocephalic, the remaining 43 per cent being dolicocephalic, only 15 per cent of the Hottentots were mesocephalic, the remaining 85 per cent being dolicocephalic and hyperdolicocephalic. The length-height (altitudinal) index was the same in both cases, 60·3 (orthocephalic); but the lower height of the Bushman head is here neutralized by its smaller length. In the breadth-height index, on the other hand, the difference in the shape of the head is again apparent. The average in Hottentots is 82·8, that in Bushmen 79·5. It was found by Schultze that the form of the head in the Hottentots tends to alter in that, with higher stature, the head on the whole becomes longer and not broader (i.e. more dolicocephalic), and also higher (i.e. more orthocephalic). It will be noticed that the variations in shape of the Hottentot head as a whole from that of the Bushmen lie in the same direction. They may therefore possibly be correlated with the increased stature of the Hottentots as compared with the Cape Bushmen.

The face in the Hottentots is low and flat, but slightly longer and narrower in proportion than that of the Bushmen, and somewhat different in appearance. The forehead is low and narrow, but the cheekbones are high and prominent, and with the relatively narrower lower jaw and pointed, retreating chin give a triangular outline to the face. The nose is short and extremely broad, although slightly narrower in proportion than the Bushman nose: the nasal index is 100, while that of the Bushmen is 115. Both, however, are markedly platyrrhine. The bridge is very low, the nostrils wide and directed forwards. The eyes, especially in young people, have the same peculiar fold of the upper eyelid and very narrow opening which characterize the eyes of the Bushmen. The iris is also dark brown. The ear is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

L. Schultze

HOTTENTOT (ǂAUNIN) MEN WITH HAMITIC FEATURES

[facing page 64]

[face p. 64]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

B H 142 144

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

PLATE XIV

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L. Sykulski

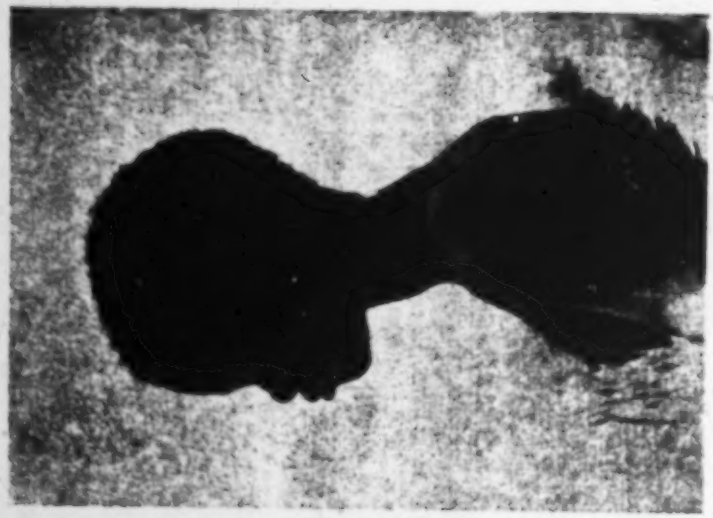
TOPNAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

[See p. 190

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama



L. Schultze

TOPNAAR GIRL, WEARING SHEEPSKIN KAROSS

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5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

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Hottentot.

[facing p. 108]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

THE NAMA.

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics.

101 1. The Nama nation lives in South West Africa. Its principal seats are in the territory between the Orange and the Swakop rivers. Ethnographically it forms a portion of the Hottentots, once a nomad people consisting of many tribes which wandered over the broad plains of Southern Africa before the arrival and expansion of the Europeans.

141 2. The Nama are mostly of medium height. Some of them attain a height of 1.70 m., which is the reason for the observation made in old reports that the Nama are a tall race compared with the Hottentots of the Cape. Their general height, however, varies from 1·50-1·65 m. Members of both sexes are frequently met with, however, who are less than 1·50 m. in height.

142 3. The colour of their skin is remarkably light. A light-skinned people among the dark races of Africa is in itself an enigma and leads one to the assumption that the Nama migrated with other Hottentot tribes from Northern Africa in prehistoric times. This view gains in probability in the light of linguistic research and is supported by old legends.

The colour of the skin, which on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, is hardly different from that of European races, may be described as pale yellow, tinged, particularly in the case of the old tribe of the Red Nation, with a red undertone. Over the spine there is a darker patch. The membranes of the lips are a pale dull red.

141 142 4. The skull is of peculiar shape. The narrow forehead, which is usually slightly arched, has no bumps. The back of the head is more or less arched and never flat. The cheek-bones are prominent. The receding chin is pointed. The prominent cheekbones and pointed chin give the face an almost triangular appearance, especially in the case of elderly people, whose rounded cheeks have been superseded by numerous wrinkles. The root of the nose hardly protrudes, the bridge has the appearance of having been pressed back and ends in a flat, broad snub nose, the openings of which are clearly visible.

142 5. The prominent cheekbones and the flattened bridge of the nose cause the eye-lids to seem slanted. The glaring sun of the country and the frequent lack of vegetation force the ocular muscles to contract, causing the eyes to blink and this accentuates the impression of slant-eyes. The iris is always

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

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Hottentot Woman.

[facing p. 109]

142 dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells. for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of "peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

147 9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

141 10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A num-
144 ber of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Massage.

757 755 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common [841] use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation [842] of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then [278] cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing 232 any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently 142 referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentot, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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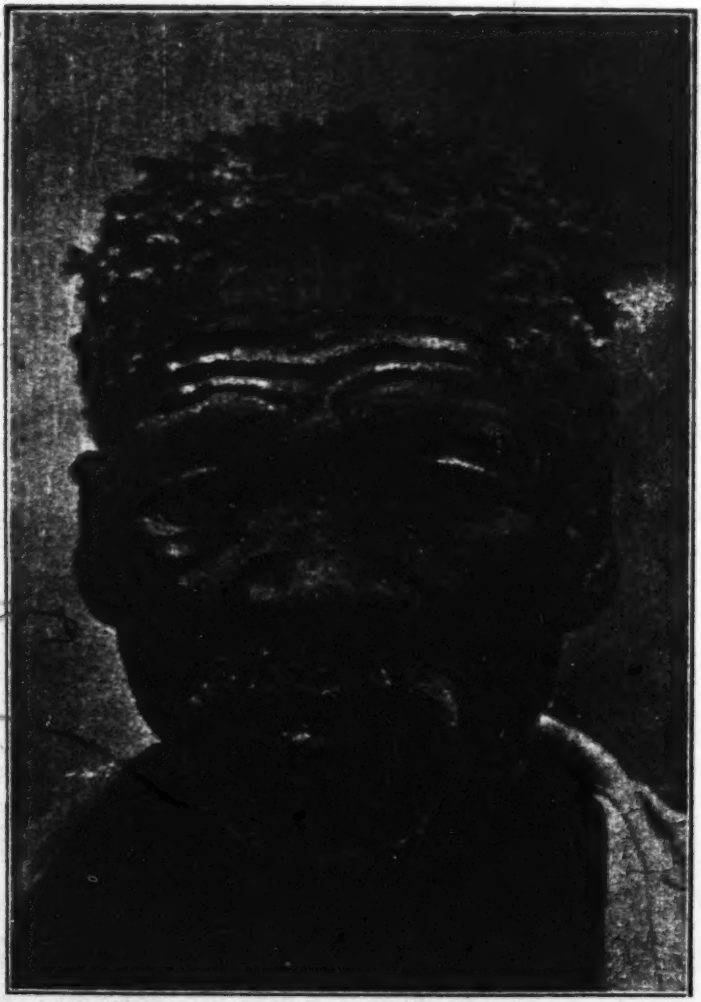

[*Photo from S.A. Museum.*

OLD CAPE HOTTENTOT MALE.

[facing title page [A]]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoë*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoë*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoë*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoë* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy altijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoë*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, noit niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoë* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgestelt van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoë* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgezondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

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622 [29]) For "Oldasoë" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnomoë" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoa van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 16, 1661), etc.

624 [30]) Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 28-29, 1659).

622 [31]) Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1689 or 1690 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 355); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240).

● 142 [32]) Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiso" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

619 [33]) Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Chariquas, Charinguriqua, Chariguriqua, Gregeriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was *≠Kari-huriqua*, i.e. the small (*≠kari*) tribe which lives

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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Nama

In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[44]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[45]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[46]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.[47]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottenots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

47) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

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Further, as regards the manners, food, clothing, weapons, languages, government and religion of these tribes in general, they are as follows. But it should be noted that everything we are going to describe must be taken as referring especially to the Hottentots close to the Cape, i.e. the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas or Saldanhars, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas; since, owing to the remoteness of the other, more inland, Hottentots, like the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudys and Hankumquas, we have so far received little report of them other than what has already been related in connexion with each. Nevertheless, as far as our countrymen could judge from hearsay and investigation, they agree in almost every respect with the Hottentots living nearest to the Cape.

* * * *

BUILD OF THE KAFIRS OR HOTTENTOTS.

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In build and shape of the body the Hottentots, such as the Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas and Gorachouquas (Watermen, Capemen and Tobacco Thieves) living at and near the Cape, are on the average people of medium stature, but slender, with ill-formed bodies and insignificant appearance, and yellowish in colour, like mulattos or yellowish Javanese. But those round Vleesch Bay[57]) are somewhat smaller than people here at home, and brownish-red in colour, although to a varying extent.

The hair on the head is, among all those at the Cape, short and curly, like the wool of lambs, but thicker in the women than in the men, especially among the Kobona women. The forehead is reasonably broad, but wrinkled; the eyes beautifully black, and as clear and pure as those of the hawk. But men, women and children all have flattened noses, more marked in some than in others; and in addition their lips are almost always thick, especially the upper, which is turned up and out. The mouth is well shaped and of normal size and proportions, with teeth beautifully clean and white, like ivory, and hard, so that the bite is firm.

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[57]) Vleesch Bay (Flesh Bay), close to the mouth of the Gouritz River, near Mossel Bay, was so named by the Dutch in 1601 because here they bought a large quantity of cattle and sheep from the natives in exchange for iron (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I. 7).

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De hals is van tamelijke lengte, met smalle schouderen en langachtige armen, doch voor na de handen heel mager en dun. De handen zijn van goeden maeksel; de vingeren lang, daer zy nagelen laten aenwassen als arents-klaeuwen, by hen voor een çieraedt geacht.

Byna hen allen is de buik dun en rang, met uitstekende billen, ter oorzake het lichaem, van gewaet ontbloot of in 't los gewaet gekleet, niet in evenwicht of pranginge gehouden wort. Zy zijn frai en frisch van benen, doch velen dun van kuiten, maer hebben, inzonderheit het vrou-volk, zeer fraie en kleine voeten. Zijn vluch te voet, en zoo sterk, dat eenigen eenen stier, in vollen loop, gemakkelijk kunnen tegen houden, en doen stil staen. Begaeft boven gemeen met een grote mannelijkheit.

Het vrou-volk is klein van stal, inzonderheit onder de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, en worden daer eenigen zoo besneden van troni gevonden, (waer toe niet weinigh helpt, dat zy gene maselen, nochte kinder-pokken onderwarigh zijn,) als met een penzeel zoude kunnen afgetrokken worden, behalve dat zy wat platachtigh van neuze vallen. Dan vallen boven mate, versta de getroude, groot van boesem, ook zoo groot, dat zy de borsten, die zy los en bloot hebben hangen, den kinderen van achteren over de schouderen, daer zy die gemeenlijk op dragen, in den mont kunnen te zuigen geven; doch de ongetroude wederom niet. Het schijnt als of haer de voeringe los is, alzoo haer op zommige plaetsen wat uithangt.

Al de *Kaffers* of *Hottentots*, is een volk, berooft van alle wetenschap, en letteren; zeer plomp, en in verstant meer den beesten als menschen gelijk; hoewel eenigen, door het gestadigh verkeeren met d'onzen, de vonken van hunnen menschelijken aerdt allengs doen te voorschijn komen; gelijk zommigen ook aen 't Fort de Duitsche tale beginnen te begrijpen.

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[302] [58]) I have been unable to find any evidence in confirmation of this statement.

481 [59]) The swiftness of the Hottentots is mentioned by most of the early observers as being particularly noteworthy, and the ease with which they generally managed to flee from their pursuers is often commented upon. Fritsch, however, remarks with justice that their scanty clothing and their familiarity with the country inevitably gave them a considerable advantage over the fully-dressed Dutch with their heavy footwear, and adds that in his experience he found nothing to confirm the idea that the Hottentots were exceptionally fleet-footed (*Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, 304).

142 [60]) An exaggeration; there is nothing unusual in size about the genital organs of the male Hottentots.

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The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [58]). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [59]). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [60]).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there[61]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [62]).

All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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[61]) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a lambskin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 268).

[62]) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten*, 185).

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Onder de getrouden wort gantsch weinigh jaloersheit bespeurt, niet tegenstaende wel een paert by donker in een onrechte stal komt te raken. Dan grotelix wort d'overtreder, indien zulx in 't licht komt, uit bevel van den overste gestraft.

Overlijden.

De *Kaffers* of Hottentots zijn zeer lang-levend; want de meeste, zoo mans als vrouwen, bereiken den trap van tachtig, tnegentig, hondert, hondert tien, twintig, en meer jaren.

De gestorvene Hottentots worden al zittende, moeder-naekt en zonder eenigh gewaet aen, in een diepe put gezet, daer na aerde over 't hooft gestolpt, met een grote hope stenen daer boven op, om door het wilt gedierte niet uit het graf (want zy willen de lijken niet verslonden hebben) gehaelt te worden.

Wanneer een man of vrouw overleden, en het lijk ter aerde is besteet, dan moeten al de vrienden, tot wel in den derden graet, schoon het maer een kint van een vierendeel jaers was, volgens een oud gebruik, de pink der linken hant af-kappen, om in 't graf by den doden gelegt te worden: dan zoo d'overleden by zijn leven veerijk zy geweest, en eenige vrienden nalaet, op wie dit vee zoude komen te versterven, het zy d'eene zuster van d'andere; de moeder van de groot-moeder; de dochter van de moeder (want dit maer alleenlijk aen het vrouw-volk gepleegt wort,) moeten dezelve van ieder pink een lit verliezen, eer zy het vee, zonder uitterste wille, mogen na zich nemen: want de kranke vermagh niet het minste op zijn doodt-bedde wegh te schenken, als aen den genen, die het erffelijk toekomt.

Dan niet geerne zien zy, dat iemant komt te sterven, en doen, zoo dra iemant in eene krankheit stort, eenen heel-meester halen, die, geheel en al geen gereetschap, nochte de minste zalve by zich heeft, als een scherp aen wederzijde snijdend mesje, met een lang yzertje, voor met een kopje. Dees dan komt den kranke bezoeken, en met het mesje in den ruch ader-laten; en doet op d'armen, met

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[76]) The apparent longevity of the Bushmen and Hottentots is still a matter of popular comment in newspapers, but while it is true that individuals may occasionally reach a ripe old age, there is actually no reason to believe that longevity is a general characteristic of the people. It should also be noted that among them the skin, owing to paucity of adipose tissue, readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people, so that individuals may often look much older than they really are. Cf. Ten Rhyne's remarks on the same topic, p. 123, below.

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CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 51 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:—

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Essequaes*.[6]) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, though inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting.

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6) The Hessequas (see above, p. 39) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 135.

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CHAP. IX.

Their relations with other peoples.

Who the people are that neighbour the Hottentots is not yet known; those who venture a word about the negroes (popularly called Kafirs) depend more on hearsay than on the witness of their own eyes. Thus one of our officers would have it believed that he learned the facts I shall now mention from the most remote branch of the Hottentot family, to whose territory he had been sent with a guard of six men. These Hottentots differ widely from the rest in their ways, although they are not yet known by a special name; and they told him, says our officer, that between them and the negroes lies a broad river which they cross in boats made out of hollowed tree-trunks in order to exchange goods [15]). The Hottentots are separated from one another by no boundaries.

CHAP. X.

Physical Characteristics.

The human race as a whole, apart from local and national peculiarities, is provided at birth with a character proper to itself; but no less wonderful is it that every single individual of the species, down through the ages and among so many peoples, should be supplied by nature with his own personal lineaments, distinct from those of other men, expressive alike of the inner and the outer man, and constituting an indefinable difference between one individual and another. Thus the Hottentots as a race have everywhere a dark and swarthy skin, as if scorched by the sun, and are generally endowed with a dry, warm blood. Yet the faces of some show much fairer, departing from their native dusky hue. Nevertheless the blackest are the loveliest in their eyes, and they think themselves never so finely adorned as when they sprinkle divers coloured earths upon their hair, or rub them, mixed with fat, upon their faces. For in this region there is a mountain that produces colours, which if carefully worked might perhaps be profitable.

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[15]) I have been unable to identify this officer or the journey to which reference is made. It may possibly refer to Hieronymus Cruse, who with fifteen men landed at Mossel Bay in 1668 and went eastwards overland as far as the Gouritz R., bringing back reports of the Attaquas, "a tribe similar to the Cape Hottentots, but well supplied with copper and beads, *which they obtain from another nation dwelling further east and somewhat darker*" (D., Nov. 28, 1668).

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All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom[17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled[18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[16]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

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600 Mystas! en Divinae Veritatis assertores strenuos, die et judicio novissimo ab his Barbaris media amphitheatri scrobe ustulandi. Haec est futuri summa favilla mali!*

Caloris, frigoris, inediae, omniumque laborum supra fidem patientissimi, injuriarumque minime, quippe in vindictam proni, adeo ut pedes, culicesque pungentes, non alia de causa, ori ingestos, quam ut eos dentibus, jure talionis, insecent, molant, conterant, expuantque; nihilque sibi gratius, quam injuriam injuriae contribuere palam jactitent, nec facile quiescant, nisi animum cruciatu inimicorum exsaturaverint. Aspectu rancidi, cultu feri, vita agrestes, bellicosi tamen et insuetae servitutis, aëripedes agilitate, pernicitatem nonnumquam equorum, et Cretenses nandi facilitate, praevertentes.

Candore animi multis nostratium superiores sunt, corporis vero nonnullis, et arbitratu meo, forte omnibus albore pares, si nit[i]ori studerent, nunc adipe et radiis solaribus usti, asperoque faciei pigmento infuscantur, suntque coloris ravidi adustioris, ut plurimum argutis vivacissimisque ocellis, albugine dentibusque nive candidioribus, pupilla Coelosandarachino,** brevibus pedibus, gypsatisque manibus, graciles silonesque fere omnes. Qui Promontorio nostro

* This is an adaptation of a line of Propertius (Elegies I. ix. 18): haec est venturi prima favilla mali. The syntax of this paragraph is greatly confused. I have failed to include in my version any equivalent for the words: qui legum severitate et judiciorum metu se alligari.

** Van Oordt translates this word by *bruingele*. It is unknown to me. B.F.

S 142 [2]) This description probably applies to the AmaXhosa, about whom Grevenbroek received a good deal of information from the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686).

H 142 [3]) I have found no mention of this remarkable specimen of humanity in any of the contemporary records!

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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

mysteries! Behold the strenuous champions of Divine Truth! On the last day at the last judgment they shall be burned in the middle ditch of the amphitheatre by these barbarians. "This is the final spark of the woe to come."

They are beyond belief patient of heat, cold, fasting, and every kind of toil, but utterly impatient of injury, and prone to vengeance. Wherefore if a louse or a gnat sting them they put it into their mouth for no other reason than that by the law of retaliation they may chop, grind, and crush it with their teeth, and spit it out. Nothing pleases them more, they openly boast, than to return evil for evil, nor can they easily be at rest till they have satisfied their minds by the torture of their enemies. They are offensive to look at, savage in their dress, wild in their mode of life, but warlike and unaccustomed to slavery. They are as swift as the wind, often outstripping horses in fleetness of foot and Cretans in swimming.

In whiteness of soul they are superior to many of our countrymen, and in whiteness of body they are equal to some, and, in my judgment, would perhaps be so to all, if they cared for cleanliness. But as things are, what with fat and the scorching heat of the sun and the sharp pigment they put on their faces, they have grown dark and are of a swarthy brown colour. They have lively bright eyes, and the whites of their eyes and their teeth are fairer than snow. The pupils of the eyes are of a shade between brown and yellow. They have small feet and feminine hands; they are lightly built, and almost all snub-nosed. Those who live near our Cape are of middle height; but the inhabitants of the remote parts of this region are shaggy fellows, with taller and sturdier frames, and with frizzy hair.[3] Among them has been seen a king, Longurio, twelve foot high, with hair all over his body thicker than a water spaniel's.[3] To these latter the shortness of our countrymen is a matter of contempt. Sometimes they are bald in front; sometimes they wear beard and moustache and shave their heads. The women have large breasts. With the rarest exceptions I never saw one among them that was marked from birth, fat, hunch-backed, squinting, or that had varicose veins, a swollen paunch, flat feet or spindle-shanks, or one that went bow-legged or knock-kneed or had misshapen limbs of any kind, nor did I ever see one blind of an eye nor halt in his speech, nor

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![1])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[2]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey[3]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 of 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1896, Min. Proc. p. xvi).

[1]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator* spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

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H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, H intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers 151 on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of 142 the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as *rusimones*, or hairy. 231 A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of 262 game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or [252] boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[1]). They live S [262] also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned 415 of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip 321 sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions H and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, 262 forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it S right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of [272] hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[1])

[1]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Slaveniasse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

* 81 [see pp 180-81 for footnote. - Ann'ys F]

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Hitherto I have used the term "Hottentot", without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe röthlich, im Gelbliche spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushmen as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type" as defined by Drennan

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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121 144 (11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this " Bush type."

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term " San " race as an alternative to " Bush " race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as " Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the " Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

144 What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these " Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

127 142 Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26).

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch konnen rötlichen variatäten haufiger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremde Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with.

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

144 Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

142 144 Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of " Bush " admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical peppercorn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

142 Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had " Bush " characters.

127 142 Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original " Hottentot " type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood : " Auch *Kafferblut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in betrachtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

127 Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other " Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Owing to practical difficulties of measurement the nasal index is seen to vary over a wide range but is definitely platyrrhine in all but three cases, (Nos. 6, 8 and 9), one of whom is of mixed descent. Cranial capacities were calculated by means of the Lee-Pearson formula corrected by the addition of 200 cc. (Drennan op. cit.) The figures obtained show a relatively low capacity, all were microcephalic, except the two largest (Nos. 6 and 11), which were mesocephalic. In stature the Links individuals are short, the tallest not exceeding 5′ 6″ in height, the average for the group is about 5′ 3″. The Intermembral index was calculated from direct limb measurements. Indices ranging between 72.1 and 87.5 were obtained for Links. Such results in the Korana are remarkable, for, according to Drennan (11), this index in the human race does not go higher than 83, the index for the Pygmy, and in the Bushman it only reaches 67.

To sum up, we may say that, according to this material, the average Links Korana of to-day is a mesaticephalic, microcephalic, platyrrhine, orthocephalic, chamaeprosopic individual, of short stature and fairly dark complexion. He shows little prognathism or eversion of the lips. In fact he is essentially the same in form and features as the type we have learnt to call the " Bush type."

This short resumé of the chief physical features of the Links group should be contrasted with Shrubsall's description of the " typical Hottentot " skull—" a true Hottentot skull may be briefly described as dolichocephalic, akrocephalic, leptoprosopic, mesoseme, platyrrhine, and leptostaphylinic " (33).

If Shrubsall's " Hottentot " standard is to be accepted, it follows that these Links Korana, in spite of the fact that they are Hottentots, are anatomically speaking not Hottentots, but are Bushmen.

The position we have reached then is this :—that in the published work of the three earlier writers on the physical anthropology of the Korana, there is nothing to show that their material was of unquestionable Korana origin.

Hence investigation of persons or skeletal material of definitely known Korana origin is necessary to discover what the skeletal characters of the Korana really are. We know from the historical evidence that the modern Korana are extremely bastardised. They nevertheless did, and some of them still do, present typical " Hottentot " features as defined above. The typical " Hottentot " features persisted in one woman seen at Bloemhof, whom I was unable to measure. She was so like a subject

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

of Daniell's, that she could almost have stepped out of the pages of his sketch-book. Her skin was of olive-yellow tint, her face was broad with high cheek-bones, coming to a point at the chin which was so characteristic of the Hottentot of the earlier descriptions. Nevertheless from the somatometrical evidence (i.e. from investigation of a group of definitely known Korana), we can refer *most* of these particular Korana to the "Bush type." They do not conform to the definitions laid down both here and by Shrubsall for a "typical Hottentot."

This may be because (1) of the known Bushman admixture in the Links, or because (2) the typical Hottentot has not been accurately described.

We may rely on the evidence relating to the external features of the "typical Hottentot," for, as we have seen elsewhere, it has been extensively corroborated.

We cannot be so sure about the evidence relating to skeletal characteristics. In information derived from skeletal material a possible source of error may exist. There is no way of knowing in a good many cases the actual origin of such material. The investigator has to take it on trust, unless the pre-burial history is accurately known.

It is in deciding questions that might otherwise be in doubt that field work is so desirable in South Africa.

L. Schultze (36) investigated the external appearance of the "Nama Hottentots" in this way, but unfortunately took no measurements. His results go to show that the Namaqua are also very mixed in their features showing both Bushman and Bantu traits. He mentions that prominent eyebrow-ridges are found in the Nama also.

The presence of two persons among the Links (Nos. 5 and 6) having well-marked eyebrow-ridges, confirms Broom in ascribing "Australoid" features to *some* of the Korana, but in view of Schultze's findings among the Namaqua and the fact that such features have been found elsewhere amongst Bushmen, the possession of Australoid features is not to be considered characteristic of or even common in these Links Korana. These features could have been brought into the Korana by such "Australoid Bushmen," especially as both Links showing eyebrow ridges were Bushmanoid. There is even a possibility that they are Boskopoids. A surprising fact that emerges from these considerations is that there is little trace of Bantu influence apparent in the physical structure of the Links. Yet we know from the historical facts that they have lived in close alliance with the Bechuana for many years.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE I.

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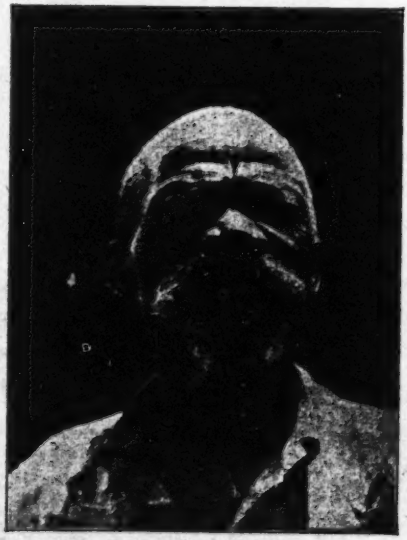
Xras (Schweizer Reneke.)



Sele:ki (Schweizer Reneke).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE II.

115
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Tabab (Bloemhof).

Kheis (Bloemhof).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE III.

115
142

A. and B.
Abraham Links.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE V.

115
142
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Matiti plugging a Flute

Matiti blowing a Flute.

Method of blowing the *Reed-Flute.*

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VI.

115
142
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Gotis playing the *Khaːs.*

Selocki playing the *Goras.*

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VII.

115
142
292
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Tabab playing the *!Gabus*.

Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

143 This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that " Bush " features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

144 On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives[1], but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives[2] to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, " Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not " Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the " Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such " Hottentot " types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned " investigations have not " as yet " revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

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[1] See historical section.

[2] One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee 1912/1913: Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 139; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same languag family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentiall alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originall been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type— to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, an above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence o Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fac that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottento languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at leas of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); idem, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Seidelmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Howitt, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Peringuey, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hotsa hie* (? *Hoisa Kaise*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they[1] now came with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete disintegration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such as smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Even more effective, however, in destroying their original status was the very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first years of the settlement began to take place between them and the white settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whether at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this division can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their original culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans, early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlement. One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the end of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleus of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua or Chariguriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before 1795*, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Sawe, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[1] [i.e., the Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

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tribe, who by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most powerful group of Hottentots in the east, and extended from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River. Very little is actually known of these people, especially as regards their social habits and customs. They are said to have differed slightly in appearance from the Cape Hottentots, the result of intermixture with the neighbouring Bantu, and their language was also different in some respects. They have now apparently all been exterminated or absorbed by other races. They were the first Hottentots to come into contact with the Bantu invaders along the south coast, and it is largely as a result of both conflict and intermixture with these more powerful neighbours that they have become so completely effaced.[1]

The KORANA or !KORA are, as already noted, traditionally the descendants of the Kora or Gorachouqua, who, originally resident in the Cape Peninsula, began to draw away inland from the Dutch settlement towards the end of the seventeenth century. Their history for the last two hundred years has been one of continual strife with the Europeans on the one hand, and later with the Bantu as well. During the early half of the eighteenth century they gradually moved north-eastwards towards the Middle Orange, and by the end of the century they had been forced across that river to seek refuge round the junction of the Vaal and the Harts. They were found in 1813 by Campbell in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Old Lithakao, and later on settled at Bethany, under the influence of the Berlin Mission. For a time they managed to preserve their original status, and by about 1850 are said to have been divided into seventeen different groups numbering altogether some 20,000 persons. But by 1870 their tribal units had also become completely destroyed, chiefly as the result of disastrous fights with the neighbouring BaSuto. They have since declined considerably in numbers, and no semblance of their original organization now survives. They have mixed freely with the Bantu and with half-breeds, and although it is said that a number of racially pure individuals are still to be found, the majority of the present Korana have certainly a good deal of foreign blood in them.[2]

[144]

The fourth and best-known division of the Hottentots are the

[1] A summary of the early literature relating to these tribes is given by J. Hewitt, "Notes relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Eastern Provinces," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), pp. 304 sqq., esp. 308–15. The most useful account of the Gonaqua is in F. le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance dans les Années 1780–5*, 2 vols., Paris, 1790, esp. vol. ii, pp. 28 sqq.

[2] Fritsch, op. cit., 366–76; Shaw, op. cit., 267–315.

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619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white [191] blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witbooi*s, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been [144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

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161 the latest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,892, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 56,000.

144 Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a dis-
161 appearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently
177 in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griqua, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 22–'27), p. 28.
[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (ed. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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differences between the two peoples can be detected. Amongst themselves the Hottentots vary but slightly, save, of course, where there has been much recent intermixture with other peoples. Among the Korana, for instance, who have absorbed a good deal of Bantu blood, one may often notice individuals who differ from the normal Hottentot type in being of a darker complexion and in having a greater development of hair on the head and face, coarser features and broader noses. But in pure-blooded Hottentots the physical type is on the whole fairly uniform in all the divisions. The following description may therefore be regarded as a general survey of those characters which can be looked upon as common to all people of the normal Hottentot type.[1]

In stature they are mostly of medium height. The fullest series of measurements are those given by Schultze for the Naman. He found that in 73 men the mean height was 162·4 cm., although the individual statures ranged from a minimum of 150·5 cm. to a maximum of 176·5 cm.; while in 27 women the mean was 149·7 cm. (min. 135·5, max. 162·5). The measurements recorded by other writers and of other groups of Hottentots correspond closely with these figures. The Hottentots thus appear to be appreciably taller than the Cape Bushmen, but only slightly taller than the North-Western Bushmen; while, on the other hand, they are on the whole somewhat smaller than the North-Eastern Bushmen.

Their skin colour is predominantly a light brownish-yellow, somewhat lighter in some cases than even in the Cape Bushmen. The skin itself is dry, and on the whole has little adipose tissue; it also displays the same propensity to fold as in the case of the Bushmen. In young people it is drawn smoothly over the muscles and bones, and has a certain pleasing and taut appearance. But in adults, and in particular in women who have borne children, its appearance is completely changed: the skin of the abdomen becomes flabby, and deep wrinkles readily form there, on the chest and on the face. There is little hair on the body; the arm-pits, pubes, and other parts are very sparsely covered with it, while the beard and moustache in men are only feebly developed. The hair is black and short, and has the same "peppercorn" formation which characterizes the Bushmen. It rarely turns

[1] The most exhaustive analysis of the physical characters of the Hottentots is found in the recent work of L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, esp. pp. 147–86. Of the earlier works the more important are Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 271–91 *et passim*, and E. Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*, Jena, 1913, esp. pp. 57–134 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

L. Schultze

HOTTENTOT (ǂAUNIN) MEN WITH HAMITIC FEATURES

[face p. 64

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[facing page 647]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aunin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Goan* 1000, *//Haboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khoin* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witboois 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

[6] Report of W. Coates Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 50-'77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells. for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of " peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A number of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vrientschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkeit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulx alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aengewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

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41) First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

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Korana

121 ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

127 144 In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. *With Bantu:*

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

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144

progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his " dagverhaal " (diary) he mentions the " tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, " daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it.

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that " what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that " many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language " (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the " Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana " and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them " the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

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127 high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only. 144

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman..... The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage.... They fought ..... after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen:*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd " In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

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Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hawena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that " Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen." 127 144

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that " the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that " there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (23) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Koranas among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

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127 Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of
144 Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (merkmalen) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

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Hitherto I have used the term "Hottentot" without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelblicht spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushman as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

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(11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this "Bush type."[2]

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term "San" race as an alternative to "Bush" race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as "Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the "Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these "Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

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present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26). 127 142

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch konnen rötlichen variatäten haufger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremden Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with. 127 144

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour. 127 142

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144 Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

142 144 Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of " Bush " admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical peppercorn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

142 Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had " Bush " characters.

127 142 Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original " Hottentot " type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood : " Auch *Kafferblut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in betrachtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

127 Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other " Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

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143 This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that " Bush " features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

144 On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives[1], but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives[2] to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, " Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not " Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the " Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such " Hottentot " types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned " investigations have not " as yet " revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

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[1] See historical section.

[2] One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

This sketch is only a stepping-stone which, it is hoped, will lead to further somatometrical research not only upon the Korana but the other living races and tribes of South Africa—a subject the fringe of which has so far only been touched.

D. SUMMARY

1. The work of earlier writers on Korana anthropology is reviewed and criticised. So far there has been considerable theoretical discussion and insufficient investigation of known Koranas.

(2) Historical evidence is adduced to show that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated with Bush and Bantu elements.

(3) The external appearance of eleven members of the Links tribe of Korana is briefly discussed and is also shown to point to racial impurity.

(4) The available skeletal characteristics of Links Korana are discussed. This group is shown to be mainly of "Bush type" in these respects.

(5) There is no evidence apart from the effects of this extensive admixture with Bush and Bantu, that the Korana differ appreciably from other "Hottentots" in skeletal characteristics.

(6) The matter of nomenclature is discussed. Faulty nomenclature and methods of research have, up to now, led to confusion in this subject. The importance of field work and the necessity for exact identification of the material under examination is emphasised.

E. REFERENCES

(1) *Broom, R.* 1923. A contribution to the craniology of the Yellow-skinned races of South Africa. J.R.A.I. LIII. p. 132.

(2) *Broom, R.* 1923. The Natives of South Africa. Natural History, XXIII, 3.

(3) *Broom, R.* 1929. Australoid element in the Korana. Nature, CXXIV, 3127, p. 507.

(4) *Dreyer, T. F. & Lyle, A.* 1929. New Fossil mammals and man from South Africa.

(5) *Drennan, M. R.* 1925 An Australoid skull from the Cape Flats, J.R.A.I. LIX, pp. 417-26.

The Hottentots and the darker Bushmen whose skin is light-brown or fawn-colored stand alone among the blackish-brown to black human races of their neighborhood. A pale, fawn-colored, brownish-yellow is the basic color of the Hottentot's body. On the face the skin is often brown but on the sole of the foot, it becomes the slightly tanned skin color of our race, even more so under the nails of the feet and hands, sometimes seeming yellower, sometimes pinker. They do not have our bright red lips. The mucuous membrane of the mouth (including the parts of the lips which are invisible when the mouth is closed) [178] and of the throat is a dull red tinted with violet. That is also true of the vulva. The glans penis, however, is a bright pink color. I never saw a single case of circumcision.

The Hottentots cannot consciously move either the muscles of the skull or the ears, only the platsyma, as I later tested.

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old]

The body hair is extremely scant. Because of this and the strong curl in each fine hair, wherever the hair grows in bunches (except for the eyelashes, the eyebrows, the moustache and the beard), it mats together into separate, isolated tufts between which the skin shines brightly. But these visible parts of the skin are not bald: The implanting of the hair in the skin is regular, at least no group arrangement can be identified which would correspond to those matted tufts. That is true for the hair on the skull as well as around the genitals and in the armpits. The stronger the spiral curling of the individual hair and the scantier the total amount of hair is, the firmer and smaller the tufts. There are variations in all stages from compact formations that measure only a few millimeters across to loose clumps that are centimeters large. Only in a few rare exceptions is the hair on the head so strongly developed that it forms curls as long as the finger, thickly massed, but individually differentiated, which then stand straight up in confusion or dangle around the head in a fantastic way (cf. Plate V.) The Hottentot himself [179] designates the black round knots of hair on his head with the same word that means goat dung (*!no‡ra·s). The Boer compares these hair knots with peppercorns and calls the Hottentot "Pepperkopp". Among several hundred Hottentots I met only one bald one.

The Hottentot has only those parts of a beard that our race has best developed, namely, a weak mustache (especially developed towards the side) and a chin beard. The separate hairs of these are well developed. He does not have side-whiskers and a complete hair covering

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs. 142

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII). 142 145

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matrons. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place. 142 [832]

B. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of deportment, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hõ'//goa *. 516 576

* I could not find the word *!hõ' listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !ho'- to be bent, as from !hõ↑ - to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning . . . [Picture. Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "sa arii kxoma !hõ' //gũga (e)ĩts" i.e. "Your

841 [145]

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *//kχã/a·es(e)ni, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture. Plate XII. Topnaar Hottentot Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 210). [302]

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I know of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race. [145]

b) Marriage, !ga·meb, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization. 581

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the *taob of the girl, the girl the *taos of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word (tao = to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom. 584

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways; openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians, 584 832

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

551 with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same "great name", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this "great name" derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

853 [854] A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby [862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the [847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 262 [145] From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 31–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, op. cit., 303–8; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 76; Schinz, op. cit., 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, op. cit., 222, 299.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *tàras* or *gei taras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//núri //gab* or *//núri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even to-day carefully observe damong the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

● [145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *kharu*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relative. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22–3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 315–16; Schultze, op. cit., 303.
[2] "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 99–100.
[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, i, 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hotentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 213; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 295–7; Vedder, "The Nama," 136.
[4] "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 70–4; *idem*, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 523–4.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[64] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
● [45] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep,
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:— .

Onder de getrouden wort gantsch weinigh jaloersheit bespeurt, niet tegenstaende wel een paert by donker in een onrechte stal komt te raken. Dan grotelix wort d'overtreder, indien zulx in 't licht komt, uit bevel van den overste gestraft.

OVERLIJDEN.

De *Kaffers* of Hottentots zijn zeer lang-levend; want de meeste, zoo mans als vrouwen, bereiken den trap van tachtig, tnegentig, hondert, hondert tien, twintig, en meer jaren.

De gestorvene Hottentots worden al zittende, moedernaekt en zonder eenigh gewaet aen, in een diepe put gezet, daer na aerde over 't hooft gestolpt, met een grote hope stenen daer boven op, om door het wilt gedierte niet uit het graf (want zy willen de lijken niet verslonden hebben) gehaelt te worden.

Wanneer een man of vrouw overleden, en het lijk ter aerde is besteet, dan moeten al de vrienden, tot wel in den derden graet, schoon het maer een kint van een vierendeel jaers was, volgens een oud gebruik, de pink der linken hant af-kappen, om in 't graf by den doden gelegt te worden: dan zoo d'overleden by zijn leven veerijk zy geweest, en eenige vrienden nalaet, op wie dit vee zoude komen te versterven, het zy d'eene zuster van d'andere; de moeder van de groot-moeder; de dochter van de moeder (want dit maer alleenlijk aen het vrouw-volk gepleegt wort,) moeten dezelve van ieder pink een lit verliezen, eer zy het vee, zonder uitterste wille, mogen na zich nemen: want de kranke vermagh niet het minste op zijn doodt-bedde wegh te schenken, als aen den genen, die het erffelijk toekomt.

Dan niet geerne zien zy, dat iemant komt te sterven, en doen, zoo dra iemant in eene krankheit stort, eenen heel-meester halen, die, geheel en al geen gereetschap, nochte de minste zalve by zich heeft, als een scherp aen wederzijde snijdend mesje, met een lang yzertje, voor met een kopje. Dees dan komt den kranke bezoeken, en met het mesje in den ruch ader-laten; en doet op d'armen, met

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[74]) The apparent longevity of the Bushmen and Hottentots is still a matter of popular comment in newspapers, but while it is true that individuals may occasionally reach a ripe old age, there is actually no reason to believe that longevity is a general characteristic of the people. It should also be noted that among them the skin, owing to paucity of adipose tissue, readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people, so that individuals may often look much older than they really are. Cf. Ten Rhyne's remarks on the same topic, p. 123, below.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
● 146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never
[465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk
[824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 184 309 225 881

given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

B 181 309 881

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of clitoridectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

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Hottentots

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has given

H [147]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, II 103; Tom Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 840; Wicar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarised by Welt, "Lokalexamenarbeiten . . . der staatlich-französischen Sektion," 882–93.
[3] Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 222–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gumsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gumsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*ou /kuru* or simply */kuru* in the case of men, */gue-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gui-guises*, to make oneself stiff) is also found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wandres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 331; cf. Falk, *op. cit.*, 102.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 283.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range themselves against the Witbooïs and in a crouching posture continue playing on their reed pipes. The Witbooïs also form into line, and send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-hatted men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witbooïs, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after inspecting them all returns to his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witbooïs dance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, with its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting illustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile imagination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even although they have not the grand masquerade dances performed by the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but singing without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of the songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; others are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known as *gares*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of extemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, and not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals will often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter or longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. But they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously into the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often church hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are often replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical sense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal recreation in its exercise.

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, uncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and privations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 312–3. [2] *Op. cit.*, 103, 28–9.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells, for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of "peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

147 9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

141 10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A num-
144 ber of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[64] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[45] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep,
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

187 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. O. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1668, writes about it as follows:—

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [*]). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [**]). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [***]).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there[*]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [**]).

All the Kaffrs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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*) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a lambskin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 268).

**) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

forte lucrosus. Omnes quos mihi saltem videre contigit, gracili ac elaborato corpore, congruenter concisis artuum lacertis, simo (qualis *Africanorum* ac *Asiaticorum* plerisque conatus est) naso, depressa fronte, chilones, crispo, languinoso, & in varias deraso formes capillo, nudi incedunt, tectis tantum levi corio praecordiis. Feminas a maribus deformitate distinguas; Iliae hoc sibi a caeteris gentibus peculiare habent, quod pleraeque earum dactyliformes, semper geminas, e pudendis propendentes appendiculas, productas scilicet *Nymphas* (ut raro in nostratibus exemplo prolongata conspicitur *clitoris*) gestent, quas tuguriola (illi suo idiomate *krulles* vocant, mulieribus fortuito referta) intrantibus magna cum gesticulatione, coriaceum elevando supparum, videndas praebent. Sic strangulatam nuper prosecavit amicus *chirurgus viraginem Hottentotticam*, in qua digitalia haec *Nympharum* tubercula, e verendis procidua, duas in una mammilla papillas, variosque in [1]) pancreate calculos observârat. Imo vero, adjiciebat probatissimae fidei *Gubernator*: *Et ego calculum ex medietate virilis testiculi exsectum, propter adamantinam pellucidilatem annulo insertum possedi; aut eum supersagitioso & ingentem de eo amuleti sim ventilanti, Nigritarum Regi donavi.* Id vero cum *Nigritica, Aethiopica* &c. gente commune habent; quod ubi hi oleo, illi pecorum adipe corpora, sed praesertim verticem, illinant, cineribus ex concrematis herbis (quos *Bouchôu* vernacule appellant) in eundem conspersis: quod officium uxores maritis praestant. Aurium lobos transversim lateque secant, aperturam bacillo, vel *tabacifuma* fistula, vel quod illis solennius, *corallinis* inauribus pandant.

[1]) Sic tandem dubitationis aleam evaderet dictamen hoc; posse etiam in omnibus corporis partibus calculos produci. (This statement need not labour under any suspicion of doubt: stones may be produced in any part of the body.)

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[147] [1]) On this well-known characteristic of Hottentot women, see above, p. 62. ✓

[192] [2]) The word *kraal* is not of Hottentot origin, but was taken over by the Dutch from the Portuguese *curral* and applied to the settlements of the Hottentots, not to their huts.

a [i.e., see P. Kapper, this File, vol. III, p. 62. — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom [17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled [18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular bouchou.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[16]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[17]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognizes its own chief, 622
and the chief generally recognizes a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequas, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor 845
of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [44]). In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth 304
deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not 856
receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [45]).

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as soon as they are born (according to Nieuhoff) or at the age of 9 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Soc. 5, 51). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb [and also Maxwell] may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (*op. cit.*, 333-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were monorchs.

304 856 [147]

hunted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, distinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kx̃ē.aob, "scout," and the oldest leader as */ga/ro /nē/rab, because it presses toward the water first [288] (!ga/ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in the herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill. 136 224

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of baboon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the Orange bush country. They call it */hai·/nē/rab, i.e. "pale baboon" because of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mischief). [Picture. Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack a leopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to every native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously that the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth. 136 825

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an expedition, !ha/mi·, that takes several days or weeks. 224

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game]. Only the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game (/kx̃uri·, //ga/m, u/ru). First he sights the game at great distances and, in spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes, recognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has developed the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intellect to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One need only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has been shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the *trail is child's play, but* where we would stop baffled by a field thickly covered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a hundred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards the sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it and will then point out the direction with his finger where the search must continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground is overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the surrounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings back a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal has brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours [151]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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Cape Hottentot

000 proximi, mediae sunt staturae, qui vero abdita regionis inhabitant, villosi, procerioris robustiorisque corporis, et cirrati sunt: visusque inter eos Longurio duodecempeda regulus, toto corpore hirsutus, cane aquatrio pilosior, brevitasque illis nostratium contemptui est: subinde recalvastri, et nonnunquam barbam cum mystace alunt, caputque radunt: mulieres mammosae. Insignitum aut obesum, gibbosum, paetum, varicem, ventricosum, pansam, loripedem, valgum, anuem (sic), compernem, aut distortis membris inter ipsos non vidi, praeter unum alterumve, luscum, exomphalum, atypum, nasutilumque, et si quis claudicat, aut manu, bracchio, oculo aliove membro mutilus, id hosti, ferae, aut casui imputet, non matri, quae minus, quam alibi mulieres, animi commotionibus affectionibusque obnoxia, salubri corpore, et justa membrorum eurythmiâ, robustisque artibus conspicuos liberos parit, quos sola decrepita aetas dissolvit.

Nostrates procul hinc profecti, mercaturam facturi, in gentem, cui non cornea fibra est,* quae nostris tum forte comptis rasisque, aut imberbibus, merces suas distrahendas explicantibus indicantibusque, joculari convicio exprobrat, maritos suos vocarent, si secum pacisci vellent, cum in(s)titricibus sibi nullum negotium. Talia Barbari!

Auditu sunt solerti, naribus acutis, visuque, ut dixi, acerrimo, adeo ut melli insidiaturi, apiculam stupenda indagine, volantem ad favum usque in alta rupe, cava arbore aut crypta absconditum, oculis sequantur deregantque: sicubi, interveniente dumeto, sylva, fluvio aliove obstaculo remoraque, apicula aciem oculorum insequentis effugit, cursum indigator sistens, faciem soli occiduo obvertit, advolantemque praecedentis tramite apiculam omni cura investigat, quâ duce in praedam petitam incidat.

Porro observavi Afros nostros aviculae cujusdam cantu, volatuque mellis amicissimae, ad alveare perduci; feriurque alias aviculas, locis leonibus ferisque infestis occinere; alias

* The phrase is from Persius, Sat. I. 47.

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522 a) I have been unable to find any official record of this incident.

151 b) Hahn, 200 years later, gives an interesting corroboration of this statement. "When a bee passes a Bushman or Namaqua in

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![4])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[4]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the *hive's nest by the song and flight of* a certain little bird that is very fond of honey[4]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 or 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1884, Adm. Proc. p. xvi).

[4]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator* spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, H intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers 151 on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of 142 the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their 231 sheep. The sheep I should describe as *musimones*, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of 262 game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or [252] boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[7]). They live S [262] also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned 415 of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip 321 sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions H and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, 262 forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it S right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of A hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from [272] sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[8])

[7]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

[8]) [see pp 180-81 for footnote. – Ann'ys.]

Actually we must keep in mind, that the Hottentots have borrowed a great deal from the gestures of the foreign peoples in their present surroundings. Their receptivity for foreign things is great. When this is considered, the number of gestures which can be considered original because they are unique or dominant among the Hottentots, is greatly reduced. As a gesture of affirmation, they usually throw back the head slightly at the same time shutting the eyes. This is frequently observed, especially among the women. 201 [177]

Negation is expressed in a careless manner by an inarticulated sound with the mouth closed. The sound resembles a short, light cough, only it is voiced somewhat with a notable rise in tonal level at the beginning and a fleeting fall at the end.

They themselves call an expressive gesture of astonishment *//a·mana·m (from *//a/m - covering to hide and ams - mouth). For this gesture they cover the mouth and the entire lower half of the face with their hand flat and turn the head to one side, at the same time raising the eyelids. Lifting the upper eyelids (without raising the eyebrows), which I often observed during a conversation whenever there was a sudden dawning of recognition or awakening of interest, can only be designated here as a common human mode of expression. 201 152

Shame cannot be recognized by a blush because of the fawn-colored character of their skin. Bending the head sideways and covering the face with the elbow is a frequent manner of expressing the feeling of shame.

I found a gesture of repugnance or strong dislike very marked among the women. The face is turned to one side and slightly tipped backwards from the person against whom the gesture is directed. The eyelids droop limply, the mouth is distorted into a snout, the upper lip coming quite close to the nostrils as though to plug them up. Using the same gesture, called ǂnam, a person who has overeaten turns aside when food is offered to him.

It is no longer possible to decide whether embracing and cheek kissing as a tender gesture of greeting is original among the Hottentots or a gesture they have adopted. An old woman embraced and kissed one of my young companions with feelings of joy, when he [184] returned to her dwelling after years of separation. She summoned other women and couldn't express her joy sufficiently. Her eyes were too deeply encased in wrinkles for me to see if she was weeping. One may probably consider weeping as an expression of joyful emotion a

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa!mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [797]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

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12. On the other hand, when under the influence of disagreeable passions the Nama presents an altogether different and almost unrecognisable aspect. He is then sulky, unapproachable, impudent, faithless, unmerciful and cruel.

13. Both in his good and bad moods he is impelled by the desire to play the great man, to earn as much as possible with the least exertion. Yet he consumes his earnings in the most uneconomical manner and loves to preen himself in the grandest of attire. 156

14. Contrary to the descriptions of the older historians, the Nama is nowise slow of thought. He knows how to use his senses and he is able to translate for his use with great rapidity of thought, whatever his eye, ear and sense of smell have communicated to him. As far as rapidity of thought and imagination are concerned, the Nama takes the first place in South West, leaving the Hereros, Berg Damaras and Ovambos, even the so-called Bastards, far behind. He is musical, but the beauties of nature make no impression whatever on him. He is a great teller of tales and listens *to tales with great attention, but for* the past history of his people he has little interest, preferring a foreign language to his mother-tongue. 153 517

15. Will power, which gives character its type and reliability is but slightly developed in any of them. Principles count for little and a Nama will never fall back on a principle to explain his actions. It may be taken as an axiom that when the Nama acts under the influence of his agreeable instincts, the good qualities of his nature become evident in a surprisingly beautiful manner; but when he acts on his disagreeable impulses he can no longer be trusted and is capable of quite unsuspectedly evil actions. 152

H. Schinz, with whose judgment of the Nama I agree, writes of them: "They have their virtues and vices like every other people, but in order to judge them, we must descend from the pedestal of civilisation, often so artificial, and place ourselves in their past, their environment and 181

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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[37]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho*, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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37) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari ": but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a [illegible] domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher completed the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

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seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blowing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gaiu aib gye /gûrib ûabe, sores gye ti ûaas," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [151 191]
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

[539]

[Text omitted]

[457] Translation of XXXII

The Jackal and the Hyena Who Take Away the Ann' Two Cows

The hyena and the jackal were tending (ũũi, narr. pass.) the cattle (//goana, neut. pl.). And they came (ǂi) to (doba) thorn trees (//kʰũũti) and looked for hairs resin for themselves (hare). Then the hyena said: "Brother Pale, look (ǂõ) after the cattle, won't you (re)." Then the jackal looks and says: "They are lying (//gaē) together in the shade" (ǂhaã, vb.: the assembling of the cattle seeking shade in the hot hours of the day). Thus he said, although (ǂabe) the cattle had run away (ha, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl.) and continued": "Sister Pointed Rump, did you (-i fem. personal suff., after

> "This dialogue (cf. Folk tale XXXV), in which two scoundrels, each with the same mischief in mind, cautiously sound each other out without, however, admitting their designs openly at first, is characteristic of the crafty character of the Hottentot.

[57]

ǂaĩ "to think") have in mind what I had in mind?" And the hyena answered: "I had it in mind." Whereupon the jackal: "Let (ha) us (-m, derived from im, the suff. of the 1st pers. dual masc.-fem.) then seek (ũũ) the cattle and (ũ) go away to slaughter (ǂõ)" together (-ge)."

> ǂ ǂoge also has the meaning "to slaughter a roast for a wedding." The word is to be understood in this sense here also; the hyena's subsequent request for copulation is linked to it. In the legends the jackal always appears as a man and the hyena, with few exceptions (for instance in XXXIV where it figures as a stupid bridegroom) as a woman.

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Des jaers seetien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken Goringhaiqua of Kaepmans, en d'ouwen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de besitting en toe-eigeninge van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'ouwen trachten uit te sluiten; met voorwenden van aller eerwen her dat beseten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de Gorachouquas of Tobaks-dieven doorgaens hystant, en veilden veiens van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met aengapen ter neer, en bragtense jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden sy den ouwen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen gerulli, die sy hen soo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat sy niet te beschirten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh weer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het gewear seer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Deze trekken en wetenschap hadden sy bekomen uit bericht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommoé*, en by d'ouwen *Doman*, dit te *Bolosie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) sich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omgangh der Neerlanders wel bebrichtigt, ook wilts geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingenegen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verrordeert,) weer aen de Kaep gekomen, hielt sich een langen wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'ouwen, maer begaf sich eindelijk weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniety van hun gewear volkomelijk bekent.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdbaren krijghsknecht, gebuirtig by de Hottentotta *Cherabiqua*, en by de Neerlanders *Pietr-neus*, sijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor sigebatten, sonder dat sy dit, van wegen hunne overgroote ruddigheit, door hetmelijke wachten van rustuyre of vuer-kuechten t'achterhalen waren.

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[1]) For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, op. cit., pp. 221. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, wrote of the Goringhaicona: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Desp.*, II, 288).

[2]) He belonged to the group of Cayemen, and was called Doman or Dommie by the Dutch. "Because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Hor. 13, 1660). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

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In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.[1] The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandise, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoë and to our countrymen as Doman.[2]). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, [3]) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

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[1]) Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1668, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 31, 1666; May 18, 1668); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1669 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognized as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 18, 1668; Thunb. op. cit., 82). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1681 as an official interpreter once more (cf. D. May 18, 1681). He died Dec. 18, 1683, "by whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, op. cit., 272).

[2]) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1658) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

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One morning in June 1659, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower ribs, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.[14]

[161]

721

The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and domination.[15] To this our men replied:

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and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently as if we intended never to leave again, but take permanent possession of this Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent, that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (Letters dep., III, 136.)

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leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien sy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetsen voor hun vee, daerse die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit besien, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer sagen ook hun landeryen, sonder hen te kennen, onder d'onsen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke sy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons sulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk souden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te sullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onsen weer tot antwoort, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemaal verloren, en nott derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te sullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van desen *Eykamma*, die ten resten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering persoon was, maer men sijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de saken t'overleggen, om elk het sijn te herstellen, of soodanigh, als het beste kunde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling [illegible] en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgesonden, met verslag aen den Overste Goqueus om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wierd vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, sy voerden echter, daer sy kans sagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, sulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaerste te beslechten. Weinigh holp ook het stellen

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[*]) This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Cappemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters dep.*, II, 186; cf. D., April 8, 1660.)

[**]) Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1658 (cf. D. *ad dd.*).

[***]) This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autshumao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

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"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."[10] 721

Eykamma died on the sixth day.[11] His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoa to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoesa,[12] had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months 728 159

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learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1658, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1660, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1658, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1662. (D. passim; cf. Bosman, "Eik die Hoogvlei van 'n Hottentot," Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns, x, 140-61.) 728 159

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on the island, he and another Hottentot[33]) managed to make land in a leaky fishing-skiff provided with two oars, the wind favouring them. They found the settlements of their fellow Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas again erected in the vicinity. The flight of these two savages was reported to Governor Riebeeck after a few days by a certain free burgher of Saldanha Bay,[34]) who came sailing from there. On the following day the Governor sent out six Dutchmen to go seeking along the shore until they came across the skiff or any sign of it. The men set out, with provisions of food for four or five days, and on the next day, just about eleven miles from the Fort, found the skiff lying high and dry in a pretty little sand bay, with the oars by it and some grass inside, as if someone had slept there at night. But they saw no people thereabouts, nor any Hottentots on the whole trip, although rhinoceros, elephants and other wild beasts were observed often enough. After a trip of four days, these six men at last came back to the Fort, without having achieved their object, and told the Governor of their adventure.[35])

[34]

At long last, in the month of February, 1660, the aforesaid Harry or Kammemoes came to the Fort with the Chief Chore, accompanied by thirteen fat cattle and more than a hundred other savages, all unarmed.[36]) They entreated that we should be willing to accept these fat cattle as a token of friendship, and that they should again be permitted to visit us as before. In addition they agreed to let us plough the land within three hours' journey of the Fort with corn and other seed, but on condition that we did not plough up any more land than was already under cultivation. As soon as this compact had been concluded on both sides by word of mouth, the Hottentots were regaled in the Fort with bread, tobacco and brandy, from which they made themselves dead drunk. The others, as soon as they learned that the dispute was settled, also came running

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[33]) This man was a Gorachouquas spy captured July 13, 1658, and used without success to guide Harry and the Dutch to the camping-places of his people. He was sent to Robben Island on Oct. 8, where Harry followed him to Oct. 30 (D. et alii).

[34]) D., Dec. 8, 1659. The escape had taken place "8 or 10 days" before.

[35]) Cf. D., Dec. 9-13, 1659.

[36]) Dapper's information is incorrect. The first part was concluded on April 3-4 with the Capemen and their chief Gogosoa (D., et alii). Chore, "with a retinue of about 100 men, among them the oldest and principal of the tribe, bringing with them 13 head of cattle fairly old and young," did not come to sue for peace until a month later (D., May 5, 1660).

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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Goqueoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[*]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squalling down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [522] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of ho, ho, ho, ho, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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*) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1652.

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Na het befrijven van al deze vrolijkheden, wierden d'oversten met rode kralen, kopere stokken, en platen, en elk daer en boven met een rolletje tabak beschonken; maer de gemene *Hottentots* moesten zich met het voorseide onthael vernoegt houden: waer op zy alle gezamentlijk, na dat een parthye dien nacht in het Fort geslapen had, weder vertrokken, uitgezeit, de voornoemde *Herry*, die noch drie of vier daegen daer verbleef.

De zelve *Herry* spreekt mede een weinigh Engelsch, geleert door het verkeren met d'Engelschen in *Bantam* in Indiën, daer d'Engelschen een vastigheit hebben, derwaerts hy van de kaep met een Engelsch schip over gevaren was; maer komende naderhant met een schip weer aen de kaep, begaf hy zich weder onder zijn volk.

Cochoquas of Saldanhars.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, also by d'onsen genoemt, om dat zich altijts meest ontrent en in de dalen van de *SaldanAabay* hebben onthouden, gelegen achtien mijlen Noord-westwaerts van de kaep, leggen in vijf of zestien negeryen verdeilt, elk ontrent een vierendeel uurs van elkandre, en bewonen met hun allen ontrent vier hondert, of vier hondert en vijftigh huisen. Ieder negerye bestaet uit dertig, ses-en-dertig, veertig en vijftig huisen, meer en minder, alle in 't ronde gezet, en een weinig van elkandre, daer binnen, verzta binnen ieder negerye, de *Saldanhars* hun vee in bewaringh stellen.

Zy besitten een groote menighte van schone beesten, wel over de hondert duizent, en ontrent twee hondert duizent schapen, die geen wol, maer langachtigh gekleurt hair op 't lijf hebben.

Al de *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, staen onder eenen overste of koning, met den tijtel van *Koehque*, dat gezeit is, een koning van 't Hottentots geslacht, die op ontrent vijftigh mijlen van de kaep wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, of Tabaks-dieven, desgelijks de *Gortinghoiquas* of Kaepmans,

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159 [*]) Bantam forms the western end of Java. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately gained the upper hand and took possession of the district in 1683. If Herry accompanied an English ship there, it must have been nearer 1640 than 1630.

619 [**]) Also mentioned in the records as Cochoquas, Kochehoqua, etc., a name which Wuras (op. cit., 288) interprets as "sheep owners". Van Riebeeck says of them that "the tribe consists of some thousands of men, and generally occupies the country in the middle, opposite to us, at the foot of the African Mountain range, extending from about False Bay to Saldanha Bay. They,

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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[***] but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[***] are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *hoehgur*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters dep.*, III, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters dep.*, III, 82). They consisted of two divisions, one under Cedasoa, the other under Gommona; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 30, 1656). Cedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Cedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gommona on the Berg River near the modern Riebeek Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them. (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 486).

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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C60 tur [9] aliqui. Ili porro tabacum ab unguiculis (nam octimestribus minores infantulos fumantes saepe numero videre est,) adeo enormiter appetunt, ut, ubi legibus servitioque soluti degunt perpetuo, servire tamen malint, quam tabaco egere, toto saepe die pro exigua *Nicotianae* herbae portione ad nutum heri famulantes, prodigi ac insatiabiles belluones. Feminae autem à parcius vivere, nec bubulam, nec lac dulce, ovillam quandoque gustare cogun-tur: hae enim adeo despectui illis sunt. Sed illorum ingeniosa gula est; quippe boni malive memoria mirabiliter polleni impavidae ad periculum mentes, suique securae, atque facto contentae suo; etiamsi extrema pauperie premantur, vel fertilibri grege abundent, semper libera. Ili tamen notorum aliquis vivat egenus, levi quadam commiserationis specie tanguntur (atque haec inter tot enormia vitia coruscat virtus) eosque à vitulum pecoribus orbato impertiunt. In alias transire sententias, quris semel imbuti videntur, difficillimi.

[9] Aurum & argentum non perinde ac reliqui mortales, appetunt; quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido, ubi & usus. Imo in his plus saepe profecit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in aliis virtutis cognitio. Atque ita sub molliori coelo immanis posse esse ingenia, patet.

[9] Ut Bevervicius in Gemmar. medit. &c. aliique. (Beverwicius, for instance, in his *Treasury of Health*, and others.) (Joh. van Beverwijk's *Warekens der Ouderen-Konste, beschreeven in dren Schrift der Gesondheyt*, etc. Amsterdam, 1672. On page 8 we read: In dien tijd hadden sy noch een ander gebruyck, te weten, groote mallegheyt in Spijs en Dranck, en van beyde luttel verscheydenheyt. *E.F.*)

[9] Just. de Scythis (Justin on the Scythians.) (The whole passage from earum to servitio copulis is taken, with only the slightest verbal alterations, from Justin. *E.F.*)

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159 [*] This well-known figure of the early Cape settlement was a niece of the equally notorious Harry (see above, p. 17) and a sister-in-law of the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa. Her native name is given as Krotoa. She was taken into the service of the van Riebeeck family when after the Dutch settled at the Cape, and there learned to speak Dutch so well that she was used not only as interpreter about her people, but also as an interpreter. In 1657 she was said to be "about 15 or 16 years old". She was baptised soon after the arrival of Commander Wagenaer (1662) and married (June 5, 1664) to the engineer Pieter van Meerhoff, the Commander providing them with a bridal feast and presenting the bridegroom to the rank of surgeon. Her subsequent career disappointed all the hopes of the local officials, and is best summarised in the obituary record made in the official journal on her death, which took place the year after her Master's visit. The entry reads: "This day departed this life, a certain female Hotten-

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and noble understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Anna[*], was a civil, modest lady, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unbidden to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

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[*] ... named Eva, long ago taken from the African bread to her ... brother childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Barbarian almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Protracted reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however slowly and feebly assisted by implanted principles, nevertheless of its own vices triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn cruelties" (D., July 28, 1676). The entry for the following day tells us that, "the body of the deceased Hottentot, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Inter hos saevum corruptumque genus plerique vafra subtilitate polleni: ille tribus *Hottentotticis* locutus sum feminis, alteri *Arvae*, quae urbana, casta, eloquens, *Belgicam* ac *Lusitanicam* satis accurate calleat linguam, plurima gentis hujus mysteria mihi aperiebat; alteri *Cornetiae*, impiam cultus ignorantiam Christianismo mutavit, nostrati quodam nupta *chirurgo*, culpandam agit vitam, saepius ejul; tertiae [1] *Sarae* nomen fuit, quae desperabunda laqueo vitam finivit, quod quidam ex nostratibus juveo, ut lascivae libertas indulgeret, connubiale vinculum pollicitatus, promissa cecidisset.

CAP. XV.

De Moribus.

[2] Ethicus hi *Barbari* & cacoethes *Ethnici* haec tantum, in quae caecus naturae impetus eos unice impellit, inclinant: eundem in sedendo, quem matrum uteris inclusi fortus, modum tenent, in genus caput, alvis complexum, incurvantes. Mulieribus servus contemtui ille est. Mortuos tridenos ejulatu deplorant, maritus feminaque defuncti caedem circumsedentibus. Cadavera ejusmodi inhumant cavernis, & lapide tegunt. Singulis lunationibus declitis, a posteriori planet Venus; femina viro altius collocata in lecto, marito cubiculari luculenta satis: deque bestiarum more in matrem rumi amplexus.

1) De qua sup. quam saepius chirurgo dimissam. (Concerning whom see above. She was the one who loved the surgeon dismissed.)

2) Degenerae humani ritus inquit de Africanis Plin. lib. 5. c. 8. (Pliny in connection with the Africans has described the ways of degraded humanity, lib. v. chap. 8.)

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1) This must be the woman of whom Valentijn says (op. cit., 180): "In 1706 I spoke to an old Hottentot woman named Cornelia, who after living for many years in the house of the first Cape Commander, Van Riebeeck, went back again to her own people, although still in the quite excellent Dutch, and apart from her native dress and animal skins was an civil and well mannered as to call forth astonishment. She then appeared to me somewhere between 90 and 95 years old, and could recall all the Cape governors to mind." The description Ten Rhyne gives of her is more in keeping with the known reputation of Eva than of this woman, and I am inclined to believe that he has confused the two.

2) It is unfortunate for Ten Rhyne's reputation that he did not consult the official records before claiming to have met this woman. She committed suicide in December, 1671, almost two

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[11]); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[12]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practise the rite of Venus *a posteriori*; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 213-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the surrounding reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilized burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'kaross' laid. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentot was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominations, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) Three weeks later the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentot had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentot was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Namib

besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Oriams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *||Aixa ||ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the *|Hobaon* or *Witbooi*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the *!Aman* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the *|Hai |khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei |khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the Ovaherero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by intercourse with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

the lowest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,852, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 36,000.

Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a disappearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griquas, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably afflicted by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

[1] *Report on the Administration of South West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 20-'27), p. 18.
[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (pub. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witbooi 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (/*hau /aoti*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] Tsaub-//Goam, 50.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Missions to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, 79, quoted by Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 3.
[3] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 5–16; Olpp, *op. cit.*, 13; Kohler, *op. cit.*, 338–9.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aonin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Goan* 1000, *//Hoboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khoin* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witboois 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

[6] Report of W. Coates Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 30-77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 2000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarti, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gri Khain*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero. [61] 178

IV. Nama or Lower and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. According to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode. 342 [61]

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular. 342 177

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children. 352 177

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LITT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[10] 11

The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of these ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[10]

The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

12

Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the African

[p. 103]

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
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[2] of the Cobbing Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lehrer, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Monaheng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

[3] [6] [7] My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

[5] I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabah*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1852) a man of almost seventy or eighty; *Trink*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul* was *Erk*, the son of *Willem*, the Caretaker of Rev. Brandt of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabah*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, almost through age, and old *Dank*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Dank* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Khoi*, the wife of *Tabah*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Gonie* and *Mois*, two very old, wrinkled

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Lgheyza—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Blaauwhof,[1] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 250 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheisebokae, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[2]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantee*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chubon, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[3] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

[1] See Historical Texts.

[2] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[3] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

175 659 797 261 For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Samo—that was its name—was founded in June, 1647, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Barlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,000.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Samo itself, Gert Harvip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bambous Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Gerson,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

[14]

175 619 797 To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[20]

[14] Old Harvip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 619 721 Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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16 B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
17 B. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
18 B. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
19 B. M. R. years 1848-1854.
20 B. M. R. 1850, p. 202
21 B. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Howitt, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentot*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hôtemmiki* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 710–73; Peringuey, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hotta hin* (*I Hotta Hin*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them as friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Koranas, and the Namas.

The Cape Hottentots were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Namas. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hamtamqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: H. H. Grevenbroeck, *Elogium et accurata gentis Africanae sive Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotorum nonnunquam descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Oosten Thuis", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1888; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, dat is volstandige Beschrijving der Afrikaansche Vorgebergte der Goede Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-afrika's*, 1872, pp. 283–340.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately quite as inaccurately as inconsistently spelt in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The variations given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," *Z. Kol.-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, *Khaun*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Great Dunds* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldschoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldschoen*, Nama *//habab* or *//hawoè*); while the */Aunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*khoi*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witbooiis, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */habe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami /Nun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and */Aunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4-7.

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karkhoutquas, Houtas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Somquas, Namaquas, Heusequas, Brigouduas, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

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Goringhaikonas.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[1]) are under a chief, whose native name is Dremtak, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[2]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

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Gorachouquas.

The Gorachouquas[1]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Harry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

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[1]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Chorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 109-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or khoekoe, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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000 Sy staen onder eenen overste, met name Chora, die eenen broeder heeft, geheeten Gaikeng, beide gaende in bewaerde vellen, dat grote rijkdom van vee in heeft.

Gorachouquas

De Goringhaiquas, by d'onsen Kaepmans genaemt, om dat sy het meeste alhijts van al de *Hottentots* aen de kaep van goeder hope gewoont hebben, en sich die plaets als eigen toe-schrijven, soo lang d'onsen daer gewoont sijn, mogen in volckrijckheit tegen de *Gorachouquas* op, en beide ontrent duisent weerbare mannen uytmaecken, bewonende ontrent vijf-en-twegentigh huisen of hutten, met matten overdeckt.

De Goringhaiquas staen onder eenen overste, by hen genaemt *Gogosoa*, maer by d'onsen de dikke kapitein, om sijn overgroten dikten en neerhangenden buik, ruit sijn naem met het weeren en gestalte des lijfs wonder wel over een komt.

Sy was in 't jaer seetien honderd en twee-en-seventigh, sit het overschrijven der genen, die sich toen aldaer bevonden, wel honderd jaer out, en had twee soonen, de oudste genaemt *Goringhaikona*, en d'andere *Otagoua*, welke hunnen vader, insonderheit de oudste, altijts hebben moeten t'overheeren, en geheel meester te spelen, met aenwendingh van alle middelen om desen ouden *Gogosoa*, hunnen vader, van kant te helpen, en door dit middel de heerschappye vervolgens op den oudste, en voorts op den tweeden te laten komen.

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[9]) The incident is mentioned in van Riebeeck's journal, March 11, 1657. In the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by the Hottentot girl Eva, the "Chorachouquas" are first identified as "the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens" (D. Oct. 31, 1657).

[9]) Dapper's information is wrong; van Riebeeck says that "exclusive of women and children these Gorachouquas number from six to seven hundred men capable of bearing arms" (*Letters Despatched*, iii. 240).

[10]) Also mentioned in the records as Choeringaina, Goeringaiqua, Goringhaina, etc., a name which Wuras (*op cit.*, 288) translates as "those who dip water out of fountains," but which Maingard (*op. cit.*, 111) suggests with more probability as being equivalent to !kwiŋ //aikua, or "proud people," one of the later Korana tribes. Together with the Goringhaikona and Gorachouqua they constituted a single tribe, of which their leader Gogosoa was the principal chief; but it is evident enough from the early records that these different sections were continually bickering and fighting amongst themselves.

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from the fields of some free farmers over there,[9] and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[10] and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gobing; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

619 [162 • 262] [622 291 556]

Guringhaiquas.

The Guringhaiquas[11] our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[12] and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Oogoma; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[13]. In 1652 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the elder named Oninghaikamma and the other Otegmoa.[14] They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Oogoma, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14]

619 162 622 578 [816]

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[9] van Riebeeck (*Letters Dag.*, II, 239) gives their numbers as "about 200 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Guringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[10] In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[11] van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Oogoma, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Oninghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khumma, alias Jan; and Otegmo, alias Peter (D. Sept. 28, 1652).

[14] van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Oogoma, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yes! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Oninghkamma, his eldest son, in playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1. 1661).

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They subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live. 619 [231]

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heunaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[1])

Chainouquas.

The people named Chainouquas[2]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle. [162 231]

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Souscá, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoá. The clothing of Chief Souscá is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards. 619 622 [291]

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Souuca, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, op. cit., 135; D., Feb. 23, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandize amounting in value to £300. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, op. cit., 200-201). The principal Chainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 496-8). 619 622

[1] [i.e. the Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.—Ed.]

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously. 752

[213] To the west of !Hoaɣa!nas, in the border territory of the Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded barelegged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there. 757

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls ʻtsuʼitsoʼa-b, or more frequently calls fi-lsib, borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /kɣanis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called ʻ//hãʼb), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water. [164] [178]

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with fingernails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scabs, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired. [753]

The magic box is also the Hottentot's poison supply. Whereas billygoat fat possesses only healing properties, the other ingredients are said to have a poisonous effect when secretly mixed with the enemy's tobacco or smeared on the bit of his pipe.

The box is also a soothsaying apparatus. A thread is placed in the fat. The end which sticks out of the closed box is lighted and held towards the wind. The direction of the smoke is followed by the Hottentot, if he does not know where he should look for a runaway cow or a lost companion. If he wants to catch up with a companion on the way to a meagre water hole so that he can water his oxen first, he ties a knot in the thread and lights it. Just as the glimmering fire goes out and is stopped, so his companion is supposed to be stopped until caught up with. Whoever has the reputation of controlling events in this way, is usually highly regarded as a doctor. Besides conscious deceit, medicinal magic has many procedures which are based on faith and perhaps work by suggestion. Pains in the head and limbs are charmed away by two rather large glass beads, !gai-/!a:/mra, which serve only this purpose. A thread is tied firmly around the head and the two beads are placed close together in the middle of the forehead. If in the course of hours they slip far apart, then the pain has to be gone.

[227] A Hottentot woman ties a loin chain, //nũ/i-b, made of round little pieces of ostrich eggshells, around her own or her child's hips for pains in the abdomen.

The so-called "fright illness" of children which supposedly manifests itself by the child fainting for no particular reason, gets its name !kxa/ns from the eland antelope, whose skin is highly prized as a cure for this illness. The skin is cut into small octagonal pieces and into strips 1/2 centimeter wide, dried, and made supple with eland fat. The cure consists in the following: a little piece of the skin, scarcely the size of a lentil, is turned to ash, pulverized with the fingernail, mixed into a swallow of milk, and fed to the child. The strap is bound around the child's breast as the illustration shows. When it falls off of its own accord several days later, the cure is considered successfully concluded. In the case that I knew about the magician received a goat in payment. [Picture. Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.]

Inadequate and irregular food, privations of all kinds, uncleanliness, premature sexual intercourse and excessive use of alcohol and tobacco are the principal destructive forces from which the Hottentot's body suffers. Tuberculosis (//noba·b) and venereal disease are extensive. Syphilis claims many victims.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX16

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain.

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another.

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface.

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Karst region is a tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaus and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanam plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinanib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari.

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaus. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 12 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north.

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX 10

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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants B [262] are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the HB moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys [164] malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one B [411] species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

The early writers speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *ǂop*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *ǂurub*, varicose veins, and */nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *ǂop* becomes */nau*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

sheep are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties */anúts ke ǥo*, "you are clean" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of ǃnau.[28]

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been married more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Arisib, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terrible spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Berseba the people professed great indignation at first when they found I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze[29] has given an admirable account of the Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is */disena*, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *//ǂp*, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though

[28] The herbs used as medicines and for medicinal purposes, as here, differ from tribe to tribe. The dabi and the //ǂnab are used by the ǂ'Āuin.

[29] L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 211 sqq.

753 among the herbs which are to be found in any particular territory are always some
757 which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective, it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and been cured of it. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.

753 The chief diseases described to me as receiving this treatment are *//aubas*, "paraly-
755 sis", *//kèis*, "fever", *≠úrub*, "varicose veins", and *!nomîs*, a disease called lupus by my
757 interpreter, which I suspect is cancer. Whether in the old days people with some of these
164 dread diseases were effectively isolated, I do not know, though the Hottentots describe some of them as *≠hî //ôb*, "contagious diseases". Certain it is that today, especially in Walfish Bay, the people are eaten up with these diseases, though inland they appear to be less prevalent. The treatment, when carried out, is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony, except that there is one important point on which I find my information fails me. I cannot say definitely that the 'sacramental' feast takes place on these occasions. In one record it is stated that when varicose veins are being treated, the *!nâoχâs* of the goat killed is strung on a sinew together with the tail of the animal and tied round the ankle of the sufferer, just as in the remarriage ceremony it was tied round the woman's waist. But whether the goat is eaten in company, I do not know. I regret that my information is not unequivocal on this point.

755 Otherwise the statements are clear enough. Gottlief says, "when a man is sick
757 (*//ôp*) he is !nau, and must look after himself. He mustn't touch anyone with his hands, he mustn't touch cold water or the pots. When the cuts which have been made to inject medicine are healed (*/arî*), then the person who cut him must clean him with fat and milk mixed with cowdung; then he is taken to the well and has clay rubbed on his legs. He has also to take off all his old clothes, and give them to the one who cuts him. Then they say '!anúts ke go'; 'you are clean.'"

/Arisib said, "Paralysis is cured by cutting and putting in the dirt of one who has already had it. It is no simple task to undertake to cure anyone, for if anything goes wrong the people are sure to think something has been omitted or not done right." He spoke feelingly after much experience. Other informers mention ingredients which are mixed with the dirt, the chief of them being *//aubas hêip*, "paralysis stick", the ground bark of a little plant.

Hannah !Amatis had an adopted son, a boy of about eighteen, who had the disease called !nomîs (lupus). She was most disheartened about him. She had had him cut four times by different people, on either side of the nose and in the nape of the neck, and had had !nomî hêip, together with the grease of these persons, rubbed in. All of them had had !nomîs and been cured, according to Hannah. When I saw the boy, he had just come from his last treatment, which had taken place some distance inland. He looked very ill.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[164] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep.
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, *Vol. XXV, pp. 433-447, December, 1928.*

THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Read 4 July, 1928.

ABSTRACT.

753 Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed
755 to have copied most of his information from the first named,
757 both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step
[787] was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by
[562] examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

164 After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and
[171] less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore
[846] breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which
757 retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding
[824] item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom [17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled [18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[18]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Morbi epidemici inter Cisalpinos Afros subinde grassantes sunt gramia, gravedo, rheuma, et fortè alii mihi ignoti, vereorque ne foedam impetiginem venereamque luem à nostratibus contraxerint.

Etiam atque etiam illis suasor fui, lectulos illignis pedibus, loris tanquam stramine tectos, pellibusque perstratos sibi conservandae curandaeque valetudini conficerent, sed surdis narrata fabula, dum videntes probantesque meliora tamen deteriora sequuntur: tantae molis est! ab inveterato, damnoso damnatoque errore, perversaque consuetudine terrae filios divellere.

Fatidicus seu flamen sacrificium facturus cote clunaculum subigit, vaccamque tribus quatuorve passibus ab ostiolo tugurioli, in quo aeger decumbit, stantem pedibusque revinctam, capite Septentrioni obversam, levi pugno, laterique sinistro impacto, victimarius sternit: cadentique in dextrum, inque virides substratos ramulos, illico particulam cutis palmae magnitudine et quantam laevâ capit, dextra prope umbilicum exscindit, eamque sine mora dextro decumbentis carpo alligat, mox pergit vivam deglubere, evisceratamque mugientem audivi, exenterataeque et viventis ilia malè carbonibus tosta, devorantes Afros vidi: hinc pauxillo sanguine, quem ollâ extari, capeduncula, aut testudinis putamine excepit, aegri faciem diluit, et felle victimae libans, ejus folliculum tecto infirmi imponit.

Testor longe segnius irritasse animum meum, quaecunque de ritu sacrificandi veterum tam lapidibus, quam aeri insculptaque caelataque, aut in tabulis, aulaeis, tapetiis, membranis, libris chartave picta unquam vidi, quam hic nostrorum Barbarorum sacrificalis et for(di)cidiorum apparatus, oculis meis subjectus.

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[1]) The description which follows of diseases and their treatment refers entirely to the Cape Hottentots, and is much fuller than any given by earlier writers. It appears in the main to be fairly accurate, although some of the details mentioned cannot be confirmed from other sources.

[2]) Even among the modern Hottentots the skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain, and poultices are also made of the entrails of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412-3). The ordinary Hottentot method of slaughter is well

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.[41] A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us.

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognized as such.

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.[42] His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house.

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books.

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 124).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the
423 Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartbooi. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their
619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products
166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Stow, *Native Races*, 238 *sqq.*; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandsche Tijd*, vols. i and ii *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 155.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[44] They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[45] are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[46] There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.[47] The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottenots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

47) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[15] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[16] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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15 B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
16 B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.
17 B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.
18 B. M. B. years 1848-1854.
19 B. M. B. 1850, p. 202
20 B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

2; Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

H
B
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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

H
B
131
167
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721]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoã, his subordinate king Gonnomoã, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoã.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoã our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoã, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoã left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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175 619 161 439 The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

175 619 167 797 In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of [648] the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

175 619 797 Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantze*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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175 619 648 readily granted.[22] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[23] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[24] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[25] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[26]

175 619 648 797 167 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[27] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[28] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

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[22] B. C. p. 291-3.
[23] B. C. p. 257.
[24] B. C. p. 324.
[25] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[26] B. C. p. 323.
[27] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[28] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[30]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[30]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[31] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[32] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[33]

[30] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.
[30] B. C. 215.
[31] B. C. 289.
[32] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[33] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

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128 veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, *!Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to *!Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!anusa*, " correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!anutama*, " not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, " as it is spoken " among the *//are mŋ// ais* at Bloemhof.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from *!Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 The Korana people say *huri xu da na xũ !kũ* " we come from the
167 sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xũ* means " to trek in order

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */kaimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *≠ǂkûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of */Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are mŋ //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kei !korana*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/hei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*≠ǂKaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khuekwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ha-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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(iii) From *Matiti* and *Teteb*.

hurib xu inkje doe o, inkje ≠nu: !garib !kũ ha o, inkje hei !horakwa ho:, inkje !ari !kũ a kwa, ikje ≠kaop !na māsi !kwaxa, ikje ||na:ba xu Taungs !na ha:, ina ||na:ba Brikwa ||gobe:, ikje ||na:ba xu ||kāugu |kwai, ikje ||na:ba Brikwa !han ||heie, ikje Taub ||na:ba !kame, ikje ||na:ba xu Mamusaba !koa doe, ikukje ||na:ba xu |oro khwekwa |hei !garib !koa doe.

ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he:ba mũe |hei !garib !na, ikje ≠an ≠ansie, Mamusaba !koa, ikje Kurutani (Mooifontein) ||na:ba doe ha, ≠untup, Teteb di ||nausab, ||omkje ||na:ba.

ikje sa:ku ||naba ho: ha oubi, ikje sa:ku !hanne, ikje daob ||kāu ||koba, ikje sa:ku |kam |ko:diab !kamme, ikje |nei khweb Mamusaba !koa sĩe, ikje ||na:ba xu khwekwa ≠noa |kwae, iku haku ko o, he: sa:ku ha ha i a, ikje sa:ku ||kāugu khwekwa.

Translation :

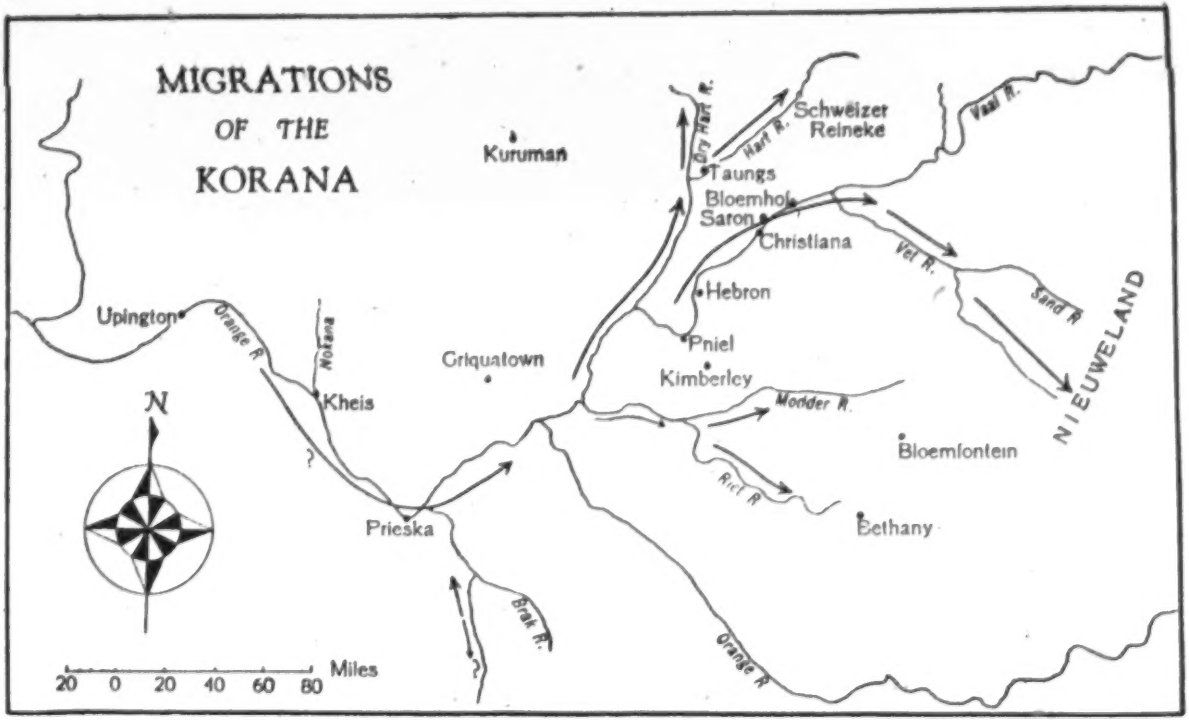
When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamusa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamusa. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (i.e. Mooifontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). *≠Untup*, the ancestor of *Teteb*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamusa and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Teteb*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.



This map illustrates only the general direction of the migrations. It is impossible to indicate the to and fro movements of the tribes, e.g. those of the Links between Saron and Nieuweland. It is noteworthy that the lines of migration follow the rivers, the Korana being a pastoral people.

[facing p. 162]

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surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. 142 The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has 171 the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The [516] tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its [291] movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)].*

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and 142 by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

* [See p. 88. – Analyst]

1: Schultze--4A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[p.174]
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A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on p. 8(B))

[P178]
142
●171

Herero, about 20 years old.

1/Schultze--8A N-5 (1903-1905), 1907 : FX13 Hottentot FX13

142
●171

Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on p. 7(A)).

seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blessing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gabu aib gye /gĭrib ǒaba, sores gye ti ǒasa," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [157
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows 171]
great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kχao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kχao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kχāb) of the plant is well covered (χa) with hairs (/ũ·/gu) it bears the name /ũ·/χa/kχā·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171● 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (≠hũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kχaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

252 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara
262 Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]
415 Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve,
137 are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[824 The cup for mashing ˈhai·os (the one depicted here, was carved
177] from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot)
resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush
[412] wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ· ab (· - arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of
137 Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call
252 tsa/ma·b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat.
262 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, ˈso·robe-tsa/ma·b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma·s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a·nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ≠aũ/s) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [222] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Augea capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped lamellae, are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa·/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

flat iron awl. The awl was placed on a slant so a path for the thread would be held open. A reed was threaded instead of a needle and then worked into the opening. The Little Namaland people call this reed /kʔo-rereb, but the Topnaars use this word to designate the end of the bast thread that is threaded into the bone needle.

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285

When a few thousand reeds are lined up in this manner, they are pierced and sewn again in reverse order a few centimeters from the first row of sewing (see the arrows in the illustration). This is repeated in alternate directions until each meter long reed is pierced 16 to 18 times.

The free ends of the reeds are now bound together as the picture shows either in pairs or in threes and tied to the outer sewing thread all along the mat. Whatever part of the reed sticks out beyond this hem is cut off evenly with a knife leaving an amount the breadth of a finger. [Picture. Piercing and Hemming the Mats (Plan). a) Reed. b) Sewing Thread. c) Hem Thread.]

The mat is now ready for use. It is generally called /haru-b (3. st.). A mat called !gũ/b is prepared from considerably longer and stronger reeds.

The length of the mat varies with the size of the hut (it must span the whole dome in one piece) and depending on the mat's position on the dome, is between 4 and 8 meters long and not quite 1 meter wide.

The reeds in the mat are placed only sufficiently close together to keep out direct sunlight. They let in enough scattered rays through the cracks to light up the hut pleasantly and also enough air to ventilate it. In comparison, the clay hut of the Herero is gloomy and dank but offers better protection against the rain. Only when it drizzles slowly and the mat has time to swell do the reeds contract to form a rainproof roof. [231] A mat lasts 10 to 15 years. When it reaches that worthy age it is called /ha-mi.

[171]

c) The mat is fastened to the framework with straps or bast threads to the loops of the sewing threads that stick out like handles, in other words along the narrow sides of the mat. Mats (usually three) are hung (!na/ni) with their long sides parallel to the ground from the bottom of the hut wall to about the height of a man. They thus embrace the framework like a crown. The edges overlap a great deal. The other

342
[283]

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari-, vb.). Further preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles [Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [11] Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã-gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba-b is cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 294
/a-bib) in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls. ¼ natural size.]

"One has tried to connect the word /a-bib, [illegible]
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

word stem doro- which means "to bore." 196
That is a vestige from the time when the 372
original means for making fire, long since
in disuse, were little boring sticks such as [111]
the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari).

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, 281
or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather.
[Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.]

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather ob- 283
jects (called sa-ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used.

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia [824]
horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips.

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /a/b, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes re- [516]
fuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips.

reproduction, is periodic like the latter, and adapted in quantity to the nutritional needs of the calf. Therefore the Hottentot calls the milch cow *//ora·go/mas (from //ora·, to bear). When the calf is old enough to nourish itself, the milk secretion stops and the cow "goes dry," */õ or ũ/. The milk production of a single cow varies greatly. There are native cows who give milk, although in diminishing amounts, until shortly before the next calf, if the pasturage is good. If all the conditions favorable to milk production occur simultaneously, even the South African cow is supposed to be able to give 10 to 15 liters a day. About 4 liters a day seems to be average for the "afrikaner" race. (73) In dry years under certain conditions the cow gives so 233

73. Ibid.

little milk that the calf starves and therefore milking cannot be considered.

If the calf dies early or is born dead (ǂkta/m), the cow at first gives only a little milk, 1/2 to 3/4 of a liter night and morning during the first week, except for the "biesmilk" (see below) which is easily drawn off. Gradually, with proper treatment, the cow will give as much milk as one with a living calf. If the calfless cow does not wish [232] to give milk, the Hottentot blows air in her genitals or he deceives her with the skin of a dead calf. All kinds of cattle, whether cows, goats or sheep which are milked without the aid of the calf or lamb are called oro·s. The milk production of the South African cow is supposed to be greatest after the third or fourth calf.

c) Although milking is man's work among the cattle-owning Bantu [171] tribes, among the Hottentots it is regularly the work of the women and girls, the man only doing it to help out (concerning milking time see management of the herd).

Before being milked, the cow's hind legs are tied together with straps; if a peaceful animal above the ankle, if unruly right under the shoulder. Ones that buck are also firmly tied to a pole near the hut or to the kraal by a strap around the horns. The three methods of tying are differentiated as *!go·robis, *ǂĩ·bis and *ǂo·mais.

[258] If the cow is standing, the calf is allowed to suck for a short time (the younger ones longer than the older ones) and then the woman comes with the wooden pail, drives the calf away from the udder with a stick and milks. Where there are many cows, milking is done all

*//kχao//an//gō!b. //kχaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground. [824]

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

e) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called *ǂkχamgo/mab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep, the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

The Hottentot who has the job of catching the young untamed ox, quickly makes his way through the crowd of cattle in which the ox is standing and places a stick between its legs. On the stick is the noose of a "catching strap" about 10 meters long. The frightened animal jumps forward with one foot, it does not matter which one, and is caught. Four to six men hold tightly to the other end of the strap and wait until the animal has more or less worn itself out with raging. Then two men approach the ox cautiously from behind, the one to the right, the other to the left, holding a long strap right across the back of the ox. When the strap is across the horns of the ox, one man goes [262] around the ox at a respectful distance, makes a noose and lets the other man tighten it. While the animal is now drawn to one side by the men with the "catching strap" and by the one who holds the noose on his horns, another man twists the animal's tail in an arc across its back in the opposite direction with such violence that the ox falls down and gives up all resistance. The Hereros are said to do the same thing. [171]

I have not observed how the Hottentots castrate, dabi-, the animals. I found out from the natives that formerly rich Hottentots celebrated the successful conclusion of a mass castration by slaughtering a calf. The meat was supposedly boiled with the testicles of the castrated animals and mashed. When the horns of the calves are between the length of the little finger and a hand, they consider it the proper time for castrating. A bull that is castrated later is distinguished from the other oxen by the term *kχoa·kχoa·dabi·b, because he has become 232 233

[i.e., whip. - Analyst]

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩ?). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (ᵉ-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (ᵉmaĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ãǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti*dāb or dā.tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dāda.b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. "For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Buskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle °ũ//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited.

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84).

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

We have two chief groups of family names, /o·/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here.

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kʸunibes, the son is called

that they get in any good fable; and the more profound literary connoisseur will likewise be delighted by these first innocent flights of the awakening human phantasy. To people such as these the Hottentot fables that are offered here will surely be welcome," etc., etc, I only see three possibilities of explanation. Either the translation is wrong; or the manuscripts contain only a selection of such tales which satisfy certain prerequisites of Christian moral teaching; or the Hottentot, cunning observer of human nature that he is, edited his stories in advance in usum Delphini, knowing well to whom he was telling them. However that may be, Bleek's reports about the stories do not show me the Hottentot as I have become acquainted with him; for this reason and because I had direct access to the source I took no further consideration of them in matters of detail. [390] On the other hand the translations of the missionary J. Olpp (88, reveal throughout

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88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

an understanding and fidelity that can only be produced by intimate acquaintance with the people themselves.

Of the stories that are to be related here the autochthonous origin can surely be questioned in two cases: Folk tale XLVIII, in the course of its action, recalls a Wolof legend that Boilat published and Bleek translated. In this story the jackal of the Hottentots is represented by an elephant, the snake by a hyena, the porcupine by an ox, and the stone by a pit; but the rôles of each individual are, in meaning, the same in both cases. Furthermore, the story of the little traders (XII) corresponds in numerous details to a story of the Hereros that J. Rath copied down in the original language and Bleek again translated from the manuscript. I have no way of determining which people here had priority.

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As for the others, I can only reproduce faithfully what I have heard from the mouths of the Hottentots and I must let others answer the question whether or not the folk tales printed here reveal any similarities to the folk tale cycles of other peoples and, if so, which ones. The exact proof of borrowings, if this should turn out to be the case, seems to me to be no less interesting as an insight into the dark pre-history of the Hottentot race than a confirmation of the originality of the stories would be.

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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[2] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[2] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocrata. – Analyst]

It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted by Seiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course, be said.

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water. Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also [2] that at a child's birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked by a feast, provided by the father.

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Fransfontein Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e. after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay, among the Topnaars, it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the

[1] From other accounts it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.
[2] Op. cit., 77.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone " who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks " would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Naman the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *doro* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually ate apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Huwe* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 204.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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from those of all the Bushmen except the Heikum. In the case of the latter the general resemblance to the Hottentot rites is so marked—the powdering of the boys' scrota by the girl is especially noteworthy in this context—that one is definitely inclined to postulate Hottentot influence here. In the case of the other North-Western tribes, the central feature of the girls' ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is not found among the Hottentots, while on the other hand, the elaborate *!nau* restrictions and reintroduction rites present among the latter have not been reported at all of the Bushmen. The seclusion ritual of the Cape Bushmen, and the beliefs connecting young maidens with the dangerous properties of rain and water, seem more in line with the Hottentot ceremony, but the data bearing upon the Bushman rites and beliefs is too fragmentary to justify any definite assertion of similarity.

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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 257–8; Kolb, op. cit., 79–80; von François, op. cit., 258.

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which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Banfu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 247–8; Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 22.
[2] Op. cit., 117–8.
[3] "Rapport aan den Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.

861 conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct 626 of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

626 The non-fulfilnent or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must 784 also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of */nau*. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct interference on the part of the community.

626 Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganized social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to scorn, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishment, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its authorities or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may [628] not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other [627] cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, 626 i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been 171 developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Naman, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sanction here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua*. Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.

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pantomime, their musical sense in the use of musical instruments and in song, and their finer artistic feeling in the dance. Only in a few exceptional cases do we find these different art forms practised in isolation; as a rule, just like the emotions underlying them, they are intimately combined in the same performance.

The musical instruments of the Hottentots [1] include some of those found among the Bushmen, such as the */gaura*, the */gubo*, the *ramgyib* ("ramakie") and the "rommelpot". Of these the */gaura* is specially important from the ethnological point of view. As previously mentioned, it is a form of musical bow having the peculiarity of being sounded by means of a piece of quill connecting one end of the chord with the end of the bow-stave. Though various forms of the musical bow, including the */gubo*, are found widely spread over Africa, the */gaura* is a specialized type somewhat sharply separated from the others. Its occurrence is confined mainly to the Hottentots and the Southern Bushmen, so that it constitutes a common culture trait of some significance. It is now also found among some of the Southern Bantu, but has almost certainly been taken over by them from either the Bushmen or the Hottentots.

Schultze describes in addition the ordinary musical bow, *kxab*, which he noted among the Naman.[2] The stave is made from a thin piece of acacia wood, and the chord from the back-sinew of the goat, or, better still, from sheep-gut. The women are the performers. They sit on the ground, with the upper end of the bow resting on the left shoulder, while the lower end, propped up against a skin-covered bowl serving as a sounding-board, is held there by means of the foot, inserted between the stave and the chord. The performer picks at the chord with a small stick held in the right hand, while with the left-hand she holds the bow like the head of a violin. Usually several of the women sitting round beat in time on the chord with their sticks.

From the musical point of view the chief characteristic of the theme represented in the musical pantomime performed with this instrument lies in rhythm. In hunting scenes this expresses the different types of movement of horses and game. The tracking of the hartebeest, the first galloping pursuit, the flight of the wounded animal and its overthrow, all this is indicated in the time beaten with

[1] Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 122–3; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 229; Vedder, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 326–7; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 93–6; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 218; Schultze, op. cit., 374.
[2] Op. cit., 374–5.

797 776 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 776 177 171 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the word //Gaunab. //Gaunab still represents an evil spirit amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil" in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 776 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tsi-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 782 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Kolben describes the operation of bleeding. First a thong was tied around the limb, and the vein opened below it. When enough blood had been drawn off, the incision was closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Alexander says that they were fond of bleeding, and the backs and sides of many were thickly scored with the knife. They were not over-particular about having a horn for cupping, the mouth frequently being used for that purpose.

The Nama cupping horn, as still in use, is a carefully prepared tip of ox horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is applied to the scarified skin and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established he bites the resin and so closes the aperture. The horn is left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. An exactly similar mode of using a similar instrument occurs in India.

Cupping is used for colic and pains in the stomach. The patient lies on his back and the horn is first applied dry, that is, over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified. If the pain moves to another area, the part is rubbed with hot fat and again cupped.[1] If this fails, an infusion of herbs is given to drink. In the old days, cupping horns were carried to draw out the poison from arrow wounds, and also a little bottle or horn of oil with which to wash the injury, but scarification and suction applied by the mouth was also in favour. Scarification and cupping are also used for the relief of madness and epilepsy.

Preventive Medicine.

Preventive medicine was an important and extensive section of Hottentot medical lore and took the form of charms and incantations. When a child lost a milk tooth, he took the tooth, and standing facing the rising sun repeated the two lines:—

"P/gko c/gkoup Ba-oce D/koose
D/ghumba ma dae."

which may be translated, "Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth." The Dassie is the rock rabbit, so here there appears to be a double magical significance.

The remainder of the subject of charms, including those magic necklets to prevent attack by wild beasts or to prevent effect of witchcraft, can be considered correctly only in a separate article. But it is necessary to remember that there was no activity of Hottentot life which was not affected by signs, portents, charms or ritual, which he employed to foretell or warn of coming ill-luck, and which enabled him to prevent or remove the ill effects of them and of any other bad influence, whether induced by act of God or practice of witchcraft.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 757 825 gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

278 757 [844 847] Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

[826] Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

757 ● 171 Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1918. 82. among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

752 278 C/ngama, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

278 757 The Kanker beeste, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is oubae C/namop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

devorant, reliquumque domi pullucto, licet vitiatum, depascuntur, nullosque carnales, nec morbum harum morbidarum carnium esu, macellarii visceribus inseminandum metuunt, judicantes cum Italis, mortua bestia, venenum intermori*: quae an emptorem unquam inter nostros cives, manu subitis avidâ invenerit, dictu non est proclive; hoc sane exploratum habeo eos gammarorum, rajarum, astacorum, pagurorum, caraborum, et quorumcunque piscium captorum, effossorumque bulborum frequentem hiantemque institorem experiri, qui saepe arte deludens, invicem arte deluditur, quaerensque fragili illidere dentem, offendit solido: Σύροι πρὸς Φοινίκας.

Virorum est expedire hyemi commeatum alimentaque, amygdala silvestria, cortice holoserico, coloris crocei: ari majoris radices, aptatas cibo: variosque bulbos: quae soli ostenta, et igniculo retosta fercula vetustatem ferentia, in scrobibus cryptisque proinde ac in penario, pro cupediis, subsecivâ operâ, et tanquam παρέργῳ Cisalpini Afri reponunt: remotiores caveas Barbari effodiunt, in quibus solerter ad aliquot annos frumentum asservant, et quo sicca haec horrea habeantur, illis stramen ad justam spithamae[que] altitudinem insternunt, eodemque latera spisse satis circumdant, denique frumento caeteroque commeatu complent, orificiumque cellae cõarctatum primo stramine et virgulto, denique quartâ et novissimâ (ut ita dicam) contignatione cavernam cespitibus, pari cum solo libra, contegunt, et ab omni corruptione tutam, longumque relinquant, de nullo soliciti, nisi ut detegentes scrobem, compressam annonam omnem quantocius depascantur, ne aëri, lucique expositam aliqua calamitas tangat.

* In the last few lines there are several difficulties. I do not understand *pullucto*, *carnales*, nor *macellarii*.

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13) This description of hunting and of the method to avoid the possible effects of the poison in the meat applies equally well to the modern Bushmen (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 133 ff.)

14) The account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the Xhosa corn-pits merely says: "They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years."

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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horridioresque transalpinis, et qui introrsum degunt, non inficior. Hi quippe addictius regnantur, suoque regulo cum vitae et necis, jurisque dicendi potestate armato gaudent, quem summa veneratione prosequuntur, ejusdemque caritate flagrant: qui jura subditis de plano, sine judiciorum litiumque anfractu, parte utraque auditâ, ex aequo et bono reddit, ejusque decreto stant, et imperio, legibus institutisque cordati viri, nullâ parendi morâ, nemine obstrepente, tanquam numini, ad amussim obtemperant. Ex idoneo auctore habeo, quod ejus pedibus quum tugurio, veluti palatio degreditur, seque in publico conspici patitur, mattas stragulasque in magnificentiam substernant.

Si quis filius familias à patre acerbè vapulasse, seque ad sanguinem usque caesum queritur: causa cognita, convictus vaccam districtus calidiorque pater, spectatae integritatis judici, aequabilitatem juris exercenti, multam pendit: qui ubi dijudicandae controversiae, fortè nimium intricatae et obscuritate involutae, imparem se censet, ingenii sui viribus diffisus, concilio finitimarum gentium regulorum convocato, conciliandi causa considet, dicamque Princeps apolectis juxta secum ventilandam decidendamque exhibet: quorum calculo, pluriumque suffragio, partes tanquam magno justitiae et indulgentiae in subditos (semper fermè regentibus similes) documento, acquiescunt: hincque obsequium in Principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus, praecipuè cum subditorum gratia et leges aequantur.

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[76]) "They deduce their origin," said the *Stavenisse* crew, "from a certain man and woman, who grew up together out of the earth and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer" (Molsbergen, iii, 62; Moodie, 431). A somewhat similar story is found among the Zulu and Tswana tribes even now. I do not know the other version, according to which the ancestors of man descended out of the sky.

[77]) This refers of course to the Bushmen (Sonquas), and not to the Hottentots.

[78]) Some details in the following passages are based upon the written records of the *Stavenisse* crew; but a good deal has been added, either from oral information or from G.'s own idea of what is fitting.

[79]) The *Stavenisse* record merely says: "They are obliged to submit their disputes to the King, who, after hearing the parties,

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The colour red, ǀava, also takes its origin from ǀau, to bleed; hence ǀava or ǀaua, blood-like, blood-coloured—*i.e.*, red. 196

And at last, *to milk* is also ǀ*au*—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—viz., the milk.

To return now once more to ǀ*au*b, snake, and ǀ*aus*, fountain, we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying *he* or *she flows* or streams—viz., the water, which in Khoikhoi can be either masculine ǁgami, or feminine ǁgams, according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words become appellatives, meaning the flow-er. And as these words came from the same root, ǀau, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herbs, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of ǀ*aub* and ǀ*aus*, and made sure *that in every fountain lived a snake.* 196 823 825

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo-European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "*a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon.*" All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernaic Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:— 171

ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίῤῥοος, ἔνθα δράκαιναν
κτεῖνεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱός, ἀπὸ κρατεροῖο βιοῖο·

At the fountain of Ares watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Müllenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

171 a Lindwurm's (*i.e.*, a dragon's) trail was to be seen, now a brook is winding. Beowulf kills the dragon who lives in the lake. Acheloos, the River-god, became a serpent when Hercules fought for Deïaneira. Siegfriet kills the dragon in the cavern on the Rhine: and many more instances too numerous to mention. (See on this subject, Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," Berlin, 1860, especially pp. 58, 59, &c.; Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 252; "On Serpent Worship," Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," pp. 186, &c.; Müller, "Americanische Urreligionen.")

825 So much as to the Serpent and Fountain superstition among the Khoikhoi. I have eagerly searched, but in vain, for indications of a serpent worship among the Namaquas, as we find among the Kafir tribes, especially the Ama-Zulu. What I heard and saw with my own eyes amongst the natives may here find place at once.

825 754 Not so many years ago a sorcerer died. When he felt his end approaching, he whistled, and all at once snakes of all sizes and of all descriptions came and assembled round their master, and crept over him, so that the eye-witness from whom I have this, and other people who were in the hut, cleared out as fast as their feet could carry them. The same person told me that he had a dispute once with that sorcerer about the power he exercised over the snakes, when the man told him that, if he doubted his witchcraft, he would call as many snakes as he wished to see. Upon which he whistled, and snakes of every kind approached from all directions, and the sorcerer took them from the ground and put them round his neck.

825 In January, 1872, I was on the mission station Warm Bath (or Nisbet Bath), in Great Namaqualand. I offered payment to the value of three and four shillings for large snakes, especially for very poisonous animals. No sooner was this known than a young fellow, of about twenty-two years of age, came to me and said he would bring as many as I liked, but he wished a goat for each pair. I agreed, and after some hours he returned with a pair of

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǁgauna
775 ǁōra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
766 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǁgauna ǁora khoin.

888 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of
[54] their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǃǁGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAuni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsūiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
● [17] is strange that the ǃGabe-Bushmen, the ǃAi-Bushmen, the ǀNunin, and especially among these the Heiǂguin (or wooden noses), all know ǁGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsūiǁgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sān and Khoikhoin. Tsūiǁgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ||Gauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ||Guana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami‡nus, on the banks of the Geiḷāb

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

000 —Dr. Wangemann, "Lebensbilder aus Süd Afrika," vol. i., p. 82, Berlin, 1871.

If the heathens were as black as they are painted here by Dr. Wangemann, there would be no base of operation for the missionaries in the heart of the savage, and all that they boast of the progress of the Gospel among the heathens would be untrue. Does the prophet not say: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil?" Jeremiah xiii. 23. And how will our author then explain to us what St. Paul says to the Romans i. 19: "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them?"

We hardly can believe that Dr. Wangemann is as ignorant about the savages as he, according to the above statement, appears to be. If this be the case, the sooner he cedes his position to a more enlightened man the better. But if he is well informed, and we have no reason to doubt this, we must presume that he blackened the heathens simply to make the success of his mission work appear in a whiter light. It is very painful to us to charge Dr. Wangemann with this stratagem, which, pharisaical as it is, does not do credit to a director of Missions.

● 171 * There is an almost direct coincidence between this Khoikhoi myth of the moon and one among the Fijians, which is very strange. And still we are not justified in concluding that the one nation has borrowed it from the other. "Two gods," the Fijians relate, "disputed whether eternal life should be conferred upon mankind. Ra-Vula, the moon, wished to give us a death like his own; that is to say, we were to disappear and then return in a renewed state. Ra-Kalavo, the rat, however refused the proposal. Men were to die as rats die, and Ra-Kalavo carried the day." The temptation is great to explain the coincidence of decisive strange customs and peculiar

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

legends, by supposing that the people among whom they are found descended from a common ancestry in primordial times. But such coincidences merely corroborate the old maxim that among different varieties of men, in different regions, and at different times, the same objects have given rise to the same idea.—Peschel, "Races of Man," London, 1876, pp. 461 and 462.

[26] *After the death of the snake.*—I shall hereafter, in the third chapter, come back to this superstition, and only now mention that the words, |au-b snake, |au-b blood, |au-s fountain, |au to bleed, |au to flow, |au to bear ill-feeling, |avi (from |auï to stream) to rain, |ava red, are all derived from the root |AU to flow, to stream, and we shall see why it is that in every fountain there is a snake.

[27] Alexander is mistaken if he calls ǂNumeep a *Bushman*. The name of this so-called Bushman proves sufficiently that he was a Khoikhoi. The ǂAuni tribe live in the territory here spoken of. The poor Namaquas are also called by the others, Bushmen, especially when they are servants, or if they lead a Bushman's life, and have no cattle and sheep.

[28] *Labouring under an attack of dysentery.*—Sometimes the brackish water works so strongly on the bowels that one who drinks it is immediately taken ill.

[29] *|naras.*—This fruit is a Cucurbitacea, almost as large as a newborn child's head. The flesh of it is eaten raw, and the seeds are kept for the dry season, when there is no fruit. The seeds taste almost like almonds, and are at present to be got from confectioners in Cape Town. The Topnaars or ǂAunis of Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, and all the Bushmen tribes along the coast of Great Namaqualand, live partly on this fruit. It is to be met with from the Orange River mouth as far as latitude twenty-one degrees: but it grows only on the sandy coast.

[30] *Redman*, or |Ava-khoib, is identical with Khoikhoib,

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

quarter, the moon loses in size, until at last nothing of ||Khāb is to be seen. His mother, the sun, has thrown him away.

I have, in the preceding pages, also drawn a comparison between *Tsūi||goab*, the Dawn, and *Heitsi-eibib*. In Greek mythology we meet with a similar interpretation of the changes produced in Nature by the rising and setting sun. Œdipus marries Jocaste (the Dawn), after he has killed his father Laios (the Night). Still more striking is the similarity of ideas in the myth of Hippolytus and Phædra, when compared with Heitsi-eibib and his mother. Delbrück has most ingeniously endeavoured to prove this legend to be the explanation of the phenomenon we see passing every month in the sky, between moon and sun.

The Khasias in North-western India have also brought sun and moon into connection, accusing him of being inflamed with love for his step-mother, the sun, who throws ashes in his face. And for this very reason it is that we see the spots in the moon.

The Esquimo also accord to the moon an unnatural love for his sister the sun, who smears some mud over his face to frighten him away.

On the Isthmus of Darien we also meet with the superstition that the so-called man in the moon is guilty of incest with his sister.

The various ideas which different nations have entertained about the moon, and also about the so-called man in the moon, are very curious. It is impossible to give here a survey of all the superstitions and legends of this kind. The most interesting may, however, here find a place. It is very peculiar that the moon and the hare are brought into connection in various parts of the world. Besides the Khoikhoi, the Herero, a Bantu nation in South-west Africa, have a superstition, that, if it is the last quarter of the moon, Omueze uanos' ombi—that is, the moon—has burnt the hare (Hahn, "Hererogrammatik," p. 155). In Germany

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

(Westfalia, Soester Börde) the country people say, that if a hare screams in the daytime, he is asking food from the moon. Adolf Bastian tells us somewhere that the Japanese see in the moon a rabbit pounding rice in a mortar. The late Hans Conon von der Gablentz, the great commentator of Ulfilas, showed me a drawing of a Chinese coin, on which was to be seen a hare sitting under a bush, and the moon above it.

Benfey, in the "Panchatantra," relates an Indian fable, according to which Indra puts the hare into the moon (Benfey, "Panch.," 1,348, 2,549). The Roman Catholic missionaries, Huc and Gabet, travelling in Central Asia, came to a city where the feast of the moon-cakes was celebrated. Their host, a disciple of Buddha, gave to each of them a cake on which the likeness of a hare and the moon was imprinted. In the Hitopadesa, the hare represents himself to the king of the elephants, as the messenger of the moon. In fact, one of the Sanskrit names of the moon is *çaçin*, "the one with the hare" (*vide* Benfey, "Sanscrit-English Dictionary," çaçin and çaça-dhara). The god of the moon is often represented sitting in a carriage drawn by two antelopes and having a hare in his hand. The natives of Ceylon also pretend to see a hare in the moon. In Saxony an old nurse told me that a hare was to be seen in the moon. Also, if a child is born with a split lip, or a so-called hare-lip, in Northern Bavaria and in Westfalia, and in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, the nurses will ascribe it to the influence of the moon. Shakspeare evidently must have known also some of these superstitions regarding the moon, when Caliban says to Stefano, "I have seen thee in the moon!" Be this enough. It would, indeed, fill a small volume to enumerate all the various ideas each nation entertains about the moon.

Garubeb.

This name of Heitsi-eibib is a mere local appellation

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach. 225

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they 222 [327 439] 177 262

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841. 226 227

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay. [317 251]

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months. 223 251

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle. 262

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them. 225 252

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31. 226 [172]

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare·s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ≠aigaĩ //hoës, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[Refer to diagram on p. 59(A).—Analyst]

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kʟoe.kʟoesūs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gūs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */uí aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂkʟanu·b and *ǂkʟanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation. - Analyst]

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamse! My lioness! 542

!Gaibista ǂaote! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomasa ke ǂausi ǁgani !omsaĭ!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǁGabi-ǂkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamse! My lioness.

Gei khoits ǒase! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [601]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 562
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 591
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174
(ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap

(pot sū-s, to boil, to cook sāi).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */kaus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doods* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//kabob* or *//karwob*); while the */Aunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*khei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witbooïs, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howeson*, from */howe* or */hoabe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooï.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gai //Khauan*, */Gami /Nun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and */Aunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4-5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/khau /aasi*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, 30, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witboois) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartbooi, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gein* or big */Garin*, the */Gari /Naganan* or "next" */Garin*, and the */Gari /Karin* or little */Garin*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gein* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari /Naganan*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gein tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the /Aunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Namaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */kau /nani*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gai khai /oa*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gai khai /oa* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Garin* will be called */Garib*, and all the daughters of a man named *//Khaoab* will be called *//Khaoas*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaib*, hence */Gari gaib*, the second the next one, */naganab*, hence */Gari /naganab*, the third the dark one, */aub*, or the light one, */haib*, or the tall one, *garab*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, */aoni*, or the little one, */kurib*, hence */Gari /kurib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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175 some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable [191] infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced 175 by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are called collectively Orlams by the indigenous people, a name the 101 origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Orlams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //oin*), the Witbooi (*/Hobesen*), the Bethany Hottentots (*!Aman*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauan*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauan*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are [173] taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauan* from the personal name, */Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hobesen*, from */hobe* or */howe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

173 The indigenous people were in historical times divided into 101 seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kafir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1913. There

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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were once, so he said, five brothers, each one of whom was the founder of a tribe of the Nama. The eldest was the ancestor of the *Gei //Khauan*, or Rooi Natie, the tribe acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. The other brothers are said to have founded the *!Gami ≠nun* or Bondelswarts, the *//Haboben* or Veldschoendragers, the *!Kbara Gei Khoin* or the Simon Kopper Hottentots, and the *//Khau /goan* or the Swartboois, who are said to be the descendants of the youngest brother. According to another legend, the *//Haboben* are a branch of the *!Gami ≠nun*, and this agrees with the information given to us by the traveller Sir James Alexander, who reports that when he visited the *!Gami ≠nun* in 1836 the *//Haboben* were still part of the people owing obedience to the *!Gami ≠nun* chief.[2] The other two major groups of these Nama people, the *//O gein* or Groot Doode, and the *≠Aunin* or Topnaars or *!Gumin*, are not linked up with the others in the legend of the five brothers, but they themselves claim to be offshoots from the Rooi Natie, and the Rooi Natie on their side support this claim.

The names of these tribes are in many instances exactly translated by the Dutch names by which they are now chiefly known. Thus the *//O Gein* are the great dead, or Groot Doode as the Dutch has it; the *!Gami ≠Nun* are the people of the black bundle or Swart Bondel. Their own legend concerning their name is that they once formed one group with the Rooi Natie; that on the death of an old chief his sons quarreled among themselves, the elder going off with his supporters, while the younger brother stayed behind with his little group of people huddled together so that they looked like a little black bundle. The *//Haboben* are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch, *Veldschoen*, Nama, *//Habob* or *//Hawob*). The Rooi Natie and the Swartboois are closely related. As late as 1855 the chief of the Rooi Natie expected the Swartboois to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., but they did not always do so.[3] The Nama names by which these two groups are called still record this close

[2] Sir James Alexander, An Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838. Pp. 187, 197.

[3] Berichte der Rheinischen Mission, 1855, p. 18.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Massow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River.
173 He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Taungs, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kora*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Eikomo, who succeeded him, (for Kora died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[2]

115 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the
173 Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Witgatboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Massow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[3] He was then the Grand Old Man of his nation, being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

[2] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[3] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adamantia*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: "Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khora. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots' Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Koranna are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitskop, called T'Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift)."[4]

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the "trek" would then be from Cape Town to the Ghoup (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Sanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

But consider, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the second language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kaptein or Jan Taaibosch,[5] and from whom he most probably learnt that "the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

[4] B. C. p. 290.
[5] See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

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173 .... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora ; hence the people were called Koranas."[6]

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station : " The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony " and he adds what seems his inference : " the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas."[7] Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Massow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

127 But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions ? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes : the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachoqua*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.[8] Of these, Stow has asserted that the *Gorachoqua*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the Dagverhaal, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from Arbousset, corroborating it with vague

[6] *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.

[7] B. M. B. 1850, p. 212.

[8] For a full discussion, see my study " The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1931, p. 489 ff.

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stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriŋ ǁais*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (=*!Kuriŋ ǁaikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Caepman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. *passim*

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1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The " trek " of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.[12]

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taaibosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.[13]

3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the " riem " episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.[14]

4. The official records make no mention of the " trek " of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.[15]

5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederich Wuras collected from a very old Kora " near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called " *Chei am ᵒaub* " was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

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12 Moodie I. 445.
13 See genealogical lists further on.
14 Md. I. p. 318.
15 See " The *Lost Tribes of the Cape*," p. 498-499.

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them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16]

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the " Right Hand " tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great " trek " from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,—confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the " Links " or " Left Hand " tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came " from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up."

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Aysch, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chorachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved.

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16 *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.

17 Op. cit. p. 391. col. a [1st. German edition—1719.]

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174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touns, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Koranna women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

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nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheoa in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."*

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[1] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[2] and by Molema[3] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,[4] in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[5] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

*B. C. p. 290.
[1] Lindley-*Adamantia*, p. 10-11.
[2] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[3] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[4] B. C. p. 136.
[5] G. M. II. p. 78-138.

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128 veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, *!Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to *!Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!anusa*, " correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!anutama*, " not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, " as it is spoken " among the *//are mŋ// ais* at Bloemhof.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

● 173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from *!Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 The Korana people say *huri xu da na xũ !kũ* " we come from the
167 sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xũ* means " to trek in order

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply " to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */kaimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *ǂ≠hûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats. 173 167 [492 501]

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the " left-hand " tribe or the " Links " (i.e., the Afrikaans word for " left " and has nothing to do with " Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left. 173 619

According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said. 173

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of *!Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the " Links " (*//are mŋ //ais* and the " Taaibosch " (*kei !korana*). 173 619

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the " Links " was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/kei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*ǂ≠Kaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo. 173 619 167

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the " Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khwekwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the " Links " was wounded, but the " Taaibosch " were destroyed. The chief of the " Links " took (*u:ha-*) a wife unto himself from among the " Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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(iii) From *Matiti* and *Teteb*.

hurīb xu inkje doe o, inkje ≠nu: !garib !kū ha o, inkje kei !korakwa ho:, inkje !ari !kū a kwa, ikje ≠kaop !na māsi !kwaxa, ikje ||na:ba xu Taungs !na ha:, ina ||na:ba Brikwa ||gobe:, ikje ||na:ba xu ||kāugu |kwai, ikje ||na:ba Brikwa !han ||heie, ikje Taub ||na:ba !kame, ikje ||na:ba xu Mamusaba !koa doe, ikukje ||na:ba xu |oro khwekwa |hei !garib !koa doe.

ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he:ba mūe |hei !garib !na, ikje ≠an ≠ansie, Mamusaba !koa, ikje Kurutami (Mooifontein) ||na:ba doe ha, ≠untup, Teteb di ||nausab, ||omkje ||na:ba.

ikje sa:ku ||naba ho: ha oubi, ikje sa:ku !hanne, ikje daob ||kāu ||koba, ikje sa:ku |kam |ko:diab !kamme, ikje |nei khweb Mamusaba !koa sîe, ikje ||na:ba xu khwekwa ≠noa |kwae, iku haku ko o, he: sa:ku ha ha i a, ikje sa:ku ||kāugu khwekwa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamusa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamusa. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (i.e. Mooifontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). *≠Untup*, the ancestor of *Teteb*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamusa and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Teteb*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

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We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for " head " and " tongue " shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tanas* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for " wolf " and " tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, " milk " is the same in Korana and Cape (*bib*) as against Nama *deip*. 197

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study (" Alte Wortlisten der Hottentotsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain those identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *biquaan* " dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt " ; of *qu'ein* : " *qu'* ist mir unerklärlich " ; of *kamqua :* " das *k* . . . am Anfang des Wortes verstehe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in those few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart ; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hotentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hotentot endings of the names : 173 551

-b (*-p*), for the males, and *-s* for the females.

It is to be noted that :

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of */kutsi* and *Onas* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

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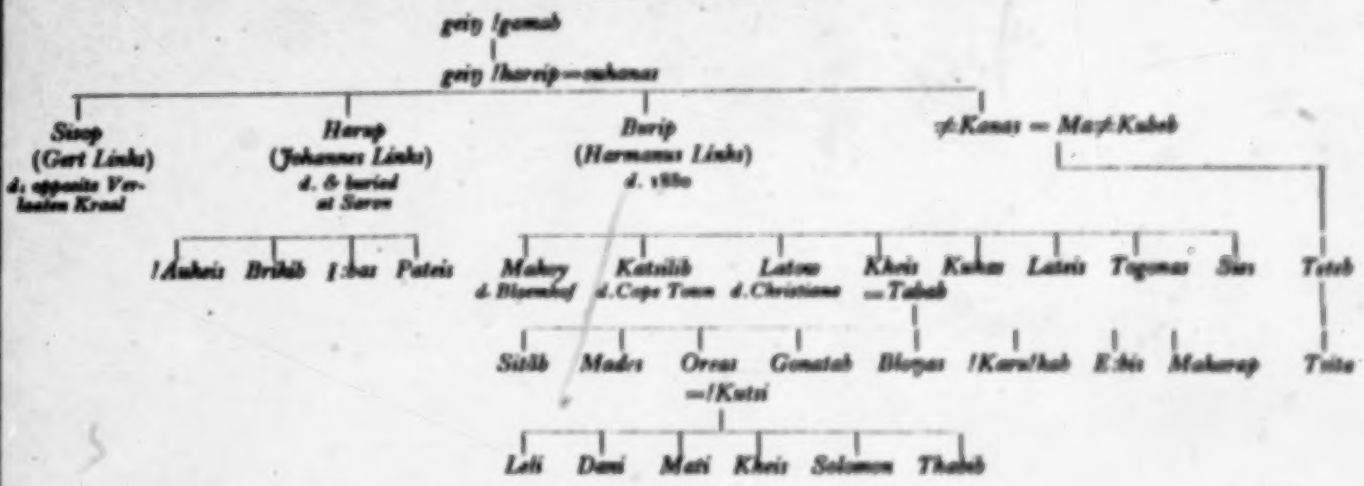
GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

(i)

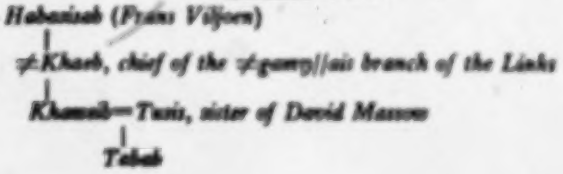
(ii)

Kora
Eihomo
Kuebib
Kongap
Kuenonkeip
Mahabuté
Kaub
Hanto
Kopi

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS



GENEALOGY OF *TABAB*, HUSBAND OF *KHEIS*



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GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources:

(i) the deposition of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom Meeting in 1869. (B. C. 290-291);

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Rooy, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B. C. pp. 291-292);

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hanto;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 10-13, which is signed by Massow Rijt Taaibosch himself;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110;

(vii) and *passim*, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Massow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Rooy's deposition. The names of the descendants of Massow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (ii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Massow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Stow, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family. (*The Native Race of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Massow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *Atungy* may = *Awoumbei* (*p*)

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kt represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *kuen* = *ku*, *ue* being a glide sound; the combination *ku* does not exist in French. The *g*=*k*, the second one of the French transcription, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal.

(b) *knaughoe* may = *kouga* (*p*); and (c) *gaun* = *kau* (*p*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikomo* and *Kuebib* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Indentity of Hanto = Jan Taaibosch = Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries actually saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: "This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

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173 114 *Kopi* and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Witgatboom meeting (1869) and also at Marmora before Colonel Warren (1878) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book*. C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 293).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Mannow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

173 113 Sources: Informants at Bloemhof; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Tetsh*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

173 114 *grey !harsip*, " great " or " old Harsip " is the " alte Harsip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, *he* was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chudaop*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *a* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

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syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiy !hariip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Saron Mission. This is not in disagreement with the Berichte.

Oukamas, " old Hanna " is the pious " alte Hanna, die Frau des alten Hariip " (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Saron Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Saron (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1869, as he appeared at the Witgatboom meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Witgatboom after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3635, 83, p. 5). His grave is at Saron (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Bruns (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (Imperial Bluebook. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Tetab* of Bloemhof). He must—

Katalib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Tetab* is now looked upon as the *goanaob*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Omissions :

Uvdb, the *Uruu* of the Berichte and the *Oviou* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matlabane's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiy !hariip*. *Matlabane* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

Finally, those members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions Berichte, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiy !hariip* ; (ii)

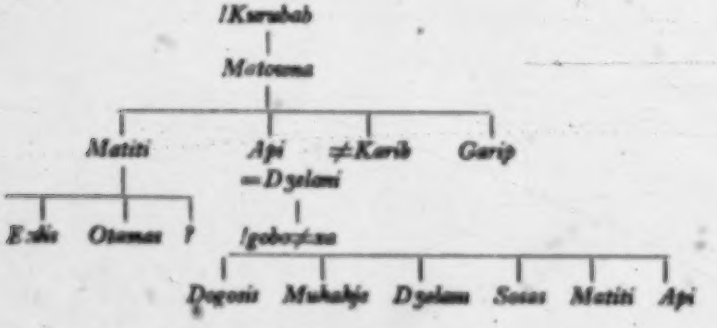
11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

old *Rooy*, the eldest son of *geiŋ !hariep*, a drunkard and ne'er-do-well. Was he the same as *Ursôb?* (iii) the unnamed daughter of *geiŋ !hariep* and *Ouhanas*, who, according to the Berichte, was not the mother of *geiŋ !hariep's* sons.

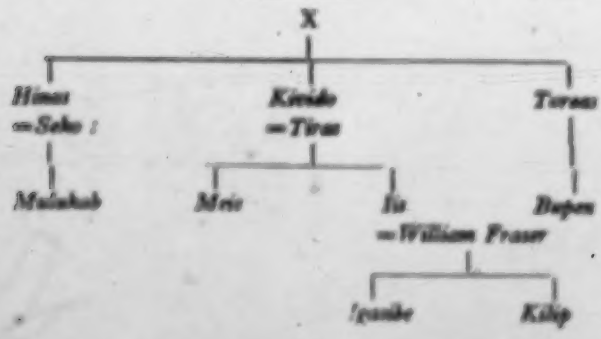
GENEALOGY OF TABAB

Habanisap's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Molitsane as being under him, to the two Free State emissaries Schneehage and Meyer when they visited him in 1859 (*Bas. Rec.* ii. p. 509). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabab's* birthplace was Senekal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF *MATITI* AND *!GOBO≠XA*



GENEALOGY OF *MEIS* AND *IIS*



earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of 233
the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots 233
is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people 174
at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72).

71. E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

72. G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland, all [illegible] when they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71. 83 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the hump to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and the

squattier body.] The only clue is a tradition maintained by the natives 233
and the settlers which designates a certain cattle type as native to 174
Namaland and the model of the old cattle of the Hottentots. This cannot be proved. It is probably only a general likeness. Two such cattle are presented here.[1] An expert on domestic cattle will perhaps be able to distinguish what is characteristic of the Namaland race by a comparison (73) of these pictures with those of the "afrikaner," the

73. H. v. Francois, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe). [n.d.] ed.

Bechuans' and Damaras' cattle. */hõ·nati is the name the Hottentot gives [256] cows imported from Europe, whose most noticeable characteristic for him are its small horns.

b) The propagation of South African cattle has certain common 233
characteristics in spite of the different racial mixtures. At the time of the best pasturage, i.e. in the fall when the summer rains of the so-called "great" period have fallen, in other words in our territory in March and April, the bull copulates most frequently and most effectively. Since the cow carries for nine months, calving time comes in December and January. The irregularities in the arrival of the rain and therefore of the sprouting of the pastures cause the time of copulation to vary and along with it the calving time. [Picture. "Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.]

The Hottentot keeps careful track of the increase in his herds by noting the life history of each individual cow. He knows the age of his cattle better than his own. He also knows about each cow in his herd, whether she is pregnant (*tra·nu, v.) and calving (!kxa/n/i) for the first time, or whether she is bearing for the second or third time (/gam and *!nona. //kum, go/ma·i).

When the part right under the root of the tail of the pregnant cow loses its tension and the inner parts shake under the skin with every step, the calf is expected that same day. A herdsman [257] has to guard the cow then specially and bring the mother and the calf immediately back to the house.

The milk secretion of the South African cow, in contrast to our native cattle, has preserved its original function as a phenomenon of

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 66(A) and 66(B). --Ann/ysf]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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174

that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of any evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations, 1905*, vol. iii); idem, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–93; cf. also F. Seidenfaden, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 143.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Theal, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1901, pp. 267–8; A. W. Howitt, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

181 their mode of thought. Only then may we hope to obtain a clear impression of their psychic condition. Anyone who for any length of time has travelled in the company of Hottentots and has suffered starvation and thirst with them, has shared their joys and sorrows, will doubtless discern under that rough exterior a good heart, will learn to appreciate them and inevitably admit that their good points outweigh their bad."

II. Divisions and Distribution.

101 1. The origin of the tribal name "Hottentot" has not yet been cleared up. The old reports spell the name in different ways: Ottentoo, Hottnot, Hodmodod, Hottentott. It is assumed that the meaning attached to the word by the old settlers was "a stammerer" and that the name had reference to the peculiar clicks of the language, which give its speech a distinctive character. At any rate the name is not of Hottentot origin, nor had the Hottentots a distinct name to include all their tribes. Old reports state that they also called themselves "Quaiqua" or "Khoi-khoin"; but these names differ merely in spelling, not in meaning. He who knows the language sees at once that the word Quaiqua is an effort to fix the word Khoigua in writing. But Khoigua merely means men, while Khoin is the word for "people," and Khoi-khoin means people of pure race, *i.e.*, excellent people.

●174 2. In all probability the Hottentot tribes migrated from the region of the Central African lakes in prehistoric times and moving westwards, crossed the Kunene, and then entered present-day South West Africa, passing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. It is impossible now to say with any degree of certainty what the cause of the migration may have been, but it may be assumed that the numerous Bantu tribes pressed them southwards. In the case of a nomadic people, other causes, however, are also possible. At the time of their immigration, South West Africa must have been well-nigh uninhabited, for the Herero had not yet occupied the land. In all probability the Bergdama laboured as herdsmen or servants for the nomadic Hottentots, whose language they had adopted, and first came to South West with their masters.

The traces and paintings of the Bushmen on rocks betray that in all probability they were the first inhabitants of the vast territory, which was to become the grazing and hunting ground of the most varied African tribes.

3. While the great majority of the Hottentots moved South with their herds, until they reached the utmost point, the very //Hui-ǂkeib, *i.e.*, place of the snakes, where Cape Town now lies, some tribes settled in South West and led a nomadic life between the Orange and Swakop Rivers.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of those Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex"—an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gochoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kapliden."

(v) Gorona, also written Goraqua, Gorachonqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc.

They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found [illegible] of Andriesan and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainouqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniga, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hancoumqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touns, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Koranna women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

802 196 tens, &c. Hundred, disi disi, ten tens, or gei disi, great ten. For thousand, ǀoa gei disi, full-great-ten, is now in use, but I am not in the position to decide whether it is of very recent date or not.

196 174 If we had nothing else but these numerals, it would be enough to excite our admiration for the intellectual achievements of the pre-historic Khoikhoi. These numerals are the oldest records of philosophical thinking among the Red-men, and rank their inventors with the ancestors of our own Aryan race *as far as mental power is concerned.* But fortunately there are some more fragments and relics which open to us a clear view into the social, domestic, and religious daily life of the primitive Khoikhoi. He was a Nomad, and possessed large herds of cattle and sheep. The cattle (*gomân*) and sheep (*gũn*) were his riches (χ*ũn*). A rich man (gou-aob) was a fat man; he could afford to be fat (*gousa*), he could anoint himself with fat (*goub*). Therefore the word *gou-aob, fat-man,* is identical with ǀ*khũ-aob, rich-man,* and both have now become the words by which rulers, kings, chiefs, masters, and lords are addressed; gou-aob, or gao-aub, being generally used for chief or king, and ǀkhu-aob for master or lord, sometimes simply ǀkhũb, in which form it is also used for the "*Lord in heaven.*"

Naturally the richest man had the largest family, he could afford to buy wives as many as he liked; to love, to court, is ǁã, originally ǁ*ama*, which fuller form is still in use for *to buy, to barter.* This shows that the Khoikhoi bought their wives, and there must have been a remembrance of that custom still, when they first came in contact with the black Bantu races; for the Zulus have the same word ǁama for marrying—viz., buying a wife, a word which, from its click, shows the Khoikhoi origin.

It is now clear that the richest man became the most influential man, and gradually rose to the station of a chief. He could buy as many wives as he liked, and thus

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

ruled through the number of relations and such admirers who had to live on him. It is now still expected that a Khoikhoi chief must have an open hand and an open house; and the worst that can be said of a chief is, that he is *gei-||are—i.e., greatly-lefthanded* or *stingy*. It happens sometimes, that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal.

It was a great event in the history of the Hottentot language, when *|Guri-Khoisib*, the ancestor of the present nomadic Hottentots called himself the "Only-man," or *khoikhoib*, the man of men—*i.e.*, man *par excellence*; when he formed from the root *khoi* such abstract words as *khoisi*, friendly, human; *khoisis*, humanity, friendliness, kindness, friendship, or *khoiχa* and *khoiχasis*, kind and kindliness; *khoisigagus*, marriage, intimacy, friendship; *khoiχakhoib*, most intimate friend, or, as we say in German, *Herzensfreund*.

There is, indeed, a great and striking difference between the feelings and ideas of a Bushman and a Khoikhoi.

This word Khoikhoi opens to us another page of the records of the pre-historic Hottentots. It proves that besides the Sān or Bushmen, there were no other nations known to the Khoikhoi. The present Bergdamaras are called *Dama*, the conquered people, and also *|Haukhoi*, the strange people, or foreigners—*i.e.*, people of another nation or tribe. The very fact that the word Da-ma is a derivative, while Khoikhoi and Sā are not, shows us that the word Sā and Khoikhoi were formed some considerable time before Dama—that is, before the time the Khoikhoi came in contact with black races. For instance, all the names of the Khoikhoi tribes are derivatives, as can be seen from the following enumeration |Ko-bi-si, ‡Au-ni, ‡Nu-be, |Ko-ra, |Go-na, |Go-ra-χa, ||Ha-ke-le, |Ga-mi-‡nu, Ou-te-ni-, &c. This indicates that these tribes came into existence only after the agglutinative character of the Khoikhoi language was fully established, and perhaps most of them after the primitive

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 188. FX13 Hottentot FX13

Khoikhoi family had separated. Here I may add that the Khoikhoi name for Betyuana is Bri or Biri (Briqua of the Cape Records), and this appellation is generally derived from *biri, goat;* thus the Tyuana are the *Goat people.* But I am more inclined to derive the word *Biri*qua from ba-*Beri*, or ba-Ped, or ba-Beli, a Tyuana tribe, who formerly lived more to the South, in the present Free State, and are of Suto (Basuto) extraction, who form again a sub-family of the Tyuana.

Before the Khoikhoi left their primordial "Fatherland," the various degrees of relationship were already established. Father as genitor was ǁ*gi-b;* as protector *i-b;* as master *aub;* as friend *āb, tatab, abb* and *abo-ib.* Amongst many other names for mother was that suggestive expression *ci-goe*, the one *who looks upon*—viz., the child (from *ci* upon, and *go* to look, to see). Strange enough, uncle and grandfather, or ancestor, were called ǁnaub; the son-in-law was ǁnu-ri-b, and he had to spend his first years like Jacob in the service of his father-in-law. He was the *old man's* companion in the hunting-field as well as in the war. Polygamy was customary, as we can see from the appellations *gei-ris*, the *elder wife*, the *great-wife*, and ǁā-*ri-s*, the *younger wife.* As we shall see in the following chapter, Heitsi-eibib, their great-grandfather, had a second wife. And the laws of *succession* and *inheritance* are now-a-days the same among the surviving tribes as they were before their separation. Law, ǂhanub means what is right, straight, what is in a straight line. A *great-man's*, or, to speak more familiarly, a gentleman's, word was a *true word* (*amab*), and it was a disgrace to a "*great-man*" to speak untruth, or to ǂ*hami or gāru.* Boys when they became of age were told *not to lie*, not to steal ǁā, and not to ill-treat the other sex, not to commit rape. The vendetta, ǁ*kharab*, was in practice, which means *the-doing-in-return.* Sin, guilt, and wickedness was expressed by the word ǁo-re-b, evidently derived from the word ǁō, to die; ǁoreb thus means what makes *liable to death*, and ǁoreχa wicked, sinful.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamse! My lioness! 562

!Gaĭbista ǀaote? Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539 thee?

Gomasa ke ǀausi ǁgani !omsaĭ!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǀGabi-ǀkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamse! My lioness.

Gei khoits ōase! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [60] sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 562 to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 591 name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577 finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576 from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174 (ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172] ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323 style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap (pot sā-s, to boil, to cook sāi).

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

000 (pot sū-s, to boil, to cook sâi). Food, especially meat, is
252 always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

325 We must also conclude that the process of melting
196 ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general
174 separation; for ǂarib is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǂē, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gōagu), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂganugu, literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǂhoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

174 But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that
413 the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

492 Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *pack-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

302 It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (sā-b or buχu).

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* "Their women on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

000 "I must remark, that from what I observed and could gather, on the graves of *Heitsi-eibib* branches are thrown only, and not on any other.

"*T'gutsri* is nothing else but ǂgütsrv, the imperative form of ǂgü, to go, and therefore means, "Go—thou—please," *i.e.*, "Get away, be off!" *T'gausasi* is the interjectional form, or, as we should say, vocative of ǁ*Gauna*, formed by the suffix tse or se (masc. 2 pers. pron.); thus ǁ*Gauna-tse* means ǁgauna, thou—*i.e.*, Oh! ǁ*Gauna*; and ǂgüterre ǁ*Gaunatse* is, "Be off ǁ*Gauna*," or, in Biblical language, "*Get thee hence, Satan.*"

[821] "The Namaquas nowadays still shoot with arrows at the lightning, and tell him to be off.

● 174 "The learned Doctor shows by this remark simply that he had not carefully enough studied the works of former travellers, like Dapper, Kolb, Thunberg, Sparrmann, as can be seen from the foregoing pages, where I quoted from them. It will appear from the following pages that we meet these graves (*Heitsi-eibeps*) all over South Africa, wherever in pre-historic times the Hottentot race had lived, and that the multitude of these cairns in the East corroborates the opinion, stated by traditions and customs, that the nomadic Khoikhoi, to whom this stone-worship is peculiar, had spread over South Africa, coming from the East. The very fact that those graves are heaps of stones, and not of earth, also serves as a proof that the pre-historic Khoikhoi lived in a mountainous, rocky country, and not in sandy flats like the Bushmen. And the word ǂ*Hi*, rock, which appears in names like ǂ*Hoe*ǂ*aes*, "Fountain in the rock," or ǂ*Nuiben*, "Black rock," and ǂ*Aoǂkoes*, "Red rock," or ǂ*ho-ab*, a single conical granite hill, and ǂ*ho-mi*, mountain (rock), is common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and shows that it was in existence before they separated; while in the ǂ*Ai* Bushmen (North-west Kalihari) the ǂ*Kobe* of the Okavango Duntvelder, there is no word for stone, because there are no stones to be met with. An ǂ*Ai* Bushman, to whom I showed a stone, and

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

asked for the word in his tongue, said: "The Namaquas call it ǂui, but we have no name for it, because you will not see stones in our country."

"This is not a bad specimen of the geographical notions of the South African Boers. A Boer once said that he should like to go to England, but he did not exactly know the *Outspan*, or halting-places, on the road.

"How this name may have has been introduced to the Kafirs I have, I think, clearly shown in an essay, The Graves of Heitsi-eib, *Cape Monthly Magazine*, May, 1878, p. 263, where I say: "The Kafirs, however, on the east coast, who must have made their inroads and encroachments on the Red man's territory at least two thousand years ago, had even a friendly intercourse with the Hottentots; they intermarried with each other, as is evident by the present remnants of the ǂgonas or ǂgonaqua tribe." And I can add that every anthropologist at first sight, if he masters a number of Nǂika, ǂGaleka, and ǂKhoma, easily will discover Khoikhoi blood in their veins.

Women, on the whole, are said to be more religiously inclined than men; they are the guardians of the language *and of the religious of their tribe. The children imbibe* with the mother's milk the first accents of the language of the tribe, and with the language the religious ideas. The Germans have the pregnant and beautiful expression, "*Muttersprache*," "mother's language. We speak of "*Vaterland*" but not of "*Vatersprache*," and we are well aware why.

The Kafirs are renowned polygamists, and we can well imagine that after having been victorious in a battle, they, according to their custom, may have killed the men, but certainly spared the female prisoners, with the view of increasing the number of their wives, as it is considered a great honour and a sign of wealth amongst them to have a large family.

Now, it will be clear how it was possible that the

Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentot" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people.

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65)

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony: they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the capaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of

1: Schultze--65 N-5 (1903-1906) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (*Weide-*, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle.

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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175 some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable [191] infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are 175 called collectively Oriams by the indigenous people, a name the 101 origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Oriams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //aixe*), the Witbooi (*/Hoboxa*), the Bethany Hottentots (*/Awaxa*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauxa*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauxa*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are [173] taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauxa* from the personal name, */Khauxa*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hoboxa*, from */hobe* or */howe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

173 The indigenous people were in historical times divided into 101 seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kaiir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1915. There

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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connection. They mean the big group of *//Khauas*, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the *//Khauas*. The derivation of the name *//Khauas* I do not know. The Topnaars, or the *≠Aonin*, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the *!Gawin* of which I do not know the meaning.

All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Orlams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[6] the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gomi no Khoin.[7] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gomi ≠Nun*, or *!Gomi ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gomi ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[6] p. 188.

[7] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 301. The author spells the name "Cammiesquain."

ılé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
4: Hoer FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to 175
At tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still
say, the as individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these 177
come actut even where there is still a small remnant of people
tribes. gether under the leadership of a man whom they regard
holding tman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama
as a heavily destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the
is hopefears has been one of incessant strife, first among them-
last 150 ring to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the
selves, om the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe
tribes fr on them from the north; and last with the Germans
advancing broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except
who finae of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to
in the cract with the Germans and never fought against them.
their cone tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, 144
All thto them first by their own relatives from the south,
brought by mixture with the Germans. The generation which
and thenup to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed
is growin
blood. egard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely 161
Withve any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent
hard to maqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape
up to Nat in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for
Governmnment to assume responsibility for the territory, gives
that grou of the various tribes as follows.* The figures are
the figure: *Gai //Khauon* 2,500, *≠Aonin* 750, *//O Gein* 800,
approxim Goan 1000, *//Hoboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khain* 800,
//Khau an 2000, Africaners 800, Witbooïs 2500, Bethany
Gami ≠ 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots
Hoffnungther, with a few groups not known to-day, the number
600. Also 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a popu-
in 1876 w0,000 people called Hottentots,† but there was no
lation of discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed
attempt

* W. Coaton Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great
in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G.
Namaqualan
30-77]. p.
† Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].
FCE Ad

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of those Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex"—an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gorkoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kaplieden."

(v) Gorona, also written Gorequa, Gorachoqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc.

They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainoqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniqa, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hanoeroqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

●175 69

(xii) Chariguriqua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua = *i.e.*, the small (= ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib = sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Oriqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Oriqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaua, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Awa-khoin = Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaua or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Gamos, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes. 175 619

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmanneske Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) /Kara-!Gan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawoben whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Amoib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Great-Gaben. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Ambo-land in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ǂOnaip, also called !Goman or !Naraip, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ǂOnaip, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1805, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Nami-/naun or Bondelswarts who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonisation of the Cape Colony by European progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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619 European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilization and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams."

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Meinhof traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang-lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Namas who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Outlander means" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Namas would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin, who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witbooie after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witbooie observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Namas were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witbooie? 175 619

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amral Hottentots, who settled at Neumannshie and a the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Iroekkarros.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaggas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of he //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂgams in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amral Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Neumannshie and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the ǂKari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Brukkaros in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicho-//ain = angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, 'Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hâo-/arab and Titus.

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After the death of his father, /Hêa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this " Napoleon of the South " has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

175 721 1. Shortly after the invasion of the Oriam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. [728]

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 22nd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him thereon August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

175 721 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

[728] Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Hereros and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Hereros and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfish Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Hereros also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikango near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Hereros by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of unendurable hatred against the Hereros he

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instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all waguns, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartbooie ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero. [175] [721]

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1894, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maherero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unaware by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in [72] which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and so soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to accept that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 16th, 1895, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle
721 was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witboi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treation by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganized for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. Thereout only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognize him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Hereros took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Hereros were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Withoutmonde, near Vaalgras, and dying ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested; which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Kooper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erabert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[128] [197] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

• 175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Mamoo has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Wrightbrom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touws, made up a commando against the Koranas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Koranas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Koranas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their sangain and concealed them under their karosses. They asked the Koranas who their captain was. The Koranas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Mamoo and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Mamoo's great-grandfather. The Koranas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Mamoo's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Korana women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Koranas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Koranas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Kora-

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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ran made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Korannas commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagolie, south of Maleque. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Moroboma in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touna and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."[6]

Another shorter version which Mauwe himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[7] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Taw's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Mauwe's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taunga itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Taw* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[8] and by Molema[9] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the depositions of Masi at the Bloemhof Commission,[9] in respect of the number of three generations from *Taw* to Sidipello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Taw* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[9] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakarous and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

[6] B. C. p. 290.
[7] Lindley-Adenauria, p. 10-11.
[8] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[9] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[9] B. C. p. 138.
[9] G. M. II. p. 56-158.

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● 175 grown with thick, and in some places, impenetrable bush, with a fringe of over-hanging willow trees on the water's edge. In these islands were the homes of the "Eynikoa" or River Folk, the "Namaykoa," the "Kaukoa," the "Auiokoa," stretching from island to island in six kraals of ninety-six huts altogether, that is, from 400 to 500 inhabitants, with large flocks of sheep and many cattle.

Beyond Upington, at the point where the river bends in a south-easterly direction, were the "Gysikoa," a mixed race of "Brikwa" (Bechuana) and Hottentots with the typical appearance of the Bantu, tall and blacker than the latter, and who looked upon themselves as Bechuana although they spoke both SeChwana and Korana. Thus far Wikar had not met the real Korana whom he distinguishes carefully from the first two groups. Approximately near the modern Kheis, he found the first of them, the Kouringais, with their forty-nine huts lying in a beautiful valley, under their chief, Soenop.[6] Then came the Husinghais, a very strong tribe rich in cattle.[7] Here ended Wikar's personal knowledge. As to the great or "Key Korakkoa," he had heard of them, of their power, of their six large kraals and of their situation, extending as far as where the Orange River splits into two branches, "like the fingers of the two hands," that is, where the Vaal joins it.

This last piece of information definitely shows that the *Kri !Korana*, who shall be met later as the Taaiboech tribe, had not yet in 1779 migrated further north, nor could they have been then as in later years in occupation of Taungs. One other point supports the view that there had not been as yet any decisive victory of the Korana tribes over the Barolong. Wikar tells us of the inferiority of the Bechuana as fighters, armed as they were merely with assegais. The Hottentots with their bows and arrows, would have got the better of them, were it not for their fear of Bechuana witchcraft. Wikar also puts on record that, in a cattle-stealing foray, the forefathers of the Korana had been bewitched and killed to a man by the assegais of the Bechuana.[8]

Thus it is clear that some time before Wikar's visit, the Hottentots had had a fight with the Bechuana, but the rest of the story renders improbable the alleged victory over *Tau*, or any victory at all over the Barolong in the early days of the Korana on the Orange River.

Wikar also stresses the peaceful relations of the Korana and the Bechuana in his time. Annually, the Bechuana came down from their

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[6] G. M. II. p. 116.
[7] G. M. II. p. 118.
[8] G. M. II. p. 122.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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country four days further north to the tribes living on the River to barter their wares, " pots, spoons, assegais, ornaments, etc." They had even a fixed tariff, according to which they exchanged these commodities for the cattle of the Hottentots,—a fact which proves that the practice was of long standing.[9] 175

At a later date, probably a decade after Wikar's visit, the two races do not seem to have enjoyed the same amity. About 1790 there was a series of petty wars and a good deal of cattle stealing. The Batlaping, the southernmost of the Bechuana tribes, suffered almost complete ruin. They were living then on the banks of the Nokanna, a northern tributary of the Orange River, which it meets at Kheis, and the adjoining Langebergen, the southernmost point reached by any of the Bechuana tribes, and from this part of the country were they driven by the attacks of the Korana as far north as Kuruman, which was to become their principal centre for many years after.[10]

It is not certain whether these wars had any connection with Jan Bloem. A Prussian by birth and a " desperado," as he has been aptly called, he had to flee the country, in the last part of the 18th century, on account of the murder of his wife.[11] His son, also Jan Bloem by name, gave the meeting at Wingatboom a very full record of his wanderings,[12] which is important, because, in the first place, it provides a very graphic picture of the adventurer's life in those romantic days, and because, in the second place, it helps us to fix, approximately at any rate, the date of the migration of some of the Korana tribes further north.

On his arrival on the Orange River, Jan Bloem the elder settled for some time near the Langebergen, when he married several Korana wives and appears to have become the head of the Springbok tribe of Korana. He next moved to Blinkklip, or to be more accurate with Lichtenstein and Campbell, to the place which still perpetuates his name, Jan Bloem's Fontein, two miles north of Blinkklip, whence, after gathering a motley crowd of Korana, Bechuana and Bushmen, he began a series of wars against " the black nations."[13] The advantage, which the use of firearms gave him, soon made him the terror of the district. His attack on Kuruman, which took place a few years before Truter and

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[9] G. M. II. pp. 121; 122, p. 126.

[10] Campbell, 1820, I. p. 80; 88; II. p. 171; 185; 188-190.

[11] Jahresbericht of Berlin Missionary Society, 1843, p. 50-51; Campbell 1813, p. 378-379. He makes a mistake confusing the father and the son. Stow's account of Jan Bloem, pp. 290-1, is a mere verbatim copy of Campbell.

[12] B. C. Deposition of his own son, (p. 293-294), who accompanied him in his wanderings, for he " had then already ears and eyes."

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175 Somerville's visit in 1801, reduced the Batlaping to almost complete ruin. Threatened by Cornelius Kok, another Bastard chief, he finally trekked higher up to Lekatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, where—the testimony of Jan Bloem proves it—he found no Korana. In this neighbourhood, to use the picturesque words of the son, his " father sowed " for two years in succession.

From the headquarters at Lekatlong, cattle forays were continued in the first year. The next year was busily spent in raising a commando against Makaba, the chief of the Barogwaketse, at the instigation of the Batlaping, with whom, as well as with his other enemies, he had made peace. He also visited, for this purpose, the Korana of Jan Taaibosch the elder, who had then migrated to the Harts River. This is the first mention of this tribe in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was disastrous. Very few cattle were captured, and Jan Bloem the elder only came back to die, some say by drinking the water of a well-poisoned by the Barogwaketse.

The movements of this remarkable man can be dated. Campbell notes in his Journal of 1813 at Jan Bloem's Fontein : " that fountain derived its name from a person who had died about fourteen years ago,"[13] and Lichtenstein passing at the same place in 1805, says : " for there had lived ten years before a colonist of that name."[14] So we have the two extreme dates—1799, the year of his death, and 1795, the year of his stay at Blinkklip. Between them is his two years' residence at Lekatlong, in the last of which, that is, in 1798 or 1799, he met Jan Taaibosch the elder. The latter could not have been in that neighbourhood before 1799 when Jan Bloem arrived there, for " my father came in the country before the Korannas," says his son specifically. This further evidence decisively negatives a good portion of Mamow's story. The old chief, we can definitely conclude, has telescoped together a series of events which it took a far greater number of years to happen.

Shortly after, the arrival of the first missionary occurred. In 1801, Rev. Anderson, of the London Missionary Society, established his first station in what is now Griqualand West. It was an event of capital importance, for it introduced new economic factors and new civilising influences. " The Corannas," he writes then, " are the most considerable people of those parts." But this was not to continue for long, for he came up, " accompanied by a number of *Bastards*."[15]

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13 Campbell, 1813, p. 168.
14 Lichtenstein, II. 342.
15 T. M. S. (1804) p. 344 and 345.

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These people were of mixed race, descended from the Dutch colonists and their Hottentot servants, who, through the northward expansion of the Colony, had been forced to the Orange River. More intelligent and more easily adaptable to European civilisation, they had, under missionary influences, taken to permanent agricultural pursuits and to a more stable form of government than the Korana. Lichtenstein, who visited with interest their numerous settlements—Leeuwenfontein, Kietfontein, Witwater, Tauboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil and Ongeluksfontein,—was impressed by their comparatively high degree of civilisation into calling them a veritable "Hottentot republic,"[16] and Campbell, in 1813, persuaded them to change the contemptuous "Bastard" for a new name, the "Griquas." 1775

This new element in the population of Griqualand, more advanced and more enterprising, pressed the more independent and irreductible Korana tribes further north and east and drove a wedge between them and the western tribes on the river, the "Hoogestanders," the "Spinnekop," whom we have met already, and the "Eynikos," of Wikar, who became all confused under the name of Korana in the time of Campbell. Those of the Korana who remained among the Griqua "for the sake of protection," as Campbell puts it in 1813, "..... are, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1341,"[17] and they still were a considerable number, according to the returns of Waterboer, in 1845.[18] They seemed to have become assimilated into the more progressive Griqua population in the course of time.

Concerning the western Korana at the beginning of the 19th century, Campbell has left some information mainly of statistical value, but unfortunately too incomplete.[19] He had a most laborious journey from Griqualand to Pella in Namaqualand across the most dreary of countries, and saw some Korana kraals amounting to a few hundred inhabitants. He does not seem to have visited that part of the Great River, between Kakamas and Upington, which, at any rate, in Wikar's day, contained most of the population.

Of the Korana who lived at the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers in 1778-1779, some,—the "Right Hand" tribe and the "Sorcerers," wandered to the neighbourhood of what became afterwards the Berlin Missionary Station of Bethany, and finally settled at a later

16 Lichtenstein, II. p. 301-308.
17 Campbell, 1813, p. 256
18 B. C. p. 32-33
19 Campbell, 1813, p. 273-290.

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dam at Hebron, higher up the Vaal River, and the "springbuks" we have already seen near Lekatlong, with Jan Bloem.

The Taaibosch or *Kai !Koraua*, the most considerable of these tribes, did not migrate from the Orange River all at once. For Burchell met at Litlhakong, in July 1812, "a numerous party of Kora Hottentots . . . . from a kraal situated at a considerable distance eastward. They were conducted by the son of a *Kora* captain called *Taaibosch*. This latter was lately murdered by some Bichuanas; and the son, whose kraal was situated on the banks of the Gariep near the English ford, was now removing his father's cattle to that place,"[20] that is, precisely the original home of the *Kai !Koraua*.

In 1813, Campbell in his northern journey stopped at the kraal of the "Tybus" as he calls them, at "Malapeetse."[21] This place was in one of the kloofs leading to the Makara, the modern Dry Harts River, which joins the Harts River just below Taungs. It was very much at the same spot indicated by Burchell, east of Lekatlong. The numbers of the Koraua there were about 300 in 36 huts, with a herd of cattle numbering 2,000, and an equal number at two other stations. There was also another numerous kraal to the north-east, which would approximately correspond to the Mamusa of the later days. So that the Taaibosch tribe, the largest and most important, seem even at this early date to have been in their full numbers in their new pasture-grounds in the north.

Oukey, the sub-captain, in the absence of Taaibosch himself, mentions some interesting details regarding their history. They had been under the rule of two brothers, Links and Abby. Links was now dead and it was his people who were at Malapeetse.

In 1820, the Malapeetse Koraua had divided into three divisions. Campbell met the most numerous of them at Mokatse, still further to the north. He unfortunately does not give the name of the chief. Another division was twenty miles to the south. He did not call at Malapeetse, which was then deserted.[22]

This interesting information collected by Campbell on his two journeys definitely shows that the whole of the Taaibosch tribe was then settled in his days (1813-1820), in those parts of the country which was

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20 Burchell, I. p. 345.
21 Campbell, 1813, p. 230-234.
22 Campbell, 1820, II. p. 92-93.

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to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaiboschen and the Links were then still living together.

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaiboschen and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. Fabali, Mainii and Trok all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaiboschen, and separated from them at Manyeue. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaiboschen, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaiboschen, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hamma to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this "living off" occurred in this intervening period.

Hamma was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Konnah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the "Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malaleroon (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east" makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River.

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[1] Campbell, 1815, p. 230-2.
[2] Campbell, 1822, II. p. 285, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii, pp. 308-330.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoya—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this nefarious tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Choabep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokae, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Choabep* and *Bantor*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 25-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadfoot, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Batoeng Molitsane. The Maquassie station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Batoeng chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatse, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Mackaai* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sikonelle, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatse, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatse. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatse followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadfoot, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 193.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Masson, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

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State, until they hurled Moshesh and the Links over the Modder River. A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern Bloemfontein. Moshesh had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of horror and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuizen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they were the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Moshesh—the Links,—among the dead.

Moshesh himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

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The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wuras, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[10] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[10] E. M. B. 1836, p. 176 ff.

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of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Viman, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbok, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludovicus Pretorius—two of the original "voortrekkers." Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Berges in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.[13] The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found "any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River."[14] As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Makwasling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.[15] Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Mzilekatze and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Links had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a "smous," that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he outspanned at the Saltpan. A kraal of Korana resided there, "under Abraham Lynx and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lynx."[16] They had returned to their old home and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

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[13] B. C. p. 237-238.
[14] B. C. p. 198.
[15] J. D. Missions Evangeliques, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.
[16] B. C. 253.

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For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Salyan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Salyan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 18[illegible], by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Barlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Harrip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a southern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oswen,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the natives nearly deserted.[20]

Old Harrip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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[16] B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[17] B. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
[18] B. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
[19] B. M. R. years 1848-1854.
[20] B. M. R. 1850, p. 202.
[21] B. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hans, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hermanus of Smous heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt persuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Potiel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[8]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Moletsane at Mekwetling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Moletsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Batsuang chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.[9]

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[8] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 1851-6.

[9] Bas. Rec. I. pp. 205, 414, 481; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 18, 21, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

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readily granted.[89] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[90] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[91] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Mackabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[92] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[93]

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Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[94] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[95] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[89] B. C. p. 291-3.
[90] B. C. p. 257.
[91] B. C. p. 324.
[92] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[93] B. C. p. 323.
[94] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[95] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Seven for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Moletsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[89]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[90]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[91] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[92] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[93]

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[89] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.
[90] B. C. 215.
[91] B. C. 289.
[92] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[93] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 105.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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175 During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[86] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[86] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[86] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[87]

175 Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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[84] Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner*. Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
[85] Imperial Blue Book, C. 2454-'79. p. 33.
[86] Ibid. p. 34.
[87] Wangemann, op. cit. p. 44.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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already done so, but Bruce flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[39] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Point mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Warren and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.[40] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.[41]

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Bruce and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Bruce maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Bruce, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[42]

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[43] Mr. Bruce is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk

39 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

40 Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 35, p. 81 ff.

41 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

42 Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

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of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Koranas were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Brune had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.[48] Brune himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Brune's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,[49] it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Brune can be substantiated. What Poole stigmatises as the breach of a man's word of honour Brune ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.[49] There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Brune protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Brune had been unjudicious. Brune himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

[48] Letters of Brune and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2116-'79, p. 72-74 and p. 74-75. C. p. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24-25.

[49] Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Bruno as "not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on "Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on "Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Ein zweite Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research in my own special field, permitted, I made it a rule to note down only those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [173] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed. 114 [123]

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethno-

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas, Breslau, 1872.

logical material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn, (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten, Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's (70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2nd ed., 1894.

problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is said in chapter V, A, about the language. [104]

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained 177

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)]. 1/A 142 171 [516] [291]

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race. 142

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

1/A [see p. 88. – Analyst]

Actually we must keep in mind, that the Hottentots have borrowed a great deal from the gestures of the foreign peoples in their present surroundings. Their receptivity for foreign things is great. When this is considered, the number of gestures which can be considered original because they are unique or dominant among the Hottentots, is greatly reduced. As a gesture of affirmation, they usually throw back the head slightly at the same time shutting the eyes. This is frequently observed, especially among the women. 201 [177]

Negation is expressed in a careless manner by an inarticulated sound with the mouth closed. The sound resembles a short, light cough, only it is voiced somewhat with a notable rise in tonal level at the beginning and a fleeting fall at the end.

They themselves call an expressive gesture of astonishment *//a·mana·m (from *//a·m - covering to hide and ams - mouth). For this gesture they cover the mouth and the entire lower half of the face with their hand flat and turn the head to one side, at the same time raising the eyelids. Lifting the upper eyelids (without raising the eyebrows), which I often observed during a conversation whenever there was a sudden dawning of recognition or awakening of interest, can only be designated here as a common human mode of expression. 201 152

Shame cannot be recognized by a blush because of the fawn-colored character of their skin. Bending the head sideways and covering the face with the elbow is a frequent manner of expressing the feeling of shame.

I found a gesture of repugnance or strong dislike very marked among the women. The face is turned to one side and slightly tipped backwards from the person against whom the gesture is directed. The eyelids droop limply, the mouth is distorted into a snout, the upper lip coming quite close to the nostrils as though to plug them up. Using the same gesture, called ǂonam, a person who has overeaten turns aside when food is offered to him.

It is no longer possible to decide whether embracing and cheek kissing as a tender gesture of greeting is original among the Hottentots or a gesture they have adopted. An old woman embraced and kissed one of my young companions with feelings of joy, when he [184] returned to her dwelling after years of separation. She summoned other women and couldn't express her joy sufficiently. Her eyes were too deeply encased in wrinkles for me to see if she was weeping. One may probably consider weeping as an expression of joyful emotion a

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kχai·ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *ǂgũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classfy *!gao·beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ǂna·ʔob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ǂgarib), is supposed to have given its

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robia, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go·bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gĩ·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible [824] blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855] without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kχã/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaûs, !haîs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (*/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũʃ) with a piece of tanning stone (*/kχoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (*basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//haʃn) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ≠goʃa·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ≠goʃa·s. ≠goʃa·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ≠na·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in 415
the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles.
For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Orcotragus saltator (Layard)] 281
skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews
except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is
just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the
sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls
of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have
collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, ǂkʗa·bis, to store tobacco. A 415
pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, 276
sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the
pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and
then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he
crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the
stuffing (/kʗaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from
nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up
the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap
of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used 294
for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces
(/kʗa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a
bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in
most sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten
with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used
without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the out-
side surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo·b, also means shoe). It is to be [294
assumed that sandals, /kʗabu·s, were the original foot wear of the 177]
Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally
wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is 415
made into a large water bag, !ga/ba·b. The left front leg of a freshly 281
killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of
the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening.
Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kʟoē-kʟoēsūs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gūs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂkʟanu·b and *ǂkʟanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation. -Analyst]

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama-, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they fend off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 224 [177]

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot formerly had against the hare, !õ·as, as wild game (66), has now vanished. [224 177]

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kχa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kχa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called *ǂa·bara≠ga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tsoǂaru·s or tsoǂara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *χa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/ã/gu hã kxoĕra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/≠ãs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called *samago/mas. The term kxã/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxã/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an, Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩǂ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (*-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (*maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, âǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti°dāb or dā·tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dāda·b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (//hā, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hān) their life long. Each is the °//hā·ǂsab or the °/hō·ǂsab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao·tse in the masculine and a·χase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life. 857

[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown. 593

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field. [428]

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely. 764 [177]

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

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sprouts from the old withered grass roots after the first plentiful rain, then the grass meadow (ǂga·eb, "leaves") seems to be checked (/hō/, with a black and white checked marking) (see p. 265) . . December

[177] δ) The Hottentot became familiar with the division of time into weeks only as a day laborer in the service of the whites: he had to get used to paydays and holidays. His calendar for this purpose is a thin piece of wood, about 10 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide, into which seven holes have been burned. A thong is attached to one end, and the loose end of the thong is inserted successively through one of the holes, each of which designates a certain day of the week. The women like to tie the calendar wood to their necklaces by means of the upper end of the thong; the men like to wear it on their hats along with a fluttering ostrich feather. The primitive calendar is called bē·kgye ǂnais, the "week wood" (borrowed from Dutch week).

[373] ε) The smallest unit of time measurement of the Hottentots is the day, tsēs, and the night, tsū·χub. They indicate the length of a journey by days and nights. //a·ri means both "tomorrow" and "yesterday."

The other distinctions they make do not refer to lengths of time but only to times of day. In this connection the many words for the time between day and night is striking, whereas in the day itself only noon, tsē!gã/b, is emphasized. This becomes understandable if one considers that the sun, with negligible exceptions, is visible all year long from early in the morning until evening. The Hottentot knows how to express specific hours as well as duration of time, with certainty and comprehensibly, by reference to the position of the sun.

Special designations are used only for the time at the beginning and at the end of the day.

1. *//go·a!a·roam is the dawn.
2. *!u·itsū·χubab is the dusk.
3. The bright time of day shortly before sunrise is called *kχai·//go·agab since this period of daybreak (//go·ab) is usually the most bitingly cold (!kχai).
4. The period of brightness immediately following sunset is called */a·ba/ho·bab, that is "the red twilight."

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XXV

What is this: when (o) you (-tsa, personal suff.) see (mũ) it from (ǂu) afar (!nũ, -se adverbial ending, -ba demon. particle), it is blue (ǂhoa), and white (!uri) things (ǂũn, neut. pl.) are (hã) on it (ai, with pass. ending and personal suff.), but when you (-ts) have come (hã) up close (/gũ), it is transparent (!anu "clean, clear")? -- The sea.

E) Concluding Remarks

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The Hottentots' Relation to Invading Culture

How does it happen that a people like the Hottentots, which has given clear evidence of an intelligence that has long been recognized and that is outstanding among the aborigines of South Africa, melts away like wax on a hot plate before the invasion of culture? The process of this dissolution up to the present date has been recorded in descriptions of peace and war (75, 73, 82)*. Here we are interested solely in the principle of the matter.

*75. C. V. François. Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi. Berlin, 1899.

73. H. V. François. Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

82. K. Schwabe. Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Berlin, 1899.

The first contact of a Hottentot tribe with culture took place in a generally friendly manner; all travelers of the past praise the hospitality of the people and the protection which the chieftains gave them against the attacks of individuals. The Hottentot expected and, at first, also found his advantage: the trader brought him clothes and blankets, so that he himself now no longer needed to tan them laboriously from hides and to sew them with sinew thread; the trader brought him household implements which spared him the necessity of making pottery [546] and carving wood. In

addition there were luxuries: in part ones that had been highly valued for years, like alcohol, now in a new concentrated form; and in part new ones such as tobacco and coffee, which became so popular that they now can scarcely be dispensed with. But the factor that above all others caused the Hottentot to react peacefully to invading culture was the realization that with its help he could multiply his own power in a hitherto unknown fashion: exchanging the bow for the rifle suddenly made him master of all living things and equal in battle to his enemies.

The mission, which sold weapons on a large scale, as well as the German government, which permitted traders to deal in weapons after the protectorate in the north had been seized, gave the Hottentots still further guarantees which likewise brought him willingly closer to culture: the Hottentot soon realized that in the missionary he had a friend upon whom he could depend absolutely in all cases. The government, for its part, made treaties of protection with the chieftains, who were all the more agreeable to these since they did not curtail their own power, at least temporarily.

The Hottentot also expected advantages from the white settler--from the land sales and from the taxes that he levied upon the settler and from the annexations he occasionally undertook of land which the white man had brought under cultivation by hard toil.

In Great Namaland certain regions still lay fallow in which the white man, without taking anything from the native, could settle; but in the course of time it inevitably reached a point when the Hottentot saw himself being hemmed in, whereas formerly he had had at his disposal meadow and water in proportion to his power. Through his chieftains he would probably have had the power to definite advantageously his own spheres of interest and those of the alien race, but he did not have the ability even before he began to feel himself being hemmed in.

The chieftains looked out only for their own interests and they proved themselves very clearly to be what they are: selfish tyrants, not representatives of tribal interests--unless the interests of the tribe coincided with their own. So it was not possible for the white government, which in the meantime had established itself and which was filled with the genuine desire to give everyone his just due, to do anything but limit the autocracy of the chieftains. That has been the main cause of all our Hottentot wars. Temporarily [547] the tyrannical desires of the apparently tame rulers, who decked themselves out with the names of the apostles, prophets and patriarchs, could be appeased with money and liberally dispensed alcohol

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licenses; but those who were preferred in this way, despite all tokens of esteem that were occasionally rendered to them, felt themselves oppressed by the white men, yet at the same time they saw--and this was the ominous factor--that their power over their own people was not broken. That kept their ambition alive and nourished their longing for the full freedom they had enjoyed before. We can be indulgent in our judgment of the fact that this urge finally outweighed any consideration that we might be superior to them in battle--especially since our own predictions in this point were very shortsighted.

We must search elsewhere for the reasons why the mass of the people were ruined by culture rather than were won over to it. In this connection it is necessary to start with the basic revolution in living conditions that was connected, as far as the Hottentots were concerned, with the invasion of culture in South Africa. Let us disregard for the moment cattle breeding and consider the hunting grounds of the Hottentot homeland within their wide former boundaries: around the middle of the seventeenth century, and even only a hundred years ago in many cases, Western South Africa was one of the richest game lands of the earth. Today, south of the Orange River, no Hottentot can make a living any longer by hunting. When it occurred to the Cape Government to protect game, it was far too late to take into consideration the question of the welfare of the natives. The sportsman's concern that he would soon not be able to fish--the half economic and half Lucullian consideration that wild game is, after all, the best part of the South African fare--finally, the consciousness that it is a cultural people's duty to preserve for prosterity certain animals such as, among the big game of South Africa, the elephant, the rhinoceros and the giraffe represent: these were the reasons for the measures protecting at least the remainder of the wild game.

One of the most fruitful hunting methods of the Hottentot was ambushing at the water hole. It is quite clear that this place was devaluated as far as hunting was concerned by the Boer who settled here, or the cattle herder who watered his white master's cattle here, or the waggoner who unyoked here. Where this is repeated in progressively more and more places it becomes just as apparent to the native as the increasing disappearance of game along the railroad lines and in the vicinity of the stations. One should at least be conscious of the fact that, for almost every step of progress (gratifying to us) in the colonization of the land, the native [548] is correspondingly harmed as far as his old way of life is concerned.

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More ominous than the captains' ruining of the hunting grounds was the unsystematic auctioning of pasture lands to farm-land speculators, who would stoop to anything. The Hottentot even gave up his cattle in the most frivolous fashion for guns, alcohol, tobacco and other articles to which he had become accustomed.

Often with the laudable intention of preparing him for culture the Hottentot was instilled with certain needs in clothing and ways of living without seeing to it that he satisfies these needs in a way that does not ruin him economically. For the Hottentot by himself does not see--or if he sees it does not want to accept the rational conclusion--that there remain for him only two ways of living under white domination. Either: to keep up with the new competition in the exploitation of the natural resources of the land, that is to learn to manage rationally according to European concepts in order to keep himself economically independent. Or: to bow before the competition and to earn his bread in the service of the white man.

Only a small number of the Hottentots have taken the first way, and only a few of them have managed prosperously. A second part have taken the latter way and have hired themselves out as cattlekeepers, wagon drivers, servant boys or servant girls in the white houses and farms. Here at least he has no worries about food and, in general--even if his master occasionally treats him harshly--feels content when he finds a form of justice that does not degrade him because of the superiority of his master. In this point the Hottentot, despite his superficially often unlimited devotion, is painfully sensitive.

The girls and young women also enter into a relation of dependence to the white men at their own expense. The young Hottentot woman finds a carefree life in intimate intercourse with the white man. Her vanity is generally satisfied in every respect, her sensuality is an important factor, and she is often quite proud of bearing a white child.

For the average Hottentot, whose joys and worries change from day to day, who does not think about providing either for his children after his death or for his own old age, bondage in the service of the white man would be the easiest way of getting through life if, on the one hand, the results of sexual degeneration did not drag him down, [549] and if, on the other hand, he could be trained permanently to regular work; but up until now the latter has never been systematically undertaken either by clerical or mundan forces.

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Thus a large number of the Hottentots, as in past centuries, even today feel far better when, in the hard battle for existence, they must win their livelihood from frugal nature, and is hindered in their movement by no limits other than those of nature herself--in this situation they feel much better than at the trough of the white man. A settled way of life does not appeal to them, whose nomadic impulses could probably be broken only by education over a period of generations. They do not wish, as is demanded in the service of the white man, to be bound to the day and the hour; they would preferably undergo the hardships of wanderings and sacrifices of months spent in the wilderness, than allow themselves to be yoked to regular work. The most willing followers of the discontented chieftains are made up of such people.

When then, at any occasion, the signal for a revolt is given, there awakens among hundreds of others the old desire for adventure, the hope for rich booty and victory celebrations, such as live in the memories of all from the endless battles of past decades. Then, too, a way is opened for each individual to take personal revenge for injuries suffered years ago; at times like this, finally, drowning out all detailed questions of right or wrong in present or past, there sounds the cry which I have heard so often and always with the same naivété and logical irrefutability: "The land was ours; we wish to be the masters in it again!" It is the old refrain, and the end of it in this case, too, is simply that one more human race disappears from the face of the earth.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hŭttentŭt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hotta hie* (? *Haitsi Eibib*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. N. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatae descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they[1] now cam with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete di integration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Eve more effective, however, in destroying their original status was th very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first yea of the settlement began to take place between them and the whit settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whethe at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this divisio can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their origina culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlemen One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the en of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleu of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua o Chariguriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of whit blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteent century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualan under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joine by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by whic these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesber they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middl Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almos forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years tha followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played a important part in the political history of South Africa, but all thei power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swart-kops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before* 1795, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Stow, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[1] [i.e., The Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

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619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white [191] blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witboois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been [144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

161 the latest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,892, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 56,000.

144 Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a dis-
161 appearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently
in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war con-
• 177 tributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griqua, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 22–'27), p. 28.
[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (ed. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 7.

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well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Raise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

291 281 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when [415] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, [834] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated [301 415] ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only [177] the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put [481] on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, [438] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold [177] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

301 177 [415] The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 43.

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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti !gãs ao nu*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa !gãsa xae*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term *!gãb*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//núris*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 20–1; von François, op. cit., 212; Schultze, op. cit., 330.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

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Live Stock

231 The unsettled nomadic life of the Hottentots is occasioned primarily by the ever-present need of grass and water for their live stock. The domestic animals upon whose milk and flesh they depend so largely for their subsistence are cattle, sheep, and goats. The cattle seem originally to have been of the large, straight-backed, long-horned type (*Bos aegyptiacus*), still found among the native peoples in the Horn of East Africa. They have, however, become considerably modified through mixture with other breeds, especially those introduced from Western and Northern Europe by the Dutch and other settlers, so that the original type can no longer be clearly distinguished. The sheep were fat-tailed, with scraggy hair rather than wool, but here, as well as in the case of the goat, the type now also shows mingled characteristics, owing to intermixture with other breeds.[1]

231 177 It is a point of some interest, upon which Johnston comments, that the Hottentot root word for cattle, *goma-*, may possibly be derived from the Southern Bantu *-komo*, while *biri-*, for goat, may be the early Bantu *buri*, *budi*, and even the root *gu-*, for sheep, can be traced to a Bantu source. From this he argues that "obviously the goat first, then the ox and the sheep, were brought to them from the north by Bantu or Nilotic negroes".[2] This is certainly true of the goat, which was not originally owned by the Hottentots and only acquired by them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came into contact.[3] We know, however, that within historical times at least the Hottentots at the Cape had cattle and sheep long before they came into contact with the Bantu. All their traditions, moreover, indicate that their pastoral mode of life was developed before their ancestors came south. Whether they acquired their domestic animals from the Bantu in East Africa is a more debatable question. In the absence of definite historical evidence, the argument from philological resemblances may seem plausible. It must be remembered, however, that cattle and sheep as domestic animals were introduced into Africa by the Hamites, from whom even the Bantu got them[4]; and the undoubted Hamitic

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 255–6, 263; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 257, 264 sq., 266.

[2] "Man and Nature in South-West Africa," *Nature*, lxxvii (1908), 386.

[3] It may be noted in this connection that the usual Hottentot name for the BeChwana is *Birina*, i.e. goat people.

[4] Cf. Adametz, *Herkunft und Wanderungen der Hamiten, erschlossen aus ihren Haustierrassen*, 1920, *passim*.

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affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land around Table Bay was as thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Nama chief Akembie, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Naman remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even bartering stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, 56.

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231 description can be relied upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be connected, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snouts, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

[177 492] From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

Hunting and Fishing

Weapons and Methods

262 As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 90; Schultze, op. cit., 268.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 267; Ridsdale, op. cit., 84.

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by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–12.

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323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

322 [177] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Naman by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, */nara* drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *buchu* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements
324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that, as in the case of the Bushmen, it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 24–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 244–6; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27.

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which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 247–8; Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 22.
[2] Op. cit., 117–8.
[3] "Rapport aan den Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.

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325 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Litt
177 Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wik
states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, b
326 hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into bea
439 for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in th
eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very sma
quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implement
and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana
Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals wa
so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from th
first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Sinc
then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every wa
to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused th
old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At th
present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, an
more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashione
by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings
which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag
chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economi
activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save a
between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domesti
purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the
cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although
where a number of families live together both activities may be
regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again
either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in
wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The
women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework,
milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare
the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They
also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters,
grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of
skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also
make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew
most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 97.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 248–51.

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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organizatio
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent t
signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original for
of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts
the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kol
who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots mo
fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states [1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouq*
or *khoeque*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The norm
619 heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failin
622 a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a broth
or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at h
accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains
of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the peopl
and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogative
[574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for th
"captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while th
broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on som
suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for th
wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women
and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record o
any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so tha
the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched fo

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. H
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and h
presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governin
622 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen o
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summone
by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importanc
arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, dispute

[1] *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*
321–2.

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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

643 642

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

642 177

The political organization of the Naman was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 101–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 357–9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–4, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322–4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 142.

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their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */kausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2]

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals.

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Olpp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */has*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *hâ-hâ-hâ*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 85. [3] Op. cit., 224-5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jackal) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 32.

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though destroyed in this way *//Gaunab* comes alive again, and one form of the myth tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. The name *//Gaunab* is nowadays translated by "Devil", and owing to missionary influence has exactly this significance for the natives; but Hahn derives it from *//gau*, to destroy, annihilate, and therefore interprets it as "the destroyer, the one who annihilates." [1]

It is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of what the Hottentots originally understood by *//Gaunab*, especially as the information relating to him is rather scanty. Graevenbroeck says of the Cape Hottentots that they believed in a first forefather *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*, and a god of the underworld *Damoh*.[2] Valentijn, who had access to Graevenbroeck's manuscript, enlarges somewhat on the latter being. The Hottentots, he says, spoke of a "Spectre whom they feared very much, Somsoma", as well as of *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, "a Devil, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often persecuted them, but in carefully examining this, it is nothing but their somsomas and spectres." [3] *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, Vedder suggests, "is evidently an attempt to spell the word *//Gauab*." [4] The linguistic identification seems rather far-fetched, but at least the attributes *Dangoh* has in Valentijn's description definitely connect him with *//Gaunab*.

Kolb uses the word *Gounia* for "God, or the Great Chief", and also mentions "another chief, somewhat lesser in power, called *Touquoa*, from whom some of them had learned witchcraft; he never does good to the people, but always harm. They must, therefore, fear him, show respect to him, and serve him. This they do by slaughtering in his honour sometimes a sheep, sometimes also a fat ox, whenever they perceive that great misfortune is threatening them." [5] It is evident, from what has already been said, that Kolb has confused the two names, and that the attributes he ascribes to *Touquoa* (*Tsui //Goab*) really belong to *Gounia* (*//Gaunab*). This appears also from a curt statement by the missionary, George Schmidt, about the Hessequa: "They have no religion or rites, and they believe only that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call Tui'qua. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name Gauna, but they do not care much about him." [6] Wikar, again,

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 125; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 519.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.
[3] Loc. cit. [4] "The Nama," 130.
[5] Op. cit., 52–3; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 41–2.
[6] "Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung," 273.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui* //*Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

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Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui* //*Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, I, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

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hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range themselves against the Witboois and in a crouching posture continue playing on their reed pipes. The Witboois also form into line, and send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-hatted men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witboois, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after inspecting them all returns to his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witboois dance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, with its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting illustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile imagination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even although they have not the grand masquerade dances performed by the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but singing without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of the songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; others are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known as *gares*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of extemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, and not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals will often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter or longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. But they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously, into the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often church hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are often replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical sense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal recreation in its exercise.

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The tender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, uncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and privations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 381–3. [2] Op. cit., 107, 28–9,

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The early writers
speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *ǂop*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *ǂurub*, varicose veins, and */nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *ǂop* becomes */nau*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before* 1795, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

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The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called *ǂkxam//kxāb*, *ǂkxam* meaning " unripe " in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon " revives ", is called by a name with that significance, */gāgo //kxāb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gai-//kxāgaira //kxāb*, " the moon which becomes great or old (*gai*)," and *gaaira //kxāb*, " the moon which becomes wise (*gāai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as " the dying moon ", *//ōra //kxāb*.

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows :—

I. (January) *ǂkxoasoo //kxāb*, " the moon which follows upon the *ǂkxoe* (*Salsola*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gama /aēb*, not translated.
III. (March) */kxai tsēb*, " when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *ǂgoro /nūseb*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that " the legs blister ".
V. (May) *ǂnu //kxāsa*, the " black month," comes in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) */kai //kxāsa*, not translated.
VII. (July) */kxu //kxāsa*, " the month of the Pleiades," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *hōarib*, not translated.
IX. (September) */hoa ǂgaeb*, the month " when the leaves are curled up " by the cold.
X. (October) *gai !kxani*, not translated.
XI. (November) */goa !kxani*, not translated.
XII. (December) */ho ǂgaeb*, named from the fact that when, after the first productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young green shoots up, the meadows, *ǂgaeb*, appear to be dappled, */ho*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsēs*, and the night, *tsūxub*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsē /gāb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of

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night distinguished is midnight, *tsūxub !gāb*, " the back of the night." On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//goa !aroam* and *!uitsūxubab* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named *!kxai //goagab*, because about dawn (*//goab*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*!kxai*), and evening brightness, */aba /hobob*, the " red twilight ". " Little children's twilight," *ǂkxam-/goa-/hobob*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/goan*) are born. Afternoon, */uiab*, and morning, *//goagab*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, */uib*, and late evening, */oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *bekgye hais*, " week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF !NAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

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The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of !Gamí-ǂnūn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂĀunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of
● [177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with
[796] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂĀunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. χ indicates a guttural *ch*; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˜ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˚ the high one. The sign ˛ under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ¨ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

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3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǒaχais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with ǃnaop and /quasab ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǒaχais. She takes her /úros àms ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (ǂkaràn). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is /úros àms /a /nara ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǒaχais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǒaχais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abá tarás must accompany the ǒaχais in all these rites, but often her friends go

[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 206.

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

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764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[171] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gànab is mixed in with it. A chopper, *!ôp*, which has been heated red hot is
[412] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man [a]— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[302] so that they perspire (*ausẹn*). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potblack. Some informers say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[593] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained !nau, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlief and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
[784] on no account take the path through the valuable !naras plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the
[278] purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleaned from head to foot with ≠houp or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

[a] None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

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At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aunin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Goan* 1000, *//Haboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khoin* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witboois 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

[6] Report of W. Coates Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 50-'77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

!Oaras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Haboben*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [935]

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According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

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415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are
326 used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
177 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
000 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [841 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[164] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep,
● 177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

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their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643]
by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

177 immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

177 797 3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelzwarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently. 177 797

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 6 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the 177

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 871 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors, and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

000 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the short period of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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841 823 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled [272 to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares, 177] formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gára 823 dama góure ǂhaba ǂhabare"* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as [844] the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will be the older women who have looked after her who will free [755] her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When 823 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a 841 neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain: it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* ǂHaba is *Fockea damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 93 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Abstract.

753 755 757 Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by [187] examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. [562] There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

164 [171] [846] 757 After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally [824] beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, en d'onzen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de bezitting en toe-eigeningh van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'onzen trachten uit te stoten; met voorwenden van aller eeuwen her dat bezeten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven doorgaens bystant, en velden velen van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met asagayen ter neer, en bragtenze jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden zy den onzen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen geruilt, die zy hen zoo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat zy niet te beschieten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh waer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het geweer zeer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Deze treken en wetenschap hadden zy bekomen uit berecht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommoā*, en by d'onzen *Doman*, die te *Batavie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) zich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omgangh der Neerlanders wel bezichtight, ook zelfs geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingezogen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verordent,) weer aen de Kaap gekomen, hielt zich een lange wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'onzen, maer begaf zich eindelik weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniere van hun geweer volkomelijk bekent.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdtbaren krijghsknecht, geheten by de Hottentots *Garabinga*, en by de Neerlanders *Plat-neus*, zijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor afgebeten, zonder dat zy oit, van wegen hunne overgrote raddigheit, door heimelijke wachten van ruiterye of voet-knechten t'achterhalen waren.

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[15]) For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, *op cit.*, 93-101. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, says of the Goringhaiqua: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239).

[16]) He belonged to the group of Capemen, and was called Doman or Dominie by the Dutch, "because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Nov. 12, 1655). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.[15]) The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandize, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoā and to our countrymen as Doman.[16]). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, [17]) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

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wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1658, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1659); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognized as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, *op. cit.*, 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 272).

[17]) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

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NAMAQUAS.

000 De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vrientschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkeit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebracht, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulx alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aengewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

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[41]) First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

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NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 330).

[65]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

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293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back 482 a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[70]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [325] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

262 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of 252 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[71]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [70]) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[71]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted [251] or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

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raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[73]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[73]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Sousvas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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14) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1666, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1672, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (!) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

[9]) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 418).

[10]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 67).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

jurares: drapetas, errones fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque spe praemii reducunt. Bajuli, corbulones, geruli, angari, hemerodromi fidissimi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pampiniatores, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii seduli: silvestrem agrum extricant, elapidatumque pastino, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, manumque buri sine laxamento admovent, sementem faciunt, terram rastris insectantur, deoccant, lirant cratiuntque: irpicibus dirunciunt, eruncantque ex agro, vinea hortoque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hedera convolvulisque redimito, quo aestuantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diceresque te bacchantium agmen videre, per omnia Afris nostris simillimum, nisi quod illi[s] dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu falculam altera culmos tenentes messores, areatores, evannatoresque acriter desudant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerariae indiligentes: patinas omniaque vasa coquinaria eluere, sordesque everrere et sarrire, facesque ex agris undecunque colligere, focum accendere, coquulae apprimè norunt, Batavis parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Davorum opera, acrius coloni nostri licet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! nimia felicitate (ut assolet) torpescentes, tanquam Salmacidis spoliis, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur multi.

Non ingratum tibi, nec abs re fore arbitror si narravero me vidisse Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabata a quodam Belga analecta dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pipans gallina pullos convocat, suos conclamans populares, eis capturam tanquam in diribitorio dilargitur, vix bucellam sibi servans, hacque bonorum communione promiscue gaudent omnes, ita ut tubulus nicotiani accensus ab ore ad os omnium accurrentium perambulat, donec in fumum et cineres tabacum conversum sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigandae terrae crebri fontes, rivuli, amnesque limpidissimi saluberrimique non desiderantur, quorum incredibilis pelluciditas et dulcedo saepius sitim mihi adeo aut provocavit aut auxit, ut dixisses me sub Jerubbaalis signis novissimae lustrationis militare.

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[69]) An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (*cf.*, e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

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Cape Hottentot

deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.[90])

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Salmacis, won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be *à propos*, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.[90]) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.[91])

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[90]) See above, p. 47.
[91]) Judges, 7, 4-6.

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680 latum, nobisque in otio vivendi copia quiesque parta, et latius extendendi pomeria occasio oblata fuit.

Sub hujus Coloniae primordiis, Afri nostros conterraneos ignivomos putabant, dum adstupentes, displosis nostratium bombardis una solâ glanda plombeâ quantamcunque feram, leonem, elephantemve tanquam Jovis ignibus ictum, sterni vident. Iidem equites nostros, totidem Centauros, aut semi-viros[que] equos sibi fingebant, ad quorum conspectum contremiscebant. Eorundemque fortitudinem in tantum reverebantur, ut quamlibet mulierem puellamve horum barbarorum, alteram Thalestram Alexandri concipiendi studio se prostituentem dixisses, eò acriori in venerem cupidine (instigante et stimulante forte ejus marito) quo firmius credebat, foetui ex nostris concepto, parentis virtutem ingenerari: Misella! pulveris nitrati et nostratium armorum ignara.

Talibus illusionibus fovendis, nostratium aliquis, barbaro pateram ex vicino torrente aquâ replendam porrexit: nostras interim aliam priori assimilem, spiritu vini maximarum virium diffluentem in tentorio suo abscondit, revertitur Afer, cantinumque lympha plenum reportat, quem arreptum nostras juxta latentem patinam subdole collocat, convocatque Barbaros, ut cum suis magis adsint. Protinus omnes adstant, interroganturque, an aquam per Afrum ex amne haustam et scutella contentam flammis conflagrare valeant? qui imperitiam suam fassi, negant à quoquam id posse fieri. Astu nostras patinam spiritu vini gravem produxit, petitque ignem sibi dari, vafreque admotis sulphuratis spiritum vini accendit, quem ubi flammatum barbari vident, credentes aquam à se allatam ignem concepisse, nullum suspicantes dolum, quidam eorum pudore, omnes metu diffugiunt: sic ars deluditur arte.

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721 [162]) The episode to which G. refers took place during the war of 1673-77 against Gonnema (see above, p. 88). In July, 1673, the first punitive expedition sent out from the Fort under Cruse found the Hottentots' kraal abandoned, but seized all the cattle and marched back home. They had not gone very far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them, and at their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle. It failed, but the Hottentots kept hovering about for some time. "Had hardly marched a quarter of an hour," says Cruse's report, "when it began to rain so horribly that in case of necessity not one of us would have been able to discharge his musket, but God has protected us from an attack of the enemy who might, humanly speaking, have been able to destroy us all and recapture the cattle" (D., July 25, 1673).

177 [163]) De Choisy, one of the Jesuits who passed through the Cape in 1685-86 on their way to Siam, relates an identical episode which he says was told to him by Simon v. d. Stel as having

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[102])

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[103]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prover, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se letterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There s no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

123 161 177 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Goatis* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its foot.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*doro*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[177] *Note : Matiti*, the other informant added : */hũna ha !kũ o, ikje dixu dorobi*, " since the white men (the English) have come, the *doro* has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting *Matiti* to relate his facts, he only added ; (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabab*, February 1932.

doro !na ko u: ≠kei. .ina !wãsi kei khwekwa ku ha .ina gomare !kwa !kũ ||kae. ina garamu∫ thi gõab thikha mãe.

ina ||kxaeb mãe:

ta:e !aub !na ho:xe sa |aibba sausub khau.
ta:e !õas ≠ũ.
ta:e !aub !na ho: |aina itsta mũ o.
ta:e !gaba ≠rib. a u:ha ||kãũba !kwa.
iku gei khwekwa !gaba ≠eip.
itsta !aub !na !gaba ≠eib o, iku !kosa, ina ||kaba u: ≠kei.
ina gu:na di ||naib kx²asie, ina ≠ge:ie, ina oe,
ina |uikwa !ho:e ||nãu !na. !nusa ha a, iku ≠ge:ie kuta o, ||nãu.
ina nona kurisas |nõas u: !kwãsibae. i ||garu, ita saoba ho: o, kx²aosa. ita ho: tama ha o, ita ||kaba u: ≠ke:i.

Translation :

He is taken into the *doro*. Old men look after him. When they go and meet the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kirri and an assegai (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Tabab was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *doro !na |gorekwa ha tama*, " in the *doro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *≠a:di*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *doro*. The " laws " given by Wuras are slightly different and not so full.

The *doro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gam ||kxaeb* ceremony.

ina ibta xami khamma ≠noa o, ina ||nausab si ||nae, ina goman ≠ae, |gorekwa māsi |kha: kx^{a}ai ||nausab.

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teteb* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *doro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *!nau* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *doro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wuras (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!guwisa:b* He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *|habab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

||kaeb ta ha o, |ho:s di |habab, ina !khaib dibae, ina |haruba māsi ≠kae, ina |kona mā kx^{a}am ||ab dibae, ina !nose ≠nu, xu:kwa geise !gaba

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412 539 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Pushmen made them.

Note :

412 This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word */khare* also means a " hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. " They have," he writes, " a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored ; through the weight which the kirri gathers from the round stone " the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, " A note on bored stones among the Bantu " in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255 ; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koransdialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. */Kutsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*ǂ:noa*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 539 *!ha:b sa:hwa di |hwa. ihje !horahwa !ha:b di |hwa tama. ihje |ho:hwa |ga: kha:di |hwa |horubekwa khama |huru ha. ihje ||kikx²auahwa toroh !na gei kha:di thi ǂ:a:hwa thikwa ǂ:noa. ihje !hami!na, |hũ:di thi gaokwa thikwa norugub !na !ko:r. ihje gôab |hwa !hamma.*

Translation :

[85] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in [224] the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dgoli, Matiti* and *Khois*.

[77] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29½. 133

Wurms, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *pâi* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ŋǂ'âi* and the reed-dance *ŋǂ'â-s/aâ-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lees" (printer's error for *gwa*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matini, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

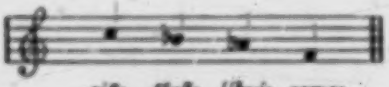
3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kkaːn*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called */gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *besjebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */ama gonab sân* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.



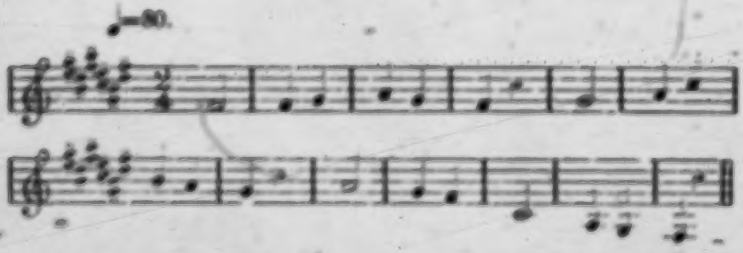
aidi digâi //hui gomas

As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

533 177 539 [115]

In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotia and Keia. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12. *hada //ubu*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

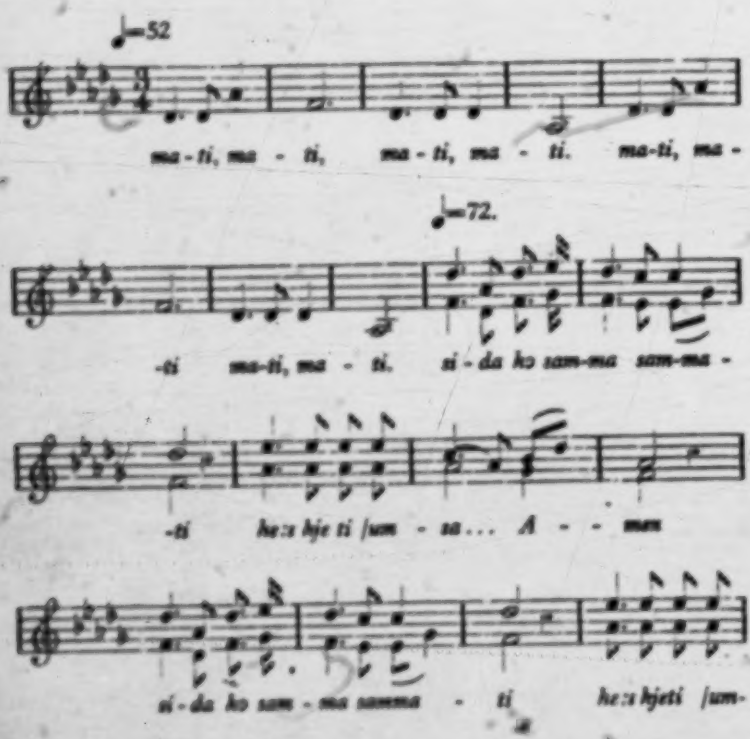
hada //nāu he: burma mis,

which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris. [115]

Ex. 13. *mats, mats*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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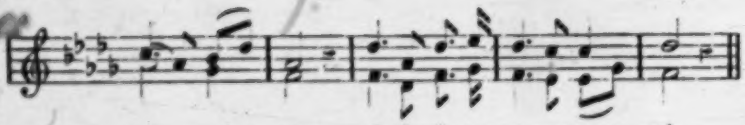

The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

192
533 In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called */kurise ǂnae* and low sounds */eri doma ǂnae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is */guse ǂnae*, and a chorus of men and women is called */kɔ: ǂnae kaᵑona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called */ham domkwa*; but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called */anŋǂnae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

821 787 the Namaquas say: "| Hūb ke ni hā," or "Smaub ni hā," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

825 787 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

789 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

832 34. Another most powerful charm is the Duba, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This duba is generally found in ant heaps. The duba is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

177 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the !Gona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-ǁkhosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the !ǁKhosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

tribes—who could deny? Nay, even the short time that the Bandieru, a branch of the Herero, stood under the sway of the tribe of the Gei|Khaua, has left an impression on those natives which manifests itself in softer manners and a kinder disposition towards strangers, if compared with the manners of the more northerly Hereros towards the Kaoko and Ovamboland.

NOTES TO THE SECOND CHAPTER.

[1] There must have been a peculiar-shaped stone fetish, such as Wangemann describes in "Ein Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika," Berlin, 1868, p. 500: "In a great channel, worked by the rain, we found a big granite block, about six feet in diameter and as round as a ball, which rested on a basis of a softer material. This stone the Basuto worship as their God. They dance round it on one leg, and at the same time spit at it. The place's name is *Cha Ratau*, close to Sekukuni's stronghold.

[2] The honourable gentleman had a conversation with some Hottentots, who were on the most friendly and confidential terms with him. They informed him that they worshipped a certain god, whose head was as large as a hand or fist, who had a hollow in his back, who was possessed of gigantic proportions. To him they prayed for assistance in times of famine, scarcity, or in any other calamity. It was a custom that their wives spread on the head of this deity a red kind of earth, buchu, or other sweet-smelling herbs, this being not one of their offerings only, but one of many. - *From this it can be seen that the Hottentot worship also a god.*

[3] Almost verbally the same said a Namaqua, who never had come in contact with missionaries, and who led a Bushman life in the mountains west of *Gei|aus* (about latitude 24° 25′, and longitude 16°). He said: "|Guruīrao ogu ge |Khūb ta goba, tira mī khoiga;

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (ǂhabu-, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle. 221 233 492 493 484

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight. 233 221 484

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at 175 233

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 233 178

earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 233 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72). 233 174

71. E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

72. G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland all together, so that the race which the Hottentots originally owned, i.e. at the time they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and

"strong" (kχoa·kχoa·, vb.) by the postponement of castration. Actually 232
he is stronger than those castrated young but he does not have anything 233
like their endurance. [Picture. Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.] I was not able to observe how they train the riding oxen and the pack oxen (both called !ga·rub) and how they accustom the draught and trek oxen (≠gaëgo/mab) to the yoke.

2. The Sheep and the Goat

Sheep and goats have exchanged their roles as to relative numbers 233
in the herds of the Hottentots in the course of the last century. The [178]
fat-tailed sheep, gũ/b, according to reports from the beginning of the previous century, (6) once existed in tremendous numbers, but are now

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc. [so printed in Bib., ed.] from the Year 1822 to 1831. New York, 1841.

fewer in number than the goat, b(i)ri·b, which formerly was not kept at all. [Plate XI. A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia. Hottentot boy in an apron.]

[263] What the original race of sheep kept by the Hottentots looked like can no longer be determined. The illustrations here show sheep that are today designated as the Nama race by the settlers and natives. The same is true of the goats. [Picture. Nama wether.] [Picture. Nama goats.]

Goats and sheep are tended during the day in the field as are the calves and during the night are kept in the kraal. Individual goats or small groups do not need tending. They quickly get used to coming back home by themselves in the evening, recognize dangerous predatory animals which threaten them and flee, whereas sheep are stupid. But a larger herd of goats or sheep always needs a herdsman. Without him (not counting dangers and theft) the animals crowd each other in the pasture or scatter too far. An important job of the herdsman is to collect the animals in the shade of a tree or rock during the hot hours so that they rest. This gathering of cattle seeking shade is characteristic for the noon landscape of the pastures.

The lambs (//kχaogu) and kids (b(i)ri·rogu) stay permanently in a special kraal as long as they are little and are allowed [264] to go to the

B. The Tribal Community

178 The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

423 The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among [721] themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the [619] narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power.

422 Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

426 Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aũs ga ǂarexa ota nĩ ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

425 In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous [574] to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

with the exception of the southern half of South-West Africa and the western and central districts of the Cape. They are most densely settled in the eastern half of this region, i.e. in the Eastern Province and Native Territories of the Cape, Basutoland, Natal and Zululand, Swaziland, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa, while in the central and western portions—Orange Free State, British Bechuanaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and South-West Africa—they are much less numerous, although still greatly outnumbering the other native peoples. They are essentially negroes who have absorbed a varying amount of Hamitic blood, and therefore tend to differ somewhat in appearance from the Bergdama. Their languages belong to the great Bantu language family of Central and Southern Africa, and in grammatical structure and vocabulary are quite unlike those of the other South African native peoples. They are also on a higher level of culture, combining cultivation of crops with pastoralism as their principal means of subsistence, their communities are on the whole far larger, and their social organization is somewhat more complex.

Of these four groups of native peoples. the Bushmen and the Hottentots have both declined considerably in strength and numbers as a result of the encroachment first of the Bantu and then of the European settlers. The whole culture of the Hottentots has fallen largely into decay, and the majority of the people have even lost their own language and adopted that of the Dutch; while such tribes of Bushmen as still survive appear to be gradually dying out or at least merging with their Bantu neighbours. The Bergdama seem to have suffered less in regard to numbers, but their culture too is undergoing rapid disintegration. The social cohesion of the people in all three instances has been almost completely broken down. As far as present economic or political importance is concerned, they are relatively negligible in problems of inter-racial relationship, while numerically they are so inferior to the whites as to be considered an insignificant minority.

The Bantu peoples, on the other hand, are still vigorous and powerful, and in their economic and political relations with the European inhabitants of the country present one of the most vital problems now confronting European civilization in South Africa. They greatly outnumber the white population, and appear to be steadily increasing, a fact which is giving rise to much apprehension on the part of the latter. Their social and political organization, too, is so

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

114 The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

178 In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

162 619 The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

583 he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do;
585 while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

585 The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the
264 holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

178 In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information
584 about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and
585 eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

584 According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Nama, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 273.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as " extremely defiled ", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vailland, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of */nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 147, 206–7.
[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 41.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa
483 and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes, such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartboois. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their
619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products
166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land around Table Bay was as thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Nama chief Akembie, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Naman remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even bartering stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, 56.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Isun among the Hottentots," 70.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 94; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 241–4.
[2] Schofield, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 25–32, pl. II; Schultze, op. cit., 246 and fig.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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439 axes, adzes and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which
[435] they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of dagga, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Naman further north bartered cattle with the OvaHerero for iron beads and weapons, and with the Bergdama for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere is any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Naman themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and
[435] other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets
231 439 and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was
178 absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organization of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalized Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

178 The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Rees and Marais, op. cit., 13; Wikar, op. cit., 121.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 97; Van Reenen, in Grobler-Muddersgen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* ii, 147; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 306-7.
[3] Tromb, "Buschmänner der Namib," 144.
[4] Schreiner, op. cit., 325 sqq.; Walton, *History of S. Africa*, 58, 60, 62 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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beads, copper and other trinkets, and tobacco were most in demand, but gradually the skin clothing of the people was replaced by European garments, the implements and weapons made by smithing were superseded by imported metal goods, firearms and ammunition, the clay pots and wooden utensils to a large extent by the iron pots and tin mugs of the trader. In all these respects the great majority of the surviving Hottentots have adopted elements of European culture, to a more or less considerable extent. In a number of cases they have also acquired wagons and horses, and the range of their household possessions has been extended to include tables, chairs, and rough wooden beds. Their mode of life has also altered. The majority of Hottentots now live as servants in the employ of Europeans, others have taken to agriculture in a small, and on the whole insignificant, way. Even the remainder, who still lead a purely pastoral life, as a rule have very few cattle, while most of their handicrafts have suffered and some have completely disappeared. The wares of European culture are now to be seen in every Hottentot hut. Only the latter still survives relatively unmodified, save where occasionally old sacking has replaced the far more attractive reed mats.

Property and Inheritance

Property

Several writers, in discussing the economic life of the Hottentots, have applied the term "communism" in a rather loose manner to the way in which goods are used by this people.[1] The concrete facts they themselves record show that this term is inaccurate. Communism, in the sense of all men having equal, free, and unconditional access to all goods and privileges, does not exist among the Hottentots. The only thing perhaps which may rightly be spoken of as communal property is the land, for all members of the tribe enjoy equal customary rights with regard to it. But even here, we have seen, there are limitations to the unconditional exploitation of the land and its resources, and recognition is given to certain individual and family rights.

All other forms of property—huts, live stock, weapons, utensils and other objects of common use—are privately owned. This is emphasized by Kohler's informant, von Burgsdorff, who says that although an apparently pure communism is observable in the life of the Naman, actually this is not found. Everybody has his own property, which he seeks to increase and improve, and, preferably

[1] E.g. von François, *Nama und Damara*, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1892, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by van Franquet, op. cit. and 189, 229–30; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 sqq., 96; Kuhn, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 73–81 passim.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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765 His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

178 The series of rites connected with death and burial among the
764 Naman have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they
783 have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped,
784 as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /nau, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /nau, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /nau, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /nau and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

764 As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Scheppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood [3]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 318–27; Büttner and Kling, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, ii (1910), 203–5; Hoernlé, "The Conception of Isaos," 79–81; cf. also Alexander, "Reisebeschreibung ins Innere Nordamerika," 205; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 333; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 99–100; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 216.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 79.

[3] "Beerdigung von Kommunalleuten," in Meinhof, *op. cit.*, 1906, 240.

[4] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera Σ-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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It may be noticed here that the removal of the
kraal from the place of death, as mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Naman. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their recollection the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation.

The widow takes no part in the rites just described—"she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become /nau, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains /nau Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow takes the contents of the animal's stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes in front, scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying "let there be plenty of milk". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony.

[1] Cf. Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxvii; Schultze, op. cit., 227.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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769 782 788 This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what [773] these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

[773] Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

● 778 771 787 All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

796 **The rites themselves.** As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of
[178] the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old sanctions and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained as long as the Hottentots themselves remain, and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

881 **Puberty ceremonies among women.** In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called *khaxé* or */kabub*. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's eldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (*khaxé ôas*), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left-hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to !Amatib, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the *khaxé ôas* myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, though past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the *khaxé ôas*, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the *abé tarûs*.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. *Woe unto a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the bushes would scratch up.* Once in the *khaxé ôas* the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*ǂgubi*) and closely wrapped about with her *ǂnâsa*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] Cf. T. Hahn, in *Globus*, vol. 12, 1867, p. 307.

[2] *Abé*, "to carry a child on one's back". *Tarûs*, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

161 blood and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] [197] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 161
21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated 178
at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to 342
construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened 361
to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abods.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush 342
is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use 177
sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a 352
wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting 177
the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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773 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as
778 in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures
778 at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Un-
621 less all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 *b.* The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology.
821 It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-
782 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions
535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious
178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

782
been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon- 535
light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up 178
here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama 771
religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754]
in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775
their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves con- 764
jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 775
and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- 763
son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or 769
points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 757
the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761
an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying " yes " but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal " separation-period " sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves as much in the expectant mother that

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 871 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

000 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the *short period* of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

114 101 [262] perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous !nâras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

124 181 The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

[196] 115 The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[1] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂÂunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain *Flet /'Zibib of Wildfel Sky*, who was long subsidised by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Âmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[1] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

11. To the description of the somatic peculiarities of the Nama may be added a description of the psychic characteristics. The Nama is above all an emotional being. It is not difficult to rouse him to transports of joy and he who is able to rouse his joyous instincts has won his heart. In this state the Nama is willing, kind and hospitable; he will share his last crumb with his visitor and reveals clearly that he is indeed capable of noble sentiments. In this state, too, he is susceptible to religious impressions and the indiscrimination with which he surrenders to his emotions makes him an easy victim and a ready follower of visionaries. It need scarcely be added that dreams, visions, supernatural voices, etc., are fruitful seed in minds of such psychological structure. 152

12. On the other hand, when under the influence of disagreeable passions the Nama presents an altogether different and almost unrecognisable aspect. He is then sulky, unapproachable, impudent, faithless, unmerciful and cruel.

13. Both in his good and bad moods he is impelled by the desire to play the great man, to earn as much as possible with the least exertion. Yet he consumes his earnings in the most uneconomical manner and loves to preen himself in the grandest of attire. 156

14. Contrary to the descriptions of the older historians, the Nama is nowise slow of thought. He knows how to use his senses and he is able to translate for his use with great rapidity of thought, whatever his eye, ear and sense of smell have communicated to him. As far as rapidity of thought and imagination are concerned, the Nama takes the first place in South West, leaving the Hereros, Berg Damaras and Ovambos, even the so-called Bastards, far behind. He is musical, but the beauties of nature make no impression whatever on him. He is a great teller of tales and listens to tales with great attention, but for the past history of his people he has little interest, preferring a foreign language to his mother-tongue. 153 517

15. Will power, which gives character its type and reliability is but slightly developed in any of them. Principles count for little and a Nama will never fall back on a principle to explain his actions. It may be taken as an axiom that when the Nama acts under the influence of his agreeable instincts, the good qualities of his nature become evident in a surprisingly beautiful manner; but when he acts on his disagreeable impulses he can no longer be trusted and is capable of quite unsuspectedly evil actions. 152

H. Schinz, with whose judgment of the Nama I agree, writes of them: "They have their virtues and vices like every other people, but in order to judge them, we must descend from the pedestal of civilisation, often so artificial, and place ourselves in their past, their environment and 181

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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181 their mode of thought. Only then may we hope to obtain a clear impression of their psychic condition. Anyone who for any length of time has travelled in the company of Hottentots and has suffered starvation and thirst with them, has shared their joys and sorrows, will doubtless discern under that rough exterior a good heart, will learn to appreciate them and inevitably admit that their good points outweigh their bad."

II. Divisions and Distribution.

101 1. The origin of the tribal name "Hottentot" has not yet been cleared up. The old reports spell the name in different ways: Ottentoo, Hottnot, Hodmodod, Hottentott. It is assumed that the meaning attached to the word by the old settlers was "a stammerer" and that the name had reference to the peculiar clicks of the language, which give its speech a distinctive character. At any rate the name is not of Hottentot origin, nor had the Hottentots a distinct name to include all their tribes. Old reports state that they also called themselves "Quaiqua" or "Khoi-khoin"; but these names differ merely in spelling, not in meaning. He who knows the language sees at once that the word Quaiqua is an effort to fix the word Khoigua in writing. But Khoigua merely means men, while Khoin is the word for "people," and Khoi-khoin means people of pure race, *i.e.*, excellent people.

174 2. In all probability the Hottentot tribes migrated from the region of the Central African lakes in prehistoric times and moving westwards, crossed the Kunene, and then entered present-day South West Africa, passing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. It is impossible now to say with any degree of certainty what the cause of the migration may have been, but it may be assumed that the numerous Bantu tribes pressed them southwards. In the case of a nomadic people, other causes, however, are also possible. At the time of the Hottentot immigration, South West Africa must have been well-nigh uninhabited, for the Herero had not yet occupied the land. In all probability the Bergdama laboured as herdsmen or servants for the nomadic Hottentots, whose language they had adopted, and first came to South West with their masters.

The traces and paintings of the Bushmen on rocks betray that in all probability they were the first inhabitants of the vast territory, which was to become the grazing and hunting ground of the most varied African tribes.

3. While the great majority of the Hottentots moved South with their herds, until they reached the utmost point, the very //Hui-//heib, *i.e.*, place of the snakes, where Cape Town now lies, some tribes settled in South West and led a nomadic life between the Orange and Swakop Rivers.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [38]). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [39]). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [40]).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there[41]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [42]).

All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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[41]) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a lambskin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 288).

[42]) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness: they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[54]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unbidded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentot almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly bounded by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all prevents, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" Cf. *July 28, 1676*. The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentot, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

To the right reverend and learned gentleman 000

Greetings.

You say that you receive great pleasure from my letters; I feel the same and perhaps more from the expressions of your goodwill towards me, so full of charm and thought, with which you honour me. I can never read nor relish them enough, and from the bottom of my heart I thank the Powers above through whose kindness there has been granted me, perhaps to test me, some little share of this world's goods so that they may see a proof of my pious devotion to you. I beg therefore etc. etc. etc. (N.B. Here a page or two touching on private matters has been omitted.)

I am astonished that Rumour, never bearing a clear report, should have acquired such strength in her course and proved so tenacious of falsehood that those half-truths that are spread abroad about our Africans should have reached even your ears. I found this people with one accord in their general daily life living in harmony with Nature's law, hospitable to every race of men, open, dependable, lovers of truth and justice, not utterly unacquainted with the worship of some God, endowed, within their own limits, with a rare nimbleness of mother wit, and having minds receptive of instruction. 181

My rash Muse was swept away by youthful prejudices when I formerly sang:

Though men, they scarce deserve the name of man.[1]

And for this fault I now seek pardon and sing a palinode; for, alas for the disgrace! It is through the faults of our countrymen, who have forgotten their ancestral ways, as I now plainly see and recognise, that the natives have been changed for the worse, and have become secretive, suspicious and shut away from us. From us they have learned blasphemy, perjury, strife, quarrelling, drunkenness, trickery, brigandage, theft, ingratitude, unbridled lust for for what is not one's own, misdeeds unknown to them before, and, among other crimes of deepest die, the accursed lust of gold. Behold the glorious priests of the Christian

[1] This would seem to suggest an earlier account of the Hottentots by Grevenbroek, of which, however, I have been unable to find any record.

[p. 173]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

mysteries! Behold the strenuous champions of Divine Truth! On the last day at the last judgment they shall be burned in the middle ditch of the amphitheatre by these barbarians. "This is the final spark of the woe to come."

They are beyond belief patient of heat, cold, fasting, and every kind of toil, but utterly impatient of injury, and prone to vengeance. Wherefore if a louse or a gnat sting them they put it into their mouth for no other reason than that by the law of retaliation they may chop, grind, and crush it with their teeth, and spit it out. Nothing pleases them more, they openly boast, than to return evil for evil, nor can they easily be at rest till they have satisfied their minds by the torture of their enemies. They are offensive to look at, savage in their dress, wild in their mode of life, but warlike and unaccustomed to slavery. They are as swift as the wind, often outstripping horses in fleetness of foot and Cretans in swimming.

In whiteness of soul they are superior to many of our countrymen, and in whiteness of body they are equal to some, and, in my judgment, would perhaps be so to all, if they cared for cleanliness. But as things are, what with fat and the smothing heat of the sun and the ahagy pigment they put on their faces, they have grown dark and are of a swarthy brown colour. They have lively bright eyes, and the whites of their eyes and their teeth are fairer than snow. The pupils of the eyes are of a shade between brown and yellow. They have small feet and feminine hands; they are lightly built, and almost all snub-nosed. Those who live near our Cape are of middle height; but the inhabitants of the remote parts of this region are shaggy fellows, with taller and sturdier frames, and with frizzy hair.[1] Among them has been seen a king, Longurio, twelve foot high, with hair all over his body thicker than a water spaniel's.[2] To these latter the shortness of our countrymen is a matter of contempt. Sometimes they are bald in front; sometimes they wear beard and moustache and shave their heads. The women have large breasts. With the rarest exceptions I never saw one among them that was marked from birth, fat, hunch-backed, squinting, or that had varicose veins, a swollen paunch, flat feet or spindle-shanks, or one that went bow-legged or knock-kneed or had misshapen limbs of any kind, nor did I ever see one blind of an eye nor halt in his speech, nor

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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789 796 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of such rains since the white men came into their country. I have given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,[8] and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could, gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this gorika ?ap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

●182 823 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely important to the Namas, I wish to show that they believe it to have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the powerful protection which society gives them. Thus the social character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Namas. Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown[9] writes: "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being." The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the conveniences of social life provided for him by others.

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[8] *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

[9] "*The Andaman Islanders*," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V. p. 229.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Nama

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Namas, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Namas is the /Hai /Khoa, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or some from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 324.
† *Ibid.*, p. 325.
‡ Theo. Hahn, *The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

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The other name for Sarie, the whirlwind, is //Gûoab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gûoab. In the mythology of the people //Gûoab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Namas and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gûoab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be, //Gûoab is also connected with the /Hei /Nûm, in fact, Gûoaga in the plural is simply another name for /Hei /Nûm, and old David Swartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Hei /Nûm were simply //Gûoab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Hei /Nûm which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Hei /Nûm or //Gûoab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Nûm, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to me and, shaking her head wisely, "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wartel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:

"Ti //Nâmero 'Hotse, (My ancestors' territory).

Gûoa 'Khoi tse te se. (Evil ones kindly to meet me).

Then all would have been well."

Other matter." (I owe you five.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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751 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes
B33 place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The
•182 head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Hoi /Nâin, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life.

754 The next example is a little different. In the old days, there
756 were among the Namas Khoi Aogis, witch doctors, men who could
B23 cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real Khoi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their [791] training or method of becoming Khoi Aops. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably illegal to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of that profession. An old man of the Bondelswart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever Khoi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a great aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the Khoi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Hoi /Nâin, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by enveloping them with his vapour, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The Khoi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Namas considered that all sickness was caused either by /Gâunâb,* or the /Hoi /Nâin, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioner, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, Tsuni-/Goam, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, Nuremberg edition, 1719, p. 488.

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the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, "Hri-a Hei-o Tó gaba tsi" (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: "The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: "I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the Nǂami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogais on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of introducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

* Fauni //Ganet, p. 67.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
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the */naras* and *tsamma* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sakos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots
• 184 agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter
[783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually
757 protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels
847 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in
[828] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and feet of iron; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is
846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 519, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 62–3; cf. Commans, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vii, 304–6; Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Oosten Tijd," 1–2 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /aa*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /aa*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are confined to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *umbrumachon* in which

[1] Ibid., 190. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., I, 172.

4: Hoernlé E-S (1912-1913)1925
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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

/Ouras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the silt.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Hakobon*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khu /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [731]

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Further, as regards the manners, food, clothing, weapons, languages, government and religion of these tribes in general, they are as follows. But it should be noted that everything we are going to describe must be taken as referring especially to the Hottentots close to the Cape, i.e. the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas or Saldanhars, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hossaas; since, owing to the remoteness of the other, more inland, Hottentots, like the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudys and Hankumquas, we have so far received little report of them other than what has already been related in connexion with each. Nevertheless, as far as our countrymen could judge from hearsay and investigation, they agree in almost every respect with the Hottentots living nearest to the Cape.

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Dress of the Kaffirs or Hottentots.

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In build and shape of the body the Hottentots, such as the Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas and Gorachouquas (Watermen, Capemen and Tobacco Thieves) living at and near the Cape, are on the average people of medium stature, but slender, with ill-formed bodies and insignificant appearance, and yellowish in colour, like mulattos or yellowish Javanese. But those round Visesch Bay[*]) are somewhat smaller than people here at home, and brownish-red in colour, although to a varying extent.

The hair on the head is, among all those at the Cape, short and curly, like the wool of lambs, but thicker in the women than in the men, especially among the Kobona women. The forehead is reasonably broad, but wrinkled; the eyes beautifully black, and as clear and pure as those of the hawk. But men, women and children all have flattened noses, more marked in some than in others; and in addition their lips are almost always thick, especially the upper, which is turned up and out. The mouth is well shaped and of normal size and proportions, with teeth beautifully clean and white, like ivory, and hard, so that the bite is firm.

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*) Visesch Bay (Fleish Bay), close to the mouth of the Groutte River, near Mossel Bay, was so named by the Dutch in 1601 because here they bought a large quantity of cattle and sheep from the natives in exchange for iron (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I. 7).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Clothing of the Men.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or sealskin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Heunoquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape; their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down.

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned.

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-strips, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The genitals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild lamb cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

Clothing of the Women.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation :

Ao was born at Saron (*/Aboub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See " History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ao* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tsâub* and *Khoi*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gamaub te !nuse o, ina !kobab !nuse-ina /khaib dibse, ina hoibese !nuse, ina /kurub !aubse, ina /khe: //o-b tjiwanni na namis, ina //se ba //gaisis, ina !nai /kurubo //ida ka²amme, ina /ha ba tiurse.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Tsâub* and *Ao*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tsâub* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tsâub* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 396

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

[See II: Ruby, cat. 766 and plate 4. -Hunt/ref]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversations with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that older person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (*op. cit.* p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Haarhoff (the Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (*op. cit.* pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (*op. cit.* p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kara, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakkwadi se /a-hoa /khaoa tsi kuib chikka khoa /hoa. //hoa ka ka hje ne /kè, doa /uri //hoa kaihoa ka, saub kaihai //ukkhoa ne /ure //ne e. /khaoadi kaihaoakhoa ne tukukkhoadi khoa, gaida khoakhoa chje chke. //gure /ukkhoa chke hje di toma, se /hoa kukje di hoa.

Translation :

The women dig for "ciesjes" with the hoard-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mahlakah, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mahlakah, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's trick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mahlakah is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument. [15]

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *hara-be'*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Gourd*," p. 177). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Dutch, the Mixed musicians, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama-, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they fend off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resemble that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 ● 224 [177]

either "na-/nuse," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then he answers: "ǂnuĕ-ǂnuĕna," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "ǂaoǂbe hâbe?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hâ-hâbe ǂ(o)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e, a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature such as a Bushman bastard or a despised Berglemaara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "ǂnuĕ-ǂnuĕna" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation ǂnuĕ-ǂnuĕna was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem darker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobeasin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Berglemaara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1650 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [47]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [48]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root dacha, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [49]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brass-coloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 198).

[48]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (Some Yeares Travel into Asia and Africaes, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne Oeuvre, p. 118).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aisa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witbois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

some cases, a slightly different intonation. These incoming groups were remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great many of the men also spoke Dutch and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are called collectively Oriams by the indigenous people, a name the origin of which is doubtful. They penetrated into the territory of their kinsmen, at first peacefully by paying a small tribute for the use of the water of certain fountains, but later there was a great deal of fighting between the different sections, and the Oriams in the second half of the 19th century certainly had the upper hand in every way owing chiefly to their prior possession of firearms. The chief of these incoming groups are the Africaners (*//Aixa //oin*), the Witbooi (*/Hoberew*), the Bethany Hottentots (*!Aman*), the Berseba Hottentots (*/Hei /Khauan*), the Amraal Hottentots (*Gei /Khauan*). It will be seen that the Dutch names for these groups are taken partly from the names of their chief settlements, e.g., Bethany, Berseba, partly from their chief leaders, Africaner, Amraal, Witbooi. The Hottentot names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g., */Khauan* from the personal name, */Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older branch or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*). On the other hand, the Witboois have a Hottentot nickname, */Hoberew*, from */hobe* or */heue*, lazy, which they do not like at all. For most of the names of these groups, or "tribes," as I shall call them later, it is not now possible to find any clear meaning, nor are the names thought of as having any meaning by the people themselves; they are proper names and no more.

The indigenous people were in historical times divided into seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. One form of this legend was told to me by Abraham Kafir, a headman of the Bondelswarts, in 1913. There

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

Namaquas.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even among themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Namas has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[41]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 26, 1661, and returned on March 16. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 48-63.

[42]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

B: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, kakoo means "sit down"; hra, an ox; ha, a sheep; and kurt, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Gorinhaiquas and Gorinhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

Trade.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Janss. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[*]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two oxen for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

The principal wealth of the Kaffirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[**]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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*) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck* van *Willem Lodewyckss*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

**) Sic. Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 22).

8: Fourie D-S (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Ovahimpolovold. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- 101
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among 131
them are included the *!Kulwe* or *‡Ao-//ke* in the south
between Sandfontein and *!Gam*, the *Sro-‡gnami* to the north-
east and the *‡Kung* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the 101
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the 131
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grout- 177
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [176]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now
extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the
greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland.
Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [177]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their
own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in
the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original
organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups
living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely
influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland
they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga*; in north-
western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen
but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Waleddi* or
Ovaleddi. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovaleddi*, especially the [182]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the Ovambo through
intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [178]
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovaleddi*, on the other [179]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have
a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the
banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo
Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in
contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north
with the Ovambo and to the east with *!Kung* of the Ovahim-
polovold or southern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remain-
ing portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts
of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and
are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip
Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture.
In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also
as the *Nama* or *Kalaxa* Bushmen on account of the extent to
which they have intermixed with these races and the neighbour-
ing tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the 101
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have 131.
survived. The *!Grinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and
Conception Bay, the *//Ghanen* of the Huns Mountains, and
the *!Kone-on* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have dis-
appeared completely. The *!Huinin* are represented by a few
groups at the southern extremity of the *!Huib* plateau
and adjacent part of the Namib. The *!Ganin* of the Nauw-
kloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[97] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early
thirties and had been working for some time for European
farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[345] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage
was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of
the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather
unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own coun-
try, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from
his own people, I asked him where he had come from and
how he had learned Afrikaans.

[53] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have
[197] been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the
same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
288 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Tema, pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Tema remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said.

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

B
/260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

B
H
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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tscha	tscha	Khoib
Man	tscha n|á (|a = männlich)*	tscha n|a	áob
Woman	tsee	tschaa	taráa
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsesma	daba tschaama	|oas
Brother	tang	tang	|gaoab
My brother	mí tang	me tang	—
Sister	tsaa tang	tsaa tang	|gaa
Father	ombá	ombá	daddáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|á (n|a = alt)**	omba n|a	aóda
Grandmother	tschaa |á	tschee |á	aómama
Master	gaacha	gaacha	gíob
Captain of a settlement	tscha gaacha	tscha gaacha	—
Servant	ǂái	tscha nǂoa	|ái
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damára
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

If there is doubt about the type of initial tone level in a word, then a comparison of the questionable word with others made up of the same sounds is decisive. Thus you might doubt whether the word for "green" should be written !am or !a/m, because the voice is so close to the border between the middle and high tone. A comparison with the word !am "to join to each other" which is pronounced obviously deeper down decides for the high tone (combined here with a falling tone extension). But that in this word the voice actually has a middle and not a low tone setting we learn from the designation for "glass bead," the word !a/m, because the voice reaches its lowest level in pronouncing this word.

[346] The musical modifications of the !ama sounds stand out most clearly in their variations and in their value for the understanding of the language, when they separate distinctly two words that would otherwise sound alike.* To illustrate this meaning of the three different initial tonal

* The signs used here and in the following text are missing still in some few words which were mentioned in the previous text. The method of writing them that is used in the following list is the correct one.

levels, the following examples are presented: 194 192

1. /aha· • red
   /a/ha·ɔ : the north
   °/a/ha·b : the taste of blood in the mouth
2. !aǂ : to test
   !aǂ : to jump
3. !aǂm : green (as a verb: to shine around)
   !aǂm : to join to each other
   !a/ma : the glass bead
4. /aǂ : to whore
   /aǂ : to listen
   (aǂ : to sprinkle)
5. /gaǂm : to be warm
   /gaǂm : two
6. //gaǂ : to hang bead necklaces around the neck
   //gaǂ : to be thin
   (//gaǂ : to go off to war)

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7. //ga/ru-s : the skin sack
//garu-b : the hole that collects water in the rocks
8. /gare-b : the obstruction
"/ga/ra-b : the berry-like fruit of the Rhus lancea L.f. (Anacardiaceae)
9. "!ga/ha-b : name of a species of Rhinopum (Bignoniaceae).
!ga'ha-b : the water bag
10. !gau' : to fasten a skin with pegs that is stretched on the ground to dry
!gaũ : to cross something on one's way
!gau/ : to make something even by lopping: to bump ankles when walking
11. #gi/ : to prepare sugar beer, to implant
[367] #gi' : to be bald
12. gau/ : to hide oneself
gau' : to become fat
13. /go/m : with bushy hair
/go'm : to suck blood
14. /gau/ : to give another nursing mother to a baby
/gau// : to feel about in the dark
15. //goa· : to beseech
//go/a· : to threaten
(//go-a : to become light)
16. #go/a-b : mud, the dregs of the sugar beer
#go'a-b : the bed skin
17. #go/ma-b : the dregs of a liquid
"#go'ma-b : the striped mouse (see p. 287, no. 36)
18. #gau/ : to push away with the fist
#gau' : to bump into
19. //gu/b : the father
//gu'b : the springbok
//gu!b : the tooth
20. //ha/i· : to flee
//hai· : to scrape hair from a skin
21. !hai'b : the bone pipe
!haib : to cut up a fruit

22. !haũ/b • the strap
*!haũ/b • the iron on the flint tinder box
23. /ha³m • to be far
/ha/m • to knock off the burnt part from something baked in the ashes
24. /hau-/mi • to prevaricate
/hau-³mi • to hold oneself in readiness
25. /hui- • to uncover, lay bare
*/hui- • to blow out air, him (of the horned viper)
26. //hui- • the rising up of the snake
/hui- • to do something for the first time
27. //hxa³o • to seize
*//hxa/o • to hold back a bowel movement
28. !hxã/ • to squint
!hxã/ • to milk sheep or goats into the mouth secretly

[348] 29. !hxari • to follow tracks
!hxa/ri-b • honey beer
30. ǂhxa³m • young
ǂhxa/m • to produce a dead calf
ǂhxa/m • to lay back the ears
31. ǂhxari ǂhxa/ri: • little • to shine out
32. ǂhxai • to awaken
ǂhxai/ • to blink
33. /hxo-³mas • the beseeching
/hxo-mab • hilly or mountain land, the Komas Highlands in the southern Herero territory
34. //hxõ/ • to bury
//hxõ/ • to be coarse
35. na/ru- • to make an arc, to go around
naru-s • the clod
36. !na/n • to tie around
*!na/n • to have the bladder too full
37. !nai/s • the seeking
!nai³s • the kidneys

38.	/no/bo	o	to grow hair
	/nobo·	o	to scrape
39.	!noa·	a	to become gray
	!no/o·	o	to run away (shy animals), to awaken
40.	!no·/as	o	slovenliness
	!no·ʔas	a	the heel
	!noʔo·s	o	stumbling
41.	ǂnoa·	a	to quarrel
	ǂno/o·	o	to throw
42.	o·a	a	to seek
	o·/a	o	to increase
	o·	o	to calf, to lamb, to have young
43.	o·re	ɛ	to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
	o·ʔre	o	of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
	(ore·	a	to make free)
[349] 44.	!o/m	o	to push
	!oʔm	a	to be without horns (of cattle)
	!o/m	o	to become hard, to pull out a thorn
45.	sao/s	o	thy mother
	sao	o	the pursuit
46.	ǂiʔ	i	to sneeze
	ǂi/	ɛ	to send
47.	uru·	u	to stalk game
	ʰu/ru·	ɛ	to jump on an unsaddled horse
48.	tsabi·	a	the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
	tsa/bi·s	ɛ	the black ebony tree

b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or diphthong of a one syllable word, when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

a.) The even extension is characterized by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

The rising extension (sign: ˀ after the sound) is characterized by a rising.

The falling extension (sign: ˌ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples:

1. ǂ : to weep
   ǂǂ : to drink
   ǂˀ : yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /ǂ : to wring out
   /ǂǂ : to be sharp
3. /ǂ : to be wet
   /ǂǂ : to pilfer
4. ǂ/ms : the mouth
   ǂˀms : the roast
   ǂ/m : to the right
5. //gaˀn : to bake a cake in the pan
   //gaˌn : to pull in one's head
   (//gaǂn : verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. ˀ!gaǂm : to have goonbes
   ˀ!gaˌm : deep
   (!gaǂm : to bow)
   (!gaˀm : to kill)
7. /gˀ : to collect cattle of the same color
   ˀ/gˀǂ : not wanting to give away his last bit
   (gˀˌ : to have twins)
8. ǂgˀǂ : to be sharp
   ǂgˀˌ : to set up a scarecrow for animals
   (ǂgˀˌ : to turn aside)
9. //gˀǂ : the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
   //gˀˌ : compulsion
10. !gˀǂ : the long reed mat
    !gˀˌ : following a track

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	!ɑ̃ʔ	• wearing an apron behind
	!ɑ̃ʔ	• to let someone ride on your shoulders
11.	//ha/m	• chewing different foods at the same time
	//haʔm	• pouring in
12.	ɸhɑ/b	• the surface
	ɸhɑʔb	• pushing in front of one or shoving
13.	ɸhɑ/b	• the seed
	ɸhɑʔb	• a black stone (such as is found near Aar in the neighborhood of Kubub, for example.)
14.	//hɑ/b	• pouring out
	//hɑʔb	• the knapsack
15.	!hɑ/	• to fall on one's elbows (said of the small child that is creeping on hands and knees.)
	!hɑʔ	• to mock
16.	!ho-/mi	• the mountain
	!ho-ʔmi	• the seal (see page 41)
17.	!ho/m	• to be lame, also: to untie oxen from the yoke of the trek rope (to span them in front of another wagon.)
	!hoʔm	• to swallow something hot
(351) 18.	kmi/	• to blow something up
	kmiʔ	• to blow oneself up, to be inflated
19.	//mɑ/	• to leave
	//mɑʔ	• to fall
	(///mi	• there)
20.	ʔ!nɑ/b	• the white blaze across the middle of the forehead and nose
	!nɑ̃ʔb	• the lower body
	(!nɑ̃/b	• a large kind of land turtle
21.	ʔ/na/m	• flat and thin
	/naʔm	• to whistle
22.	!nɔ̃/b	• the stone under the cooking pot
	!nɔ̃b	• peace [quiet]

23. /ō • to make a noise
/ōā • to stop giving milk
24. ūʔb • the resting
ūāʔb • the buchu powder
25. ūʔm • to pull the bark off a tree
ūāʔm • to take out honey
(ūāʔm • to intimidate a bird with a threw so that it ducks to the ground)
26. !ūʔb • claw, hoof
!ūāʔb • forehead
(!ūāāʔb • plasm)
27. ūāʔb • grease for joints
ūāāʔb • licking
28. !ūiʔb • distance
!ūiāʔb • dust cloud
(!ūiāʔb • bush hut, bush shelter)

c) The word-tone. By this I mean the difference in the level of the voice between the first and last syllable of a word. We will not consider three syllable words at all, as no more than two syllables ever have this characteristic difference in level, the third syllable being about the same as one or the other accented syllables. Two kinds of word-tone are to be differentiated.

1. The rising word-tone is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher at the end syllable than at the first syllable.

[352] 2. Oppositely falling word-tone is characterized by the lower level of the voice at the final syllable.

In the rising and falling word-tone you must sometimes differentiate a long and a short interval which are independent of individual variations. The long one amounts to a short third to fourth, the short one only a half tone. Among the following examples are those which show that even this amount of word-tone can make a decisive difference in the meaning.

A special sign for the differences of the word-tone has not been introduced as I did not wish to pack the letters further with diacritical marks. This is readily justified where these differences of the word-tone go hand in hand with those in the position of the accent which has its own sign. But where, as in the following examples, it is a question of the same question of the same position of the accent and the same type of word-tone, the following abbreviations are added in parentheses to make clear a difference which is purely one of interval:

1/2, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone.
3, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples:

1.	/gu/ri·b	(3, st.)	: name of a riverbank grass.
	/gu/ri·s	(1/2, st.)	: a boil.
2.	/gu/a·b	(3, st.)	: name of a succulent edible plant.
	°/gu/a·b	(1/2, st.)	: the call of the sitting /hunce owl.
3.	!gu/ro·	(3, st.)	: to stay behind.
	!gu/ro·	(1/2, st.)	: to roar.
4.	!gu/ru·b	(3, st.)	: poison.
	!gu/ru·b	(1/2, st.)	: thunder.
5.	/ha/ma·	(3, st.)	: to be slow.
	/ha/ma·	(1/2, st.)	: to smell of urine.
6.	!ha/ra·	(3, st.)	: to look on.
	!ha/ra·	(1/2, st.)	: to snort, to spit hard.
7.	/ha/ra·b	(3, st.)	: the wart.
	/ha/ra·b	(1/2, st.)	: the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8.	/haru·s	(3, st.)	: name of Cyperus species.
[203]	°/haru·s	(1/2, st.)	: Mesembrianthemum species.
9.	/ha/u·b	(3, st.)	: goat beard.
	/ha/u·b	(1/2, st.)	: visible breath.
10.	/ho/bo·	(3, st.)	: to paint the face.
	°/ho/bo·	(1/2, st.)	: to arrange a new-born one.
11.	na/ri·	(3, st.)	: to be thickened.
	na/ri·	(1/2, st.)	: this morning.
12.	!na/ba·b	(3, st.)	: the mead.
	!na/ba·b	(1/2, st.)	: rhinoceros.
13.	!no/ra·b	(3, st.)	: tobacco roll.
	!no/ra·s	(1/2, st.)	: the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

d) The accent (sign: · after the sound) should be placed with the sound modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Kroenlein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language.

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out.

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable. How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

ε) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by ↓, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with ↑.

1. ≠ā↓ = to burst open
   ≠ā↓ = to slaughter
2. /a↓n = to groan
   /a↓n = to smoke (of the fire)
3. //a↑↑m = to clean oneself with cow dung
[354] //a↓m = placing stones in the hole game (see page 314); clapping hands
   //a↓m = to eliminate
   °//a↓m = to cover in order to hide
4. //a↓n = to dwell
   //a↓n = to ripen
   //a↑n = to hold firmly together
5. ≠a↓n = to know
   ≠a↑n = to give a blow
6. dā↑ = to jubilate, make merry
   dā↓ = to be someone's enemy
7. gā↓ = to be lost
   gā↑ = to be clever, to outwit someone
8. !gā↓ = to burst
   !gāb = the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

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	!gā↓b	=	poison
	!gā↓b	=	the servant
	*!gā↓b	=	name of an Euphorbia that is probably identical with the one on page 260
9.	!ga·↓ni	=	chin
	!ga·ni	=	way [road]
	(!ga↑ni·	=	to press)
10.	≠gā↓	=	to go in
	*≠gā↓	=	to be steep
11.	χo↑m	=	to wipe the dust off
	*χo↓m	=	to draw a noose tight
12.	≠ga↓m	=	to mend something broken
	≠ga↓↑m	=	to jump about
13.	≠ga↓n	=	to cover
	≠ga↑n	=	to ask
14.	/gaĩ↓	=	to be greedy
	/gaĩ↑	=	to spread out skins for a bed
15.	//gē↓	=	to strangle
	//gē↓↑	=	to eliminate, secrete
16.	gō↓	=	to refuse
	gō↓	=	to see
17.	!go↓m	=	to be pregnant
[355]	!go↓↑m	=	the humming of the ostrich
18.	≠go↓↑m	=	to dip in
	≠go↑m	=	to believe
19.	/gū↓	=	near
	/gū↓↑	=	dirty
20.	!ga↓m	=	to bend
	!ga↑m	=	to kill
	*!ga↓↑m	=	deep
21.	!gau↓	=	to be left over
	!gau↓	=	to throw towards
22.	!hā↓b	=	to winnow out
	!hā↓↑b	=	lynx (see page 281)
	!hā↓↑b	=	canine tooth of the horse

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23. ≠haũ/ = to smear oneself with something sweet
*≠haũ/ = to crush the tsama fruit (see p. 200)

24. /hũ/b = the scorpion
/hũ/b = anxiety, choking

25. /hũ/b = the white man
/hũ/b = the smell of the billy goat

26. //hũ/ = to bore through
//hũ/ = to bark

27. !hũ/ = to flee
!hũ/b = the country

28. !hũ/ = to tie, combine
!hũ/ = to pound cooked meat, to push up and away with the fist
*!hũ/ = to suck marrow from bones (cf. p. 31)

29. /kχa/m = to urinate
/kχa/m = to trickle through
*/kχa/ms = the edible soft parts of sea snails (see p. 31)

30. kχo/m = to pound fine
kχo/m = to speak

31. //kχo/m = to scratch out the remnants baked firmly to the pot
//kχo/m = to bind up a body

32. /kχũ/ = to tremble
/kχũ/ = to pull out

33. ≠nã/ = to pour
[356] ≠nã/ = to be dry

34. ≠na/n = to strike fire
≠na/n = to turn around

35. !no/m = humpbacked
!no/m = to smoke out bees (see p. 205)

36. ≠nau/ = to strike
≠nau/ = to help

142 37. /oǂm = to breathe
197 /oǂm = to wipe off
38. sãǂ = to warm oneself
sãǂ = to pick one's nose
39. sǂ = to come there
sǂǂ = ? [pforzen]

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /abi· (1/2, st.) = to rain (cf. p. 237 note)
/aǂbi· (3, st.) = to scratch the skin for purposes of healing
2. χoŕe· (1/2, st.) = to release
χoǂre· (3, st.) = to joke
3. /gaǂi·b (3, st.) = name of a lizard, the Mabuia acutilabris Ptrs.
/gaʔi·b (1/2, st.) = dancing
4. guǂni· (3, st.) = to stalk game
guʔni· (1/2, st.) = to scratch one's closed eye or ear
5. //guru·s (1/2, st.) = quartz stone
ʔ//guǂru·b (3, st.) = mountain ridge
6. !haǂmi· (3, st.) = to hunt
!haʔmi· (1/2, st.) = to be insulted
7. !huri·b (3, st.) = fear
!huʔri·b (1/2, st.) = the backbone
8. //naru· (1/2, st.) = to roast, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//naǂru· (3, st.) = to impale in rows
9. !naʔru·s (1/2, st.) = the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
ʔ!naǂru·s (3, st.) = name of a ray (fish)
10. u·ʔi (1/2, f.) = to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) = louse

[357] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.
[104] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·bu = to fold up
abu·s = the empty ostrich egg

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2. /a·ob = blood
/ao·b = snake

3. //a·ru = to return home
//aru· = dotted black and white

4. ǂaba· = to burst
ǂa·ba = to cut open

5. ǂabi· = to sweep dirt
ǂa·bi = to be bored

6. ǂa·bo = to plaster
ǂabo· = to seize someone by surprise

7. go·a = to be half dry
goa· = to praise

8. !goa· = to crack a whip
*!go·a = to lie deep

9. gu·ri = to gnaw bones
guri·b = the year

10. *//gaba· = to see sharply and far off
*//ga·ba = to step on something by mistake

11. //ha·ob = the wind break of the fire place
//hao·b = the rising of a thunderstorm

12. !hari· = to undo stitches
!ha·ri = to live in the neighborhood

13. /kχa·reb = the short-step gait of a horse (the Boers' way of riding)
/kχare·b = the calf of the oryx antelope (the accent on p. 275 misprinted)

14. /kχa·rus = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
*/kχaru·s = name of a kind of Euphorbia, E. cervicornis Boiss (see Plate VI)

15. /kχa·bu = to spit water out of one's mouth
/kχabu·s = sandal

16. //kχa·eb = driving back
//kχaɛ̃·b = sand of the river bed

[358] 17. //kχara· = to punish
//kχa ra = to be big
● 192 194
18. !kχa·erab (3, f.) = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
!kχaĕra· (e, st.) = careless
19. !kχa·ru = to snore
!kχaru· = to shoot through
20. //kχoro·b (3, st.) = the shovel for ashes
*//kχo·rob (1/2, f.) * the honey sack made of iguana skin (see p. 205)
21. /kχuru·b = aridity, acidity
/kχu·rub = grass seed
22. *≠kχuru·b = the hot earth around the fire place
≠kχu·rub = vein
23. !na/mi· (3, st.) = to carry a child on one's arm
!na·/mi (1/2, f.) = the side; as a verb: to run pigeon-toed
24. ≠na/o·b (3, st.) = honeycomb
*≠na·/ob (1/2, f.) = a road that is smooth or slightly hilly that runs along a mountain slope
25. !oro· = to stand on tiptoe
!o·ro = to bellow
26. saru· = to catch a sheep or goat by the leg
sa·ru (3, f.) = to pursue
27. so·res = the sun
sore.s = the female sore partner (see p. 318/319)
28. tara·s = the woman
*tā·ras (3, f.) = the brother's duty (especially emphasized by the Hottentots) to love his sister and her children (see p. 303)
29. to·rob = war
toro·b = a fine-grained, red, hard, kind of soil

δ) Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

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1. /a·rab (3, f.) = the annoyance
   /ara·b = rib
   /a·ˀrab = the crack
2. //a·ri = yesterday, tomorrow
[359] //aˀri· = to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oˀˀn)
3. !a·ba = to climb up
   !aˀba· (3, st.) = to scratch
4. χoa· = to scrape
   χoˀa = to write
5. χuru·b = powdered coals
   χuˀru· (3, st.) = to pull out
6. χu·bu = to pulverize tobacco
   χuˀbu· (3, st.) = to drink from [sip]
7. gara· = to be cool
   gaˀra = to have German measles
8. gaˀro· (3, st.) = bend, bow
   ga·ro = to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9. /ga·bi = to sprinkle
   /gaˀbi·s (3, st.) = the cup
   (/gabi· = to be high)
10. //gaˀe = to imitate
    //gaë· = to chew
11. //ga·mi = water
    //gaˀmi· (3, st.) = to bend the head
12. //ga·nas = the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
    //gaˀna·s = name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

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824]

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	//ga·ˈna		=	to water the cattle singly or in herds
13.	//gara·s		=	the Aloe dichotoma L. (see p. 112)
	//gaˌra·s	(3, st.)	=	shoulder blade
	//ga·ra		=	to scratch lines
14.	!ga· os		=	cutting
	!gaˌo·s	(3, st.)	=	the tree trunk
15.	!gaˌra·b		=	thinness
	!ga·rab		=	the male genitals
16.	!ga·ro		=	to be barren
	•!gaˌro·		=	the hurrying of the thirsty cattle to water or of the mother animal to its young
17.	/ga·mi		=	to have two wives (cf. p. 307)
[360]	/gaˈmi·		=	to close one eye
18.	/go·e		=	to curse
	/goˌe·		=	to splint a broken arm
19.	/goˌre·b		=	the request
	/go·reb		=	a cut in the skin for bleeding
20.	guˈnu		=	to make a place for oneself by shoving
	guˌnu	(3, st.)	=	to spoil, rot
21.	/gu·i		=	one
	/guˌi·	(3, st.)	=	to become tired of somebody
22.	//ga·ma	(3, f.)	=	to fetch water
	•//gaˌma·		=	to lie close to the fire
23.	goˌra·b	(3, st.)	=	name of a kind of crow, the Corvus scapulatus Daud.
	•go·ra		=	to peel skins from field onions
24.	!guˌi·	(3, st.)	=	to creep around something
	!gu·i		=	pulsating of a wound
25.	!gu·ri		=	to rub someone with fat
	!guˈri·		=	to be arrogant
26.	!guˌbu·	(3, st.)	=	to knock
	!gu·bu		=	to be round

● 192 27. ǂgu·i = to be much
194 ǂgu/i·s (3, st.) = the nose
28. ha/ra· = to be far
ha ra = to swallow
29. /ha/mi· (3, st.) = to dress warmly
/ha·mi = to make oneself ready
30. //ha·ru = to weep from joyous emotion
//ha/ru· (3, st.) = to creep into
31. !ha·e = to be quick
!ha/e· = to hunt on horseback (see p. 290)
32. !ho·a = to tell a story
!ho/a· = to be crooked
33. !ho/ba·b = turning around
!ho·bab = intestinal worm
34. /hu/ru· (3, st.) = cooking thin meat until dry
/hu·ru = to play
35. !hu/i·b (3, st,) = the bustard (see p. 272)
!hu·ib = the fresh smell of the damp wood of the giraffe acacia
36. !hu·nu = to become wet
[361] !hu/nu· = to suck marrow out of bones (cf. p. 355, no. 28.)
37. ǂkχa·rab (3, f.) = the whale (see p. 37)
ǂkχa/ra·b = testicles
38. !kχo·ab = cartridge belt
*!kχo/a·b = ice
39. ǂkχo·a = to soothe
ǂkχo/a·b = the elephant
40. ǂkχu·bi = to make noise
ǂkχu/bi· = to babble (of small children)
41. na·ʔmi = the tongue
na ʔmi· = to flicker
na/mi· = to bend around a corner
na/mi·b = the surface, the Namib desert
42. na·ba = to flash [lightning]
na/ba· (3, st.) = to disappear behind something, to go down

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43. /na‿e· = to put straight
/na·eb = the navel

44. //na·e = to indicate
//na‿e· = to sing

45. //nã‿i· (3, st.) = to girdle oneself with straps (Herero)
//nã·‿i = to be stiff
//nã i = all right

46. !na‿e· = to trot
!naē· = to become warm
!nã ʔe = to be born

47. !na·rab = the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw. (see pp. 146, 197.)
*!na‿ra·b (3, st.) = designation of the Namib bushmen for "white man"

48. /no·ro = to tan a skin
/no‿ro· (3, st.) = to be pale

49. /o‿ro· = to be few
/o·ro = used up, to be old

50. //o·ʔa = not to be able to
//o‿a· (3, st.) = squishing of water in wet shoes
(//o·a = to kiss)

51. !o·a = to meet
!o‿a = to be sad

[362] 52. sa·mi (3, f.) = breasts, udder
saʔmi· = to use the whip
sa·‿mi = to get in the "wrong throat" when swallowing

53. sao· = to mark cattle
sa·o = to follow

54. so·as = barrel
so‿a·s = fissure, scratch

55. to·a = to cease
to‿a· (3, st.) = to tear apart

56. /u‿i·b = brother-in-law
/u·ib = stone

57. !uʔi· = to cut fat from meat

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194 58. !u·ǂbu·b = egg
*!u·bu (3, f.) = to turn someone away
59. !ũ·i = to guard
*!ũǂi· (3, st.) = to be seamless or jointless
60. tsaǂo· (3, st.) = the raging pawing of the bull or the wildebeest
tsa·ob = ash
61. tsaǂma·b = the tsama gourd (see p. 200)
tsa·mab = the food supply of the ants, "ant food"
62. tso·as = looking for lice
tsoǂa·s (3, st.) = anus

)Difference in word-tone, accent, initial tone level and tone extension.
//ga·ǂni (1/2, f.) = meat
//gani· (1/2, st.) = checked brown and white

194 f) Suspension of sound characteristics is to be observed at times, when the individual word becomes a part of a compound. However, I have not made any systematic notations in this direction, but only noted a few observations.

The accent in a compound is usually shifted from its original position in the individual word. The general designation for cat is /hõǂa·b. In the compounded designation for "field-cat," !ga·ro/hõ·ǂab, the accent is clearly shifted to the penultimate syllable. The same is true for !ore b, the basin, and */nu·bi!o·reb, the winnowing basin (p. 201). [363] Usually a change in the word-tone (see the accent, p. 353) is combined with this.

Also the characteristic tone extension of the individual word can disappear in a compound: //hõǂs, the sack, /na·ma//hõǂs, the economy sack (p. 238). Noticeable in a compound is the appearance of a rising tone extension that is lacking in the individual words: /naǂm, to love, but /naǂm/naǂm, to bring to love.

How much the sound characteristics of the individual word change under the musical influence of the sentence structure and under the influence of the emotions, I have not investigated. The initial tone level seems to be to be by far the stablest sound characteristic of a word.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The word *kutsire*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59–60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.

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Nowadays each ox and cow
231 552 [192] is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

231 425 438 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 425 463 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

234 462 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264–7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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765 783 [304] If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

775 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hei /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hei khoin*, "fawn-coloured people," or *sobo khoin*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gaunab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 29.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 517, 519.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hahn: *//naũa //gauna ta ni*, I will hear it, if I am a *//gauna*." "This means," says Hahn, "if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand."[1] There is no doubt, moreover, that the mythical being *//Gaunab* also is intimately linked up with the ghosts of the dead. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, in fact, insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. "The names are two," he said, "but the thing is one."[2] This close connection between *//Gaunab* and the ghosts of the dead is a point to which we shall have to recur.

The question now arises whether all dead people become ghosts of the same sort, or whether some distinction is made in their fate according to their circumstances in life—sex, age, social status, manner of death, etc. On this point there is very little concrete information. Schultze states that people who die tranquilly also live mildly in the dreams of the survivors, whereas a man dying in great agony or raving madly appears to the living at night as a terrible phantom.[3] This implies a distinction similar to that found among some of the North-Western Bushmen between "good deaths" and "bad deaths", and suggests that only the ghosts of the latter are to be dreaded. There is, however, no other mention of this particular distinction, and, as we shall see, it appears that all ghosts are dreaded as a rule. Hahn, again, states that some people are said to die from the influence of *//Gaunab*, and these are called *//Gauna //õra khoin*, "people who died the *//Gauna* death." "Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by vultures and hyenas, they are also considered *//gauna //õra*."[4] He does not say, however, if the ghosts of such people are regarded as in any way different from those of people who die ordinary deaths and are buried, nor is there anything to indicate that they are more dreaded.

The ghosts are thought to hover over the graves or to come from them; in general, that is, they linger round the locality where the death has taken place. This point was made long ago by Kolb in discussing the Cape Hottentot beliefs concerning the dead. The people fear, he says, that the dead may return and molest them. For this reason, when anybody has died, they all remove from the locality, believing that the dead person only haunts the place where he has died. Only if anything is taken from the hut of the dead person will his ghost follow them and trouble them.[5] The Naman, as we have

[1] Op. cit., 85. [2] Op. cit., 321. [3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 317.
[4] Op. cit., 85–6. [5] Op. cit., 62–3; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 338.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Âb, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Âi //Gáms, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xorás, or Xorábes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgās, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garúb, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ăp, or vlei, and the !khowís, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garúb, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain-ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the géi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa!nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

* "Geographische Bezeichnungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—65.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck. Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kxoikxoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *bo*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[a]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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[a]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckxz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 22).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

forte lucrosus. Omnes quos mihi saltem videre contigit, gracili ac elaborato corpore, congruenter concisis artuum lacertis, simo (qualis *Africanorum* ac *Asiaticorum* plerisque conatus est) naso, depressa fronte, chilones, crispo, languinoso, & in varias deraso formes capillo, nudi incedunt, tectis tantum levi corio praecordiis. Feminas a maribus deformitate distinguas; Illae hoc sibi a caeteris gentibus peculiare habent, quod pleraeque earum dactyliformes, semper geminas, e pudendis propendentes appendiculas, productas scilicet *Nymphas* (ut raro in nostratibus exemplo prolongata conspicitur *clitoris*) gestent, quas tuguriola (illi suo idiomate *krallen* vocant, mulieribus fortuito referta) intrantibus magna cum gesticulatione, coriaceum elevando supparum, videndas praebent. Sic strangulatam nuper prosecavit amicus *chirurgus viraginem Hottentotticam*, in qua digitalia haec *Nympharum* tubercula, e verendis procidua, duas in una mammilla papillas, variosque in γ) pancreate calculos observârat. Imo vero, adjiciebat probatissimae fidei *Gubernator*: *Et ego calculum ex medietate virilis testiculi exsectum, propter adamantinam pelluciditatem annulo insertum possedi; ast eum superstitioso & ingentem de eo amuleti vim ventilanti, Nigritarum Regi donavi.* Id vero cum *Nigritica*, *Aethiopica* &c. gente commune habent; quod ubi hi oleo, illi pecorum adipe corpora, sed praesertim verticem, illinant, cineribus ex concrematis herbis (quos *Bouchôu* vernacule appellant) in eundem conspersis: quod officium uxores maritis praestant. Aurium lobos transversim lateque secant, aperturam bacillo, vel *tabacifuma* fistula, vel quod illis solennius, *corallinis* inauribus pandunt.

γ) Sic tandem omnem dubitationis aleam evaderet dictamen hoc; posse etiam in omnibus corporis partibus calculos produci. (This statement need not labour under any suspicion of doubt: stones may be produced in any part of the body.)

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16) On this well-known characteristic of Hottentot women, see above, p. 62. ✗

17) The word *kraal* is not of Hottentot origin, but was taken over by the Dutch from the Portuguese *curral* and applied to the *settlements* of the Hottentots, not to their *huts*.

[i.e., see 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 62. – Boxhorn]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly. 142 [291]

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom [17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled [18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet." 147 [192] [576] [142 164]

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands. 302

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings. 301 304

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[18]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselvs. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[58]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 264, 262).

Thus all birds whatsoever are called *courcour*,[59]) with the addition of particular names, e.g. *camma courcour*, an aquatic bird, be it duck, or diver, or albatross, etc.; *sickom courcour*, a young bird, *sickom* being, as often with them, a corruption of a Dutch word; *grotom* (a similar corruption) *courcour*, a big bird, by which, however, they generally mean the ostrich. They also mingle a few English terms in their language from their former dealings with that people, e.g. the word *doggues* for dog.

Pure Hottentot words in general use are:—[60])

Onkey, Dutchman.	*chou*, air.
gamma, lion.	*Ecy*, fire.
acqua, horse.	*kou*, thunder.
ouka, wolf.	*doudou*, road.
nabba, rhinoceros.	*ey*, glass bead.
goedi, sheep.	*ninimos*, bronze bead.
boeba, ox or cow.	*equa*, wood.
debitja, steers.	*kiny*, war club.
strigoos, tortoises.	*sou*, pot.
dacha, soporific herb.	*bouchou*, plant ashes.
dini, honey.	

Corrupt Dutch words are numberless:

Boe maakem goet, gunpowder; *boebasibier*, milk; *karos*, a wrap; *krallen*, huts; and others too numerous to mention.

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[59]) Both Wreede (ca. 1663) and Kolb (1719), in their vocabularies of the Cape Hottentot language, give a variety of different names in use for different species of birds (these vocabularies are reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 215ff.), so that Ten Rhyne's observation is obviously incorrect.

[60]) Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings. It is of interest to compare some of his renderings with those given for the same words by Wreede and Kolb for the Cape Hottentot language, and by Meinhof for Korana, which is a closely-allied language.

	Wreede.	*Kolb.*	*Meinhof.*
lion	TGamma	Chamma	xammi
horse	hacqua	hacqua	hab (pl. haku)
wolf (hyena)	Ouck'ha	touqva	|hukhab
rhinoceros	tnabba	nabba	! nabas
sheep	goudie	ghoudie	gus
ox, cow	dwiessa	bubaa	gomab, -s
thunder	quô	quaouw	! urub
wood	equa	hequa	—
honey	—	—	danis
war club, stick	—	Kirri	—
pot	—	—	sub

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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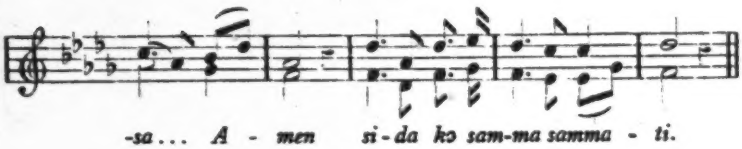

The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *!kurise ≠nae* and low sounds *!eri doma ≠nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is */guise ≠nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called *!kɔ: ≠nae kxᵊona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called */kam domkwa;* but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *!anŋ≠nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VI.

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Gotis playing the *Kha:s*.

Sele:ki playing the *Goras*.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

773 and ǁ*Gaunam* in the *Black Sky*, and those two Beings fought together in former times, and Tsûiǁgoab received a blow at his knee from ǁGaunam. Tsûiǁgoam was a great chief and sorcerer among the ǃKora, and possessed numbers of cattle. Mothers also used to tell their children to beware of ǁGauna, as he is a great evil-doer, who could kill them.

In the following chapter, where we will trace all the names back to their workshop, we shall see what Tsûiǁgoab has to do with the *Red Sky*. The Koranas again say that Tsûiǁgoab made the first man, and that the snake was together with the first man on the earth. The person from whom the Rev. Wuras heard this was a man far over hundred years of age. Although this note savours much of the second chapter of Genesis, I repeat it here because throughout the Khoikhoi territory the belief is extant that in every fountain is a snake.[20]

192 776 To return to Tsûiǁgoab, I have to remark that, wherever I met colonial Khoikhoi or Namaqua, whether Christians or heathens, the word *Tsui-ǁgoatse* is used interjectionally, as we say, "*good God*," or simply "*God, what will become of me?*" &c., either as an expression of surprise or anxiety—viz., "*Tsu-ǁgoatse, who will help me?*" or "*Tsu-ǁgoatse, what have I done, that I am so severely punished?*" But it is also used as a formula of imprecation, thus:—"Tsu-ǁgoatse, sats ǂguitsa ǂan, ǂhaviota hã ǃkheië," "Oh, Tsu-ǁgoa, thou alone knowest that I am without guilt," or "ǂEits ta khemi dire, χavets ni Tsûiǁgoaba ǂan," "Do what you think, but you will know—*i.e.*, find out Tsui-ǁgoab" [that he will see your doings, that he will punish you]. Here we have a very clear instance that Tsu-ǁgoab is looked at as the avenger, similar to the Dawn, Saranyu in the Vedahs. In the following chapter we shall discuss this point more closely, when we enter on the original meaning of the name Tsûiǁgoab.

776 Here it may not be out of place to mention an incident I experienced on a journey in Great Namaqualand.

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191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau 192 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this 193 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombā	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
B H Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
192 Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
Gobá	Gobá	ǀnavén	Ovambo from the Okovanggo
Nama	ǀá	Namán	Nama
ǀung	ǀung	—	White man
Hei ‖um	Hei ‖um	—	Heikum
ǀung	ǀung	—	Kung

2. Parts of the body

ǀné	ǀnē	tanás	Head
ǀang	ǀang	ǀaus	Neck
tsóa	ǀoa	‖áib	Breast
ǀu	ǀu	‖umss	Abdomen
ǀum	ǀum	ǀnub	Leg
ǂá	ǂá	‖oab	Arm
ǀgau	ǀgau	ǀgunub	Finger
ǂei	ǂei	ǀgunus	Toe
daug	dang	ǂaren	Buttocks
ǀō	ǀō	ǀgaab	Back
ǀnē ǀoí	ǀné ǀoi (head)	ǀub	Hair
ǀā	ǀā	mus	Eye
tsch:ung	tsch:ung	ǂguis	Nose
tschik úi	tschik úi	ǀhoums	Beard
tschik ó	tschik ó	amss	Lip
ntăli	ntăli	nami	Tongue
ts:au	ts:au	‖unss	Teeth
ǀui	ǀui	ǂgăiss	Ear
ǀum	ǀum	sonís	Navel
tá	tá	χāb	Penis
sumgó	sum gó	ǂarás	Testicles
ntχoá	ǀoá	‖oás	Knee
ǀuru	ǀuru	ǀunib	Elbow
ǀau	ǀau	ǀumi	Hand
ǀnō	ǀnō	kob	Skin
ǀu	ǀu	ǂob	Bone
ǀoi	ǀai	‖unib	Fat
ǀā	ǀā	‖ani	Flesh
ǀn	ǀng	ǀaub	Blood
ǀχai	ǀχai	ǀeisen	Ill

3. Animals

ǀó	ǀō	ǂkoab	Elephant
ǀó ǀgó	ǀo ǀgó	aure ǂkoab	male
ǀō dē	ǀo dı	tararé ǂkoas	female
ǂoá	ǂoá	ǀnaib	Giraffe
ǂoa ǀgō	ǂoa ǀgō	ǀnaib	male
ǂoa dē	ǂoa dı	tararé ǀnais	female

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Eland	ǀn	ǀn	ǀani
Hartebeest	tz:ō	itz:ō	ǂănab
Wildebeest (gnu)	ǀai	ǂnō	Gaub
Kudu	ǀóa	ǀóa	χaib
Duiker	ǀau	ǀu	ǀaub
Hog	ǀaru	ǀoa	dirib
Bird	tz:ǎba	ntχū	anin
Dog	ǂúi	ǂúi	arib
Lion	ǀeí	antei	χam
Hyena	ǁui	ǁui	ǂirab
(The word //ui evidently arose onomatopoetically, since the cry of the hyena is a distinct "hui.")			
Jackal	ǀiχa	—	ǀairib
Hare	ǀai	ǀai	ǀoab
Guinea fowl	ari	ǀnam	ǀinab
Ant	ǂu ǂu	ǀno ǀoani	ǂovirub
Horse	ǀnŏé	ǀnŏé	hab
Cattle	gummi	gummi	gumab
Bull	gummi ǀgō	gummi ǀgō	gumma ǀōb
Ox	gummi tabiχa	gummi tabiχa	gumab
Cow	gummi dé	gummi dí	tararé gumas
Calf male	tzaume ǀō	tzaume ǀō	tsaaob
female	tzaume de	tzaume dí	tsaurus
Plural male	tzaume ǀōssen	—	—
female	tzaume dēssen	—	—
Feces	sang	si	χaub
Human tracks	tschu gussen	tschu gussen	daub

4. Weapons and Tools

Bow	ǀau	ǀau	khās
Arrow	ǁau	ǁau	ǀāb
Arrow feathers	ǀui	ǀui	ǀambo
Arrow poison	k:augum	uma	ǀāb
Spear	ǀú ǀu	ǀú ǀu	ǀei goab
Iron	ǀuri (Nama)	keie	ǀurib
Stool	ǀéisson	gacho	Stuhl (Dutch)
Hook for game traps	ǀui	ǂang ǂang	—
Quiver	ǀguru	ǀguru	—
Leather loincloth of the men	sora	tsch:ora	—
Leather loincloth of the women	ǀu	ǀu	—

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ǀei	ǀei	—	Shoulder hide of the women
ǁā	ǁā	ǀabas	Head covering
ǀoǻ	ǀõé	ǁarós	Shoe
réĩma	rẽima	ring (Dutch)	Ring
ǀõu	ǀãuma	—	Awl for leather
ǀei	ǀı	ǀos	Axe
ǀā	ǂei	goas	Knife
ǀǻ ts:u	ǂei tschu	goan ǁos	Cutting edge of a knife
da	ǀoǻ	ǀein	Wood
ǀum	ǀum	ǀuis	Stone
ts:u	ts:u	ǁaus	Settlement

5. Meteorological Concepts and Related Matters

ǀgam	ǀgam	sores	Sun
ǀui	ǀui	ǁaab	Moon
ǀnq	ǀng	ǀgamiros	Star
ǀǻ	ǀǻ	ǂoab	Wind
n ǀga	ǀgā di ǀgam	ǀanub	Rain
n ǀga	ǀga di ǀgam	ǀanu ǁaib	Rainy season
ǀnui	ǀnui	ǁaab	Month
kuli (nama)	kulika é	kuligu	Year
tschee (nama)	tschee	tzees	Day
ǀa ǀang	ǀa ǀau	ǁóaka	Morning
ǀuĩa (ǀuĩ =moon)	ǀui	ǀoẽs	Evening
ǀu	ǀu	tsúχub	Night
ǀu ǀn	ǀu di ǀn	tsuχub	Midnight
ǀgam kui	ǀaiu ǀā	middag(Dutch)	Midday
a dagẽ ǁang	kakẽ ǀgam dignau	netzees	Today
noi ǀuma	noi ǀuma	ǁari	Tomorrow
ama ǀgam nau	ǀgam dinau agaideú	ǁari	Yesterday
—	ǀgamga úndoa	aitzẽ	Day before yesterday
a ǀnaussua	a ǀnaussua	ǀaudi	Cloud
kːã	kːã	ǀovab	Sand
ǀang	ǀang	haiti	Tree
ǀang nassi	ǀang nassi	hei ǀums	Bush
ǁai	ǁai	ǀān	Grass

6. Diet and Related Matters

um	um	ǂun	Food
um	um	ǂun	To eat
natschng	natschng	ã	To drink
ǀːǻ	ǀːǻ	ǀā	Hunger

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Thirst	gam	gam	ǁā
I am hungry	mē ǀ:ā	mē ǀ:ū	—
I am thirsty	mē ǀgam	mē ǀgam	—
Spoon	hei ǂgam	hei ǂgam	ǁoab
Plate	ǀnu	ǀnu	ǀores
Pot	kǃō	kǃō	suss
Fire	ndā	ndā	ǀeis
Fire apparatus of stone	ǂoro (nama)	ǂoro (nama)	dorós
Fire apparatus of wood (twirling sticks)	dáni (ndā=Feuer)	dángl	—
To cook	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	sai
Meat	ǀā	ǀā	ǁani
Water	ǀu	ǀu	ǁami
Tobácco	maka (Herero)	maka (Herero)	Tabak(Dutch)
To smoke	χei	χl	ǂei
Give me something to eat	na χei	—	—
Pipe	ǀnō	ǀō	ǀos
Milk	gu	gu	dai
Egg	ǀu	tschǃunu	ǀuwus
Fat	ǀai	ǀai	ǁunib
To roast	schang (nama)	ǀánussen	sang
Kind of nut (veld crop)	ǀō	ǀā	ǁnaun

(Described in the text under No. 11.)

7. Verbs

(The prefix haga- expressing the infinitive has been omitted.)

Sleep	tsǃă	tsǃă	ǁum
Go	ū	ū	ǀung
Say	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	mi
Tell me	ǀnoa mē	ǀnoa mē	—
Make, do	ō	ō	di
See	hassé	hahoa	mo, go
Sit	ǀō	ǀō	ǂgu
Hit	ǂam	ǀū	ǂnau
Seize	ngū	gúa	ǀkō
Kill	ǀung	ǀá du	ǀam
Shoot (with bow)	tχā	ǀā	ǁau
Rifle	ǀabu (nama)	ǀnoǎ	ǀabús
Run	ǀgū	ǀgǎ	ǀóē
Stand	nǁgǎ	ǀnu	mā
Laugh	tsi	tsi	āi
Hear	tsǃā	hatsǃā	ǁau
Smell	ǀu	ǀu	ǀaba

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ga ǀn	ga ǀn	tzătză	Taste
nds:ǂō	ǀō	ǀurib	Feel
ǀóa	ǁāzo	ǁassen	Wash oneself
ǀabi (nama)	ha ǀuru	ǀabi	Ride
zχáni	demzam	ǂū	Dance
ǀa ńa	ǀa ńa	ǀaia ǂau	Enjoy oneself
dzn	ha ǀau	ǀā	Be sad
ǀnai	ǀnai	nā	Bite
me ǁei ǁei	—	ǀore	Request
ǀā	ǀāma	batale(Dutch)	Pay
ǁama (nama)	ǁama (nama)	ǁamá	Buy
ǀhei	ǀhei	ǀau	Cut
ǁn	ǁn	ǀei	Tie, fasten
kora	kora	oré	Untie, loosen

8. Adjectives

gats:ǂă	gats:ǂă	ǀei	Good
ga ǀau	ga ǀau	zua	Evil
tχā	goá	ǀham	Cowardly
ga ǀum (very)	ǀum	isá	Beautiful
kui	dā	ǀgam	Hot
ǀā	ǀá	ǀaib	Cold
tz:ǀ	ǀu (= water)	ǀa	Wet
ǀau	ǀu ǀé	ǂnasa	Dry
ze ǀau	ǀau	ǀuli	White
ǀang	ǀang	ǀamr	Green
ǂangsaen	ǁdaun	ǀóa	Blue
dschō	dschō	ǂnaú	Black
ǀā	ǀā	ǀuni	Yellow
ǀaissen	ǀā	ǀabá	Red
ǀósse	ǀā?	ǀaisse	Rapid
auts:eá	aussehaú	ǀausse	Slow
ts:éma	ts:éma	subusse	Soft
ǀχǀ	ǀχǀ	ǀarisse	Loud
ǀχóa ǀχei	ǀχóa	ǂgausib	Healthy
ǀχai	ǀχai	ǀaissen	Sick
ǀgao	ǀgao	ǀgeissa	Strong
schui	ǀχá	subu	Weak
ǀai oder ǀē	ǀē	ǁōb	Dead
ǀoa ǀē	ǀoa ǀē	odide	Alive
ǀang	ǀáo	gáro	Hard
kam	kam	tsau(ra)	Soft

9. Personal Pronouns

mē or mēhí	me	dita	I
tschoē é	tschoē é	saatz	You

9. Personal Pronouns (cont.)

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
He	ǂ̀hng	ǂ̀hng	//eib
We	tschússe	tschússe	sáta
You	ts!ǂ̀	ts!ǂ̀	sado
They	ǂ̀hng(?)	tschudi tsch!ǂ̀	//ēin

10. Possessive Pronouns

My	mḕhng	mḕhng	ti
Your	tschoë ē (?)	atschi (?)	sa
His	ǂ̀hng(?)	ǂ̀hing(?)	//ēib
Our	tsu /ǂ̀	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
Your	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
Their	i /ǂ̀	(?)	—

The forms followed by (?) could not be ascertained with certainty.

11. Interrogatives

When?	ǂum katewa	—	ma /b ai
Where?	kole wǂ̀	—	mǂ̀ pa
How?	kole wǂ́	—	mǂ̀ pa
Why?	disse wǂ̄	—	dein /ǂ̀roma
What?	atchíssi	atchíssi	tǂ̀re

12. Plural Formation

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193 In Heikum, as in Kung, the plural is formed by affixing sen to the stem of the substantive; for example:

/ā eye,
/āsen eyes.

/oí hair,
/oísen hairs.

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūⁿs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kxoe.kxoesūⁿs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gūⁿs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂkxanu·b and *ǂkxanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation.--Analyst]

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nō/ti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kx̄ō-/uis, and the flint, !nō/hs (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !ha/i-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, 538
in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a peo- 128
ple of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the [522]
stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is 538
possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are 128
mentioned here in advance once and for all: 193

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kχa	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-ǃ	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-ǃe		-na

538 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles,
128 are:
193 i used very generally.
a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.
go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.
nĩ designates the future.
ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.
hã designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsĩ with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mĩ, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsĩ I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsĩ with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gĩrib tsĩ χami tsĩ ǂhĩras tsĩna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsĩs gye go ǂnãĩ, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsĩ gye go ǂnãhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word χa. In this case one can regard χa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gõati χa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this χa can be

dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 538 128 193

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness 538

In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call ǂaiǂgā/mũǂxab, because its eyes (mũǂti) are not in its face but on the back (ǂgā/b) of its feet (ǂaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called ǂkχoe-oren (kχoeb "man," ǂo-re "to run up and devour the buried prey"). The man-eating female has in addition the special name ǂ/gaũ-ǂbes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears. The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-rikχoeseb,

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the fat-pot (//gubusa) of the people. But the people came back while (hĩa) the jackal was still (hã "to remain") at (doba) the hut. Then the man (aoba) of the hut asked (tẽ): "Of which (mã) district (!ãb) are you the jackal?" (-ta personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nominative)* Then the

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*The word ǂumi "so," which is frequently attached to direct discourse, has merely the function of summing up, in contrast to the conjunction goma, which has an imperative sense. "Mã !ab gǂritsa goma" would mean: "Where do you come from? Answer! That's my command."

jackal answered (!eraam): "I (-ta) [am] the jackal from the arobush district. [The fruit] of the aro tree (-na, ending of the neut. pl.) I eat (ǂuta), from the hari bush I eat, from the au bush I eat, yes indeed (gumo)!"*

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*The ǂa-ros bush is Zisyphus mucronatus Willd. (Rhannaceae). ǂhari-s is Royena pallens Thbg. (Ebenaceae). ǂaũ's is Grewia flava D.C. (Tiliaceae). The jackal lives indeed from the berrylike fruit of these bushes, among other things.

Repetition. Then:

Thereupon the man said (mĩ): "Let (ẽ, imperative particle) me (-ta) see (gõ) you (-tsi) excrete (ǂau)." Thus (ti) he says. Then the jackal excreted aroberries. And the man asked again:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted hari berries. Then the man asked:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted au berries and [again] the man asked: "Of what place are you the jackal?" And the jackal answered: "I am the jackal of the aro district. I eat aro berries, I eat hari berries, I eat au berries, yes indeed!"

Repetition. Then:

And the man said: "Let me see you excrete." Then the jackal excretes fat, and the man caught (!kxõ) him (bi). But the jackal cried: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob), hold me differently." (!kxõ "to seize," unu "to turn around," !gã "backwards"). And the man seized him differently. Then

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

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Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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the suffix *-kən*, *-gən* or *ŋ* found in the Southern Bushman languages (the different forms are due to phonetic sound changes). This suffix is separable from, i.e. is not always part of, the radical element, but can never occur by itself as an entity: when it does occur, it always forms part of a word. With substantives it is used to form the emphatic nominative. It is also used, however, with verbs, but in such cases it is by no means clear what function it fulfils. Similarly we find words in all the languages which invariably occur with the suffixed endings *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ro*, *-ru*, and so on, but here again no definite significance can as a rule be discovered for these suffixes.

Certain suffixes must now be regarded as *passive*, i.e. they occur only in certain words, never in any others, even although no special meaning can be ascribed to them. In */Xam*, e.g. there are very many words always found with what is clearly the suffixed ending *-ru*, as in *//kuru*, stone knife, */xuru*, crow, *thuru*, to pluck; but the suffix here does not seem to have any determinate significance, nor is it actively employed to modify other radical elements.

Opposed to these we have the *active* suffixes, i.e. suffixes which can be added freely to any radical element, and which have a definite significance. In */Xam*, e.g. the suffix *-ko* has an alternative function: */aiti*, woman, */aitiko*, another woman; *tuu*, mouth, *tuuko*, another mouth. In */Khũ* the suffix *-ma* is used to form the diminutive, e.g. */kaŋ*, tree, */kaŋma*, little tree. In *Hie*, *-re* is used to form the plural, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Nama* the endings *-b*, *-s*, and *i* are used to indicate the sexual gender of the substantive, e.g. *khoib*, man, *khois*, woman, *khoii*, human being. These selected illustrations will serve to indicate briefly how the suffixes are employed.

An interesting feature is the fact that suffixes which are passive in one language may be active in another. Thus, while *-ru* is passive in */Xam*, in *Nama* it may be added to verbal roots to indicate returning motion, as in *//a*, to go, *//aru*, to go back, to return.

Active suffixes are employed in all the languages with both substantives and verbs, as well as with other parts of speech. In substantives they are used to modify the meaning of the radical element so as to express such concepts as plurality, diminution, agency, sex (in *Nama* and *Naron* only), and negation: while in verbs they are employed to denote duration, mood, reflexion, reciprocation, etc. It is only in exceptional cases (as in */Xam* and *Hie*) that they are used for forming tenses.

This extensive use of suffixes is one of the most characteristic

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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features in the grammatical mechanisms of the Khoisan languages, and the number of different suffixes as well as of the variety of uses to which they are put is exceedingly great.

(2) Reduplication of the radical element of a word is also of frequent occurrence. As an active grammatical process it is most marked in the Southern Bushman Group, especially in */Xam*, where it is the principal mechanism for forming the plural of substantives, and is also used with verbs to indicate causality or to give them a transitive meaning. In the Northern and Central Bushman languages and in *Nama* its chief function is to give the verb a causative significance; it is hardly ever used as a means of forming the plural. In all the languages, however, many words also occur in a permanently reduplicated form, where no apparent significance can be attached to the reduplication, i.e. it has become passive.

(3) Composition—the uniting into a single word of two or more radical elements—is another frequent mechanism. Its most usual form of occurrence is verb + verb, the second verbal root modifying the meaning of the first in some way, generally so as to indicate some sort of direction. Thus in */Xam* the two roots */kau*, to cut, and */hiŋ*, to go out, can be combined to form the new word */kau/hi(ŋ)*, to cut out, while in Nama we find similarly */guŋ*, to stride, and *bee*, to move away, combined into */guŋbee*, to go away; *uri*, to spring, and *ǂga*, to go home, combined into *uriǂga*, to leap into; and so on.

(*b*) Another characteristic feature of the Khoisan languages lies in the extensive use of grammatical words or auxiliary particles as a grammatical mechanism. These particles are most generally used to modify the significance of verbal roots, and two classes may be distinguished, according to their mode of occurrence and function.

(1) The verbal root is as a rule unaltered, save when such concepts as duration, mood, reciprocation are to be expressed. In such cases, as already indicated, suffixes are added to the radical element. Tense, however, is most frequently indicated by particles preceding the verbal root. These particles can never be used alone; they always occur before a verbal root, and their function always is to indicate tense. Thus in *Auen* the root of the verb remains unchanged throughout, and when used alone without any qualifying particles denotes the present or indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by the use of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal root, e.g. *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *ore* (continuous action), etc. Similarly in */Xam* we have *haa* (past tense), */ne* (in narrative), *se*, *ka* (future), while in

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Nama there are *ta* (present time), *go* (recent time), *ni* (future), *gje* (perfect), etc.

(2) The second class consists of what may be termed *post-positions*, i.e. they invariably follow the word whose meaning they qualify. Their main function is to indicate direction. Thus in */Khũ* the particle *daŋ*, when it follows a verb, means "under"; */hare*, between; */a*, in front of; while in *Naron* we have */oo*, among, inside, *k'e*, on, upon, etc.

The number of these particles is extremely great, and their functions manifold. As a mechanism they are extensively used, and much of the difficulty in translating the Khoisan languages lies in the very abundance of them. It should be noted that they differ from prefixes or suffixes in that they do not immediately precede or follow the radical element whose meaning they qualify, but may be separated from it by the intervention of other words.

(*c*) Word order as a mechanism is more marked in some of the languages than in others. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups, and to some extent in *Hie*, word order is of great importance in determining meaning, as there is here no formal distinction between e.g. substantives and verbs, or between cases. In *Naron* and *Nama*, on the other hand, where such distinctions do occur, the order of words is not so significant.

There are two features perhaps calling for special mention in this connection. These are (1) the distinction between junction and nexus, and (2) the expression of the genitive or possessive relationship. The significance of word order in the first instance is best seen in */Khũ*, where, in junction, the attribute precedes the substantive, e.g. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, while in nexus the order of words is reversed: *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. The other languages usually add auxiliary particles to indicate nexus, but we may compare, in *Hie*, *//koo hũ*, the large tree, with *hũ e kwa //koo*, the tree is large.

In the genitive relationship the rule in all the languages is that the word denoting the possessor precedes the word denoting the object possessed. Generally a connecting particle is interpolated between the two words. In the Northern Bushman Group, however, there are no connecting particles, the relationship being indicated purely by apposition; hence, in */Khũ*, we have *gaoxa ʧu*, the chief's hut, but *ʧu gaoxa* would be "the hut's chief". In */Xam* also the connecting particle is omitted before certain kinds of substantive, so that we get simply *toi /ku*, ostrich's feather; cf. Nama, *//gũb /ons*,

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father's name. Here the importance of word order in determining meaning is clearly shown.

Syntax

Parts of Speech. There is no formal distinction between parts of speech in any of the Bushman languages save *Naron*. It is generally impossible to determine merely from the form of the word what part of speech it is, although it may be noted that clicks most often occur in substantives and verbs, and that pronouns, auxiliaries, and words in perpetual use rarely have them. It is chiefly from the position of a word in a sequence that we are able to distinguish its nature. Often the nature of the suffix, if there is one, enables us to some extent to determine whether a word is a substantive or a verb. Thus, in *!Khū, igaŋma*, little tree, is recognizable as a substantive, because it has the diminutive suffix *-ma* used only with substantives; on the other hand, *s'aagwe*, to hear one another, is recognizable as a verb, because of the reciprocal verbal suffix *-gwe*. These distinctions, however, are due to secondary factors, and it is evident that from the form of the actual radical element no such distinctions of parts of speech can be made.

In *Naron* and the Hottentot languages there is the same lack of formal distinction between parts of speech. In these languages, however, substantives are nearly always recognizable by the fact that they have the sex-endings added to them. All substantives must have one or other of these endings, according to their gender, so that their nature can readily be recognized. In other parts of speech, however, it is not possible to distinguish between words save by their position in the sentence or by the presence of formal elements having a grammatical function peculiar to certain parts of speech.

Gender. Distinction of sex is formally recognized and expressed only in the Hottentot languages and in Naron, where there is a regular classification of all substantives into three grammatical sex-genders: masculine, feminine, and common. The gender is shown by the form of the suffix. In *Naron* the suffixes employed are *-ba* for the masc. sing. (shortened to *-b* in proper names), and *-sa* or *-se* (shortened to *-s* in proper names) for the fem. sing. There is no special suffix for the com. sing. Thus *kwe*, human being; *kweba*, man; *kwesa*, woman. In *Nama* the suffixes are *-b* for the masc. sing.; *-s* for the fem. sing.; and *-i* for the com. sing. Hence *khoii*, human-being; *khoib*, man; *khois*, woman. These suffixes in both languages change

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for the dual and plural. The forms they then assume will be noted under "Number".

In all the other Bushman languages there is no sex-gender of this kind. To distinguish sex, when necessary, the word for "man" or "woman" is used to qualify the primary substantive. In the Southern and Northern Bushman languages these qualifying words follow the substantive. Thus in */Xam*, *toi*, ostrich → *toi gwai*, cock ostrich; *toi /aiti*, hen ostrich; in */Khũ*, */kui*, ostrich → */kui //gɔ*, cock ostrich, and */kui di*, hen ostrich. In *Hie* they precede the substantive: *tʃo*, person → *kautʃo*, man, and *//gaitʃo*, woman. This mechanism is occasionally employed in *Nama* also where it is necessary to indicate sex in substantives having the common gender; e.g. */gwai*, child → *aore /gwai*, boy, and *tarare /gwai*, girl.

The Naron and Hottentot classification of substantives according to sex is, strictly speaking, found only in such cases where there is a natural distinction between the sexes, i.e. in the case of persons and animals. Other substantives, where no natural sex distinction is present, make use of the same suffixes, but here the classification is based on a different principle, which may be defined as that of quality. All substantives denoting objects which are strong, big, tall, or narrow take the masculine ending, while those denoting objects which are weak, small, low, or broad take the feminine ending. Thus in *Naron*, *hi* is any plant, but *hiba* (masc.) is a tree, and *hisa* (fem.) a low broad bush. Similarly in *Nama*, *gõab* (masc.) is a sword or big long knife, while *gõas* (fem.) is a pocket knife; */úib*, mountain, but */úis*, hillock, koppie. The same distinction between objects according to quality is found in */Xam*, although the mechanism for expressing it is different. Thus *toi gwai* may mean "big or strong ostrich" as well as "cock ostrich", and *toi /aiti* "weak or small ostrich, as well as "hen ostrich".

Number. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups and in *Hie* only two numbers are clearly recognized; in *Naron* and in the Hottentot Group, however, there is also a dual number. The distinction of number in all these languages applies almost entirely to substantives and pronouns only, and in a few cases to adjectives also; the verb as a rule remains unaltered in form, no matter what the number of the governing substantive may be.

In the method of forming plurals, */Xam* differs considerably from all the other Khoisan languages. Its plurals are formed chiefly by

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reduplication of the singular, either in full or contracted form; e.g. */kou*, stone; */koukən*, stones; *ti or tikən*, thing → *tikəntikən*; *//go//go*, whirlwind → *//gogən//gogən*; */kwitən*, jackal → */kwi!kwi*. In a few cases a plural ending is added either to the root or to the reduplication; such endings are *-gu*, only used for people (e.g. *mama*, mother → *mamagu*) *-dī* or *-de*, *-kən*, *-gən*, or *-ten*. A very few substantives remain unchanged in the plural.

In all the other Khoisan languages (including the other members of the Southern Group) the bulk of the plurals are formed by adding a special suffix to the singular. The chief plural suffixes are: in *Auen*, *-si*, e.g. */num*, stone, */numsi*, stones; in */Khū*, *-siŋ*, *-ŋ*, e.g. *gaoxa*, chief, *gaoxasiŋ*, chiefs; in *Hie*, *-re* or *-ra*, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Naron* and *Nama* the form of the suffix differs with the gender of the substantive. In *Naron* we have *-ʧi* or *-//kwa* (masc.; the latter is used only with men or personified animals); *-ʃi* (fem.), and *-ni* (common). Hence *kwe*, person → *kwe//kwa*, men, *kweʃi*, women, and *kwene*, people. In *Nama* the plural suffixes are: *-gu* (masc.), *-ti* (fem.), and *-n* (common), so that *khoii*, person → *khoigu*, men; *khoiti*, women; and *khoin*, people.

In all the Bushman languages the plural ending may be dropped with the numeral "two"; e.g. in */Khū*, *gome*, ox → *gomesiŋ*, oxen, but *gome tsa*, two oxen. Only in *Naron* and in the Hottentot languages is a special dual ending added; in *Naron* this is *-ʧera-* (masc.), *-ʃera* (fem.), and *-khara* (common), e.g. *kweʧera*, two men, *kweʃera*, two women, and *kwekhara*, two people; while in *Nama* it is *-kha* (masc.) and *-ra* (fem. and com.), e.g. *khoikha*, two men; *khoira*, two women; *khoira*, two people.

Person. All the Khoisan languages recognize three classes of persons, corresponding to the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, which they express by means of personal pronouns both singular and plural (in *Naron* and Hottentot also dual). There is no verbal declension in any of these languages; the class of person is ascertainable only from the personal pronoun. The Southern and Northern Groups and *Hie* make no distinction in the form of the pronoun according to the sex of the person; the first and second personal pronouns, that is, may be either masculine or feminine, the third personal pronoun masculine, feminine, or neuter, the gender being determinable only by the context, not by the form of the pronoun. The only exception recorded to this rule is in *Auen*, where the personal pronouns have no forms for the

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masculine and feminine in the singular, but distinguish them in the plural, thus:

mihi, mi, I	*e !ka,* we (masc.)	*ehe, e,* we (fem.)
ahi, a, thou	*i !ka,* you (m.)	*ihi, i,* you (f.)
hai, ha, he, she, it	*si !ka,* they (m.)	*sia, si,* they (f.)

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In *Naron*, on the other hand, there are really only four fundamental forms for pronouns, viz. *ti* for the first person singular, *si* or *ʃi* for the first person plural, *sa* for the second person, and *xa* for the third person. Features such as gender and number are denoted by the addition of special suffixes similar to those employed for the same purposes with substantives.

In *Nama*, again, it would seem that a fundamental distinction is made between persons present (i.e. speakers and hearers) and those not present and spoken of (third person), for in the former case the radical element is *sa* or *si*, person, number, and gender being distinguished by the use of special suffixes, while in the latter it is *//ēī*, which is treated just like a substantive, i.e. to it are added the regular substantival suffixes for gender and number.

In the Southern Group and in *Nama* there are two forms for the pronoun in the first person plural, one form including the person addressed with the speaker, the other excluding him. In */Xam*, e.g., the inclusive form of the pronoun is *i*, the exclusive form *si*; while in Nama, where we have the following forms,

Dual masc., *sakhum, sikhum* ;	fem. *sam, sim* ;	common, *sam, sim*
Plur. m., *sagye, sigye* ;	f., *saze, size* ;	c., *sada, sida*

the forms beginning with *sa* are inclusive, those with *si* exclusive.

This distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms does not appear to exist at all in any of the Northern and Central Bushman languages.

Possession. The possessive relationship in all the Khoisan languages is indicated by the fact that the qualifying substantive (possessor) precedes the primary substantive (possessed). In the Southern Group the two are connected by one of the particles *ka, ga, ta*, according to the sound following; in the Northern Group there is no such possessive particle; in the Central Group it is *dhe* in *Hie*, but is more often omitted, and *di* in *Naron*, just as in *Nama*. In certain cases these particles may be omitted, usually when the possessive relationship applies to relatives or parts of the body. The following renderings for "the man's hut" in the different languages will illustrate the general uniformity in the mode of expressing this relationship:

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/Xam.	*gwai-ka //nei̯* (but *gwai k'a*, the man's arm).
Auen.	*!kwa tʃ'u.*
/Khũ	*!ku tʃ'u*
Hie	*kautʃo dɹu.*
Naron	*kwem-di |nuuʃa.*
Nama	*khoib-di omi* (but *khoib //gũb*, the man's father).

In each case the word for "man" precedes that for "hut"; in */Xam*, *Naron*, and *Nama* there is a connecting particle, but not in the other languages.

A few words may be added regarding the modifications undergone by the personal pronominal forms to indicate the genitive relationship. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no special form for the possessive pronoun, which is treated just like the substantive, e.g. in */Xam*, *ŋ-ka //nei̯*, my hut, but *ŋ oa*, my father, and *ŋ k'a*, my arm; while in */Khũ* we have *ha tʃu*, his hut. In *Hie*, however, there are special forms for the third personal pronouns: instead of *ehe*, he, she, it, we find *em*, his, her, its, and instead of *ere*, they, we have *thau eko*, their. In Naron the possessive pronouns for the first and second person singular are the radical forms for the personal pronouns, *ti* and *sa*, used as a rule without any ending. The possessive pronoun for the first person plural is either *sita* or *sita-di*, irrespective of gender; the second person plural would probably be formed with *-di*, although it hardly occurs, while the third person is treated in the same way as a substantive, always forming the genitive with the connecting particle *-di*. For example, *ti hooba*, my husband; *sa |kwa*, your child; *sita !nuu*, our country; *xam-di !nu*, his hut. In *Nama* there is sometimes no alteration of the pronominal form, save that in the first and second persons sing. the shortened forms *ti*, my, and *sa*, your, are used instead of *tita*, I, and *sats* or *sas*, you. Sometimes, however, a special possessive pronoun is used, formed by adding the personal suffixes to the particle *ã*; thus, *ãta*, my; *ãts*, your (masc.), *ãs*, your (fem.), etc. There is no modification of the pronominal form to agree with the sex or number of the object possessed, except in certain cases where the first personal possessive pronoun is placed after the substantive it qualifies. As a rule the possessive pronoun precedes the primary substantive, sometimes in direct apposition, without the connecting particle, as in *sa haab*, your horse, sometimes, however, with it, as in the alternative form *sa-di haab*.

Junction. The relationship between substantive and adjective is generally expressed by pure apposition, but there are variant forms in the different languages. In */Xam* the rule is that the attribute

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follows the substantive it qualifies: */k'e /kwiija*, the clever man. Often, however, the attribute is preceded by the relative particles *aa* (sing.) or *ee* (plur.): */k'e aa /kwiija*, the clever man (lit. man who clever). Most attributes have the same form in sing. and plur., i.e. they undergo no modification for number; but attributes of size have separate forms in the plural: *//kho /kuiija*, the large bag, but *//kho//kho /kuii/kuiita*, large bags; */k'e //kxowa*, the tall man, but */kwitən //kxo//kxoka*, tall men.

In *Auen* the few adjectives follow the substantives they qualify, and are not declined: */nwi ʒee*, new moon; */nwi ɬesi*, full moon. So, too, in */Khũ*, they generally follow it, as in */ganu dʒee*, new arm-ring, *tʃi /naa*, big thing; but sometimes they precede it, as in *gai gaoxa*, good chief. They undergo no modification in form for the plural: *gai gaoxasiŋ*, good chiefs.

In *Hie* the attribute invariably precedes the substantive, and remains unaltered in the plural: *//koo hii*, a large tree; *//koo hire*, large trees. In *Nama*, and apparently also in *Naron*, the attribute generally precedes the substantive, and in such cases undergoes no modifications in form: */kxuha khoib*, a rich man; *gei tarás*, a big woman; *gei khoigu*, big men. If, however, it is desired to emphasize the attribute, it may follow the substantive, and in such cases takes the corresponding endings for gender and number: *aob geib*, a big man; *khoigu geigu*, big men; *tarati geiti*, big women.

Tense. The notion of time in all the Khoisan languages is to a very large extent expressed mainly by means of special auxiliary particles, which generally precede the verbal root, except in *Naron* and *Nama*, where an inverted form is found, of which mention will be made below. In a few instances the verbal stem itself may be modified by the use of special suffixes to indicate tense, but such occurrences are rare.

In */Xam* the verbal stem as a rule remains unmodified. Suffixation is, however, occasionally found, the main temporal suffixes being *-i*, indicating continuous action, and *-a*, *-ja*, or *-wa* used to denote completed action. Generally tense is expressed by means of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal stem; thus */ku* expresses continuous or repeated action, */ne* is used as a narrative past, *se* and *ka* express futurity, *siŋ* completed action, *haa* the remote past, *oa* corresponds to our pluperfect, etc.

In *Auen* there are no suffixes for tense. The root of the verb always remains unchanged, and used alone signifies present or

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indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by verbal particles preceding the root, such as *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *o*, *ti* (narrative), *a* (repetition of tense in preceding clause), *o* (present, or an unfinished action). In */Khũ* only one temporal suffix seems to occur, *-a*, which denotes habitual action with all tenses. Otherwise auxiliary particles are used which precede the verbal root: *o*, *ti* (present narrative), *go*, *gu* (past), *ga* (future).

E.g. (Auen) *miki /nĩ*, I stay.
a o !goo, we are sitting.
ha ko uu kurikwa, he has gone to Kurikwas.
ha ka ts'a, he will sleep.
(!Khũ) *na ti u*, I go.
na go sig, I saw.

In *Hei* there appears to be a clear distinction between completed and incompleted action, seen by the fact that in the former case the suffix *-aha* is always attached to the verb. Closer distinctions in tense are, as in the other languages, made by means of particles preceding the verb: *ka* . . *kwa* (past), *na* (future), *kwa* (narrative).

E.g. *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love;
tʃi na //gam, I shall love;
ka tʃi kwa //gam, I loved;
tʃi //gamaha, I have loved;
tʃi ka //gamaha, I had loved;
tʃi na //gamaha, I shall have loved.

Apart from this suffixing of *-aha* there is no alteration of the verbal root for tense.

In *Naron*, similarly, verbal roots do not alter for tense, which is expressed by placing auxiliary particles before or after the verbal root. Thus *tira ma*, I give; *tira ko ma*, I have given; *tira ka ma*, I shall be giving; *ma ra ko*, I am giving; *ma ra ka*, I shall be giving. The inversion of word order found in the last two examples is an alternative form, which can be employed with all the tenses; in such cases only the ending of the pronoun is used, not the full form, and the verbal root stands at the head of the sentence. This usage is not found in any of the other Bushman languages, but also occurs in Hottentot.

In *Nama* the employment of suffixes to denote habitual or continuous action is well marked, but it should be noted that the suffixes are attached not to the verbal stem, but to the auxiliary particles; e.g. *-ro* is used for the imperfect: *tita goro mũ*, I used to see; and *-re* for the perfect and pluperfect: *tita gjere ṃũ hã ĩ*, I had the habit of seeing. The following is a list of the more important particles:

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ta (present time): *sats ta mũ*, you see. After a vowel, *ta* → *ra*: *tita ra mũ*, I see.

go (recent time): *tita go mũ*, I have seen. The order of words is sometimes reversed, as in Naron, the verb being placed first in the sentence: *mũ ta go*, I have seen.

gje, *gjegje* (perfect): *tita gje mũ*, or *mũ ta gje*, I saw.

ni (future): *tita ni mũ*, or *mũ ta ni*, I shall see.

hã ĩ, when placed after the perfect form of the verb, forms the pluperfect: *tita gje mũ hã ĩ*, I had seen: when placed after the future, it forms the future perfect: *tita ni mũ hã ĩ*, I shall have seen.

In addition to these auxiliary particles there are in all the languages adverbs which have a temporal significance, and which are roughly equivalent to our "soon", "later", "yesterday", "to-day", etc. There do not appear to be any formative elements present in these words. Their occurrence should, however, be noted, as indicating that temporal concepts may find expression in other ways than by the use of special particles or suffixes; but these words belong to the vocabulary rather than to the grammar. The idea of time is implicit in their meaning, and is not indicated by any formal process.

Nexus. (*a*) *Copula.*—

In */Xam*, as has been shown, the attribute in junction generally follows directly upon the substantive, with no connecting particle. In copula the order of words is the same, but there is as a rule a connecting word, which may be either the particle *a* or *e* ("verb to be") or one of the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *hi /ku /hoakən*, they are black; *ha xukən siŋ /hoaka*, his face was black. In the present tense, however, there may frequently be no connecting particle at all: *si kx'ao*, we are cold; *h̄ akən*, they are handsome. Where the predicate is a substantive there is always a connecting particle: *//kxaŋ e !kwi*, the lion is a person.

In *!Khũ*, and apparently also in *Auen*, the predicative attribute always follows the substantive: cf. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, with *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. Where the predicate is an adjective there is no connecting particle at all, but where it is a substantive there is a special connecting word, *ua*; e.g. *na ua gaoxa*, I am a chief; *gaoxa ua baa*, the chief is a father.

In *Hie*, when an adjective is used predicatively, the primary substantive is connected to it by means of the personal pronoun and the auxiliary of tense; cf. *//koo hii*, a large tree, but *hii e kwa //koo*; *dzunje abare*, black dogs, but *abare ere kwa dzunje*, the dogs are black.

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That the connecting words may not always be present is seen from the following examples, but it will be noticed that the attribute always follows the primary substantive:

kxainje njaa, a cold wind; but *njaa kxainje*, the wind is cold.

haie dom, a swollen throat; but *tʃi dom haie*, my throat is swollen.

Where the predicate is a substantive, the connecting words are invariably present: */garo e kwa ǂkam*, the ostrich is king.

In *Nama* the predicative adjective is unaltered in form, but is always preceded by the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *gei khoib* or *khoib geib*, a big man, but *khoib gje a gei*, the man is big. The particle *a* here seems to correspond with that in */Xam*. Where the predicate is a substantive, it is regarded as an object, and accordingly takes the corresponding case-ending *-a*; e.g. *naaḃ gje gao-aoba*, this is the chief; *nees gje ti haasa*, this is my mare (cf. *gao-aob*, chief; and *haas*, mare).

(*b*) *Predication of Action to Substantive.*

In */Xam* the predicate always follows the substantive and undergoes no modification in form to correspond with the number or person of the subject (i.e. there is no verbal conjugation). As a rule the verbal auxiliaries of tense intervene, but in connected narrative these may be omitted; e.g. */kxwaŋ /ku-g /ne kwi*, the child said; *haŋ ha /kutən*, he formerly sang; but cf. also, */kxwaŋ kwi*, the child said; *kaŋ tum*, I listen; */kaukakən /kweĩ*, the children jumped for joy.

In */Khũ* also the verb is always unaltered in form and the order of words is the same as that in */Xam*. The personal pronouns have no special forms when used subjectively, though in the first person sing. the form *na* is generally used in preference to *mi*. The auxiliaries of tense may be used when necessary, but are often omitted, especially in connected discourse; e.g. *ha ti siŋ* or *ha siŋ*, he sees; *na go siŋ* or *na siŋ*, I had seen; *gaoxa go guu*, the chief took; *gaoxasiŋ go guu*, the chiefs took.

In *Hie* the same principle applies: there is no verbal conjugation, and the order of words is also subject + auxiliaries + main verb. Where, however, the subject is an animate object it often happens that the corresponding personal pronoun is added after the auxiliaries, and before the main verb; e.g. *tʃo ka ebe kwa //gam*, the man loved. The pronoun may, however, be omitted and only the verbal form expressed: *tʃo ka kawa //gam*. Where the subject is an inanimate object, this use of the personal pronoun is never found.

In *Nama* also there is no verbal conjugation. Two usages, however,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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are found with regard to the order of words. In the one, the subject, as in the Bushman languages, precedes the main verb; e.g. *tita ra mũ*, I see; *//ẽigu ra mũ*, they see. Sometimes, however, the main verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. In such cases only the shortened form of the pronoun is used. It has already been mentioned that the radical elements of the personal pronouns are only three in number (*ti* for the first person sing.; *sa* and *si* for the second person sing., dual, and plur., and for the first person dual and plur.; and *//ẽi* for the third person), and that the distinctions according to sex and number are made by means of the regular personal suffixes added to these radicals. When the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the radical elements are dropped from the pronominal forms, and only the personal suffixes are used to denote person as well as sex and number; e.g. *mũ ta rà*, I see; *mũ da ra*, we (com. gender) see. If the suffix consists of consonants only or of one vowel only, it is usually attached to the verbal root; e.g. *mũts ta*, you (fem. sing.) see; *mũs ta*, she sees; *mũn ta*, they (com. gender) see. Hence we can say either *//ẽib go mũ* or *mũb go*, he saw. A similar construction is found in *Naron*, but nowhere else in the Bushman languages.

Apart from this special construction the relation of Subject to Predicate is in *Nama* expressed in exactly the same way as in the Bushman languages.

Case. The consideration of case has been left over till now, because, as will be seen, the recognition of most case distinctions depends upon the relation between substantive and verb. What is usually termed the "genitive" case is a category of a different kind, and depends primarily upon the relation between two substantives. Generally speaking, it may be said that none of the Bushman languages has a special form for the objective case, save in a few personal pronouns, chiefly first person sing., but all except *Naron* have a second emphatic nominative. In the Southern Group this is found with pronouns and substantives of all kinds, and is usually expressed by means of the suffix *-kən*, *gən*, or *tən*. In the Northern Group and in *Hie* it occurs chiefly in the personal pronouns, which have a longer form in such cases; e.g. in the Auen pronouns, of the forms *mihi*, *mi* (first sing.), *ahi*, *a* (second sing.), *hai*, *ha* (third sing.), the longer forms are the emphatic nominative, the shorter either nominative or accusative. This emphatic nominative is apparently not found in *Nama*, which, on the other hand, has a special form for

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the accusative, thus showing its position as a language not entirely Bushman.

In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no formal recognition of the accusative (objective) case save by rule of position: the object always follows, the subject always precedes, the main verb. The order of words in these languages is almost invariably Subject, Predicate, Object. In *Hie* there is also no special form for the objective case, and the object can usually only be determined by rule of position, which is the same as in the two preceding groups. In *Naron*, on the other hand, there is no special sequence of words, and consequently it is by no means easy to distinguish between Subject and Object, as they are not formally discriminated in any way. The Object often stands first in the sentence, and the words seem tossed together in haphazard fashion. It is only by the context of situation that the sentence can be correctly interpreted.

In *Nama* there is a distinctive objective case, formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the nominative form of the substantive; thus *khoib*, man, becomes *khoiba* in the objective: *mũ ta go khoiba*, I saw the man. Here, of course, the order of words is not so significant, as the object can always be recognized by the termination; hence we may find *khoiba ta go mũ* as an alternative form. The personal pronouns apparently take the same case ending. It may be noted that in the copula if the predicate is a substantive it also takes the objective case ending: *neeb gje khoiba*, this is the man. If the substantive which is the object of a sentence is qualified by an attribute, only the latter has the case ending; e.g. *khoib geiba ta go mũ* or *mũ ta go khoib geiba*, I saw the big man. In this recognition of a distinct objective case *Nama* differs decidedly from all the Bushman languages, including *Naron*, with which in other respects it has so many points of close resemblance.

In connection with the objective case may be mentioned briefly the *passive voice*, which has a reversive function and makes the grammatical object the most important element in the sentence. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no real passive; in the Central Group, on the other hand, it can be formed by adding the suffix *-ee*, *-e* or *-he* to the active root; thus in *Hie*, *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love, but *tʃi kwa //gamee*, I am loved; while in *Naron*, *tira xau*, I cut, but *tira xaue*, I am cut. So, too, in *Nama* the ending *-he* attached to the active root makes it passive: *tita ra mũhe*, I am seen, etc.

There is no "dative case", but in most of the languages we find

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an " applicative " form of the verb which has an equivalent significance. In */Xam* this is formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to the verbal root; in */Khũ* by means of the verbal suffix *-/a*; and in *Nama* by the use of the suffix *-ba*, e.g. *//aa*, to wash, *//aaba*, to wash for somebody. In sentences the " dative " may also be indicated by order of words, the general rule being that the indirect object precedes the direct object; e.g. in */Khũ, naa mi //ga*, give me a knife. The English rendering is a literal translation of the Bushman sentence.

The vocative case is formally expressed in all the Khoisan languages except *Hie*, a special suffix being added to the substantival root. In */Xam* the suffix is *-we*, e.g. *ibowe*, O father! */kaukənwe*, O children!; in */Khũ* it is *doa*, e.g. *tsau-(n)doa*, O woman!; and in *Naron* it is *dʒe*, e.g. *arugu-dʒe*, O dog! In *Nama* the vocative is expressed by means of special suffixes in the sing., and in the dual and plural by the alteration of the vowel in the suffixed gender ending; e.g. *khoib*, man; *khoitse*, O man! *khois*, woman; *khoise*, O woman! But *khoikha*, two men, becomes *khoikho* in the vocative; and *khoira*, two women, becomes *khoiro*; etc.

Word Order. Enough has already been adduced to show that the importance of word order differs in the various languages. In the Southern and Northern Groups the sequence of words in the sentence is fairly straightforward: the Subject precedes and the Object succeeds the Predicate. Where there are two objects the indirect generally comes before the direct. Attributes stand close to the substantives they qualify: in most cases they follow it in the Southern Group, while in the Northern Group they generally precede it. In *Hie* the order of words is not so rigid, and the object occasionally precedes the predicate. In *Naron* there is very little adherence to any fixed order: the whole sentence may be inverted, and combinations such as Object, Predicate, Subject, or Predicate, Subject, Object, or again Object, Subject, Predicate frequently occur, although the direct sequence of Subject, Predicate, Object is not impossible. In *Nama* also there is no rigid order of words, but this is compensated for by the fact that there is a special ending for the object, whereas in *Naron* the distinction between subject and object is often difficult to determine.

In all the languages of the Northern Group and in *Naron* the omission of the subject is frequent and confusing at times. If no subject at all is given, remarks Miss Bleek, the first person may be presupposed. " Saw a buck " may usually be translated " I saw a

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B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

[214]

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar

● 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselvs. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[56]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 264, 262).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Thus all birds whatsoever are called *courcour*,[88]) with the addition of particular names, e.g. *camma courcour*, an aquatic bird, be it duck, or diver, or albatross, etc.; *sickom courcour*, a young bird, *sickom* being, as often with them, a corruption of a Dutch word; *grotom* (a similar corruption) *courcour*, a big bird, by which, however, they generally mean the ostrich. They also mingle a few English terms in their language from their former dealings with that people, e.g. the word *doggues* for dog.

Pure Hottentot words in general use are:—[89])

Onkey, Dutchman.	*chou*, air.
gamma, lion.	*Ecy*, fire.
acqua, horse.	*kou*, thunder.
ouka, wolf.	*doudou*, road.
nabba, rhinoceros.	*ey*, glass bead.
goedi, sheep.	*ninimos*, bronze bead.
boeba, ox or cow.	*equa*, wood.
debitja, steers.	*kiny*, war club.
ai tgoos, tortoises.	*sou*, pot.
dacha, soporific herb.	*bouchou*, plant ashes.
dini, honey.	

Corrupt Dutch words are numberless:

Bos maakem goet, gunpowder; *boebasibier*, milk; *karos*, a wrap; *krallen*, huts; and others too numerous to mention.

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[88]) Both Wreede (ca. 1663) and Kolb (1719), in their vocabularies of the Cape Hottentot language, give a variety of different names in use for different species of birds (these vocabularies are reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, I, 213ff.), so that Ten Rhyne's observation is obviously incorrect.

[89]) Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings. It is of interest to compare some of his renderings with those given for the same words by Wreede and Kolb for the Cape Hottentot language, and by Meinhof for Korana, which is a closely-allied language.

	Wreede.	*Kolb.*	*Meinhof.*
lion	TGamma	Chamma	xamni
horse	haoqua	haoqua	hab (pl. haku)
wolf (hyena)	Ouck'ha	touqva	ǀ hukhab
rhinoceros	tnabba	nabba	ǃ nabaa
sheep	goudie	ghoudie	gus
ox, cow	dwiessa	bubaa	gomab, -a
thunder	quô	quaouw	ǃ urub
wood	equa	hequa	—
honey	—	—	danis
war club, stick	—	Kirri	—
pot	—	—	aub

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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194 (iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *ŋ* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names ; *//aremŋ !ais ;* " the Links " *!Kuriŋ //ais,* " the Hoogstanders ;;' *|hãoŋ //ais,* " the Katmense " ; *|hũŋ //ais* the " Skerpioens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiŋ !hareip* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common otherwise, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiŋ ≠a:s* " the big reed."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the velar element of the click as to the isolated velars *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this velar element of the click. The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib,* " the Orange River," and *!karib,* " honey-beer, " and *!harib* " whip " ; *//kaeb,* " time," and *//kxaeθ* " law."

I observed no ejective velar affricate *kxˀ* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *//aremŋ //ais* being a good example, < *//are* " left," + *//ðaeb,* " arm," *//ais* " tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Bloemhof speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. */uib,* " stone," with a high tone, and */uib,* " father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognised three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

193 It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that " die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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by speaking to the Korana, they do not seem to have a very strong sense of these as case-endings. It is interesting in this connection, to examine carefully the lists of words of the 16th century old Cape dialect (cp. G. M. i. pp. 215-224). There is not, out of the many masculine nouns, a single one ending in *-b*, there are a few feminines ending in *-s*. There are a number of plural masculines ending in *-kwa*. This usage, in the case of isolated words, is fully confirmed by the texts we possess of the period (the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, *Cape Monthly* 1858. 116-9). It might perhaps not be unreasonable to conjecture that the extensive use of these endings are a relatively modern development. 193

In our dialect, the *-b* is regularly dropped, in a number of cases, e.g. when *//haeb*, " time " is placed at the end of a temporal clause : *io kxᵒa kuna //hae, ina ≠geie*, " when they have drunk, they are called." But even in other connections, this omission is found, e.g. *!uri //kae*, " in the afternoon time." Frequent as this is, it is still almost one of the few fairly regular features of Korana.

Similarly with the tense-particle of the verbs, they are often left out, if we do not count *ina* as such. For this particle, properly expressing the present tense, becomes in the current usage of to-day a mere equivalent of " and." *Ta* is also regularly used to express the future. There is, in this respect, another interesting usage. Schultze, with his usual acumen, has already noted for Nama what he calls the Passivum narrativum (op. cit. 392). He says: " Statt zu sagen *tsis gye go ≠na*, d.h. " und sie tanzte," sagt der Hottentot in Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern : *tsi gye go ≠nahe*, (*-he*, Passivendung), d.h. " und es wurde getanzt," wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivsatz selbest durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird."—a practice singularly like the Bushman. We observe precisely the same syntactical phenomena in our Bloemhof texts, e.g. *ikje haku hje ha, /haudi he: ba nũe:, ikje ≠an ≠annie, etc*, cp. also the last lines of */habab* ceremony, etc.

This looseness in the structure of the Hottentot sentence is still more apparent in the way in which words are juxtaposed to create an adjectival relationship, e.g. *≠an mãsi sa khwekxoa sãsibae*, lit : " know, place, *sa* adjectival postfix, it is cooked for him." (the two first are plain verb-roots), i.e. " certain men are appointed to cook for him." Or again, */homa mã ka'am //ap*. lit. " alone, place, mouth door," i.e. " a separate door," etc. These are purely agglutinative constructions, where all sense of what we are accustomed to call " parts of speech " is lost or perhaps never existed.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

While the Bushmen are hunters, the Khoikhoi are nomads, cattle and sheep farmers; and while the Bushman family has with the Khoikhoi, linguistically speaking, only the clicks and some harsh sounding faucals and a few roots of words in common, the various Bushman languages hitherto recorded, differ among themselves, as much as they differ from the Khoikhoi idioms. This difference and variety in speech is mainly due to their wandering habits and unsettled life. The wild inaccessible mountain strongholds and the arid deserts of South Africa, where nobody can follow them, are their abode; constantly on the alert, constantly on the move, constantly on the path of war, either with other tribes, or with the wild animals, no inducement is given to them for a settled life, the necessary condition of the development of a more articulate speech and a higher intellectual culture.

The Khoikhoi, or Nomadic Hottentots, have all the same language, which branches off in as many idioms and dialects as there are tribes. The idiomatic peculiarities, however, are not very prominent, indeed not so striking, as to hinder a Gei|khau or ǂAuni or !|Habobe of Great Namaqualand, and the ǂNūbe of Ovambóland, or the Geiǂnam of the North Western Kalihari, conversing easily with the inhabitants of the Khamies Bergen (North Western Colony), and with the !Koras and Griquas of Griqualand West and the Orange Free State.

A prominent feature in all the *Khoikhoi* idioms is the strict monosyllabism of the root, ending in a vowel, and the use of pronominal elements as suffixes for the purpose of forming derivatives. The Khoikhoi language is entirely void of prefixes, nay, our prepositions are postpositions. The pronominal elements have in the course of time crystallized, and sometimes melted together into one, and in this new shape accepted the office of classifiers and registrars of substantives or substantified expressions, so that some of our most eminent philologists did not hesitate to consider them homogeneous with the article of

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 other sex-denoting languages, chiefly of the Semitic and Hamitic class. But I am convinced that a more careful investigation will lead to the result, that the Khoikhoi language is not sex-denoting in the sense of Aryan or Semitic grammar. The so-called "*article*" is not an article in the sense of grammar, because the root of the Khoikhoi article is not the same throughout the genders, nor throughout the numbers. The following Table will at once explain what I mean:

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Com.*
Sing.	Subjective	b (bi), m (mi)	s (si)	i
	Objective	ba, ma	sa	(ia) e
Dual.		Subj. and obj. khā	ra	ra
Plur.	Subjective	gu	ti	n
	Objective	ga (gua)	te (tia)	na

In saying this I do not for a single moment deny that the so-called article was *en route* to develop into the meaning and sense of the Aryan article, when by the destructive contact with other races—the Bantu from the North, and the European from the South—this development was suddenly checked.

We may therefore safely, until a more appropriate term for this way of classifying is established, call those particles which serve as classifiers of the three classes of the substantives, *Articles*.

197 The Bushman languages, as far as I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, have no such derivative and formative elements; at least, if they had, such have now entirely disappeared, or are distorted to such a degree, that they defy every analysis. Sometimes one is tempted to believe that there are embryonic indications of such elements; sometimes again one is strongly inclined to take such would-be-suffixes, for dilapidated remnants of pronominal elements. The present Bushman languages bear nearly the same relationship to the Khoikhoi as, among the Indo-European languages, English holds to

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǂgina-s	ǂgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaɪ (ǂKora)	ɣaɪ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ˜, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǂgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǂgun (ǂgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nɪge or nɪ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǂKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Kenhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man ǂkui goai*, and *woman ǂkui ǂaitĭ*, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men, ǂēga túgẹn*, and *women ǂēga ǂgāgẹn*. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 viduals of the same tribe do not form a plural at all from the same word, where another individual would do so. There is also a goodly number of substantives, which are not used in the plural, because they are of a collective nature. A dual exists only for the first personal pronoun.

802 As regards the numerals, it seems that the Bushmen languages have not developed them beyond *two*; some travellers speak of *three*; but this is evidently derived from the Khoikhoi word ǀnora or ǀnona for *those*.

The ǀAi-Bushmen, however, who inhabit the North Western Kalihari in the neighbourhood of Xaîtsēs, (west from Lake Ngami or N‖gami) count up to twenty, and for the sake of completeness I give these numerals here, as I have written them down from the mouth of three individuals of the ǀAi tribe.

	ǀAi-Bushman.	*Khoikhoi.*
One	ǀguiï	ǀgui
Two	ǀgam	ǀgam
Three	ǀnona	ǀnona
Four	geië	haga
Five	ǀguim tsoum (*i.e.*, one hand)	gore
Six	ǀguisa	ǀnani
Seven	ǀgamana	hū (hūgu)
Eight	ǀnonadi	‖khaisa
Nine	ǀuitaï ‖gam	khoisi
Ten	ǀǂaiïko	disi
Eleven	tamkhumtsū	disi ǀgui ǀkha
Twelve	ǀgamané	„ ǀgam „
Thirteen	ǀnonané	„ ǀnona „
Fourteen	‖kheîsa	„ haga „
Fifteen	tsūba ǀǂāe	&c. &c.
Sixteen	ǀgui naha ǂgana	
Seventeen	ǀgam naha ǂgana	
Eighteen	ǀnona naha ǂgana	
Nineteen	ǀgamsaragásara	
Twenty	tsutsarukēhā	

language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure 114
Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates
had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening 126
and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically
correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would
have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conven-
tional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the ani-
mals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies
came other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will
illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large,
South African ant-eater, the aardvark, which animal is very difficult to
shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same
evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot
term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising
word-tone (/kxubu·s), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a
falling word-tone (/kxu· bus). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently
in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the
necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the
language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical
signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding
one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate
similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple.
After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native,
reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once
whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that
the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this
method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the con-
viction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound
relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic
viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of
similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology
and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving
the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks

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Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and
learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and

unavoidable elementary stage. This has been the stumbling block for many who wished to learn Nama. Once you have learned to distinguish the four clicks by ear, then you [342] can make the job of reproducing them easier by having a native pronounce selected click words slowly and at the same time look as far down his throat as possible without influencing the tone by any interruptions. You will then see and hear that the shape, the placing and the withdrawing of the tongue determine the character of each click. 194

The click sounds of the Hottentots have been compared to the "inspirata" and the "exspirata" of the consonants (78), unjustly in my

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

opinion. The question, whether inspiration or expiration is involved in the formation of the clicks can be tested by anyone pronouncing a click. You must hold your breath and try to click. The sounds come forth effortlessly, powerfully and typically. The same is true for all four sounds, no matter whether they are formed during inspiration or expiration. Breathing, in other words, plays no part here. Rather the formation of clicks is exclusively an effect of the energetic withdrawal of the tongue from the place where it begins the click. In the empty space that is thus formed the air rushes in creating the four different sounds without any physiological assistance. The air also finds its way through the oral cavity but this inrushing is not inspiration. The independence of the diaphragm and the lungs is in my opinion characteristic of making click sounds.

The use of click-like sounds in the language of other peoples than that of the Hottentot - Bushman group of South Africa has not yet been systematically investigated. The dental and cerebral click sounds seem to have been transferred with least modification into the language of several South African Bantu tribes. But their use in word formation is not supposed to correspond to that of the Hottentots. I myself had no opportunity to compare the click sounds of the Zulus, Basutos, etc. with those of the Hottentots.

2. The Musical Modifications of the Nama Sounds

The musical modifications of the Nama sounds are supposedly sufficiently differentiated by three signs. Kroenlein's signs are not precisely

defined by the author. Büttner says of them in the preface to "Wortschatz," probably basing his opinion on Th. Hahn or older authors, that they designate the middle, low and high tones." A comparison with the living language shows, however, that pure tonal levels are produced only in a number of cases. In most of the cases the signs are used rather for the designation of such relationships of sounds [344] that are combinations of very different musical elements. The usual three signs do not represent simple sound relationships in most cases but complex ones, reproduce them incompletely, since the sound elements are only partly considered, and the way they are combined not at all, and reproduce them ambiguously, because they reproduce similarly sounding words without consideration for the various sound components.

A. Seidel, who never heard the Nama language himself, in other words proceeds purely theoretically, differentiates the usual three tonal levels as "intonations", but does not see the various tonal levels as of a decisive nature in themselves, but the rising and falling of the tones as most important. This rising and falling of the tone has been now completely amalgamated with the tonal level in the most unfortunate way in that the start of the voice at the middle tonal level has been established as the point of departure. That is completely contradictory to the facts. The assumption that the voice always rises or falls from the middle tonal level when it changes its level is actually false and therefore the whole tonal system built on this assumption collapses.

Clarity cannot be won by abstractly adjusting and assimilating old concepts but only by a renewed study of the living language itself. Therefore, proceeding purely empirically, I wrote down all the phonetic elements that concerned the tonal level and its change, as soon as I heard them turning up repeatedly in a word. A special consideration of the accent later proved to be necessary and required a revision of the designations in that direction. The results of my observations, which were tested often over a period of time in every detail, are the following: the musical character of the sounds is determined in the Nama language not by three isolated modifications of sounds synchromized with a strong accent, but by eight sound modifications, which combine with each other as well as with the ninth factor, the accent, in many, many ways.

The circumstance, that Kroenlein's signs are already in use in two different definitions, of which one is too general, and the other of which contradicts the facts, has determined me not to adopt these signs in my orthography after several unsuccessful attempts to do so. They could only be used if they were redefined. Their use then would not correspond

[text continues on p. 143. -Annlyst]

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Dental /	Flat and broad	The front end of the tongue is placed against the inner surface of the upper incisors and canines	The lateral edges of the tongue, while the front end starts clicking, are so placed against the inner surfaces, and partly against the chewing surfaces of the side teeth, that you cannot see into the oral cavity.	Far down, right behind the incisors.
Lateral //	Rounded like a bullet, so that the oral cavity is visible on both sides of the tongue, even when the tongue is placed to begin the click	Most of the back of the tongue rests against the palate	The tip of the tongue rests against the front palate, also partly against the inner surface of the upper incisors. The side edges of the tongue lie on the inner surface of the upper molars.	Perpendicularly down, but only so far that the back of the tongue remains considerably above the chewing surfaces of the lower molars.

continued

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks (Cont'd)

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Cerebral !	Hollow like a basin, and broad	The front end of the tongue lies at some distance from the incisors against the front and middle part of the palate	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces of the molars, just touching their chewing surfaces	Downwards and backwards
Palatal ≠	Flat and broad	The tip of the tongue lies closely against the front palate right behind the incisors	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces and the chewing surfaces of the molars	Downwards and so far to the rear that the ligament of the tongue is visible between the front edge of the tongue and the incisors

to that in Krönlein's [345] "Wortschatz" and that would lead to misunderstandings. The following nine different musical modifications of the Nama sounds divide into three groups.*

* The termini technici, which I had created for naming the newly differentiated sound elements of the Nama language, were reviewed by Professor Eduard Sievers in Leipzig and improved when necessary in the interest of a unified nomenclature. (81) I also received

81. E. Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, 5. Aufl., 1901.

decisive assistance in the task of reproducing the phonetic elements in such a way that they did not over-burden the sentence and so that they did not pile up in a muddle when combined. I mention again in this place my heartfelt thanks to Professor Sievers.

a) The initial tone level. By this I mean the level at which the voice regularly starts when pronouncing certain words, compared with the initial level of the voice in other words.

Three kinds of initial tone level must be differentiated; the signs which I have chosen for them are included in parentheses.

α) The middle tone is characterized by the fact that the voice does not begin either lower nor higher than on the average. What is meant by the "average tone niveau" of a person and how it varies according to age, sex and individual peculiarities, do not need to be defined in number of vibrations. One becomes to attuned to the organ of one's Hottentot teacher that one immediately notices a deviation of the voice either up or down. The middle tone does not need a sign. It is assumed wherever there is not a sign (if the signs for the tonal level are otherwise completed).

β) The high tone (sign: ˊ after the sound) is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher,

γ) the low tone (sign: ˋ after the sound) by the fact that the voice is lower than normal.

If there is doubt about the type of initial tone level in a word, then a comparison of the questionable word with others made up of the same sounds is decisive. Thus you might doubt whether the word for "green" should be written !am or !a↓m, because the voice is so close to the border between the middle and high tone. A comparison with the word !am "to join to each other" which is pronounced obviously deeper down decides for the high tone (combined here with a falling tone extension). But that in this word the voice actually has a middle and not a low tone setting we learn from the designation for "glass bead," the word !a↓m, because the voice reaches its lowest level in pronouncing this word.

[346] The musical modifications of the Nama sounds stand out most clearly in their variations and in their value for the understanding of the language, when they separate distinctly two words that would otherwise sound alike.* To illustrate this meaning of the three different initial tonal

* The signs used here and in the following text are missing still in some few words which were mentioned in the previous text. The method of writing them that is used in the following list is the correct one.

levels, the following examples are presented: 194 192

1.	/aba·	= red
	/a↓ba·s	= the north
	*/a↓ba·b	= the taste of blood in the mouth
2.	!aĩ↑	= to test
	!aĩ↓	= to jump
3.	!a↓m	= green (as a verb: to shine around)
	!a↓m	= to join to each other
	!a↓ms	= the glass bead
4.	/ai↓	= to whore
	/ai↓↓	= to listen
	(ai↑	= to sprinkle)
5.	/ga↓m	= to be warm
	/ga↓m	= two
6.	//gā↓	= to hang bead necklaces around the neck
	//gā↑	= to be thin
	(//gā↓	= to go off to war)

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7. //ga↓ru·s = the skin sack
//garu·b = the hole that collects water in the rocks
8. /gara·b = the obstruction
*/ga↓ra·b = the berry-like fruit of the Rhus lancea L.f. (Anacardiaceae)
9. *!ga↓ba·b = name of a species of Rhizogum (Bignoniaceae).
!ga↑ba·b = the water bag
10. !gãũ↑ = to fasten a skin with pegs that is stretched on the ground to dry
!gãũ = to cross something on one's way
!gãũ↓ = to make something even by lopping; to bump ankles when walking
11. ≠gã↓ = to prepare sugar beer, to implant
[347] ≠gã↑ = to be bald
12. gau↓ = to hide oneself
gau↑ = to become fat
13. /go↓m = with bushy hair
/go↑m = to suck blood
14. /gau↓ = to give another nursing mother to a baby
/gau↓↓ = to feel about in the dark
15. //goa· = to beseech
//go↓a· = to threaten
(//go·a = to become light)
16. ≠go↓a·b = mud, the dregs of the sugar beer
≠go↑a·b = the bed skin
17. ≠go↓ma·b = the dregs of a liquid
*≠go↑ma·b = the striped mouse (see p. 287, no. 36)
18. ≠gãũ↓ = to push away with the fist
≠gãũ↑ = to bump into
19. //gũ↓b = the father
//gũ↑b = the springbok
//gũ↓b = the tooth
20. //ha↓i· = to flee
//hai· = to scrape hair from a skin
21. !hai↑b = the bone pipe
!haib = to cut up a fruit

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22. !haũ/b = the strap
*!haũ/b = the iron on the flint tinder box
23. /ho/m = to be fat
/ho/m = to knock off the burnt part from something baked in the ashes
24. ≠hu·/mi = to prevaricate
≠hu·/mi = to hold oneself in readiness
25. /hui· = to uncover, lay bare
*/hu/i· = to blow out air, hiss (of the horned viper)
26. //hu/i· = the rising up of the snake
//hui· = to do something for the first time
27. //kχa/n = to seize
*//kχa/n = to hold back a bowel movement
28. !kχã/ = to squint
!kχã/ = to milk sheep or goats into the mouth secretly
[348] 29. !kχari· = to follow tracks
!kχa/ri·b = honey beer
30. ≠kχa/m = young
≠kχa/m = to produce a dead calf
≠kχa/m = to lay back the ears
31. ≠kχari· ≠kχa/ri· = little = to slide out
32. ≠kχai = to awaken
≠kχai/ = to blink
33. /kχo·/mas = the beseeching
/kχo·mab = hilly or mountain land, the Komas Highlands in the southern Herero territory
34. //kχõ/ = to bury
//kχõ/ = to be coarse
35. na/ru· = to make an arc, to go around
naru·s = the clod
36. !na/n = to tie around
*!na/n = to have the bladder too full
37. !nai/s = the seeking
!nai/s = the kidneys

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38. /no/bo = to grow hair
/nobo· = to scrape
39. !noa· = to become gray
!no/a· = to run away (thy animals), to awaken
40. !nõ·/as = slovenliness
!nõ·ʔas = the heel
!noʔa·s = stumbling
41. ǂnoa· = to quarrel
ǂno/a· = to throw
42. õ·a = to seek
õ·/a = to increase
õa· = to calf, to lamb, to have young
43. o·re = to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
oʔre = of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
(ore· = to make free)

[349] 44. !o/m = to push
!oʔm = to be without horns (of cattle)
!o/m = to become hard, to pull out a thorn
45. sao/s = thy mother
saos = the pursuit
46. sĩʔ = to sneeze
sĩ/ = to send
47. uru· = to stalk game
ʰu/ru· = to jump on an unsaddled horse
48. tsabi· = the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
tsa/bi·s = the black ebony tree

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b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or dipthong of a one syllable word, when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

a.) The even extension is characterized by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

ß) The rising extension (sign: ↑ after the sound) is characterized by a rising.

γ) the falling extension (sign: ↓ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples:

1. ā = to weep
   ā↓ = to drink
   ā↑ = yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /ā = to wring out
   /ā↓ = to be sharp
3. /ā = to be wet
   /ā↓ = to pilfer
4. a↓ms = the mouth
   a↑ms = the roast
   a↓m = to the right
5. //ga↑n = to bake a cake in the pan
[350] //ga↓n = to pull in one's head
   (//ga↓↓n = verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. °!ga↓m = to have gonorrhea
   °!ga↑m = deep
   (!ga↓m = to bow)
   (!ga↑m = to kill)
7. /gē = to collect cattle of the same color
   °/gē↓ = not wanting to give away his last bit
   (gē↑ = to have twins)
8. ǂgū↓↓ = to be sharp
   ǂgū↑ = to set up a scarecrow for animals
   (ǂgū↓ = to turn aside)
9. //gū↓s = the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
   //gū↑b = compulsion
10. !gū↓b = the long reed mat
    !gū↑b = following a track

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!gū$^{\prime}$ = wearing an apron behind
!gū$^{\prime}$ = to let someone ride on your shoulders
11. //ha/m = chewing different foods at the same time
//ha$^{\prime}$m = pouring in
12. ǂhā/b = the surface
ǂhā$^{\prime}$b = pushing in front of one or shoving
13. ǂha/b = the need
$^{\circ}$ǂha$^{\prime}$b = a black stone (such as is found near Aar in the neighborhood of Kubub, for example.)
14. //hō/s = pouring out
//hō$^{\prime}$s = the knapsack
15. !hō/ = to fall on one's elbows (said of the small child that is creeping on hands and knees.)
!hō$^{\prime}$ = to mock
16. !hu·/mi = the mountain
!hu·$^{\prime}$mi = the seal (see page 41)
17. !ho/m = to be lame, also: to untie oxen from the yoke of the trek rope (to span them in front of another wagon.)
!ho$^{\prime}$m = to swallow something hot
[351] 18. kxū/ = to blow something up
kxū$^{\prime}$ = to blow oneself up, to be inflated
19. //nā/ = to leave
//nā$^{\prime}$ = to fall
(//nā = there)
20. $^{\circ}$!nā/b = the white blaze across the middle of the forehead and nose
!nā$^{\prime}$b = the lower body.
(!nā/b = a large kind of land turtle
21. $^{\circ}$ǂna$^{\prime}$m = flat and thin
ǂna$^{\prime}$m = to whistle
22. !nō/b = the stone under the cooking pot
!nōb = peace [quiet]

23.	/õ	=	to make a noise
	/ṍ	=	to stop giving milk
24.	ǂa$^{\circ}$b	=	the resting
	ǂa$^{\cdot}$b	=	the buchu powder
25.	ǂa$^{\circ}$m	=	to pull the bark off a tree
	ǂa$^{\cdot}$m	=	to take out honey
	(ǂa/m	=	to intimidate a bird with a throw so that it ducks to the ground)
26.	!ũ$^{\circ}$s	=	claw, hoof
	!ũ$^{\cdot}$s	=	forehead
	(!ũ//s	=	plants)
27.	tsã$^{\circ}$b	=	grease for joints
	tsã$^{\cdot}$b	=	licking
28.	!mã$^{\circ}$b	=	distance
	!mã$^{\cdot}$b	=	dust cloud
	(!mã$^{\circ}$b	=	bush hut, bush shelter)

c) The word-tone. By this I mean the difference in the level of the voice between the first and last syllable of a word. We will not consider three syllable words at all, as no more than two syllables ever have this characteristic difference in level, the third syllable being about the same as one or the other accented syllables. Two kinds of word-tone are to be differentiated.

1. The rising word-tone is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher at the end syllable than at the first syllable.

[352] 2. Oppositely falling word-tone is characterized by the lower level of the voice at the final syllable.

In the rising and falling word-tone you must sometimes differentiate a long and a short interval which are independent of individual variations. The long one amounts to a short third to fourth, the short one only a half tone. Among the following examples are those which show that even this amount of word-tone can make a decisive difference in the meaning.

A special sign for the differences of the word-tone has not been introduced as I did not wish to pack the letters further with diacritical marks. This is readily justified where these differences of the word-tone go hand in hand with those in the position of the accent which has its own sign. But where, as in the following examples, it is a question of the same question of the same position of the accent and the same type of word-tone, the following abbreviations are added in parentheses to make clear a difference which is purely one of interval:

1/2, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone.
3, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples:

1.	/ga⸝ri·b	(3, st.)	: name of a riverbank grass.
	/ga⸝ri·s	(1/2, st.)	: a boil.
2.	/go⸝a·b	(3, st.)	: name of a succulent edible plant.
	*/go⸝a·b	(1/2, st.)	: the call of the sitting /hunos owl.
3.	!go⸝ro·	(3, st.)	: to stay behind.
	!go⸝ro·	(1/2, st.)	: to roar.
4.	!gu⸝ru·b	(3, st.)	: poison.
	!gu⸝ru·b	(1/2, st.)	: thunder.
5.	/ha⸝na·	(3, st.)	: to be slow.
	/ha⸝na·	(1/2, st.)	: to smell of urine.
6.	!ha⸝ra·	(3, st.)	: to look on.
	!ha⸝ra·	(1/2, st.)	: to snort, to spit hard.
7.	/ha⸝ra·b	(3, st.)	: the wart.
	/ha⸝ra·b	(1/2, st.)	: the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8.	/haru·s	(3, st.)	: name of Cyperus species.
[353]	*/haru·s	(1/2, st.)	: Mesembrianthemum species.
9.	/ha⸝u·b	(3, st.)	: goat beard.
	/ha⸝u·b	(1/2, st.)	: visible breath.
10.	/ho⸝bo·	(3, st.)	: to paint the face.
	*/ho⸝bo·	(1/2, st.)	: to arrange a new-born one.
11.	na⸝ri·	(3, st.)	: to be thickened.
	na⸝ri·	(1/2, st.)	: this morning.
12.	!na⸝ba·b	(3, st.)	: the mend.
	!na⸝ba·b	(1/2, st.)	: rhinoceros.
13.	!no⸝ra·b	(3, st.)	: tobacco roll.
	!no⸝ra·s	(1/2, st.)	: the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

d) The accent (sign: · after the sound) should be placed with the sound modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Kroenlein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language.

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out.

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable. How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

«) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by ↓, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with ↑.

1. ǂāǀ = to burst open
   ǂā↓ = to slaughter
2. /a↑n = to groan
   /a↓n = to smoke (of the fire)
3. //a↑↑m = to clean oneself with cow dung
[354] //a↓m = placing stones in the hole game (see page 314); clapping hands
   //a↓m = to eliminate
   •//a↓m = to cover in order to hide
4. //a↑n = to dwell
   //a↓n = to ripen
   //a↑n = to hold firmly together
5. ǂa↓n = to know
   ǂa↑n = to give a blow
6. dã↑ = to jubilate, make merry
   dã↓ = to be someone's enemy
7. gã↓ = to be lost
   gã↑ = to be clever, to outwit someone
8. !gã↓ = to burst
   !gãb = the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

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	!gā↓b	=	poison
	!gā↓b	=	the servant
	*!gā↓b	=	name of an Euphorbia that is probably identical with the one on page 260
9.	!ga·↓ni	=	chin
	!ga·ni	=	way [road]
	(!ga↓ni-	=	to press)
10.	≠ga↓	=	to go in
	*≠gã↓	=	to be steep
11.	χo↓m	=	to wipe the dust off
	*χo↓m	=	to draw a noose tight
12.	≠ga↓m	=	to mend something broken
	≠ga↓m	=	to jump about
13.	≠ga↓n	=	to cover
	≠ga↓n	=	to ask
14.	/gaĩ↓	=	to be greedy
	/gaĩ↓	=	to spread out skins for a bed
15.	//gē↓	=	to strangle
	//gē↓	=	to eliminate, secrete
16.	gō↓	=	to refuse
	gō↓	=	to see
17.	!go↓m	=	to be pregnant
[355]	!go↓m	=	the humming of the ostrich
18.	≠go↓m	=	to dip in
	≠go↓m	=	to believe
19.	/gū↓	=	near
	/gū↓	=	dirty
20.	!ga↓m	=	to bend
	!ga↓m	=	to kill
	*!ga↓m	=	deep
21.	!gau↓	=	to be left over
	!gau↓	=	to throw towards
22.	!hā↓b	=	to winnow out
	!hā↓b	=	lynx (see page 281)
	!hā↓b	=	canine tooth of the horse

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23. ǂhaũ/ = to smear oneself with something sweet
ǂhaũ = to crush the tsama fruit (see p. 200)

24. /hũ/b = the scorpion
/hũ\b = anxiety, choking

25. /hũ\b = the white man
/hũ/b = the smell of the billy goat

26. //hũ\ = to bore through
//hũ/ = to bark

27. !hũ\ = to flee
!hũ/b = the country

28. !hũ/ = to tie, combine
!hũ/ = to pound cooked meat, to push up and away with the fist
•!hũ = to suck marrow from bones (cf. p. 31)

29. /kχa\m = to urinate
/kχa\m = to trickle through
•/kχa/ms = the edible soft parts of sea snails (see p. 31)

30. kχo/m = to pound fine
kχo\m = to speak

31. //kχo/m = to scratch out the remnants baked firmly to the pot
//kχo\m = to bind up a body

32. /kχũ/ = to tremble
/kχũ\ = to pull out

33. ǂnã\ = to pour
[356] ǂnã = to be dry

34. ǂna\n = to strike fire
ǂna/n = to turn around

35. !no\m = humpbacked
!no/m = to smoke out bees (see p. 205)

36. ǂnau\ = to strike
ǂnau = to help

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37. /o↓m = to breathe
/o↓m = to wipe off

38. sã↓ = to warm oneself
sã↓ = to pick one's nose

39. sĩ = to come there
sĩ↓↓ = ? [pforzen]

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /abi· (1/2, st.) = to rain (cf. p. 237 note)
/a↓bi· (3, st.) = to scratch the skin for purposes of healing

2. χore· (1/2, st.) = to release
χo↓re· (3, st.) = to joke

3. /ga↓i·b (3. st.) = name of a lizard, the Mabuia acutilabris Ptrs.
/ga↑i·b (1/2, st.) = dancing

4. gu↓ni· (3, st.) = to stalk game
gu↑ni· (1/2, st.) = to scratch one's closed eye or ear

5. //guru·s (1/2, st.) = quartz stone
*//gu↓ru·b (3, st.) = mountain ridge

6. !ha↓mi· (3, st.) = to hunt
!ha↑mi· (1/2, st.) = to be insulted

7. !huri·b (3, st.) = fear
!hu↑ri·b (1/2, st.) = the backbone

8. //naru· (1/2, st.) = to roast, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//na↓ru· (3, st.) = to impale in rows

9. !na↑ru·s (1/2, st.) = the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
*!na↓ru·s (3, st.) = name of a ray (fish)

10. u·↑ri (1/2, f.) = to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) = louse

[357] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.

[C4] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·bu = to fold up
abu·s = the empty ostrich egg

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2. /a·ob = blood
/ao·b = snake

3. //a·ru = to return home
//aru· = dotted black and white

4. ≠aba· = to burst
≠a·ba = to cut open

5. ≠abi· = to sweep dirt
≠a·bi = to be bored

6. ≠a·bo = to plaster
≠abo· = to seize someone by surprise

7. go·a = to be half dry
goa· = to praise

8. !goa· = to crack a whip
*!go·a = to lie deep

9. gu·ri = to gnaw bones
guri·b = the year

10. *//gaba· = to see sharply and far off
*//ga·ba = to step on something by mistake

11. //ha·ob = the wind break of the fire place
//hao·b = the rising of a thunderstorm

12. !hari· = to undo stitches
!ha·ri = to live in the neighborhood

13. /kχa·reb = the short-step gait of a horse (the Boers' way of riding)
/kχare·b = the calf of the oryx antelope (the accent on p. 275 misprinted)

14. /kχa·rus = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
*/kχaru·s = name of a kind of Euphorbia, E. cervicornis Boiss (see Plate VI)

15. /kχa·bu = to spit water out of one's mouth
/kχabu·s = sandal

16. //kχa·eb = driving back
//kχaē·b = sand of the river bed

[358] 17. //kχara· = to punish
//kχa· ra = to be big
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18. !kχa·erab (3, f.) = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
!kχaĕra· (e, st.) = careless
19. !kχa·ru = to snore
!kχaru· = to shoot through
20. //kχoro·b (3, st.) = the shovel for ashes
*//kχo·rob (1/2, f.) * the honey sack made of iguana skin (see p. 205)
21. /kχuru·b = aridity, acidity
/kχu·rub = grass seed
22. *≠kχuru·b = the hot earth around the fire pla
≠kχu·rub = vein
23. !na/mi· (3, st.) = to carry a child on one's arm
!na·/mi (1/2, f.) = the side; as a verb: to run pigeon-toed
24. ≠na/o·b (3, st.) = honeycomb
*≠na·/ob (1/2, f.) = a road that is smooth or slightly hilly that runs along a mountain slope
25. !oro· = to stand on tiptoe
!o·ro = to bellow
26. saru· = to catch a sheep or goat by the
sa·ru (3, f.) = to pursue
27. so·res = the sun
sore.s = the female sore partner (see p. 318/319)
28. tara·s = the woman
*tā·ras (3, f.) = the brother's duty (especially emphasized by the Hottentots) to love his sister and her children (see p. 303)
29. to·rob = war
toro·b = a fine-grained, red, hard, kind of soil

δ)Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	=	the annoyance
	/ara·b		=	rib
	/a·ˀrab		=	the crack
2.	//a·ri		=	yesterday, tomorrow
[359]	//aˀri·		=	to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oˀˀn)
3.	!a·ba		=	to climb up
	!aˬba·	(3, st.)	=	to scratch
4.	χoa·		=	to scrape
	χo·ˀa		=	to write
5.	χuru·b		=	powdered coals
	χuˬru·	(3, st.)	=	to pull out
6.	χu·bu		=	to pulverize tobacco
	χuˬbu·	(3, st.)	=	to drink from [sip]
7.	gara·		=	to be cool
	ga·ˬra		=	to have German measles
8.	gaˬro·	(3, st.)	=	bend, bow
	ga·ro		=	to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		=	to sprinkle
	/gaˬbi·s	(3, st.)	=	the cup
	(/gabi·		=	to be high)
10.	//ga·ˬe		=	to imitate
	//gaɛ·		=	to chew
11.	//ga·mi		=	water
	//gaˬmi·	(3, st.)	=	to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		=	the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaˀna·s		=	name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

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//ga·ˀna = to water the cattle singly or in herds

13. //gara·s = the Aloe dichotoma L. (see p. 112)

//ga/ra·s (3, st.) = shoulder blade

//ga·ra = to scratch lines

14. !ga· os = cutting

!ga/o·s (3, st.) = the tree trunk

15. !ga/ra·b = thinness

!ga·rab = the male genitals

16. !ga·ro = to be barren

*!ga/ro· = the hurrying of the thirsty cattle to water or of the mother animal to its young

17. /ga·mi = to have two wives (cf. p. 307)

[360] /gaˀmi· = to close one eye

18. /go·e = to curse

/go/e· = to splint a broken arm

19. /go/re·b = the request

/go·reb = a cut in the skin for bleeding

20. guˀnu = to make a place for oneself by shoving

gu/nu (3, st.) = to spoil, rot

21. /gu·i = one

/gu/i· (3, st.) = to become tired of somebody

22. //ga·ma (3, f.) = to fetch water

*//ga/ma· = to lie close to the fire

23. go/ra·b (3, st.) = name of a kind of crow, the Corvus scapulatus Daud.

*go·ra = to peel skins from field onions

24. !gu/i· (3, st.) = to creep around something

!gu·i = pulsating of a wound

25. !gu·ri = to rub someone with fat

!guˀri· = to be arrogant

26. !gu/bu· (3, st.) = to knock

!gu·bu = to be round

192 27. ǂgu·i = to be much

194 ǂgu/i·s (3, st.) = the nose

28. ha/ra· = to be far

ha ra = to swallow

29. /ha/mi· (3, st.) = to dress warmly

/ha·mi = to make oneself ready

30. //ha·ru = to weep from joyous emotion

//ha/ru· (3, st.) = to creep into

31. !ha·e = to be quick

!ha/e· = to hunt on horseback (see p. 290)

32. !ho·a = to tell a story

!ho/a· = to be crooked

33. !ho/ba·b = turning around

!ho·bab = intestinal worm

34. /hu/ru· (3. st.) = cooking thin meat until dry

/hu·ru = to play

35. !hu/i·b (3. st,) = the bustard (see p. 272)

!hu·ib = the fresh smell of the damp wood of the giraffe acacia

36. !hu·nu = to become wet

[361] !hu/nu· = to suck marrow out of bones (cf. p. 355, no. 28.)

37. ǂkχa·rab (3, f.) = the whale (see p. 37)

ǂkχa/ra·b = testicles

38. !kχo·ab = cartridge belt

*!kχo/a·b = ice

39. ǂkχo·a = to soothe

ǂkχo/a·b = the elephant

40. ǂkχu·bi = to make noise

ǂkχu/bi· = to babble (of small children)

41. na·ʔmi = the tongue

na ʔmi· = to flicker

na/mi· = to bend around a corner

na/mi·b = the surface, the Namib desert

42. na·ba = to flash [lightning]

na/ba· (3, st.) = to disappear behind something, to go down

192 43. /naǂe· = to put straight
194 /na·eb = the navel
44. //na·e = to indicate
//naǂe· = to sing
45. //nãǂi· (3, st.) = to girdle oneself with straps (Herero)
//nã·ǂi = to be stiff
//nã· i = all right
46. !naǂe· = to trot
!naë· = to become warm
!naʔe = to be born
47. !na·rab = the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw. (see pp. 146, 197.)
*!naǂra·b (3, st.) = designation of the Namib bushmen for "white man"
48. /no·ro = to tan a skin
/noǂro· (3, st.) = to be pale
49. /oǂro· = to be few
/o·ro = used up, to be old
50. //oʔa = not to be able to
//oǂa· (3, st.) = squishing of water in wet shoes
(//o·a = to kiss)
51. !o·a = to meet
!oǂa = to be sad
[362] 52. sa·mi (3, f.) = breasts, udder
saʔmi· = to use the whip
saǂmi = to get in the "wrong throat" when swallowing
53. sao· = to mark cattle
sa·o = to follow
54. so·as = barrel
soǂa·s = fissure, scratch
55. to·a = to cease
toǂa· (3, st.) = to tear apart
56. /uǂi·b = brother-in-law
/u·ib = stone
57. !uʔi· = to cut fat from meat

192 !u·i = to become evening

194 58. !u/bu·b = egg

*!u·bu (3, f.) = to turn someone away

59. !ũ·i = to guard

*!ũ/i· (3, st.) = to be seamless or jointless

60. tsa/o· (3, st.) = the raging pawing of the bull or the wildebeest

tsa·ob = ash

61. tsa/ma·b = the tsama gourd (see p. 200)

tsa·mab = the food supply of the ants, "ant food"

62. tso·as = looking for lice

tso/a·s (3, st.) = anus

)Difference in word-tone, accent, initial tone level and tone extension.

//ga·/ni (1/2, f.) = meat

//gani· (1/2, st.) = checked brown and white

194 f) Suspension of sound characteristics is to be observed at times, when the individual word becomes a part of a compound. However, I have not made any systematic notations in this direction, but only noted a few observations.

The accent in a compound is usually shifted from its original position in the individual word. The general designation for cat is /hõ/a·b. In the compounded designation for "field-cat," !ga·ro/hõ·/ab, the accent is clearly shifted to the penultimate syllable. The same is true for !ore b, the basin, and */nu·bi!o·reb, the winnowing basin (p. 201). [363] Usually a change in the word-tone (see the accent, p. 353) is combined with this.

Also the characteristic tone extension of the individual word can disappear in a compound: //hõ/s, the sack, /na·ma//hõ/s, the economy sack (p. 238). Noticeable in a compound is the appearance of a rising tone extension that is lacking in the individual words: /na/m, to love, but /na/m/na/m, to bring to love.

How much the sound characteristics of the individual word change under the musical influence of the sentence structure and under the influence of the emotions, I have not investigated. The initial tone level seems to be to be by far the stablest sound characteristic of a word.

3. Orthography

The spelling which I use for Nama words in this report is closely patterned after the general linguistic alphabet, which Steinthal (80) uses. I 104 194

> 80. H. Steinthal, Linguistik, in G. Neumayer's "Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen," 1891.

can therefore restrict myself here to a few remarks to orient the reader and as an explanation for several deviations from Kroenlein's method.

ā indicates the length of a vowel. If the long sign is missing, the vowel is short.

ã indicates nasalization. Individual tendency towards nasalization of vowels, which follow an m (toma, "not," go ma·b, "ox," ma, "to give," etc.) I have observed frequently but I have not considered this in the script.

(a) indicates that the vowel involved is spoken hastily, almost supressed.

y is pronounced as the "j" in the German word Jena.

a/o and analogously all vowels that are separated by a sound sign, are not to be spoken as a dipthong but separately.

aɛ, aĭ, and oɛ etc. are to be spoken with the vowels separated with the accent on the first if no accent sign is given.

ai is to be pronounced as in the German "Kaiser," "Eile," "einerlei," etc. The dipthong ei (as pronounced in the linguistic alphabet) does not exist in the Hottentot language. The linguistic method of writing should definitely be preferred. Where Kroenlein writes ai, in many cases this could be confused with aɛ.

au is to be pronounced as in the German "Auge," "auch," etc. The linguistic dipthong ou does not exist in the Hottentot language [364] any more than it does in pure German. Where Kroenlein writes au, there is often a confusion with ao which is very close to it.

ao is to be pronounced with the emphasis on the first vowel and with such a quick transition to the second, that it sounds like a dipthong.

b at the beginning of a word is pronounced like our b, in the middle of a word usually softly like our w, and at the end of a word hard but not quite so hard as our p.

χ is pronounced as in the German "lachen," "Bach" etc.

kχ corresponds to Kroenlein's kh, that should be "somewhat harder,

but not much" than k. I have always heard this sound as k with a following χ and therefore write it that way.

r is rolled with the tongue, not made with the uvula.

s is pronounced weakly at the end of a word like the German sch in "Busch," "Bresche," but at the beginning of a word like the s in "salz," "Sonne," etc, often sharply as in the French "salon."

ts is pronounced as is German z in "Zahn," "Zunft" etc.

f and l are missing in the Nama language. When met with occasionally they occur in word stems borrowed from the Dutch: gurla·bigis, butterfly; f(a)la·migob, the flamingo, ff·lsib, the vuilziekte of the Boers (lues).

[364] B. Knowledge of Nature

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What we learned (from our consideration of the sustenance and medicine, handicrafts, animal husbandry and hunting as well as from the portrayal of the land and climate) about the Hottentot's specific knowledge of the three realms of nature was that it derived more or less directly from material exigencies and had always been connected with them. The question now poses itself whether this knowledge also exists independently of the cares of daily life, that is, to what extent it can be regarded as the free expression of intellectual stimuli. It will be shown that despite all the intellectual agility of the Hottentot his knowledge of nature at no time rises to an even rudimentary form of natural science. Only in two fields can we recognize at least the striving for a certain continuation beyond the rudiments or for an organization of the factual data: in the field of biology (which even today is closest to the hunter and cattle owner) and -- almost lost once again to oblivion -- in the field of division of time, whose seasonal changes and deep influence upon animated nature both give the herdsman cause to think.

1. Flora and Fauna

[365] The Hottentot's knowledge of animals and plants will not be discussed here. The zoological and botanical classification of the material I collected must be finished before we can attain a clear picture of the matter. We would gain nothing by simply listing the native names.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX 10

B 197 as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of */Khū* (*Kung*) and *//K'au //en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, H 197 only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

B H 197 The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

B H 194 ## Phonetics[4]

Except in the case of */Khū* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Ko-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4; cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoe-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhû Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Certain general features of importance shared by them all are readily observable, however. The vowels in many cases have a more or less obscure sound, i.e. they are slurred in pronunciation and their qualities are indefinite, so that several varieties may be heard of what is essentially the same vowel sound. Most vowels occur either long or short, and this length is at times a determining factor between words otherwise alike. Almost all the vowels, further, may be nasalized, and the presence or absence of nasalization is a factor in distinguishing words of different meanings otherwise phonetically identical. Diphthongs, finally, are very numerous.

The consonants are subdivided into emitted consonants and reversed or implosive consonants. In the former class, "in the production of which the whole movement of the speech organs emits or drives the air outwards," velar and alveolar explosives, fricatives, and affricates predominate, which, in conjunction with the "clicks", give the languages a harsh staccato character. The affricate combinations are almost all unvoiced and ejective, i.e. accompanied by simultaneous glottal stop. Nasals are also very often heard in speech. On the negative side may be noted the absence of the labio-dentals *f* and *v* and the semi-vowel *l*, except occasionally in words incorporated from European languages.

The reversed or implosive consonants, "in the production of which the whole or a portion of the movement of the speech organs reverses or draws the air inwards," are the famous and much-discussed "clicks". They are produced by rarefying the air between some outer closure or point of tongue articulation and an inner closure formed either at the velum or the glottis, and then releasing the outer closure so that the air is sucked in sharply. The inner closure is subsequently released for the following vowel. The position of the outer closure varies with the different kinds of click. Four different positional types of click are used in all the Khoisan languages: dental, customarily represented by the symbol /; alveolar, !; palato-alveolar (sometimes called cerebral), ‡; and lateral, //. Each of these may be pronounced unvoiced, voiced, or nasal, and in various combinations with other consonants. In the Southern Bushman Group there is further a bilabial unvoiced velaric click ("kiss click"), ʇ, not met with elsewhere, while */Kkã* also has a fifth type of click, the retroflex.

The grouping of sounds and the character of the syllable follow the same principles throughout. Single vowels, diphthongs, nasal

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

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Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they
354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of
372 it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

Language.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these
194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck.
101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[1]) They
192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[1]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was not bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautiton* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *khoikoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselves. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[66]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[67]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amulon or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[68]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in -kom: as tobaqkom, tobacco; kaetjom, a little piece; Aerom, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[66]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 304, 321).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.[*)] It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye manaine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *manaine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*[**)], i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from *one* to *ten* as in use both among the Magui and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochart[**)], skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

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*) In modern Khoe, *i-Kaye* = house, domicile, and *amanai* = water; *manaine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanini*.

**) Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oorth in his Dutch trans. of G.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Amsterdam, tr., 207.)

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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524 Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, "To make a hole" and *//hu:a* is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *guuukuuu*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims: "*kam !kumiŋ !na ha?*" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: */kaugu*. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

[114]

VI. LANGUAGE.

197 This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aromŋ //ai* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

197 113 (i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt der Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

194 *Note*: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels*. Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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ĭ and ŏ and ŭ (p. 7). I found the same hesitancy in many other instances. Thus ≠*he:ĭ*, in *Tabab'i* pronunciation, as against *Iis*, ≠*hae*, " to be brought in." ≠*he:ĭ* can be explained thus: ≠*hae* > ≠*hee* (with *a* > *e*) > ≠*he:ĭ* (*i* by dissimilation). Again */Nøes* in the group */noes /ho:ma gomab* was pronounced */seis* by *Tabab*, who is considered as the best Korana speaker in Bloemhof.

Similarly *o* and *u*, e.g. *uru* and *ore* " to free, rub off "; */Koro* and */kuru*, " to rub, massage; "

au and *ou* in */naub* and */noub*, " red ochre ";

ău and *ŏu* in *//nălu* and *//nŏlu*, " to hear."

An *ɔ* is found in some words, e.g. */gɔ kɔ²ai*, " to cover "; *kɔ²ɔmi*, " house."

An *y* is heard sometimes in */uib*, " stone " pronounced */yib*, as against */uib*, " father-in-law," which never shows the *y*.

ue > *we* e.g. */hue*, and */kua* " to "; */kua*, " with "; ≠*kua*, " to go out."

w develops between *o:* and *e* in *ho:we* " to be obtained," (heard once).

(b) *Consonants.*

(i) *-b* is very often devoiced into *-p*. Thus *Tabap* instead of *Tabab*; */giip/ hareip*; ≠*kaip* instead of ≠*kaib*, " foot."

-b- (intervocalic) is sometimes, but very seldom heard as *-β-*.

(ii) The flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as *r* or *l* or *d* exists. Thus, in proper names, *Malukab*, *giip/ hareip*, *Katulip*, etc. I have heard *Iis* say */garip* and */gadip* " the river " and *Tabab* say indifferently *gomadi* and *gomari* " the cows."

The existence of this consonant explains, to my mind, such distinctions as this one made by Wurm (*Vocabulary of the Korana Language*, under " Cow "): " All the females have two plurals—the woman says; *Kumatse*; the man says: *Kumare*." and by Engelbrecht (p. 8): " Reeds uit die voorgaande het ons geleer dat die gebruik van 'n *r-* of 'n *d-* vorm afhang van die geslag van die spreker. . . . . By die vorming van die verkleinwoord word naamlik tussen stam en agtervoegsel *-ra-* of *-da-* ingelas al na die spreker tot die manlike of tot die vroulike geslag behoort."

(iii) The *l* exists very rarely. I observed it only in one word *laula* " I am sorry, excuse me."

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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194 (iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *ŋ* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names ; *||aremŋ ||ais* ; " the Links " *!Kuriŋ ||ais*, " the Hoogstanders ;;' *|hãoŋ ||ais*, " the Katmense " ; *|hũŋ ||ais* the " Skerpioens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiŋ !hareip* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common otherwise, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiŋ ≠a:s* " the big reed."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the velar element of the click as to the isolated velars *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this velar element of the click. The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib*, " the Orange River," and *!karib*, " honey-beer, " and *!harib* " whip " ; *||kaeb*, " time," and *||kxaeb* " law."

I observed no ejective velar affricate *kx'* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *||aremŋ ||ais* being a good example, < *||are* " left," + *||õab*, " arm," *||ais* " tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Bloemhof speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. */uib*, " stone," with a high tone, and */uib*, " father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognised three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

193 It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that " die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

	Khoikhoi.	*ǃAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǃgina-s	ǃgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaĭ (ǃKora)	ɣaĭ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ~, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǃgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǃgun (ǃgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nĭge or nĭ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǃKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Keuhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man* ǃkui *goai*, and *woman* ǃkui ǃnitĭ, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men*, ǃĕga *tăgga*, and *women* ǃĕga ǃnăgga. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Mr. Krönlein, a missionary who pretends to have some knowledge of the Khoikhoi. He told me that he derives *tse* from *gei*, to grow, to develop. This is quite unscientific, as there is not a single instance in the Khoikhoi idioms of the *g* changing into *ts*. It seems that the original root is quite lost, and so is its meaning. I shall, however, make some suggestions of my own, that perhaps may lead those who still labour among the Khoikhoi on some track. [194] We have numerous instances in Khoikhoi that *ia* contracts into *e*; and we have also the fact that *ts* has worn off into *s*; again, we have the instance that *e* and *i*, in forms like *bi* and *be*, or *si* and *se*, are promiscuously used. If we now reconstruct *tse* we shall get the form *tsia*; tsia then becomes *tsē* or *tsī*; and *tsī* becomes *sī*. Now we have in Khoikhoi the verb *sī*, to come, to arrive, to approach. I have, in the analysis of the name Tsūi‖goab, shown that ‖goa means to come, to approach, and here we have only in tsēb another form, which in meaning is identical with ‖*goab*, the approaching one—viz., day. I wish, however, to be clearly understood; this derivation is a mere suggestion, and nothing more, but I claim for it a greater possibility than one would claim for such an etymology as is offered in *tse* from *gei*.

‡*Gama*‡*gorib*.

Almost identical with ‖*Gaunab*, the opponent of Tsūi‖*goab*, is ‡*Gama*‡*gorib*. The etymology of this name offers great difficulty. ‡*Gama*, from the root ‡*gā*, signifies to sink down, to fall down, to drop, by sinking down to enter the ground; but it is also transitively used to throw down, to put into the ground, to plant. ‡*Gori*, again, from the root ‡go, *to go to one side, to jump out of the way, to give road*. For instance, if a person meets another, the one will say to the other, ‡*go*, make room, give way, go to one side; therefore ‡Gama‡gorib is *the one who in falling down, or throwing*

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti /gās ao nu*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa /gāsa xae*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gāb*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively [illegible]".

Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//nàris*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[1]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 20; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; idem, *Tsuni-//Goam*, [illegible]; van Reenen, op. cit., 202; Schultze, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no late) 1930
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of the tribe. The eldest of them presides over the proceedings; the others are his assessors, *nu-aoju*, and can take part freely in the examination of the litigants or accused and of the witnesses. One of them also acts as public prosecutor, another as advocate for the defence (*gowabo-aob*, intercessor). The post of councillor, as we have seen, is honorary and carries no salary, but certain court fees are levied in trials. The complainant must deliver a couple of fat goats in advance in order to have his case heard, and these provide food for the judges as long as the court sits. The defendant also may be required to contribute a similar fee, even before the verdict is arrived at.

The initiative in any legal proceedings lies in the hands of the complainant. Self-help is not permitted. He must lodge his grievance with the official known as the magistrate. The latter then summons the councillors, who assemble together on the day fixed for the hearing. The court meets as a rule out in the open, under the shade of some tree, where all squat in a circle. The litigants or accused and the witnesses are then summoned by the public messenger, who as sign of his function carries with him a long stick. With this, on entering the hut of the defendant, he knocks three times on the ground, without speaking a word. Then he goes away as silently as he came. The defendant now knows that his presence is required. If he refuses to appear, which in fact seldom happens, or fails to send an acceptable excuse in time, several strong men are sent to take and bring him by force. For defying the summons he then receives a special flogging. If he is accused of some crime, and is suspected of meditating flight, he is brought before the court with a rieme[1] round his neck and his hands tied behind his back. Witnesses summoned are obliged to appear, and if they do not are fetched and punished in the same way as the defendant. The latter must stand or kneel in the centre of the court circle, but if a woman is permitted to sit. The complainant stands or squats nearby till he is called upon to speak, and the summoned witnesses must also remain within a reasonable distance.

The magistrate now states the case to the council. The chairman then calls on the complainant to speak, next on the defendant and on all the witnesses one after the other. One witness as a rule is sufficient, but more are desirable. No hearsay evidence is allowed; only what the witness has himself seen and heard is admitted as valid. False testimony is severely condemned, the perjurer being punished according to the mischief he causes. Examination and cross-examination are conducted by the councillors. They rarely employ direct

[1] [i.e., a thong or strip of cowhide. - Ed.]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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695 [195] questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions. When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion is the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed. 696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is 681 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *nou-aob*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wandres describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *thigu*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men [illegible] their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and bit, until one of them [57] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari·, vb.). Further
preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for
oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag
Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular
outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and
has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the
irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is
about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles
[Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the
spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an
overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and
weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like
a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick
is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and
round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin
that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly
twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls
out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again
in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed
with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap
is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox
straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the
Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [?]
Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the
same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã·gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba·b is
cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 284
/a·bib) in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls.
1/4 Natural Size.]

One has tried to connect the word /a·bib, 1960
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

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The apron -- naturalia non sunt turpia -- may occasionally drip. Schinz (50) derives

> 50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc., Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

the word from the verb "to rain" and translates it as "drip." That is not possible linguistically since "to rain" is not /a-bi but /abi-. Krönlein (57)

> 57. J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

connects the word with the designation for "to slit," obviously connecting it with the apron's slit strips. But the word used for slitting the skin for medical reasons is pronounced /a^bi- (3. st.), which is different from the word for front apron in its initial, tone level, its word-tone, and the place of its accent. [Ed. note: These terms are explained on pp. 143-151.] In my opinion this is a case of three words which are not derived from each other; there are three stems with the same arrangement of letters, each one of which is independent phonetically and in its meaning.

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1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a depilated sheep or goat skin. Then one side is slit (from the future bottom edge) into long strips about 2 millimeters wide. On the opposite end an edge about 15 centimeters wide is left, the future upper edge of the apron. The piece of skin which has thus been cut is folded three times so that the hanging strips are thick enough to cover nakedness. The upper edge is folded [238] and the strap that holds it up is drawn through. The strap tãũ-ab, is one centimeter wide and sewed to the apron to the right and left. It is drawn around the hips and fastened in back.

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e) The economy sack, /na-ma//hã/s, holds all the household scraps which might perhaps be useful later. Here a few coffee beans may be lying about, there gourd seeds, here a strip of leather, there

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hō!ti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro /hā/e*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

word stem doro- which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari).

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.]

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa-ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used.

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips.

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /ãi/b, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibers are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips.

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūⁿs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it ᵒkxoē-kxoēsūⁿs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called ᵒ//gūⁿs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, ᵒ/ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, ᵒ/uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, ᵒǂgaⁿs-b and ᵒǂgaⁿs-s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1 [i.e., p. 330 of this translation.--Analyst]]

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded.

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill.

The three cooking stones, !nôʃti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /xgô-/uis, and the flint, !nôʃna (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use.

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tableland nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukausib and on the southern side of the

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1906.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [Otj] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !hai-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /ga/mirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called */ha-/rehab or */ha/retsib, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin that he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally grey.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho/mi, the same name they give the coastal eared seal.

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [283]26. the "caparian" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales). Canis mesomelas Schreb., (Cape D. dog), called /gi'-vi; also frequently called /gai-rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

[224 281]

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*I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /gîb = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (27) since the designation for odor of fat is not /gîb but /gîb, */gi-'vi - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

27. J. G. Krumbein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

14:Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

term *Hottentot* to the whole race, and call the two families, 101
each by the native name, that is the one, the *Khoikhoi*, the so-called *Hottentot proper*; the other the *Sân* (*Sâ*) *or Bushmen*.

In the Nama language, one of the Khoikhoi idioms, 196
the Bushmen are called Sâ-n (com. plur.). The meaning of this term is not quite intelligible, and I frankly confess that, after nine years, of which I have spent nearly seven amongst the Khoikhoi, I did not succeed in arriving at a quite satisfactory etymology, and I must still adhere to the interpretation which I first gave in the *Globus*, 1870, where I traced the word Sâ-(b) to the root SÂ, to inhabit, to be located, to dwell, to be settled, to be quiet. Sâ(n) consequently would mean Aborigines or Settlers proper. These Sa-n or Sa-gu-a, Sonqua or Sounqua, &c. (obj. plur. mac.) as they are styled in the Cape Records, are often called Bushmen—the Bosjesman, Bosjesman, Bosmanneken of the Colonial Annals, a name given to them to indicate their abode and mode of living.

The word Sâ(b) has also acquired a low meaning, and is not considered to be very complimentary. The Khoikhoi often speak of *‡Uri-Sân* (white Bushmen) and mean the low white vagabonds and runaway sailors who visit their country as traders. One also often hears, "*Khoikhoi tamab, Sab ha*," he is no Khoikhoi, he is a Sâ, which means to say, "*he is no gentleman, he is of low extraction, or he is a rascal.*" A Nama will say of a man who is very proud and reserved in his manners, who only mixes in good society, "*Khoikhoiara ra aob ha*," the man makes a Khoikhoi-of-himself, that is, *he stands very much upon his dignity*, and also, *he keeps himself very much to himself.*

Those who desire to have information on the natural 113
and physical condition of the Khoikhoi and Sâ-(n), I refer to Dr. Gustav Fritsch's standard work, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," and to three Essays published by me, Die Namas, and Die Buschmänner, in the

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Th. Hahn. Ouditshoorn, E. Prov. 1871.	*Th. Hahn. Berglamara, North Namaqualand.* 1875.	§52
I. ǀKui	ǀkui	
II. ǀKam	ǀkam	
III. ǀNona	ǀnona	
IV. Haka	haga	
V. Koro	gore	
VI. ǀNani	ǀnani	
VII. Hûgu	hû	
VIII. ǁKhaisi	ǁkhaisa	
IX. Khoisi	khoise	
X. Disi	disi	

A ‡Nuwi-Namaqua from the Kaokoveldt counted in the same way as the Great Namaquas.

This much we know of the time when the numerals were formed, that it must have followed the period when the Khoikhoi family had left the isolating stage, and their language availed itself of the aid of pronominal elements in order to form derivatives ǀGui, ǂga-m, ǂno-na, ha-ga, go-re, ǂna-ni, hû-gu or hu-ni-gu, ǁkhai-si, khoi-si, di-si, all have the derivative-pronominal-suffixes, i, m, na, ni, gu, ga, re, si. We also know that the Khoikhoi could not have invented the numerals before their domestic and social condition made counting and taxing necessary. As long as they were hunters, there was nothing worth counting, but when they had taken to breeding cattle and sheep, they had to count (ǂǒa) their flocks, and the richest man was the most honoured man. Hence it is that ǂǒa, *to count*, is also used in the meaning, *to honour, to respect*, and ǂǒab means not only *the number*, but also *the honour, the respect, the regard*. "ǂGǒabe tamata hã," will a Khoikhoi indignantly say, "I am not counted," that is, "I am not looked at," if he thinks that he is unfairly treated.

The meanings of some of these numerals are very clear. ǀGui, *one*, is the *single*, the *lonely* one. For

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hemsmet FX13

[82] instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would
196 ask, ǂGuiseb hâ? Is he alone?

ǂGam, *two*, I derive from the root ǂka, ǂkha, ǂga, or ǂna, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with*, "*added*," "*contributed*," *in connection with*.

ǂNona, *three*, comes from ǂno-na-s or ǂno-ma-s, the *root*, the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger*, it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three*, because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the symbol of the abstract number *three*.

Hoque, *four*, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gore*, *five*, which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *gorab*, for palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, "*Gorab* ǂna ta ni tani" (I will carry it in the
[82] palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. 'Gorab is also the Euphorbia candelabra, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched
82 arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the
196 number *gore* and the *gore*-tree have derived the name
137 from ǂgurib (also komib), the open hand. It is also
103 certain that the number *gore* and the tree *kore* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gore*-tree has served
[214] from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Koreχas in the North-western Cape Colony; a ǂKora told me that he was born at Koreχas in the Free State;

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

another Kore‖as is in the ǂGami-ǂnus territory in Southern Namaqualand, and another Kore‖as in the North-western Kalihari, between Gobabis and Ghanze. It is well known that the Euphorbia candelabra shows the most beautiful and gigantic forms in the Khalambe Mountains and in Sekukuni's country and the Hoogeveldt (Highlands) of the Eastern Transvaal. From this we may conclude, as the *gore*-tree does not grow in flats, but is, in very few exceptions, almost entirely confined to mountainous territories, that the Khoikhoi before they separated lived in a mountainous country. This circumstance allows us to account for the higher development which they received before their cousins, the Bushmen. It also points out to us the primordial "fatherland" of the Khoikhoi.

We come now to the number ǂnani, *six*, where I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation.

Hã or *hãpa* (originally *hamipa*) mean the "mixed one," the "amalgamated one," from *hami*, to stir, to amalgamate. For instance, if milk is thrown into coffee, a man says, "Hamire elbe ets ni ǂgûse ã." "Stir at first" (that is, mix the coffee with the milk), "and you will drink nicely." Whether here the seven colours of the rainbow gradually flowing into one another originated the idea of the number seven I cannot tell, but I think it possible.

‖Khaisi or ‖khoise, *eight*, is very clear from the root ‖khoi, to turn; thus ‖khaisi means "turning number"—*i.e.*, four is turning back again.

K'hoisi, *nine*, is not intelligible. All I can say is, that it has with *khoib*, man, the root *khoi* in common.

Disi, *ten*, from *di*, to do, would give us the meaning "*done*," "*finished*." And the Khoikhoi now continued *eleven*, disi-tgui-‖khe; twelve, disi-tgum-‖khe—that is, ten-one-with, ten-two-with, &c. &c., or simply with striking off disi, ten, tgui-‖khe, two-with, and so forth. Twenty is tgum disi, two tens; thirty is tgoma disi, three

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202 tens, &c. Hundred, dini dini, ten tens, or gri dini, great
916 ten. For thousand, ǂoa gri dini, full-great-ten, is now in use, but I am not in the position to decide whether it is of very recent date or not.

916 179 If we had nothing else but these numerals, it would be enough to excite our admiration for the intellectual achievements of the pre-historic Khoikhoi. These numerals are the oldest records of philosophical thinking among the Red-men, and rank their inventors with the ancestors of our own Aryan race *as far as mental power is concerned*. But fortunately there are some more fragments and relics which open to us a clear view into the social, domestic, and religious daily life of the primitive Khoikhoi. He was a Nomad, and possessed large herds of cattle and sheep. The cattle (*gomâs*) and sheep (*gôa*) were his riches (ǀgôa). A rich man (*goa-aob*) was a fat man; he could afford to be fat (*goase*), he could anoint himself with fat (*goab*). Therefore the word *goa-aob, fat-man*, is identical with ǂkhâ-aob, *rich-man*, and both have now become the words by which rulers, kings, chiefs, masters, and lords are addressed; goa-aob, or gao-aob, being generally used for *chief* or *king*, and ǂkhoa-aob for *master* or *lord*, sometimes simply ǂkhîb, in which form it is also used for the "*Lord in heaven*."

Naturally the richest man had the largest family, he could afford to buy wives as many as he liked; to love, to court, is ǁû, originally ǁoma, which fuller form is still in use for *to buy, to barter*. This shows that the Khoikhoi bought their wives, and there must have been a remembrance of that custom still, when they first came in contact with the black Bantu race; for the Zulus have the same word ǁoma for marrying—viz., buying a wife, a word which, from its click, shows the Khoikhoi origin.

It is now clear that the richest man became the most influential man, and gradually rose to the station of a chief. He could buy as many wives as he liked, and thus

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ruled through the number of relations and such admirers who had to live on him. It is now still expected that a Khoikhoi chief must have an open hand and an open house; and the worst that can be said of a chief is, that he is *gei-tiare—i.e., greatly-lefthanded or stingy*. It happens sometimes, that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal.

It was a great event in the history of the Hottentot language, when *Gûri-Khoiná*, the ancestor of the present nomadic Hottentots called himself the "Only-man," or *Khoikhoiñ*, the man of men—*i.e.*, man *par excellence*; when he formed from the root *khoi* such abstract words as *khoiñ*, friendly, human; *khoiña*, humanity, friendliness, kindness, friendship, or *khoiχe* and *khoiχoña*, kind and kindliness; *khoiñpeye*, marriage, intimacy, friendship; *khoiχoikhoiñ*, most intimate friend, or, as we say in German, *Herzensfreund*.

There is, indeed, a great and striking difference between the feelings and ideas of a Bushman and a Khoikhoi.

This word Khoikhoi opens to us another page of the records of the pre-historic Hottentots. It proves that besides the Sin or Bushmen, there were no other nations known to the Khoikhoi. The present Bergdamaras are called *Dama*, the conquered people, and also *ǂKoekhoi*, the strange people, or foreigners—*i.e.*, people of another nation or tribe. The very fact that the word Ba-ca is a derivative, while Khoikhoi and Sin are not, shows us that the word Sin and Khoikhoi were formed some considerable time before Dama—that is, before the time the Khoikhoi came in contact with black races. For instance, all the names of the Khoikhoi tribes are derivatives, as can be seen from the following enumeration (Ko-ki-ri, ǂAa-ni, ǂNo-ke, (Ko-ra, (Ko-ra, (Ko-ra-χa, (Ma-la-ke, (Ko-ni-ǂna, Ga-ta-ni-, &c. This indicates that these tribes came into existence only after the agglutinative character of the Khoikhoi language was fully established, and perhaps most of them after the primitive

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Khoikhoi family had separated. Here I may add that the Khoikhoi name for Betyuana is Bri or Biri (Briqua of the Cape Records), and this appellation is generally derived from *biri, goat;* thus the Tyuana are the *Goat people*. But I am more inclined to derive the word *Biriqua* from ba-*Beri*, or ba-Pedi, or ba-Beli, a Tyuana tribe, who formerly lived more to the South, in the present Free State, and are of Suto (Basuto) extraction, who form again a sub-family of the Tyuana.

Before the Khoikhoi left their primordial "Fatherland," the various degrees of relationship were already established. Father as genitor was ǂgũ-b; as protector ǂ-b; as master *aub;* as friend ãb, *tatab, abab* and *abo-ib*. Amongst many other names for mother was that suggestive expression *ei-goe*, the one *who looks upon*—viz., the child (from *ei* upon, and *go* to look, to see). Strange enough, uncle and grandfather, or ancestor, were called ǂnaub; the son-in-law was ǂnu-ri-b, and he had to spend his first years like Jacob in the service of his father-in-law. He was the *old man's* companion in the hunting-field as well as in the war. Polygamy was customary, as we can see from the appellations *gri-ria*, the *elder wife*, the *great-wife*, and ǂi-ri-a, the *younger wife*. As we shall see in the following chapter, Heitsi-eibib, their great-grandfather, had a second wife. And the laws of *succession* and *inheritance* are now-a-days the same among the surviving tribes as they were before their separation. Law, ǂhaub means what is right, straight, what is in a straight line. A *gentleman's*, or, to speak more familiarly, a gentleman's, word was a *true word* (*amab*), and it was a disgrace to a "*gentleman*" to speak untruth, or to ǂhami *or gôra*. Boys when they became of age were told *not to lie*, not to steal ‖i, and not to ill-treat the other sex, not to commit rape. The vendetta, ‖khareb, was in practice, which means *the deing-in-return*. Sin, guilt, and wickedness was expressed by the word ‖o-re-b, evidently derived from the word-‖i, to die; ‖kareb thus means what makes *‖i-ib to death*, and literally wicked, sinful.

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All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Taras-dadi*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or *ta* means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tis (constructed from *gautaras*), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xamtsâs, who ruled the Cauquas (!Khauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xamtsa, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-(Khauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. 'All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is Xamtsa-b and the mother is ‡*Ariseb*, the sons are—

1. ‡Ariseb gaib—*i.e.*, ‡Ariseb the big one or the eldest ‡Ariseb.

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(pot sû-s, to boil, to cook sâi). Food, especially meat, is always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

We must also conclude that the process of melting ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general separation; for !arib is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from !â, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gûaga), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings !gauagu, literally meaning the ties, from !gai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (!hoe-χoe-!na) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that the priest (!gai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (!gaîb), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *peak-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mossellay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (aî-b or !oχ-a).

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* "Their women ride on their great oxen while behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

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The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buxu, and those sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Dioema were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsitsigoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (Ilamab, trade, Ilamaga, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buxu. And the leaves of the *Dioema* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡No-ilkhara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǂAmas tribe), and of the ǂKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡No-ǂhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǂKhâuti (ǂKhounetti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreps the Zebras, a Orionis ǂgoni, the Lion, a Tauri (Aldebaran) and, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarab*, from *tara*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the performer. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǂgoti-b, ǂgoib, ǂ-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praises. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǂgoiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received them on such an occasion a cognomen as Xamaǂgamtab, Lion-killer, ǂOmitsamab, The One who cannot die, Anguilib, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

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103 Names of places

and rivers up to this day tell us of battles once fought, such as ǂKhami and ǂKhama, Battlefield, ǂKhe-tjoe-ta, "You cannot catch me;" ǂKhoiwa, the last one caught; ǂKχiχoe, peace; ǂHaritamas, "I am not afraid." Other names again bear testimony to the love for dancing and singing, like ǂGaitsis and ǂGaitsiχoe, "Good, pleasant singing." ǂAχais, "Reed-dance." And even sentimental feelings seem to be as characteristic of them as of the writers of fashionable novels now-a-days. ǂAibe, "Dying from love," has probably been the scene of a very tragical love affair.

791 Prophets (gubo-augu, *i.e.*, seers) could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan. We shall see hereafter that Heitsibib, Tsu-ǂgoab and the Moon, all were endowed with the power of prophecy.

● 796 I have already shown in the forms derived from *Uri*, that the Khoikhoi are able to form abstract words.

This distinguishes them most favourably from all the Bushmen tribes, and proves how high their mental development must have been before they emigrated from their primitive territory.

I shall give only a few specimens. ǂKi, to think, from ǂnoi to cut to pieces, to slaughter, hence, ǂgo (ǂgoa), the thought; ǂgo-ǂgo-ma, to consider, to think over again; ǂgo-ǂgo-ma-a, the result of one's own consideration, idea, perception.

ǂ, to appear, to shine; i-ǂ, form, shape, likeness, appearance; ǂas and ǂgas, full of form, beautiful, pretty, handsome.

ǂi, to come, to arrive; ai (from ainǂ), to cause to arrive—*i.e.*, to send; ainǂ, to send oneself—*i.e.*, *to went*; German, sich ausmachen.

A, yes; ǂnas, true; ǂnaub, truth; ǂnaub-tsiǂkhaos, love of truth.

ǂNama, love, fondness; ǂnamǂnamma, fond, dear; ǂnam, to love.

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‡Amo, eternal, endless, ‡amsib, eternity. This ‡amo is derived from ‡ā to be sharp to be pointed; hence ‡amo, the end, the point; *o* is sed as the *a privativum* in Greek, and means without. Thus ‡amo, what is without end. 196

‡Khom, to have mercy; ‡homs, mercy.

‡a, to forget; ‡ā, to forgive—*i.e.*, to forget the hatred.

‡Khā, to refuse; ‡khai, stubborn, wicked; ‡*khaisoā*, wickedness, badness. Why missionaries have committed the absurdity of forcing from a Hebrew root the word *elo*χ*eum*—*i.e.*, being without elohim—is to me a riddle, when we have a very pregnant Khoikhoi word to express wicked and wickedness.

Tsī, to feel; *tsīb*, the feeling, taste, sentiment; *tsīkhe*, to feel with—*i.e.*, to console; tsī-khasib, condolence (German Mitgefühl).

‡*Aes*, clean, neat; but *as*, sacred, pure, refined, handsome, beautiful; also *asa*χ° sanctity, holiness, sacredness, purity.

To show what the Khoikhoi mean by *asa* and *asa*χ°, I may give the following conversation I once had with an old Namaqua. A girl, niece of his, used to bring daily some milk to my cave. Her lovely face and the pure expression of the eyeball struck me repeatedly, and I could not help being complimentary to the old man. It was indeed one of those faces

> "Which tell of days goodness spent,
> A mind in peace with all below,
> A heart where love is innocent."

I used in my conversation the word ‡as (beautiful), when the old man almost indignant said, "No, every girl can be ‡as, but such an appearance as hers we call *asa*χ° (full of purity)." This was amongst Khoikhoi who had no missionary yet, and who still lived in national primitive independence.

Nothing, however, is more convincing of the abstract power of the Khoikhoi tongue than the great number 196 122

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§ 22. of names for the various divisions and subdivisions of colours. The colour itself is taib—*i.e.*, appearance. It must be remembered that the colours named in the following are not all which are known to the Khoikhoi, which must surprise the more if we recollect that they have been collected in the most barren territory of South Africa, in Great Namaqualand. For this reason we need not doubt that, among the other tribes, not only the same words were in existence, but that also more subdivisions were known. Be this however as it may, we are told that Demokritus knew only of four colours, and that in China the number of colours was originally five, while we shall learn from the following that the Khoikhoi distinguished very strictly between ǃnuri, white, ' ǂnū, black, ǃam, green, ǃawa (ǃana, ǂava), red, "ǂhoe, blue, ǃhai, fawn-coloured, ǃhuni, yellow, "ǂgama, brown, ǃkhan, grey, "ǃnaiǂa, "ǂgara, dotted. Then we have the following subdivisions—ǃnuri-ǃhuni, whitish-yellow, ǃnuisi, whitish, "ǂnu-ǃhe, black-patched, "ǂnu-ǂgara, black-dotted, "ǂnu-ǂara, black-shining (German, *schwarz-schillernd*), ǃava-ǂara, red-shining, ǃava-ǂgani, with white and red patches, ǃawa-ǃhe or ǂgi-ǃhe, chestnut-colour, ǃavara or ǂavaχa, reddish, "ǃam-ǂara, green-shining (for instance, the colour of the Naja Haje); "ǂgama-ǃhe, brown-dotted, "ǂgama-ǂgara, the same, "ǂgama-ǂhoa, brownish-blue (the colour of Dendrophalus Capensis); "ǂgama-ǂara, brown-shining, like the Vipera Cornuta. The colour of the rainbow is always ǃam, green; only in two cases I heard that it was considered to be ǃava, red. The name of the rainbow is taawirub and daitsirub. In Bible translations of missionaries we read ǃnri-ǃhaoab. This is very incorrect, and nothing else but a verbal translation of rain-bow. As to taawirub, the etymology is not quite clear; taawib is the ebony-tree, which much resembles in appearance the weeping willow; the leaves are dark green, ǂao-ǃna, and taaboχe lilac-coloured, from taabab, the lilac. Now it is difficult to say whether the

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ebony-tree has been called after the green colour of the bile, and also whether the rainbow, *tsaxirub*, received its name from *tsobab*. ǂUri is a derivative from the original ǂû, and certainly has with ǂubes, egg, the root ǂu in common; consequently ǂuri means egg-coloured, and the egg *par excellence*, the ostrich egg, is white. The same root for white and egg we had in the ǂAi Bushman language. ǂAm, green, means originally *springing up*, or *shooting forth*, like in German *ausschlagend*, used for the fresh green leaves; ǂa, to hit, ǂnou-ǂa, and ǂnou-ǂan, to beat —to hit, German, *treffen*; ǂnau-ǂa and ǂnau-ǂan to hear —to hit, *i.e.*, to understand; mû-ǂa and mû-ǂan, to see or to look—to hit, *i.e.*, to observe, to perceive, to acknowledge. ǂAva, red, is nothing else but ǂana, blood-coloured, from ǂan, to bleed, or ǂau-b, blood. ǂHuni is yellow, that is, the colour of clay or ground, from ǂhu-b, ground, earth, clay. ǂGama, brown, is the colour of ǂgîb, originally ǂgomab, the colour of a *clay*; the vley is a water-pond, which is dry in the winter, and then the bottom shows a brown colour. ǂKhaa, grey, is the colour of the ǂkhani, Bos elaphus. ǂNâi-ǂa is the colour of the ǂnaib, giraffe and also of the zebra. ǂGaru is dotted like a leopard, hence this animal is called ǂgurub. The other name of ǂgurub, leopard, however, is more significant; he is also called χoaseb, the mark-scratcher, from χoa to scratch, and aeb to mark, to imprint.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adding some remarks on Khoikhoi poetry, and on the so-called "*Reed-dance*," ǂâb, to which in the following chapters repeatedly reference will be made.

The Khoikhoi have two kinds of poetry, sacred and profane. The sacred hymns, as well as the profane songs, are sung accompanied by the so-called Reed-music or Reed-dances. The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations, and songs of praise in honour of Tsuiǂgoab, Heitsi-eibib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs

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125 equal to that of a waggon wheel; *and when it visits the Orange River mouth*, it is a sign *of a good season for rain.*"

126 The name for snake is ǂnu-b (sing. masc.), and for fountain ǂnu-s (sing. fem). Blood is also ǂnu-b; bloody, full of blood, saturated with blood, ǂnu-ǂa. According to Khoikhoi custom, as I pointed out in the first chapter, the *daughter* is always named after the *father*. It is therefore obvious that the fountain water ǂnu-s, is considered to be the daughter of ǂnu-b the snake. But ǂnu originally means *to flow*. And ǂnu-b, the snake, or ǂnu-s, the fountain, is nothing else than saying, *he flows* or *she flows*. The snake, however, is the one who *flows* over the ground, and in German we say, "Der Fluss oder der Bach *schlängelt* sich durch das Thal" (*i.e.*, the river or the brook *winds* through the valley—i.e., *it moves like a snake, winding*). It is now quite transparent that the original meaning of ǂnu-b, snake, was *the one who flows*, and was identical with ǂnu-b, blood, which also meant *that which flows*, the "*flow-er*." It does not require an explanation why the blood flowing through the veins should be called the "*flow-er*." A similar idea connects in the Teutonic languages, *blut*, *blood*, *blond*, *bild*, *bilk*, *plant*, *blunt*, with the Latin *fluvius*, and *fluitare* and *fluere*, although the change of consonants does not appear to be quite in accordance with Grimm's law. (*Vide* Weigand's "Deutsches Wörterbuch, Blut.")

The streaming and flowing of the cloud—that is, the rain—is also derived from the root ǂnu. ǂAo-ib, or, as it is generally written by the missionaries, ǂnuib (it should at least be ǂnuib), is the rain; to rain, is ǂnu-i or ǂnui—that is, to be streaming, to be flowing. ǂAo signifies also *to bleed*, and consequently *to be angry, to have an ill feeling*. Thus one often can hear, ǂAotsi-ra khoib ho, That man bears an ill-feeling against these—*i.e.*, that man has been hurt by you, he bleeds, he feels sore, and craves for satisfaction. This phrase expresses extreme pain. We say also, *My heart bleeds.*

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The colour red, ἰαυα, also takes its origin from ἰαυ, to/96
blood; hence ἰαυα or ἰανα, blood-like, blood-coloured—*i.e.*, red.

And at last, *to milk* is also ἰαυ—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—viz., the milk.

To return now once more to ἰανθ, *snake*, and ἰανα, fountain,/96
we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying/123
he or she flows or *streams*—viz., the water, which in Khoikhoi/125
can be either masculine ǂgami, or feminine ǂgama, according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words became appellatives, meaning the flow-er. And as these words came from the same root, ἰαν, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herbs, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of ἰανθ and ἰανα, and made sure *that in every fountain lived a snake*.

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo-/91
European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "*a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon.*" All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernæic Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:—

ἐγγὺς δὲ κρήνη καλλίρροος, ἔνθα δράκαινα
σκαιὸν ἔναιε δεινὸν θηρίον, ἐφὶ ἀγριομὶν βλάπτει

At the fountain of Arne watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Müllenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once

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Ikaibegu gonna ra." The people say, if it is thundering the Lord is speaking; He is scolding them.

* As to Valentyn's authority, I may add that he refers to certain documents of the Governor, Simon van der Stell, and to the very learned Secretary of the Dutch Government at the Cape, Grevenbrook, who had written a Latin essay on the Hottentots; all these documents were also put at Valentyn's disposal.

* This is nothing else but the *Tsĕi-||goab* worship, as I have identified in the third chapter *Tsĕi-||goab*, with the Dawn. It is still the way of the Aborigines of Great Namaqualand to leave their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and to implore *Tsĕi-||goab*.

* *Gounis*, evidently from the verb gou or gao, to rule. I am, however, suspicious that Kolb, who often is careless in expressing the clicks, has understood ǂGounis—*i.e.*, ǂGaunas, the Bad Being, the demon who is opposed to *Tsĕi-||goab*.

* ǂ' The evil-doer, who fights against *Tsĕi-||goab*, is ǂGounab, and that insect *Mantis fenata*, is also called ǂGounab, both derived from a root ||gun. As will be more minutely explained hereafter, ǂGounab means the destroyer, from the root ||gun, to destroy; and Mantis is called ǂGounab, from the root ||gun, to slay, and is the "*one who slays lice*." Here we have an instance that the same word spoken in a different tone will have a different meaning.—*Vide* Theoph. Hahn, "Die Sprache der Nama," p. 23. The same instance we have in the language of the Mandenga, Steinthal, "Mandenger Sprache Buch," 1877, § 34; and in Siam, *vide* Bastian, "Monatsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akademie zu Berlin," Jan. 1867, p. 337.

* To this I could add, from experience, that I have often observed true gratitude shown to me by Namaquas whom I had helped in troubles either with food, ammunition, or medicine. This convinced me beyond doubt, and will also convince the greatest sceptic that

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OW I was present at one of these ceremonies, and an old Namaqua told me that, in his young days, Heitsi-eibib and Tsûiǂgoab were honoured in the same way.

One sees the whole fight, in which dancers and pipe-blowers are actors. We see the cows and sheep driven off by the horsemen, and we see them retaken; at last the daring and plucky Geitsab receives a mortal wound by a bullet of the enemy. They strip him naked, and leave him a prey to the vultures, which soon approach and commence to devour the body. At last, the friends having slain the enemy, return and collect his bones in a grave, and sing a very doleful burial song.

• 196 * ǂurisa, ǂuse . . . ǂurisa (plur. com. obj.), from the singular form ǂuri-i, are roots, berries, honey, and bulbs, food which is found in the field. The bulbs are called also ʃhani, and a long mountain range in Central Namaqualand is called after the ʃhani, the ʃHan-ǂani Mountains,—*i.e.*, the Bulb Mountains. In Colonial Dutch these bulbs are called *Uientjes*. The ʃHan-ǂani or ʃHanǂana Mountains are the same which Captain Alexander wrongly spells Unuma. Xuse (plur. com. obj.), however, from singular ǂui, means simply things, and in this case it means cattle and sheep; in Colonial Dutch, *vee*, *groot vee*, and *klein vee*. ǂurisa and ǂuse evidently have the same root, ǂu, which means "*something*," a thing which has a concrete substantial origin, while ʃhoiǂe is abstract, and means matter, German *Urstand*, *Sache*.

* ǂGoreb is ochre, red clay.

* Sous-ǂoab is the "monsen."

* ǂEiǂaʃhâttsahîseb is the other name of ʃGurikhoiseb, the Khoikhoi Adam. ǂEiǂa, from ǂei, copper, is copperlike, full of copper, copper-coloured, brass-coloured. ʃhâib is body and ʃhaîtsîb is the backbone (*Rückgrat* in German). The thunder-cloud has often a brazen colour, a sulphur tint. Here one can see how mythology and ancestor-worship flow into one another. Here ǂEiǂa-ʃhâ-

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

finabiseb is identical with ǂNaoab, the thunder-cloud—*i.e.*, with Tsuiǁgoab; and in another myth he changes names with ǂGurikhoisip, the ancestor of the Khoikhoi. We shall have to recur in the third chapter to those names again.

* We shall see more particularly in the third chapter that ǂgoo ǂaub the snake, and ǂaib the rain, come from the same root ǂae, to flow. If there is plenty of rain, the fountains will flow very strongly. In every fountain again there is said to be a snake. Hence the natives say, if the snakes go much about—that is, if the fountains flow very abundantly—then it will be a good year. Tsuiǁgoab, the ancestor of men, the creator of the Khoikhoi, lives in the thunder-cloud, where he causes the cloud *to ǂae*, to stream—that is, he causes the water-snake to come down. Thus the ǂKora say, that the snake and the first man originally lived together. Here I may at once add a note, which I forgot to give in the text. This remark very likely also comes from Wuras:—

"There is hardly a trace of religion to be found among the Koranas; but the old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsui-koab had made two persons, a man *Kaxima*, ostrich feather, and a woman, Hau na Maos, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield. From Tsuiǁgoab they expect all the good things. He lives at the other side of the blue sky, in a light sky. They also talk of a Kaunaan, who is an evil-doer. They fear him very much." (*Vide* Burkhard, "Die Evangelische Mission," vol. ii. p. 71) Bielefeld, 1860. It should be noticed that we have here again *Yellow Copper*, which is identical with ǂNaos, or ǂNaxa, the wife of ǂHaǂkhaunubeb.

* The ǂHi-gurus is an old kind of duel amongst the Khoikhoi. If a man takes offence, he challenges the

14-Main L-S (ca. 1870-1887) 1961 FX13 Homeomer FX13

always language—it always meant something originally," and "*that it is the essential character of a true myth, that it should be no longer intelligible.*"—Max Müller.

"The facts of language, however small, are historical facts, and require an historical explanation." Therefore, I shall try in the sequel of this chapter to give for each mythological name a rational and etymological explanation, inasmuch as I do not care to have these myths considered a conglomerate of meaningless and insipid tales.

In the growth and change of the Khoikhoi mythology we find an analogy to the growth and change of mythology among the Aryan nations. Amongst the Khoikhoi also, as amongst the Aryans, there was a "tendency to change the original conceptions of divine powers, to misunderstand the many names given to those powers, and even to misinterpret the praises given to them. In this manner some of the divine names were changed into the half-divine."[1]

Tsitsi'goab.

I shall begin with that name which calls forth even to-day the deepest feelings of devotion and reverence in the heart of a Khoikhoi. *Tsitsi'goab*, originally *Tsu-tsi'goam*, was the name by which the Namaqua called the Infinite. Modern translators and interpreters, such as serve on mission stations, generally explain it, "*Zion or wounded knee*," from *tsi* or *tsis*, wounded, sore, and *igoab* or *tsikoab*, the knee. And I myself, some ten years ago, have in a controversial paper, "Der Hottentottische Tsitsigoab und der Griechische Zeus," been in favour of this explanation. After a more careful study of the matter, however, I have now good reason to discard my former opinion, and to replace it, as I hope, by a more reasonable explanation, based on the method of sound etymological investigation. For if the former translation were correct, and if this name by

14.Malm L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Harmonist FX13

which the Infinite is invoked were so transparent as to[96] demand such an interpretation, Tetilgnah could not be[774] a mythological being, but simply a person who acts a part in some common fable. Let us therefore try a new analysis.

The word is composed of two independent roots, *tee* and *lgnee*. *lGee* means to walk, to go on, to approach, to march on, to come on. Now in Khoikhoi it is exactly the same whether I say, *nee-b* or *nee-m*, seeing-he, he-seen, or *nee-b*, *nee-m*, the-eye—*i.e.*, the-seer, the-seeing-one. The same, there is no difference whether I say, *lgnee-b*, *lgnee-m*, coming-he, approaching-he—*i.e.*, he comes, he approaches—or whether I say, *lgnee-b*, *lgnee-m*, the-approaching-one—viz., day, or the morning, the dawn; or if I say, *lgnee-b*, *lgnee-m*, the-going-one, the-walking-one—*i.e.*, the knee.

We have in Khoikhoi the following words:—*lGnee-b*, the morning, the daybreak; *lgnee-b*, the knee; *lgnaree*, the day dawns, it dawns, it is dawning. Metaphorically *lgnee* means also "*to pray*," because it is an old Khoikhoi custom to go out away from the house as soon as the first beams of the dawn shoot up in the East, and to kneel behind a bush to pray. The original "*lgnetare, lgnee te aiga*," "I go out to pray" (lgnee or lgnee, to pray), has dwindled down into "*lgnetare*"—*i.e.*, "I go." *I pray*, just as our "*I wish you a good morning*," has collapsed into "*Good morning*," and even "*Morning*."

It is now obvious that *lgnee* in *Tetilgnah* cannot be translated with *knee*, but we have to adopt the other metaphorical meaning, *the approaching day*—*i.e.*, the dawn.

We come now to the root *Tet*. It meant originally "what is sore, what is wounded, what is hurt, what is painful." Derivative forms were *tsoni*, *toti*, and *tod*. Now, among the Nama-tribe generally, *tot* and *toti*, mean "sore, wounded, hurt, affected with a wound, or with pain; while *tod*, a more dilapidated form of *toti*, has a

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

196 776 metaphorical meaning, "unpleasant, difficult, troublesome, painful." This, however, is not the case in all Nama dialects; sometimes the two words are promiscuously pronounced and applied. From this tsû, by reduplication, is formed a verb, tsû-tsû, to hurt a person, and ǂnou-tsû-tsû, to hurt a person by beating, or, as we say, *to beat a person black and blue.*

The colour of a wound is *red*, especially of a fresh wound received in a battle, and thus *tsu* can signify *red*, just as ǂgou or ǂgau, "red," meant originally *bloody*, blood-coloured (ǂgou-b, *blood*). *Tsuǁgoab* or *Tsûǁgoab* therefore, verbally translated, is *the-red-morning, the-red-daybreak*—*i.e.*, the *dawn*.

This etymology is strengthened by the following circumstances:—First, I have said in the second chapter that the ǁKoras believe *Tsûǁgoam* to live in the Red-Heaven or Red-Sky. Then, in the next pages will be proved that ǂ*Eiǃgûbdaǁoabiab* and *Tsûǁgoab* are identical, and in the Hymn of ǂ*Eiǃgûbdaǁoabiab* is said of him, "*thou* who paintest thyself with *red ochre*." And, third, when the *day dawns* the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: "Oh, Tsuǁgoa, All-Father." We are also told that the Khoikhoi, especially their women, paint themselves with red ochre, if they offer prayers at the cairns of Heitsi-eibib (Dapper, Witsen).

Here, as it often happens in mythology, as well as in our daily life, a person is often called after the abode or place he inhabits. We have in our Colony names as van *Breda*, van *Gent*, &c., meaning originally certainly nothing else, but *the man of Breda*, *the man of Gent*. In the same manner the ancient Khoikhoi in their yearning after the Infinite transferred the name of his supposed abode upon Him who throned on high. Hence the origin of the name *Tsûǁgoab* for the Supreme Being.

776 The myth now tells us that *Tsûǁgoab* is the avenger of men and that he kills ǂGaunab, the evil-doer. He

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hetzenmet FX13

also can see what is going to happen in future; he is a seer, a prophet. In the Vedic mythology Saranyu, the Dawn, is also the avenger, and can also predict what will happen. The Germans have still the proverbial saying:—

Es ist nichts so fein gesponnen,
Es kommt doch endlich an der Sonnen.
(Nothing is so finely spun,
It must come before the sun.)

The Sanskrit *Saranyu* or *Dyaus* has etymologically certainly nothing to do with the Khoikhoi *Tsûi‖goab*, and certainly the one is not derived from the other. And still, in a certain sense, *Dyaus* or *Saranyu*, and *Tsûi‖goab* stand in very close connection, according to the maxim that the human mind all over the world is the same, and consequently will use certain striking phenomena in Nature as a base for the same figure of speech.

Other names for the Infinite among the Khoikhoi are *ǀKhâb, Tsaob, ǀNanub ǀGurub, Heitsi-eibib, ǁKhâb, ‡Eiχa-ǂkha‖nabiaob*, and *ǀGurikhoinib*. Of these we shall treat hereafter. As *Tsûi-‖goab* is always mentioned in connection with his opponent, or better with the demon *ǁGaunab*, we shall have at first to deal with him, and to analyze his name, and then we shall see how mythology set to work, generation after generation, until it produced the legend with the variations recorded in the preceding chapter.

ǁGaunam.

If the name of Tsûi-‖goab only fills the mind of a Khoikhoi with joy, gratitude, and veneration, the name of *ǁGaunab* always confers to him the idea of pain, misery, and death. The root ǁGau means to destroy, to annihilate, to mangle; from this we have the derivative ǁgaurà, bad, spoiled, worthless, infected; ǁgaub, destruction, ruination, annihilation; hence *ǁGaunab*, the destroyer, the one who annihilates.

14.Mate L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

●776 Who was now, according to the idea of the ancient
776 Khoikhoi, the destroyer? Certainly nobody else but the night, *Tsuxub*. We have the root ǂû, and from this the following derivatives:—ǂû, to die; ǂûm, to sleep; ǂû-b, death, illness, disease, ǂûm-a, sleep, ǂoreb, guilt, sin, what is liable to death, crime; ǂoreǁa, wicked, sinful, guilty, criminal. Now, the night makes the people fall asleep or to die (ǂû ǂûm), to be in a death-like state. The Khoikhoi say that ǂGaunab lives in the black heaven or black sky. The night sky, however, is the black sky. Consequently the black sky, at whose approach men ǂû, die, or ǂûm, *sleep*, is the night sky—that is, ǂ*Gaunab*, the destroyer.

It will now be obvious that originally the words ǂ*Gaunab* and *Tsûi*ǂ*goab* were intended for nothing else than to illustrate metaphorically the change of day and night. Then the words Tsûiǂgoab and ǂGaunab came down to the following generations, whilst their original meaning was lost. Mythology and religious sentiment stepped in at once and set to work. There was the belief of a power which sends its blessings to the earth to benefit men. Man died every evening, and the dark night covered him; the approaching dawn opened his eyes to new life, he felt refreshed. He turned his eyes towards the East, and saw the sky red, blood-red, sore like a fresh battle-wound. Blood had been spilled, a battle had taken place; so he fancied in his simple puerile way of thinking; and as he came to life with the dawn, what was more natural than that his mythological instinct invented the story of a battle between ǂ*Gaunab*, who lives in the black sky, and Tsûi ǂgoab, who lives in the red sky, in the dawn? Tsûiǂgoab was now a hero, who had received a wound at his knee. The rosy dawn was exchanged for a lame, broken knee.

776 Every tribe, every clan, every family, naturally has an ancestor, and if his name is lost, the myth-forming power very soon will invent one. Such ancestor, naturally enough, is a hero, who does wonderful things.

Tsûi-ǂgoab, the giver of all blessings, *the Father on high*, 776
All-Father, the avenger, who fought daily the battle for his people, thus was identified with the ancestor of the tribe whose name was forgotten. Hence we have the ancestor-worship growing together with the worship of the Infinite —that is, *vice versâ*, *Tsûi|goab*, the dawn, became the mythical ancestor of the Khoikhoi.

Each tribe afterwards ascribed to this hero such qualities as were peculiar to, and popular among, themselves. And as there are other powers in Nature which also bestow blessings on man, like the rain, the thunder-storm, the moon, the wind (especially the rain, wind, the sun, the clouds), and as these powers also have been personified, it was only quite natural that they are either identified with the Supreme Being, or that they are considered as emanations or relations of his. Therefore it is that this Being must have a wife, ǂUrisis; a son, ǂUrisib, like every human father, grandfather, and hero. Hence we find, not only among the Khoikhoi, but among all other, especially the higher, mythologies, a real Olympian genealogy.

ǂKhaib

Tsûi|goab is also called ǂKhaib. This is the general 776 ●
term with which a chief, a ruler, a rich man, a master, is 776
addressed. If *Tsûi|goab* is the father and ruler of the 776
Khoikhoi he must be rich (ǂKhâ) and powerful. ǂKhaib signifies the Lord, and is derived from the root ǂKhâ, to be laden with something. A pregnant woman is a ǂkhâi or ǂkhaisi *terus*—*i.e.*, a laden, a burdened woman. A rich man has always been an influential man, a ruling man; hence it is that ǂKhâ has adopted the meaning to rule, to be a lord. *Tarib|naba ra ǂkhâ?* (who is king there? or, who rules there?) has become identical with *Tarib |naba ra gao-ao?* (gao-ao-b, king, chief).

This brings us to the next point, to show how, in the 776

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77½ capacity as ǂKhâb, *Tsâiǂgoreb* is identical with ǂNoseb, the thunder-cloud, and ǂGurub, the thunder.

ǂNoseb.

196 77½ ǂNoseb is in Khoikhoi the *thunder-cloud*, and shows the root ǂne, *to filter, to stream*. It means especially that kind of streaming which a man can observe if he digs for water in the sand of a periodical river. That filtering and streaming together of the water from various sides is ǂnâ. Therefore, ǂNoseb is the filterer, the pourer, or, to speak in South African Dutch, "de Zuiverwater," an expression which well applies to the nature of the rain-pouring cloud.

ǂGurub.

ǂGurub, on first sight, makes the impression of being an onomatopoeticon, imitating the sound of the thunder; but this is only a delusion. The root of ǂgurub is ǂgû, which means to cover, to envelop (in German, umhüllen, verhüllen, bedecken). The following will plainly show what the Khoikhoi understand by the word ǂgû. I once had bought ostrich eggs, some of which were already on the point of breaking open and producing chickens. I did not like to destroy the rest, and asked the Namaqua who had given them to me how to hatch them, when he said: ǂGiri-ǂnoms ǂkhats ni ǂgûse (You must *cover* them with a jackal carcase). Also the skin or cloak which the women wear round the lower body for the purpose of covering it, is called ǂgubib, *the coverer*. From this, ǂgu again, two mountains in Great Namaqualand are called *Geitsi-ǂgubib* (Great ǂGubib), and ǂKharisi-ǂgubis (Little ǂGubis). The Geitsi ǂgubib is a crater-shaped mountain, without being of volcanic origin. ǂGurub therefore means the coverer, and was one of the names of the thunder-cloud ǂNoseb, which covers the sky. A savage believes, that if it thunders, somebody is speaking out of the cloud, or the cloud itself is speaking.

14.Stein 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX19 Hammond PX19

In the same way as the Infinite was called the Dawn, Tsitsigoab, now the Thunder, in the same manner, accepted the name of the thunder-cloud, for his abode, and hence he was called ǂGurub. In the Rigveda the cloud is also called vritra—*i.e.*, the *coverer*—and Vritra is also the name of the demon slain by Indra. Here, quite independently from the Khoikhoi, the ancient worshippers of Dyaus have developed almost the same idea. In the Rigveda, it says, that Indra with the Maruts (winds) fights Vritra, who keeps the sunlight from the earth.—(*Vide* Benfey, "Sanskrit Dictionary," p. 895; and Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," pp. 50, 95, 132.)

One often hears the following sayings among the Namaquas:—ǂNamub ge ǂgurus, ob ge gris ni ǂnu—that is, if the cloud is *covering* (rising from the horizon, and towering one above the other towards the zenith), then it will pour down very much. And again: ǂNamub ge ǂhoaga ei ǂgui, on ge khoina, ǂnamub ge ǂhoaga re ǂgû-ǂgâ (*or* ǂgurs-ǂgâ), tire mi. If the thunder-cloud lies on the mountains, then the people say the clouds *envelop* the mountains. And again: ǂAvi-tsaib ǂnati ge ǂkhommets ǂnanibi re ǂgurs-ǂgâbe. In the rainy season the Pleiades are enveloped by the thunder-cloud. All these sayings clearly show the true meaning of ǂGurub, that it originally meant the *coverer*; and only in the course of time, when this first meaning was forgotten and lost, by the agency of the myth-forming power, it assumed the meaning, the *thunderer*. That there is still a recollection of the first meaning is quite certain. An old Namaqua said to me once, after a heavy thunderstorm had passed over the country: "ǂGurub ke gaise ke ǂavi," meaning, "the thunder-cloud has rained very hard."

Here the original meaning crops up again. For ǂGurub re ǂavi is generally said, ǂNamub *ke* re ǂavi, or ǂNamub *ke* re *tû*, the cloud is raining. The cloud, ǂNamub, is often implored thus:

ǂNamutse!

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Sida ǂKhutse!
ǂAvire or ǂavi geire!
(Oh Cloud, our Lord, let rain, or simply, rain thou!)
And in the preceding chapter, ǂGurub is called, in a hymn, *ǂNonomatse*, thou son of the cloud. Consequently there is no doubt left as to ǂNanub and ǂGurub.

Identity of Tsuiǁgoab and ǂGurub and ǂNanub.

It is not necessary now to enter into any further analysis in order to identify ǂNanub and ǂGurub with Tsuiǁgoab, lest we should become very tedious in our explanations. I will briefly point out the most essential parts of comparison and similarity. Tsuiǁgoab, ǂNanub, and ǂGurub, are all in the same manner implored, "*let rain.*" ǂGurub especially is addressed, "*not to speak too angrily to men;*" who else, then, can he be than the All-Father, Tsuiǁgoab, who scolds his children? Valentyn, as we saw in the second chapter, also quotes both names for the same god, *Twiqua* (*Tsuiǁgoab*), and *Gourou* (*ǂGurub*). Leibnitz ("Collectanea Etymologica," Hannover, 1717, p. 377), always uses the name *Thoro*, for God, which is nothing else than ǂGuru; t' generally being applied by those ancient travellers and writers to express the click, or a click with g, h, k.

ǁKhâb, *Heitsi-eibib*, *ǂGurubeb and Tsuiǂ*

ǁKhâb, originally ǁKhami, still in ǂKora, ǁKhâm, is derived from the root ǁ*Khâ, the same, again*; for instance, the pronoun ǁkhâb, the same, and words like ǁkhaba or ǁkhava, again, in return; ǁkhara, to punish, to revenge—that is, to do to a person the same that he has done to others; ǁkharas, punishment, retaliation; ǁkhai, to turn, to bring back—for instance, ǁkhai gomaba, turn the ox; ǁkha-ǁkha, to teach, to train—*i.e.*, to turn over and over again, to turn a person again and again, until he learns to go the straight course; all these derivatives come from the radix, ǁKha. As I pointed out some pages back, there is no difference in Khoikhoi if I say mû-b, he-sees, or 'nûb, the eye—*i.e.*, the seer—and ǁgoa-b, he walks, or

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ǂgua-b, the knee—*i.e.*, the walker; in the same way there is no difference if we say ǂKha-mi, ǂKha-m, or ǂKhâ-b, he-is-returning, or the return-er—that is, the moon. When after a few dark nights the silver crescent of the moon appeared again on the western horizon, the ancient Khoikhoi would say, "*Ah, there he is again.*" And when, in the course of time, the pronoun of the third person had also accepted the office of a sex-denoting classifier or article, then the predicative, ǂKha-m or ǂKhâ-b, he-returns, he-is-there-again, became the appellative, ǂKhâb, or ǂKhâm, the returner *par excellence*. When even this meaning was lost, the next generation beheld ǂKhâb as a nomen *proprium* of the moon.

The resemblances between ǂKhâm, the Moon, and Tsûîǁgoam, the Dawn, are very striking. We said in the second chapter that the moon promises immortality to men, and when they were deceived by the hare, he is also the avenger, punishing the latter. Tsûîǁgoab every morning gives life to men, and from the battle with ǁGaunam he received a wound; also the hare scratches the moon's face. Of Tsûîǁgoab it is also said, like the moon, that he often dies and rises again. He (Tsûîǁgoab) being a person of supernatural powers can take all kinds of shapes, he also can disappear, or become suddenly invisible. It is the same again with the moon, who assumes different shapes, and sometimes disappears altogether. The disappearing of the moon is called ǁî, to die; on the dying or disappearing of the moon, especially if there be an eclipse of the moon, great anxiety prevails. One would almost believe that a great calamity has befallen a kraal, such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen the people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertakings. Does it not sound to us as if we hear the old Psalmist praying:—

14:Hein L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX13 Honeyman PX13

776 Have mercy upon me, O God—
821 Cast me not away from thy presence;
Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation!

That the Moon is identical with Tetilipoah, as the "Lord of Light and Life," can, after these explanations, be no longer doubtful. And it is also obvious from the antiquated and obliterated nature of the name itself, that the Moon was already worshipped as *the Visible God* of the Khokhlui before their separation.

816 776 We come now to Heitsi-eibib. As to him, the etymology of his name offers considerable difficulty. Generally, interpreters translate it "prophet," "foreteller," "the one who can predict what will happen." And this translation or etymology is based on cutting Heitsi-eibib up into two words—*Heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order; and *eibe*, before, beforehand, previously. Consequently Heitsi-eibib would mean the foreteller, the prophet. Here, again, as we remarked in the analysis of Tetilipoah, if the word Heitsi-eibib is so transparent as to be so easily explained, the whole mythology in regard to him would collapse into a meaningless and insipid fable. We therefore must look for a more satisfactory and rational explanation.

To the linguist it will be quite clear that only two roots, *hei* and *ei*, are contained in the word *Hei-tsi-ei-bi-b*; all the other syllables are suffixes. *Hei* means everything that belongs to the *wood or shrub line*, anything that has a wooden nature. We have thus hei-b, a pole, a stick, a staff, a collection of trees (German, *Gehölz*); hei-s, fem., a tree, and hei-l, a tree in general, a piece of wood, or a shrub. From this *hei* we have derivatives like *hei-xa*, rich in wood, full of shrubs, full of trees; heitsi or heisi, wood-like, having the appearance of a tree, (as adjective derivative), and heirab, the juice of the mimosa tree (gum arabic). But there is also a verbal derivative, *hei-si*, to send a stick (from hei, stick, and si, to send)—that is, to order, to send a message. This *si*, to send, must not be mixed up with si, suffix pronominal

14.Stain L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Harmonic FX13

and suffix adjective, which is identical with our *ly*. With *ai*, *Hi* to send, the following compounds are formed:—*Aoi*, to cause to drink; *aoi gomana*, bring the cattle to the water, let the cattle drink; *daisi*, to nurse, *i.e.*, to cause the child to drink, to put the child to the breast. Thus, to come back to *Aoist*, it signifies, originally, to send a stick, a staff, and then, to send a message, to order. Chiefs, if they send a man with a summons to another person, give the messenger, as a credential, their staff, the emblem of their power; hence the name *hoisi-aob*, the staff-bearing man—*i.e.*, the messenger. The man summoned is simply touched with the staff and he has to follow immediately. Here, however, we have not to do with the verbal derivative *hoi-si*, to order, but with the adjective derivative *hoisi* or *hoisi*, wooden, wood-like, having a tree-like appearance. For we have the form *Hoisi-eibib*, and not *Hoisi-eibib*. Only the adjective suffix *'hi* can change into *si*, and *eisi eerad*, but the verbal form *si*, to send, could never change into *hi*. Thus, we have *Geitelgubib* (masc. sing.), name of a mountain, and ‡*Kharielgubis* (fem. sing.), also a name of a mountain; *Igitelgubib* (masc. sing.), the male frog; *Igtielgûbis* (fem. sing.), the female frog; *sirtelgûbib* (masc. sing.), the male bat; *sirelgubis* (fem. sing.), the female bat. But *aoi*, to cause to drink, or *daisi*, to cause to suck—*i.e.*, to nurse, or *hoisi*, to send a message—could never be transformed into *disi*, *daisi*, *hoisi*, maintaining the same meanings as verbs. Therefore *Hoisi* in *Hoisi-eibib* is the adjective derivative suffix for the masculine gender, and the only correct translation therefore is, *tree-like, or similar to a tree.*

The fact also that the other and shorter name of *Hoisi-eibib* is *Hoigeib*, Great-Tree (from *hoi*, tree, and *gei*, great), forces us to translate *Hoisi* into *tree-like*. In the sequel we shall see that this *Hoisi-eibib* is identical with *Gurikhoisib*, whose other name is ‡Eixa|kha|nabi-aeb. And of this person the Lion, in our second chapter,

says: ‖Khâ‖oma-ǂ, *Khoma-reiti* has killed me. And besides, on the graves of *Heitsi-eibib*, as we have had repeatedly occasion to show, branches of trees, pieces of wood, and flowers are strewn as an offering.

These evidences are strong enough to defend our position against any insinuation in favour of the translation "to send a message."

We have now to analyse the meaning of *eibe* or *eibi*. *Ais* or *ai* means the surface—for instance, *ǂhab-ai*, earth's face, orbis terrarum; *aio* or *oib* also means appearance, likeness; for instance, *ǂkhi oibe ta ho‖oi tama*, I do not find out his appearance—*i.e.*, I do not identify him, I do not know him. Then we have the names *Ais-aio*, ‖*Khoma-oib*, ǂ*Khoe-oib*, *Aoiǂo-oibib*, all containing the root *oi*, with the meaning face, appearance, likeness. Consequently the only correct translation of *Heitsi-eibib* is, "the One who has the appearance of a tree," and this tree is the magnificent *Daura-tree*. When, especially in our latitudes, we look towards the East at daybreak, who, if he has any love for the grandeur of Nature, does not admire those beautiful beams and rays shooting up from a central point like the gigantic branches of a magnificent tree.

The points of comparison between Heitsi-eibib and Tsui‖goab and ‖Khâb are here again very striking, and leave no doubt as to their being identical. All three come from the East, and this is why, as already stated, the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the deceased are also placed towards the East, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess waggons place them in such a position, that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Khoikhoi, when asked for the reason why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui‖goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi-eibib*, came from the East." Both are invoked as "*Father*" or "*All-Father*." Every prayer commences *Sida* ltse, or Abo-ltse. Both

The name of Heitsi-eibib is more usual appellation 776
in use among the ǂKora of the Middle Orange River and 876
the River of Hlaiatse. Add ǂKora at the convict
station, Cape Town, told me that ǂGarubeb often died
and rose again; that on his grave are strewn branches
and stones; that he was a great chief, and possessed
plenty of cattle. The etymology of the name does not
offer great difficulty. ǂGaru means *spotted, tufted.* ǂGâ
is grass; ǂgaru, therefore, is what grows in *tufts*, like grass.
Here, in South Africa, it is characteristic of the grass
that it does not equally cover the whole ground, but that
it stands about in tufts. Evidently the word ǂgamirub
comes from the same root, from which ǂgarubeb, and
ǂgaruxa, the leopard (the spotted one), derive their origin.
Stars mean accordingly *the dotted points*, those who stand
as *tufts*. The myth says about Heitsi-eibib's mother
became pregnant in swallowing the juice of a certain
grass. We can now either translate ǂGarubeb, *the grass-*
man, or *the spotted-one*. I am however, more inclined to
adopt the latter interpretation and that for the following
reasons:—In the preceding pages I have shown the
identity of Heitsi-eibib with ǂâib, the Moon. A look
at the moon's spotted face plains easily the name,
ǂgarubeb, the spotted-one. Whether the ancient Khoi-
khoi saw in the spots of the moon a great many grass
tufts, I cannot say, but it is impossible.

Tsui.

Tsui is also a local name for Tsûi-ǂgoab, or, better,
ǂNanib. Tû means *to rain*. *usib*, therefore, the Rain-
giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from
the rain—that is, the one who spreads the *green shining*
colour over the earth (*vide* note in second chapter,
Tsui).

ǂGurikhoisib and ǂNǂkhaǂnabeb.

Like Heitsi-eibib, ǂGurikhoisor, as he is also called,
ǂEiɤǂkhaǂnabeb, defends the Khoikhoi against evil-

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hahnemann FX13

77½ 166 down, especially against the Lion. The etymology of ǂGurikhoinb offers no difficulty. ǂGuri means *single, only, alone.* Khoi-ni-b derives from the root *KHOI,* meaning *man;* with the suffix *ni* it has a more collective meaning, like *mankind;* therefore, ǂGurikhoinb, means the only man, the first man, primitive man. Here the worship of the Supreme Being and ancestor-worship have become amalgamated.

The name ǂEixa[kha][nabiseb consists of three words —ǂeixa (from ǂei), brass-like, ǂkha, body, and ǁnabiseb, the back-bone; thus the whole name conveys the meaning: "The man whose body has a brass-coloured back-bone." This is the lightning, who descends from heaven (ǁhomi), or from the cloud (ǁnanub) to the earth.

[303] Here we have, perhaps, the explanation why the Khoikhoi women on certain occasions anoint themselves with red ochre, and also for the purposes of worship make marks with red ochre (*tarob*) on certain sacred stones and cairns.

762 302 I remarked previously that we have reason to believe that there was among the Khoikhoi also a period when *human* sacrifices formed a part of their offerings. They still cut off a finger. I shall not be surprised if continued investigations corroborate the idea that the painting of the sacred stones with red ochre was merely an act to replace the cruel offering of human blood by a simple symbolical ceremony. It may also be that the red lightning, in killing a man, and thus demanding blood, might in the commencement have led to human sacrifice; and that the red colour of the lightning and the bloody sacrifice together afterwards introduced the use of red ochre or other red paint into the worship of the Khoikhoi. I have already quoted in the second chapter from Ludolf's "Commentary," p. 228, "Uxores solere conspergere caput dei *terra rubra.*" In place of this terra rubra (red ochre, *tarob*), they also use frequently the red tannic juice of the Acacia giraffæ.

14 Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The Ostiaks, when they kill an animal, rub some of the blood on the mouths of their idols. Even this seems at length to be replaced by red paint. Thus the sacred stones in India, as Colonel Forbes Leslie has shown, are frequently ornamented with red. So also, in Congo, it is customary to daub the fetishes with red every new moon.—*Vide* Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," p. 270.

ǂUrisib and ǂUrisis, Tsĕb and Sūris.

The myth tells us that ǂUrisib is Heitsi-eibib's son. The root of this word is ǂŭ, as it is still preserved in the ǂAi Bushman, where it originally means the egg, and white. Certainly the word ǂŭ served, in the second instance, to express the colour *white*, and the ostrich egg, of which the contents are eaten, of which the shell serves as a water-cask, and of which the Bushman makes his ornaments, is *white*. Here in our myth is ǂUrisis, the Sun, the white one; but as the shape of the *Sun* is round, and as its colour is white, it is not unlikely that it was originally called *the egg par excellence*. According to the Khoikhoi custom of giving the son the name of the mother, the son of ǂUrisis was ǂ*Urisib*—*i.e.*, Tsĕb, the day, the daylight. ǂUrisis, the white one, however, is again called *Sūris*, the Sun. Sūris gives the root *sū*, to broil, to be hot; Soris or Suris, therefore, means the broiling-one, the heating-one, the inflaming-one. Derivative forms from *sū* are *sūi*, to boil, *sūs*, the pot, or the boiling instrument. *Sorib* or *sorĕb* (masc.), *sorus* (fem.), the lover, the sweetheart, the one who is inflamed—viz., with love, or who inflames with love; *Sorogu*, to court, to fall in love, to be in love.

It is now obvious that ǂUrisis is Soris, the wife of Heitsi-eibib Tsūi‖goab, the Dawn, and that the son of this marriage bond is ǂUrisib—*i.e.*, Tsĕb, the Day, or Daylight. The etymology of the word *tsĕ* is very obscure, and will never be unveiled. I have searched in vain for a satisfactory explanation, and, failing in this, I addressed

14. Cairn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX13 Hamonen PX13

Mr. Krönlein, a missionary who pretends to have some knowledge of the Khoikhoi. He told me that he derives *ta* from *gri*, to grow, to develop. This is quite unscientific, as there is not a single instance in the Khoikhoi idioms of the *g* changing into *t*. It seems that the original root is quite lost, and so is its meaning. I shall, however, make some suggestions of my own, that perhaps may lead those who still labour among the Khoikhoi on some track. We have numerous instances in Khoikhoi that *ta* contracts into *t*; and we have also the fact that *t* has worn off into *s*; again, we have the instance that *s* and *t*, in forms like *hi* and *hi*, or *si* and *ti*, are promiscuously used. If we now reconstruct *ta* we shall get the form *taia*: taia then becomes *tai* or *tâ*; and *tâ* becomes *ti*. Now we have in Khoikhoi the verb *ti*, to come, to arrive, to approach. I have, in the analysis of the name Tsâllgoab, shown that ǁgoa means to come, to approach, and here we have only in taib another form, which in meaning is identical with ǁgoab, the approaching one—viz., day. I wish, however, to be clearly understood; this derivation is a mere suggestion, and nothing more, but I claim for it a greater possibility than one would claim for such an etymology as is offered in *ta* from *gri*.

‡*Gama*‡*gorib*.

Almost identical with ǁ*Gaunab*, the opponent of *Tsâllgoab*, is ‡*Gama*‡*gorib*. The etymology of this name offers great difficulty. ‡*Gama*, from the root ‡*gâ*, signifies to sink down, to fall down, to drop, by sinking down to enter the ground; but it is also transitively used to throw down, to put into the ground, to plant. ‡*Gori*, again, from the root ‡go, *to go to one side, to jump out of the way, to give road*. For instance, if a person meets another, the one will say to the other, ‡*go*, make room, give way, go to one side; therefore ‡Gama‡gorib is *the one who in falling down, or throwing*

14.Hefte 1.-3. (ca. 1878-1880) 1881 FX13 Hahnemann FX13

himself down, always moves to the side. This is certainly nothing else but the lightning, whose nature it is never to go in a straight line, but always to go out of the original course. We previously stated that the ǂGurikhoiseb was also called ǂEiǂkhaǂkhaiǂkhoseb, and we interpreted this name with Lightning. ǂGurikhoiseb is a good Being, but ǂGama‡gureb is a bad Being, and so is ǂGeiseam.

We need not be surprised at such idiosyncrasies in mythology, and especially in the so-called *lower mythology*. This is only a repetition of the maxim that the religious sentiment of mankind originally saw in Nature the working of demons; and that only after a higher state of culture the idea of a good Being is developed. After the evidence produced, we must admit that the Khoikhoi mythology, although it bears in many respects comparison with the myths of Greece and Eran, must be classified with the *lower mythologies*, for the simple reason that the Khoikhoi language has not yet left the agglutinative stage.

Ghosts and Spectres—ǀHaiǂnun and Sobo-khoin.

The ghosts and spectres are called ǀHaiǂnun, fawn-feet, or Sobo-khoin, men of the shadow. These words are of a very simple etymology. As to fawn-foot, ǀHaiǂnuh, we also say in German, *ein fahles Gespenst* or *fahl wie ein Gespenst.*

ǀHaǂgailgaib, ‡Amab and ǂOas.

ǀHaǂgailgaib and ‡Amab are also mythological persons, but their derivation is not quite clear to me. The same, ǂOas, the hare, which certainly has nothing to do with ǂoã, to mourn, as some interpreters explain it; rather it may be derived from ǂûa, to oppose, to go against somebody, to meet.

ǀKhunuti, the Pleiades.

It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of

It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of this name. !Ku, or !khu, or !gu, and !khu, also !ko and !ku, in the various Khoikhoi idioms of Great Namaqualand, mean close, next; hence !khu or !gu, to come, to heap, to cluster, to join; !gu-khoib, the nearest man—*i.e.*, neighbour; !gu-se, adv., closely; !gure or !gure-b, to approach the gods—*i.e.*, to pray, as we have in German, *sich wenden zu gehen*; in Latin, adire deos, adire regem. From this !gu or !khū we have the derivative !gunub (!khunub or !kunub), meaning both finger and reed, and also joint of the finger and joint of the reed. Thus the original meaning of finger is the one who closes himself up to the other, the one who approaches the other, the one who joins the other—*i.e.*, the join-er, the link, the branch, the twig; and speaking and thinking in the way of a primitive man or a child—nay, even in our own phraseology—are not the fingers the twigs and branches of the hand? Hence, also, a shrub-like acacia, which branches off like the fingers of the hand, is called in the plural form !kunuti and !kunuseti. Here we have the same name for the acacia and for the Pleiades, and I think we are with this in the possession of the key to unlock the original meaning of the name Pleiades. !Khunuseti, or !kunuseti, the Pleiades, mean exactly the same as the Latin Vergiliæ—that is, the stars of the offshoots, the stars of the branches (Jupiter Viminius). As we have seen in the second chapter, at the return of the Pleiades, Tsūi!goab is particularly invoked to give rain. After the rain, the earth shoots forth herbs; branches link to branches, and leaves join to leaves. This is the one explanation of !Khunuseti.

But !Khunuti is also applied in the meaning of branch, lineage, family. Thus, I once heard a man speaking of the !Khunuti—*i.e.*, families of a clan. In the Orion myths we have !Khunuseti, the Pleiades, thee daughters of Tsūi!goab; and if they are the daughters, thhe Father's—*i.e.* Tsūi!goab's—name must have beenn !Khunusib. Thus, we get !Khunuseti, the *Offshoots*, the *primordia* of

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the Khoikhoi. Now in Khoikhoi the clan or tribe is never called after the father, but always after the mother; the same with families. Thus we have the Nama-s, ǀAmaǂ, ǁKhaua, ǁGamiǂnas, ǂKhayas, never Nama-b, &c., in the masculine form as a tribal appellation. Thus ǀKhunusiti means nothing else but primordium, *Ursprung*. This explanation is supported by the fact that the Pleiades, like Tsūiǁgoab, the All-Father of the Khoikhoi, come from the East, where the Khoikhoi say is their "*Fatherland*." Very curious to say, in Zulu we have Uthlanga—that is, reed. It is not impossible that, as so many things and customs have been adopted by the southern Bantu from the Khoikhoi, this Khoikhoi word also, ǀ*Khunusi* or ǀ*Khunusiti*, was misunderstood or, better, misinterpreted in a one-sided way, which lay nearest to the grasp of the Zulu mind; and thus ǀKhunusib Uthlanga was explained reed, while it meant offshoot. Thus it is that the Zulus say they take their origin from Uthlanga, the reed. Inquiring from the natives of Great Namaqualand the true meaning of ǀKhanub and ǀKhunusiti, I received the following explanations:—

(1.) Those who stand together.
(2.) Those who are heaped.
(3.) Those who stand together like fingers.
(4.) Those who cluster together.
(5.) The thorn-stars.

This latter explanation again brings to our mind the name the Lion gives to ǀKurikhoisib Tsūiǁgoab. He calls him ǀKhuǀnomab, Root of the Thorntree.

Now, I do not mean to say that my explanation is absolutely right, but I can at least claim as much right and notice for it as others claim for their explanation of this name. My opinion is also supported by the fact that the Khoikhoi calculate their time according to the rainy season. With the setting-in of the rains commences their year, a new turn of life. We can also now understand the meaning if it is said of Tsūiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib

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that they are possessed of plenty of cattle. The Pleiades in a certain sense represent a flock. Dr. Callaway correctly remarks that the meaning of Uthlanga has been lost, while the word has come down to the present generations. And it is the same with the word ǂKhunuseti. That the Namaquas have not borrowed this name from the Bantu (Herero) is quite obvious, because they have been too short a time in contact with the Herero, who, besides, have no myth about Uthlanga, and also have no clicks in their language. In ǂKora we have the form khoti (contracted from ǂkhunuseti), and in Cape Hottentot we have ǂgôti and ǂkôti (contracted from ǂguanti and ǂkhunuti). This confirms beyond doubt that the Khoikhoi not only had the same name for the Pleiades previous to their separation, but that, in those remote days, there already existed among them a sidereal mythology and worship. In the second chapter we saw that in George Schmidt's time, at the return of the Pleiades, the same prayer was uttered which is still annually heard among the heathen Khoikhoi of Great Namaqualand.

Among the Israelites ideas seem also to have existed which connected the Lord with the Pleiades and Orion. "Seek him," says Amos (v. 8), "that maketh the Seven Stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into morning, and maketh the day dark with night: that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: the Lord is his name."

And again, "Which maketh," says Job (ix. 9), "Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades." And the same author (xxxix. 31) asks: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?"

[This translation is not quite in accordance with the Hebrew text. It should be, "Canst thou *join* the *links* of the Pleiades?"]

It is certainly to be considered of extraordinary importance that the Pleiades and Orion are mentioned

year 1893, in order to attack Kubub on the following morning. A series of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack.

The Hottentot also seeks hints from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called °go-bo go-bos, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture. Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go-bo go-bo a-maŝ , kxo-egu go ≠no-aŝ?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows.

A ring around the moon, °ao≠gã̄/b, (the moon is as though thrown, ao, in, ≠gã̄/, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occurred and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga-barab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet

77. W. H. J. Bleek, A Comparative grammar of South African languages. 2 Bände. London, 1862 und 1869.

shown whether the fragments published by Lichtenstein, Burchell and Wuras of the !Kora dialect, whether the parts of an eastern dialect which Sparrmann, Thunberg and Barrow have heard, and whether the notations of Herbert, Ten Rhine and Witzen of the dialect of the Capeland Hottentots of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries could be so arranged that they would at least give us a vague picture of the lost languages. The tribes of Great Namaland now form a linguistically unified group with the fugitives from the south. Their language is that of the old Naman or Namaqua as older authors write using the former ending of the masculine plural.

The language of the Hottentots was the greatest hindrance during the first six months of my journey in getting closer to the spiritual life of the people. In the second and third year it was the most fertile source of my studies. Where war troubles or the unfavorable time of year stopped my zoological studies, I turned to the study of the language. A small work by Theophilus Hahn (78), a concise presentation of the

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama, Leipzig, 1870.

language that contains many errors by A. Seidel (79) and especially

79. A. Seidel, Praktische Grammatiken der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrika's, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, (ohne Jahreszahl).

Kroenleins Wortschatz (57) gave me a first start and later a basis for

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

testing my own results against older ones.

The Hottentot words in the text all stem from the natives. If I have avoided all the information of the whites who know the language, it is not because I underestimated the help that I could have received here, but because I wished to drink exclusively from the source. Therefore I have also avoided natives who could read and write, because they looked at their own language through the glasses of the white man who first gave written signs to these sounds, partly in close connection with the Dutch

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushman were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kluppen, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Peringuey, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hana hin* (? *Hainé Kuhin*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. N. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanæ circa Promontorium Capitis Bonæ Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatæ descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */haus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doode* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//habob* or *//hawob*); while the *ǂAunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witboois, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */hobe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami ǂNun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and *ǂAunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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PART IV

CHAPTER XV

The Khoisan Languages

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The Bushmen, as we have previously seen, are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups, to which she applies the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively, in accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them.[1] The Hottentot languages are on the whole strongly akin to those of the Bushmen, but at the same time differ from them all except Naron, in certain features showing an affinity with the Hamitic languages of North and North-East Africa. They have, therefore, been generally looked upon as essentially Hamitic languages, which have become greatly modified by the incorporation of Bushman elements, especially in phonetics and vocabulary.[2] It has recently been demonstrated, however, that fundamentally, they have far more in common with the Bushman than with the Hamitic languages.[3] They must accordingly be included with the former in the same language family, of which they constitute a fourth distinct group.

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Of the Bushman languages the only one at all well documented is */xam*, the language of the Cape Bushmen, which may be taken

[1] "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927) 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, 1–6.

[2] This view, already advocated in 1880 by Lepsius, following upon Dr. Bleek's indications, has been expressed most forcibly in recent times by Meinhof, who in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, selects Nama as a type language for illustrative purposes; cf. also his paper on "The Language of the Hottentots", in *Addresses delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and S. African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii, 119–29. For criticisms of his standpoint, cf. Drexel, "Gliederung der afrikanischen Sprachen," *Anthropos*, xx (1925), 82 ff., and Planert, "Die Schnalzsprachen," *Bibliotheca Africana*, ii (1926), 298 ff.

[3] D. F. Bleek, *ut cit.*; Schapera, "The Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 855 ff.; *idem*, *Comparative Grammar of the Khoisan Languages*, MS.; cf. also Planert, "Die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner," *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, viii (1905), Abt. iii, 104–76.

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as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of */Khū* (*Kung*) and *//K'au //en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

Phonetics[4]

Except in the case of */Khū* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kū-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhū Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
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occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[164] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

● 197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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" De taal der Hottentotten is voor de Europeanen verdrietig te horen, onmogelijk te leren, en aan de Hollanders tot verder voortzetting van den Handel en uitvinding der landen zeer hinderlijk: want zij klappen met ieder woord, dat zij spreken, even als wanneer men met de vingers een knipslag maakte, zodat haar mond als een klap of zweep gaat, omdat zij met die tong overluid slaan, en ieder woord bijna een slag is." 197

Holsteiner, in his book of travels, says:

" Uit hare taal kan men nauwelijks horen dat zij menschelijk is: zij is schier als het geraas van de Calicutsche hanen."

Merklin, in his book of travels, adds:

" Zij klokken met hunne taal bijna als de Indiaansche hoenders."

Peter Kolbe, whose book was published in 1719, took a great deal of trouble to arrive at the secret of the Hottentot language. He made a contract with a Hottentot, promising him in writing that he would give him ten rix-dollars if he taught him the language; but, after the first lesson, both master and pupil were quite tired out. In connection with this he wrote:

" Ook verdroot het mij, wegens mijne kromme tong, liet hem gaan, na dat ik zijne moeite betaalt hadde. Wat mij aangaat, ik ben 't eenemal van die gedachten, ja daar waar selfs een halve eeu verlopen, eer men een gedruksblad daar van zag, wilde men ook alle zijne moeite en arbeid alleen daar aan te koste leggen. . . . Genoemen, dat een vreemdeling deze taal in eenige jaren kan lezen. . . zo ontmoet te eerste deze zwarigheid zich weder, dat hij ze niet kan overzetten en vertalen. De oorzaak is, om dat zijn meester zelf met een kromme tong in die duitsche taal spreekt. Hij kan niet zeggen, dat hij op deze of gene wijze de tong moet dragen om deze of genen slag te doen. Indien hij hem zulks ook aanwijst, so heeft hij tog maar om so te spreken, eene trap overwonnen, welke ten eersten weder van anderen gefolgt word, namelijk wanneer hij gade slaat, hoe dat hij alle slagen met die tong en met den mond, op 't nauwste bij zich zelven zal onderscheiden, om in 't vervolg bij aanroering der karakters of letters, die wederom een lange tijd, en een verder nadenken vereisschen, dezelve zijn onderscheiden, en aan den leergierigen aanwijzen zal. Die nu alle deze Zwarigheden nevens nog vele anderen, die onderweegs en midden in 't werk ontmoeten sullen, overkomt, en geen ander hulpmiddel heeft, gelijk en geen andere zijn, dan die hij van de Hottentotten hebben kan, die zal zeker niet meer zeggen, dat de taal van de Hottentotten licht is, maar hij zal zonder twijfel

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they
354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of
372 it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these
194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck.
101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They
192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kroikroin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.[93]) It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye mansine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *mansine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*[93]), i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from one to ten as in use both among the Magosi and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochard[94]), skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

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[93]) In modern Xhosa, *i-Kaya* = home, domicile, and *amanzi* = water; *mansine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanzini*.

[94]) Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oordt in his Dutch trans. of G.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Molsbergen, iv, 297.)

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriŋ ǁais*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Goriñhaiqua* (=*!Kuriŋ ǁaikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Caepman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

[9] For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.
[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.
[11] Moodie I. *passim*

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, " To make a hole " and *//hu:s* is thus properly " a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, " hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims : " *ham !humiŋ !na ha?* " " In which hand is it ? " If the opponent guesses correctly, he says : *!kaugu*. " You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous " Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aremŋ //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works :

(i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note : The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels.* Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

11 Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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THE PLACE OF KORANA AMONG THE HOTTENTOT DIALECTS

Korana has been often compared with Nama in recent years. A comparison with the Old Cape dialects is no less important, if we are to determine accurately the relationship of Korana to the other members of the Hottentot linguistic family. Cape Hottentot is however an extinct language. But we fortunately have word lists of this old dialect, dating back to the end of the 16th century, to which we have already referred and which probably all came from the same source, as I hope to prove some day. We shall take for our present purpose the lists published in Godée-Molesbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, p. 215-224). They provide an excellent basis for comparison with Korana, in view of the fact that the two peoples who spoke the dialects are fundamentally identical.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA, CAPE AND NAMA DIALECTS

	Korana.	*Cape.*	*Nama.*	*English.*
A.				
1.	*kx'a*	*kx'a, koa*	*a*	"to drink"
2.	*kx'am*	*kamqua, quamqua*	*am*	"mouth."
3.	*kx'anis*	*k'anniqua*	*ani*	"bird."
4.	*kx'ôib*	*qu'oin*	*ôib*	"liver."
5.	*kx'oni*	*k'omma*	*oni*	"house."
6.	*kx'oônibe*	*kqôoniaba*	*ûitaba*	"alive."
7.	*thui //goab*	*thiéua*	*tsui //goab*	"God."
B.				
1.	*hi /ib*	*hiqui, hiquaeb*	*tanas*	"head."
2.	*tamma*	*tamma*	*nami*	"tongue."
3.	*xoaseb*	*k'goatsow, choassow*	*/garub*	"tiger."
4.	*/hâkab*	*thoaqua*	*=khirab*	"wolf."
5.	*hâb*	*hab*	*deib*	"milk."

The evidence in this table is conclusive. Not only have we here in Group A 1-6, a series of words beginning with the ejective velar affricate *kx'* in Korana and the Cape dialect (the *-b* and the *-qua—kua* are merely endings, which can be neglected for our present purpose), whilst Nama has consistently dropped that sound combination. In A. 7 the *th* again belongs to Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama.

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We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tanas* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*hâ*) as against Nama *dip*.

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentotsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain those identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *hipunan* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qu'tin*: "*qu'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *kamqua*: "das *k*... am Anfang des Wortes verstehe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in those few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names:

-b (*-p*), for the males, and *-s* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of *Jhatti* and *Oreas* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

While the Bushmen are hunters, the Khoikhoi are nomads, cattle and sheep farmers; and while the Bushman family has with the Khoikhoi, linguistically speaking, only the clicks and some harsh sounding faucals and a few roots of words in common, the various Bushman languages hitherto recorded, differ among themselves, as much as they differ from the Khoikhoi idioms. This difference and variety in speech is mainly due to their wandering habits and unsettled life. The wild inaccessible mountain strongholds and the arid deserts of South Africa, where nobody can follow them, are their abode; constantly on the alert, constantly on the move, constantly on the path of war, either with other tribes, or with the wild animals, no inducement is given to them for a settled life, the necessary condition of the development of a more articulate speech and a higher intellectual culture. 197

The Khoikhoi, or Nomadic Hottentots, have all the same language, which branches off in as many idioms and dialects as there are tribes. The idiomatic peculiarities, however, are not very prominent, indeed not so striking, as to hinder a Geiǁkhau or ǂAuni or ǁHabobe of Great Namaqualand, and the ǂNūbe of Ovamból and, or the Geiǂnam of the North Western Kalihari, conversing easily with the inhabitants of the Khamies Bergen (North Western Colony), and with the ǁKoras and Griquas of Griqualand West and the Orange Free State.

A prominent feature in all the *Khoikhoi* idioms is the strict monosyllabism of the root, ending in a vowel, and the use of pronominal elements as suffixes for the purpose of forming derivatives. The Khoikhoi language is entirely void of prefixes, nay, our prepositions are postpositions. The pronominal elements have in the course of time crystallized, and sometimes melted together into one, and in this new shape accepted the office of classifiers and registrars of substantives or substantified expressions, so that some of our most eminent philologists did not hesitate to consider them homogeneous with the article of 193

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 other sex-denoting languages, chiefly of the Semitic and Hamitic class. But I am convinced that a more careful investigation will lead to the result, that the Khoikhoi language is not sex-denoting in the sense of Aryan or Semitic grammar. The so-called "*article*" is not an article in the sense of grammar, because the root of the Khoikhoi article is not the same throughout the genders, nor throughout the numbers. The following Table will at once explain what I mean:

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Com.*
Sing.	Subjective	b (bi), m (mi)	s (si)	i
	Objective	ba, ma	sa	(ia) e
Dual.	Subj. and obj.	khā	ra	ra
Plur.	Subjective	gu	ti	n
	Objective	ga (gua)	te (tia)	na

In saying this I do not for a single moment deny that the so-called article was *en route* to develop into the meaning and sense of the Aryan article, when by the destructive contact with other races—the Bantu from the North, and the European from the South—this development was suddenly checked.

We may therefore safely, until a more appropriate term for this way of classifying is established, call those particles which serve as classifiers of the three classes of the substantives, *Articles*.

197 The Bushman languages, as far as I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, have no such derivative and formative elements; at least, if they had, such have now entirely disappeared, or are distorted to such a degree, that they defy every analysis. Sometimes one is tempted to believe that there are embryonic indications of such elements; sometimes again one is strongly inclined to take such would-be-suffixes, for dilapidated remnants of pronominal elements. The present Bushman languages bear nearly the same relationship to the Khoikhoi as, among the Indo-European languages, English holds to

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Sanskrit. As to the dictionary of Khoikhoi and Bushman, there remains no more doubt as to their primitive relationship. The following list will convince the greatest sceptic:—

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂKham-Bushman.*
Tooth	ǁgūb	ǁgēi-ǁgeī
Intestines	ǂguin	ǂkhoin-ǂkhoin
Male, man	ʏau (ǂKora) au (Nama)	ʏau
Master	gao-ʏau-b (ǂKora)	gao-ʏau
Rope	ǂhaūb	ǂhaū
Elephant	ǂǂkχoab	ǂǂkχoa
Egg	ǂubu-s	ǂubu and ǂuiten
Fish	ǁoub	ǁou
White	ǂuri	ǂuiten and ǂū
Star	ǂgomrob (ǂKora) ǂgamirob (Nama)	ǂkoaten
Plain	ǂoub	ǂougen
Strong	ǂgeiχa	ǂgeiya
Weak	ǂǂkχabu	ǂǂkχoba
Rich	ǂkχū	ǂkχou
Buchu	sāb	tsā
Beads	ǂurin (ǂʏuri)	ǂʏuri
Other	ǂkhara	ǂkχara
Selfsame	ǁeī	ǁeī
To walk	dā	taī
Clay	ǂǂgoa-b	ǂǂgoai
Sea	huri-b	huri
Interrog.	tari	tari

Or if we like to glance at the ǂAi-Bushman on the North-west Kalihari, we shall come to the same conclusion.

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂAi-Bushman.*
Man	khoi-b	khoe
Male	ʏaore khoi-m (ǂKora)	ʏau-khoe
Child	ǁgōa-ī	ǁgoa
Father	ǁgū-khoīb	ǁgū-khoe

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● 197

	Khoikhoi.	*ǀAi-Bushman.*
Cattle	go-ma-ĭ	goe
Calf	tsaũ-b	tsaũ
Sheep	gu-ĭ	gu
Goat	biri-ĭ	biri
Lion	χa-mí	χam
Dog	ari-b	arigu
Hare	ǀoa-ĭ	ǀoa
Hartebēst	ǁkhama-ĭ	ǁkhama
Nose	ǂgui-s	ǂgui
Mouth	ɣam-s (ǀKora)	ɣam
Tooth	ǁgũ-b	ǁgũ
Ear	ǂgeis	ǂgẽ
Arm	ǁoã-b	ǁõã
Neck	ǀɣaub (ǀKora)	ǀɣaũ
Leg	tẽ-b	tẽ
Tree	hei-ĭ	hĭĭ
Beard	ǀnum-s	ǀnom
Hard	ǀgari	ǀgadi
Black	ǂnũ	ǂnũ
White	ǀuri	ǀũ
To run	ǀgũ	ǀgũ
To drink	ɣá (ǀKora) / ã (Nama)	ɣã
To eat	ǂũ	ǂũ
To die	ǁõ	ǁõ
To give	mã	mãme
To catch	ǀkhõ	ǀkhõ
Cap	ǀgabá-s	ǀgabá
Pot	sũ-s	sũ
Jackal	ǀgiri-b	ǀgirì
Bull	ǁgo-b	ǁgõ
Fish	ǁou-b	ǁou
Snake	ǀɣau-b (ǀKora)	ǀɣau
Rain	tã-s	tũ
Road	ɗao-b	ɗao
Fat	ǁnui-b	ǁnui

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	Khoikhoi.	*ǂAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǂgina-s	ǂgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaɪ (ǂKora)	ɣaɪ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ~, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǂgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǂgun (ǂgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nĭge or nĭ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǂKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Kenhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man* ǂkui *goai*, and *woman* ǂkui ǂaitĭ, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men*, ǂēga *túgẹn*, and *women* ǂēga ǂgāgẹn. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

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Th. Hahn. Oudtshoorn, E. Prov. 1871.	*Th. Hahn. Bergdamara, North Namaqualand.* 1875.
I. ǀKui	ǀkui
II. ǀKam	ǀkam
III. ǃNona	ǃnona
IV. Haka	haga
V. Koro	gore
VI. ǃNani	ǃnani
VII. Hũgu	hũ
VIII. ǁKhaisi	ǁkhaisa
IX. Khoisi	khoise
X. Disi	disi

A ǂNuwi-Namaqua from the Kaokoveldt counted in the same way as the Great Namaquas.

This much we know of the time when the numerals were formed, that it must have followed the period when the Khoikhoi family had left the isolating stage, and their language availed itself of the aid of pronominal elements in order to form derivatives ǀGui, ǀga-m, ǃno-na, ha-ga, go-re, ǃna-ni, hũ-gu or hu-ni-gu, ǁkhai-si, khoi-si, di-si, all have the derivative-pronominal-suffixes, i, m, na, ni, gu, ga, re, si. We also know that the Khoikhoi could not have invented the numerals before their domestic and social condition made counting and taxing necessary. As long as they were hunters, there was nothing worth counting, but when they had taken to breeding cattle and sheep, they had to count (ǃgõa) their flocks, and the richest man was the most honoured man. Hence it is that *ǃgõa, to count,* is also used in the meaning, *to honour, to respect,* and *ǃgõab* means not only *the number,* but also *the honour, the respect, the regard.* "ǀGõahe tamata hã," will a Khoikhoi indignantly say, "I am not counted," that is, "I am not looked at," if he thinks that he is unfairly treated.

The meanings of some of these numerals are very clear. *ǀGui, one,* is the *single,* the *lonely* one. For

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000 still at the time when Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape, and when Governor Jan van Riebeeke hoisted the banner of the Netherlands at the foot of Table Mountain, below the old Khoikhoi kraal ǂǁHu-ǂgais. And such we find it still to be amongst the tribes of Great Namaqualand, and the remnants of the ǃKora and the so-called Cape Hottentots.

114 197 The orthography of the few specimens of the old Khoikhoi language of the Cape Colony, given by Witsen, Kolb, Valentyn, Ludolf, Leibniz, Thunberg, Spaarman, Le Vaillant, Barrow, Liechtenstein, Burchell, &c., is very much distorted, when compared with that of the excellent publications of Schmelen, Knudsen, Vollmer, and Tindall. Nevertheless, the language of the Khoikhoi tribes, such as the Kochoquas, Charigurunas, Hessaquas, Outeniquas, Attaquas, now swept from the face of the earth, and the present living idioms of the Namaquas, ǃGonaquas, ǁKhauas, ǃAmas, and ǃKoras, and few remnants of the Chrichriquas, the present Griquas, show the same structure, the same sex-denoting tendency, the same agglutinative peculiarity, the same decimal system of counting, and an equal abundance of abstract ideas and expressions well fitted to interpret the most sublime and sacred feelings of the human heart.

000 An unmerciful fate has overtaken the Khoikhoi; the most powerful tribes have been annihilated, and with them their traditions, sacred as well as profane. Those still extant have lost so much of their national peculiarities by contact with civilization, and have adopted such a number of Indo-European beliefs and customs; and the Christian ideas introduced by missionaries have amalgamated to such a degree with the national religious ideas and mythologies, that for this reason I have in the following pages preferred to give less than I could give, lest I should be accused that from a certain natural interest in, and sympathy with, the Khoikhoi, I had been carried away to assign to them a higher station in the

seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blessing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gabu aib gye /gĭrib ǒaba, sores gye ti ǒasa," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201 ●
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [157
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows 171]
great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

Actually we must keep in mind, that the Hottentots have borrowed a great deal from the gestures of the foreign peoples in their present surroundings. Their receptivity for foreign things is great. When this is considered, the number of gestures which can be considered original because they are unique or dominant among the Hottentots, is greatly reduced. As a gesture of affirmation, they usually throw back the head slightly at the same time shutting the eyes. This is frequently observed, especially among the women. 201 [177]

Negation is expressed in a careless manner by an inarticulated sound with the mouth closed. The sound resembles a short, light cough, only it is voiced somewhat with a notable rise in tonal level at the beginning and a fleeting fall at the end.

They themselves call an expressive gesture of astonishment *//a·mana·m (from *//a/m - covering to hide and ams - mouth). For this gesture they cover the mouth and the entire lower half of the face with their hand flat and turn the head to one side, at the same time raising the eyelids. Lifting the upper eyelids (without raising the eyebrows), which I often observed during a conversation whenever there was a sudden dawning of recognition or awakening of interest, can only be designated here as a common human mode of expression. 201 152

Shame cannot be recognized by a blush because of the fawn-colored character of their skin. Bending the head sideways and covering the face with the elbow is a frequent manner of expressing the feeling of shame.

I found a gesture of repugnance or strong dislike very marked among the women. The face is turned to one side and slightly tipped backwards from the person against whom the gesture is directed. The eyelids droop limply, the mouth is distorted into a snout, the upper lip coming quite close to the nostrils as though to plug them up. Using the same gesture, called ≠onam, a person who has overeaten turns aside when food is offered to him.

It is no longer possible to decide whether embracing and cheek kissing as a tender gesture of greeting is original among the Hottentots or a gesture they have adopted. An old woman embraced and kissed one of my young companions with feelings of joy, when he [184] returned to her dwelling after years of separation. She summoned other women and couldn't express her joy sufficiently. Her eyes were too deeply encased in wrinkles for me to see if she was weeping. One may probably consider weeping as an expression of joyful emotion a

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa!mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [797]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

S H 751 782

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[31]) next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

S H [304]

S H 201

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

H 585

H [864]

After the wedding[32]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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H 585

and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

raised to such perfection that they can compete successfully with a numerically and intellectually far superior power, using the most modern equipment. 648

The strength of the Hottentot in comparison to his enemy, who is trained from youth to work cooperatively and according to regulations, lies in the independence of each individual. When we compare him with the German soldier, we see how many primitive abilities gained by direct contact with nature have been lost by us.

Added to this is the fact that the Hottentot warrior often is a mature man. The youth of our soldiers is very evident to him and he is aware again of a definite superiority in this area. One designation for the German soldier, which has lasted from the times of our former battles with the Hottentots, is *!gaĕkχaosa //gaũ·saχarob, i.e. "the little boy (a·χab, boy; -ro, dimin.) from the foreign place (//gaũs), whose dress (the uniform coat that fits snugly across the small of the back) is fastened (!gaĕ) at the rear (kχaos)". But even though he laughs at his opponent here the way a sly old poacher does at [338] at a young game warden, he has still felt the strength of our soldiers sufficiently. He expresses his recognition in the expression *!huni!o/m. !o/m is a so-called "buskop". These animals are harder to handle than the usual oxen because of their lack of horns. They pull their heads out of the noose if they are yoked up in the usual way. They stick their heads through barriers that would be protected against horned animals. One is never certain about them. To the recognition of this readiness to fight, they add, without stretching the metaphor, the striking color of our blond (!huni, yellow) hair to the name.

I have not been able to find out from the Hottentots many details of their battle customs. In order to steel himself to his bloody work, the man who has never killed anyone supposedly drinks the raw blood of a slaughtered animal before he goes into battle. [Picture. Hottentots' War Pipe.] 726

The battle reports of the troops will give the best information about tactics. Signals are frequently given on a pipe that is carved from the horn of a female springbok. Since this signal pipe, *≠gi/s, is blown the same way as a dance pipe, it is also called a reed or blowing horn, χaĩ //nã/s or *!naĩ/ //nã/s. 726 202

It is the job of one of the sub-captains to determine whether a place or water hole which the troop is approaching is occupied by the enemy or not. He rides up spying, while his people conceal themselves around it. Not until he lets out a long drawn-out whistle do they appear. In this way the Hottentots are supposed to have approached the water hole /Aos in the

1: Schultze--135A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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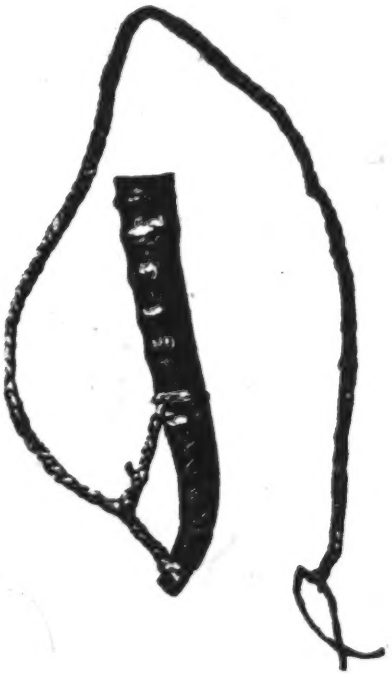

[p. 338]

Hottentots' war pipe.

year 1893, in order to attack Kubúb on the following morning. A series of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack. 726 202

The Hottentot also seeks hints from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called *go·bo go·bos, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture. Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go·bo go·bo a·maẽ , kʒo·egu go ≠no·aẽ?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows. 726 787

A ring around the moon, *ao≠gā/b, (the moon is as though thrown, ao, in, ≠gā/, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occurred and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga·barab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet 197

77. W. H. J. Bleek, A Comparative grammar of South African languages, 2 Bände. London, 1862 und 1869.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles, vol. 4, p.* 3) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair."

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2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named *//arey !as*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *≠a:di* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen.

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A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885.

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[115]

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *≠a:di*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The fœtus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognized to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with upstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a *Inau* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 215–17; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] "The Nama," 135.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 216.
[4] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 85.
[5] Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) *omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) *!ga·/marib· (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ǂha·bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)*/kʘu·bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called */a·miǂai·b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na·rahin from the gourd fruit !na·rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221● 222 [342] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [627] 222 423 628

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this. 843 826

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October. 843 805 221

b) Delivery. (//ora·s, giving birth, !na·/es, being born; one also hears the word ˢsu/bu·s, relief, ha/s, getting. oa·s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority. 844 [578] [124]

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.] 301 304

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ'ŝ) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.] 301 306 [824] 301 [435]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kχu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes. 301 439

[253]

Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.] 221 [137 136] 221 233

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (≠habu·, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle. 221 233 492 493 484

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight. 233 221 484

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at 175 233

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 233 178

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 184–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 210–12.

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa!mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [797]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

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[415]

Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, *//kχuri·s (in Little Namaland: /hu·/rob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size] 1/1

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

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The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called *!nu/ms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva 2/1 of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kχũ·≠u·/nis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

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Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1/1 [See p. 16(A) - Am.] 2/1 [See p. 16(B). - Am.]

passages, pea-sized openings in the ground. If one follows these passages, one will come to the house at varying depths, sometimes only 1 to 1 1/2 feet under the surface, if a rock or hard layer of ground sheathes the soft ground and gives the house protection from above. Sometimes, however, one must dig down 6 feet before one reaches one's goal. 222 136

The underground dwelling has the shape of a lens, about 1/2 meter in circumference and 20 to 25 centimeters high. The material used for building is a brittle, fragile, yellowish-grey, paper-thin mass; it is resistant to water. One can immerge the house in water for days without its falling apart. It merely becomes soft and less fragile. 136

The house is built up of about 40 stories, each averaging about 1/2 centimeter in height. Although at first glance the labyrinth with its many hundred rooms that communicate on all sides may seem complicated, nevertheless a simple principal of construction can be divined: the spiral passageway. The innumerable spiral passageways are sometimes widely separated, sometimes right next to each other, sometimes with even, horizontal flights, sometimes with sharp angled axes and correspondingly steep paths, but the construction is always such that the course of each passage passes into that of the neighboring one without any interruption. Thus chambers, halls, corridors, gates and columns arise.

The composition of the inhabitants changes according to the season. In July of 1904 I found in one structure eggs, larvae in all stages up to the adult worker, workers of various sizes, large-chinned soldiers, [191] three queens about 2 1/2 centimeters long, and finally,* in addition to a few undeveloped insects, numerous nymphs,

*In the nests of Hodotermes viator (Latr.) I found a new Cetoniinae, Trichoplus aepytus Kolbe. The Hottentots know this companion of the termites well. It is about 9 centimeters long and of an even black color. They call it //k‡au≠ams.

mostly without wings.

These fat white nymphs, that are 12 millimeters long, are the goal of the Hottentot. First he shovels the whole house with its inhabitants and clinging earth into a sack. He sorts out what is edible in his hut. To do this he shakes the mass bit by bit into a vessel containing lukewarm water and stirs up the bottom with a stick 222 252

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," *!gîbes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added. 222 252

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches *!ga/e≠hu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, *!kx̃u/i≠hu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen. [262] 222

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw. 252 [262]

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense. 786 731 [836]

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of 262 576 [753] 262

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kχai·ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *ǂgũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classfy *!gao·beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ǂha·ʔob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ǂgarib), is supposed to have given its

1: Schultze--19A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Babiana spec.
2/3 natural size

Moraea spec.
2/3 natural size

Tha. Tob
2/3 natural size

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name to the place Karibib (≠ga·ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. 221
The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called */ũ·/ robis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (*≠na·ʔob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L.f. (called !kχa·ros) is [252] considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be 137
mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The 824
!haʔni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

50. H. Schinz, Deutsche-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "≠kχara-!goreb kχoma !haniχa tanasa ũ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, */ao·beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call *!kχõ·aireb, and which plant corresponds to the */a·mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to 137
the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is 262
usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: *!kχu·ib, or *tsãʔ/χa≠gai·eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture. Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) *omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) *!ga·/marib· (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ǂha·bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)*/kʘu·bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called */a·miǂai·b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na·ranin from the gourd fruit !na·rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222 [342] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [627] 222 423 628

252 262 415 137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[824 771] The cup for mashing ˈhai·os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush [412] wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ·ab (-arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call 137 tsa/ma·b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. 252 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, 262 ˈsoːrobe-tsa/ma·b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma·s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a·nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the früits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ≠aũ's) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large glack ants, [322] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Augea capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped lamellae, are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa·/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[201] Finally, the food called //kχuni·b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kχu·ǂnibe·b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is *!ga·riao!ga·ǂmi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaǂm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (*/nu·bi!o·reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !naǂbaǂkχaǂrab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called [illegible]ǂa·b and !kχo·bab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called *//huǂms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called */kχo·rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go-bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gĩ-gye/ga-mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned [824]
Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai-rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kx̃a/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

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Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size.

Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.

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Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.

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[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hã‿) it in his pipe, they call it χao//hã‿b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da·ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ǂnuni·//ga·‿rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa‿rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (ǂna‿o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hũ·‿danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called °/ha·‿mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ã‿b, and °tsĕb or tsĕrab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [136] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, °!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

1: Schultze--26A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

137
●222
272

[p.204]

Farob, a tea fern. 4/5 natural size.

222 413 [415] makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes a honey bag, *//kxo·rob, from the hide of an iguona, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263 317 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206]

5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264 415 The branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !ore·s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //go/a·b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two oc-
264 casional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called *a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264 524 Tsu·bugu/hu·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

1: Schultze--27A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

222
413

[205]

Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.

233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried
484 meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
492 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
[415] bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
512 and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members
517 of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 262 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.

[415] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the

[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When

[251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

● 222 252 262 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Bauhinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 102–3.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

proximi, mediae sunt staturae, qui vero abdita regionis inhabitant, villosi, procerioris robustiorisque corporis, et cirrati sunt: visusque inter eos Longurio duodecempeda regulus, toto corpore hirsutus, cane aquatrio pilosior, brevitasque illis nostratium contemptui est: subinde recalvastri, et nonnunquam barbam cum mystace alunt, caputque rasitant: mulieres mammosae. Insignitum aut obesum, gibbosum, paetum, varicem, ventricosum, pansam, loripedem, valgum, anuem (sic), compernem, aut distortis membris inter ipsos non vidi, praeter unum alterumve, luscum, exomphalum, atypum, nasutilumque, et si quis claudicat, aut manu, bracchio, oculo aliove membro mutilus, id hosti, ferae, aut casui imputet, non matri, quae minus, quam alibi mulieres, animi commotionibus affectionibusque obnoxia, salubri corpore, et justa membrorum eurythmiâ, robustisque artibus conspicuos liberos parit, quos sola decrepita aetas dissolvit.

Nostrates procul hinc profecti, mercaturam facturi, in gentem, cui non cornea fibra est,* quae nostris tum forte comptis rasisque, aut imberbibus, merces suas distrahendas explicantibus indicantibusque, joculari convicio exprobrat, maritos suos vocarent, si secum pacisci vellent, cum in(s)titricibus sibi nullum negotium. Talia Barbari!

Auditu sunt solerti, naribus acutis, visuque, ut dixi, acerrimo, adeo ut melli insidiaturi, apiculam stupenda indagine, volantem ad favum usque in alta rupe, cava arbore aut crypta absconditum, oculis sequantur deregantque: sicubi, interveniente dumeto, sylva, fluvio aliove obstaculo remoraque, apicula aciem oculorum insequentis effugit, cursum indigator sistens, faciem s[illegible] occiduo obvertit, advolantemque praecedentis tramite apiculam omni cura investigat, quâ duce in praedam petitam incidat.

Porro observavi Afros nostros aviculae cujusdam cantu, volatuque mellis amicissimae, ad alveare perduci; ferturque alias aviculas, locis leonibus ferisque insessis occinere; alias

* The phrase is from Persius, Sat. I. 47.

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[4]) I have been unable to find any official record of this incident.

[5]) Hahn, 200 years later, gives an interesting corroboration of this statement. "When a bee passes a Bushman or Namaqua in

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![4])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[5]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey[6]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 of 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1896, Min. Proc. p. xvi).

[6]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator spp.*). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[244]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles.

Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Magosi[25]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[26]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[27]) Freemen despise the price of servitude.

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in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 64). The verbal embroidery is all G.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the AmaXhosa as *ukumetsha*, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 113 ff.).

27) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 65).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 Eodem in usu pretioque ipsis herba Cannah, forte nostratium cannabis, cujus semina dicerem non multum abhorrere ab illis, quae aliquando Mantuae Carpetanorum in sartagine cum pipere, oleo et sale frixa (canamones Hispanis dicta) degustavi.

Animalium terrestrium, volucrium et acquatilium, tam domesticorum quam silvestrium immensus, tanquam vivario et ad prodigium numerus, et omnium instar hoc specimen habeas, quod ultrà mille elephantes quandoque gregatim pascantur, quorum aliqui tantae vastitatis, ut alterum eorum dentem (meo calculo cornu) triginta supra centum librarum pondere viderim: nec minor serpentium, amphibiorum, et insectorum multitudo, quorum genera ut plurimum in quatuor et plures species se spargentia, easdemque maximam partem nostratibus ignotas, omnibusque scriptoribus incognitas, attonitus animadverti, et ne à fide abhorrentia narrare videar, scias eadem mihi assiduos testes retulisse, et inter caetera visas ipsis pascentes belluas, capite equo similes, oblongo collo, brevi caudâ, reliquis vero corporis partibus elephantem referentes adaequantesque, incredibilis penè pernicitatis, adeoque cicures ut mansuefactas crederes; porrò ex ore nonnullorum haud spernendae fidei accepi, visos sibi monocerotes equo statura omnibusque membris simillimos in fronte cornu brachii longitudine et crassitie gestantes ferocissimos: alii quorum fides non vacillat narrant dari illic bicornes equos paris ferocitatis et formâ egregios: nonnulli praetendunt se vidisse insignes arduosque silvestres equos catervatim pascentes, et inter illos quosdam nive candidiores, alios carbone nigriores, nonnullos albos, sed jubâ caudâque nigrâ, et vice versâ, quosdam atros, caudâ jubâque candidos, omnes Asturconibus praestantiores, quos ob velocitatem Pegasos diceres: Onagrum non minoris pernicitatis et spectatae pulchritudinis fasciis albis nigrisque duorum digitorum latitudine alternatim per totum corpus, ab auribus usque ad caudam et imos talos affabrè striatura

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[84]) *Canna* or *Ganna* is identified by Marloth (*Common Names of Plants*, 30) as "several species of *Salsola*". Reference is made to the Hottentot use of it in the notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's expedition to Namaqualand. "They

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

They use for the same purpose and hold in equal esteem the Canna plant, which is perhaps our hemp.[44]) The seeds of it do not seem very different from those which I once ate in Madrid, fried in the pan with pepper, oil and salt, and called canamones by the Spaniards.

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The number of animals here of earth, air, and water, and both domestic and wild, is so prodigious that it is like living in a zoo. Let one example serve for all: more than a thousand elephants sometimes feed together in a herd, and some of them are of such a size that I have seen a single tooth (I should rather call it a horn) that weighed more than one hundred and thirty pounds. The number of snakes, amphibians, and insects is just as great. Each class of them splits up as a rule into four or more species, and these, I am astonished to perceive, are for the most part unknown to the Europeans and unrecognized in the writings of all naturalists. I do not want you to suppose that I am straying from the truth; you must know therefore that the most careful observers have reported the above facts to me, and have told me among other things that they have seen creatures grazing with horses' heads, long necks, short tails, like elephants in the rest of their parts and as big, of an almost incredible swiftness, and at the same time so little shy that they seemed domesticated. I have also heard credible witnesses state that they have seen ferocious unicorns as big as horses and like them in every limb, with a horn on the forehead as long and as thick as your arm. Others, of unimpeachable veracity, say that there are horses here with two horns, equally ferocious and of exquisite beauty. Some profess to have seen fine tall wild horses feeding in herds, and among them some fairer than snow, others darker than coal, some white with black mane and tail, and vice versa, some black with white mane and tail, all of them outclassing the Asturian breed and each a Pegasus in swiftness. I have seen with wonder a zebra of no less speed and rare beauty, artistically striped over his whole body from his ears to his tail and down his legs to the pastern with alternate bands of black and white two fingers thick. It was only in the size of his

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generally chew a certain herb called *canna*. They pound it root and stem together between stones and store and preserve it in bags made of sheepskin. In October, when we were approaching the Copper Mountain, everybody was gathering this herb on the surrounding mountains as a supply for the whole year. They use it as the natives of India use *betel* or *areca*. They chew both stem and root almost all day and become thereby intoxicated, so that on account of this effect and its pleasant smell and stimulating taste, one may safely expect some advantage from its workings" (Waterhouse, 162, 165).

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11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhwedi na !o:kwa !khares thi he:s thikha khau |kwa. ||kwa ka ka kje na !kũ, ina !uri ||kae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai ||nãukwa na |oro ||na:e. !kharedi kx²aŋsakwa xa tahakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje diba. ||guru |uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:kwa kukje di kwa.

Translation :

The women dig for " uintjes " with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not forgiven him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower-garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-beer (ǃkharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ǂNaiχab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will certainly return home, and they say, "ǁGaunabi ge dahe hã," we are overpowered by ǁGauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ǁõ ge ni," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (huri-ǂoab) is blowing,

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patelliate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

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Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and 252
eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not 262
despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, %/xuri·s (in Little Namaland: [223 ●
/hu·/rob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its 857]
shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. [225]
If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are [415]
scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture:
Zonurus polyzonus Smith, actual size] 1/4

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called
*//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young
Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species
which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped
in grass by the children and sucked like candy. 136

The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome 222
dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called 252
*!nu/ms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or 262
raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva 1/1
of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made
by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who
roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus
capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way.
The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kxũ·nu·/nis,
bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tun-
nels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass,
often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the
bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as
though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by
the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus
capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach
them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With
sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked
in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the
bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than find- 222
ing the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the 136
underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the
animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging
in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the
area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1/1 [see p.16(A)-Am.] 2/1 [see p.16(B).-Am.]

may pass, he finds the place where the wild animal lies dead. 224

Stalking supplies him with an unsurpassed knowledge of the way of life of the game. Although it might not seem to us to be sportsman like, still to the native hunter, to whom each bullet is of great value in the wilderness, it seems the safest to creep up on an oryx and wait quietly until it goes into the bushes after grazing to sleep away the hot noon hours. The Hottentot then follows it noiselessly and shoots the sleeping animal from close up.

Dogs are indispensible for hunting predatory animals.

Protected by the herd of cattle, the herder approaches the steinbok which is innocently grazing with the goats and the sheep and kills it with a precise stone throw (ǂnoǂa-s), or he corners klipspringer with his dog. The dog also performs good services in hunting oryx. Under certain conditions the dog stops it so well that the Hottentot can kill it with the assagai, his "throwing knife," //haĭǂgoab. One especially smart dog had the habit [290] of biting the cornered gemsbok in the nostrils, so that the animal could not move from the spot. The dog finally fell victim to a dying gemsbok, which it had carelessly approached, with a short motion of the neck sideways and back, the animal that was already shot down plunged a horn into its body.

b) The chase on horseback, !haǂe·s, seems to have been undertaken early by the Hottentot, if the information of a native hunter, who told me that elephants were hunted in this way, is based on truth. The elephant supposedly was the pursuer, since one rider after another let the elephant chase him until the animal was so exhausted that it could be overcome. [492]

The eland is supposed to be easy to chase.

Pursuing the ostrich on horseback is more successful than stalking which is difficult even for the native because the bird is very far-sighted. [492 223]

A single oryx is a beautiful sight in itself, similar to a grazing stag. But no comparison with the game and landscape of our homeland, will suffice when one has had the good luck (as I did in May, 1904, south of Kubub) to see about 250 of these wonderful animals standing together, suspecting no danger, their heads deep in the grass, so sharply lighted by the evening sun that the movements of each animal could be clearly followed. Then suddenly they become aware of the riders. The uneasiness of the nearest ones spreads to the whole herd and in a few seconds the whole herd is off at a gallop and soon only a great yellow cloud of dust reveals the direction of the fleeing animals. Then one must dismount quickly and be very calm for a sure shot.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten.

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/haî, v.).

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk.

Meat soup, suro-b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu-bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung.

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai-ǂadai-b) or cooled (°/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha-reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na-rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (°/ikǂabib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods).

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, °/ãdaib. °ãndaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama·, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they feed off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 224 [177]

1. The Wild Animals*

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*This will only be a list, and when it seems valuable in the interest of lucidity for those not familiar with local conditions, there will be a brief description of the huntable animals of Great Namaland [Footnote goes on to p. 269] according to their most obvious characteristics. Closer observations about their way of life and a completion of the list from the zoological standpoint will be given later.

The wild animals which the Hottentot still hunts represent only a skimpy remnant of the wealth of his former hunting grounds. All the wild animals which can be hunted are called am/nēn, [269] ǂa-manin, ᵓǂaberan or ǂamaren. The large wild animals of the Hottentot hunter are, except for the ostrich and the zebra, only of historical interest. Foremost stands:

1. The elephant, Elephas africanus (Blumenb.) (Cape D. Oliphant[1]) called ǂkxoa-b.

Although for two generations or longer no Hottentot has seen an elephant in his homeland, I still found a few recollections from the time when it was hunted. It is supposed to have been a major rule that none of the hunters should have intercourse with his wife the night before a hunt; otherwise the elephant would point at him with his trunk and throw earth at him. The guilty one could no longer take part in the hunt then.

The position of the teats in front on the breast and the shape of the vulva awoke the easily excited sensuality of the Hottentots. One Hottentot told me the following hunting story: Two brothers-in-law went out and after a successful hunt the older one warned the younger one not to approach the downed elephant from behind, but he paid no attention to the warning and was punished by an uncontrollable erection which made him walk lame (ᵓ/ī) and still makes him the laughing stock of all hearers of the joke. The wording of the story was: kxoē /uiguiǂa ǂa ī gye gye !auhe ǂkxoana, okǂa gye ǂk oasa gye !gam. ob gye gaiba go sī tsi: "tī kxaos /kxāb ai ī," ti go mī. ǂabeb gye ǂkxama go ī tsī ǂkxoas di /oasa mũ tsī ǂgũi tsī /ī go /kxī. ob gye gaiba: "tareē dī tsi?" ob gye: "m'm, ǂũ tomaī" ti go mī.

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[1] [i.e., Cape Dutch or Boer. – Analyst]

and did not desist until the last quagga had vanished from the earth. 136
That was achieved about 1880.

4. The zebra, !go·reb, is known to the Hottentots in two forms, which we differentiate as Equus Zebra L. (= E. montanus Burch (Cape D. wildepaard) and E. burchelli Gray (Cape D. bonta quagga). The first zebra, which the Hottentot himself designates as the smaller kind living in the mountains, he calls *//kx̃ao·! goreb, probably from the spurge (cf. p. 150), the juice of which he uses to poison the animals [224] at their watering places. Another name for E. zebra is */ho·/ !goreb, i.e. "the one marked black and white." This designation, which would be suitable for all zebras, is only understandable as a diagnostic term taken from its antithesis: [271] the dark striping of E. burchelli, that inhabits the broad plains, is scantier than that on the other kind, the white basic color of the body shines out and is broader and therefore they call this kind *!u·/ri!goreb or the "white zebra."

The remote mountain country in the west of the lower course of the Fish River and the eastern Namib plains in the northern border country are the last refuges of small zebra herds in Great Namaland.

At the end of the 80's the Equus zebra could still be found in the mountainous parts of the eastern Cape colony. In the mountains around Naroekaspoort (74) (70 miles from Willomore) a zebra herd,

74. Ibid.

except for one male zebra, was killed by the Boers and the natives. The lonely animal attached itself to the horses of a farmer that were pastured in the open, followed them on all their wanderings, followed them even into the kraal of the farm. There the zebra starved to death, since it refused to eat even the food that was brought to him from his former pasture grounds. [Picture. Equus burchelli Gray.]

5. The hippopotamus, Hippopotamus amphibius L., (Cape D. Zeekoe), called !kx̃aos or *!kx̃ums, formerly numerous in all the rivers on the Cape, exists today in only a few examples in the lower course of the Orange.

6. The giraffe, Giraffa capensis (Lesson), (Cape D. kameel,) called !na/i·b, as older travel reports all relate, could still be found at the turn of the [272] nineteenth century in Great Namaland but is now wiped out there and lives only in folk tales. [Picture. Young male giraffe.]

7. The ostrich, Struthio australis L., (Cape D. vool struis), called /ami·b (Illustration with the folk tales) can be met in all parts of Great

Namaland, and in greatest numbers in the transitional zone of the Namib to the hinterland. I also saw them south of the Orange in the Little Bushman land. 136

Because of its incomparable sharp sightedness the Hottentot also calls it *//ga'ba mũ's (from *//ga'ba·=to see far in the distance, mũ's = eye). The native hunter distinguishes among the females a certain hen that appears alone in a flock, is easier to drive off and has a tendency to grow fat. He gives her the name *sā·bes, distinguishing it from the other female ostriches which he calls */hai·! noro·s, "the one with the fallow back of the head." /naba·b (3. st.) is the young ostrich. 136 224

Next to the ostrich the bustards, Eupodotis species, are the stateliest wild birds of Namaland. 136

8. The lion, Felis leo L., (Cape D. leeuw), called ǂa·mi, has also disappeared today from the Namib and the bordering territories, its last refuge, and is only found in the northeast, in the transitional zone between Great Namaland and Kalahari.

9. The kudu, Strepsiceros capensis (A. Smith), called ǂaib begins the series of antelopes. Large, strong and of a wonderful symmetry, the kudu is rightly considered [273] the noblest horned wild animal of the South African savanna, just as in our woods the deer is, which the kudu also resembles in size. It is also like our deer in that only the male has antlers. There is no more beautiful trophy that the horns of an old kudu bull with their bold spirals.

The color of the kudu is a plain yellow grey. About seven narrow whitish stripes cross the back and hind legs. From the root of the tail to the back of the head a stripe of somewhat longer hair grows along the middle of the back. It is too short to be called a mane. [Picture. Felis leo L.] But a stately beard begins between the lower jaws of the bull, descends down a middle line, decorating the front surface of the darker grey neck and continues sideways above the shoulders as a little neck-mane.

The kudu loves dense undergrowth and is restricted to the interior of Great Namaland in the mountainous parts. It becomes frightened when it observes an enemy. The nearest relative of this marvelous antelope,

[274] 10. the eland, Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), called !kǂa/ns is quite the opposite in its outward appearance. The short strong legs with the clumsy hoofs and the awkward burden of the bulky, extended body reveal nothing of the antelope. The long dark mane on the

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /ga/mirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called */ha/rebab or */ha/retsub, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin than he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally grey.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho/mi, the same name they give the coastal eared seal.

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [283] 26. the "caparism" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales), Canis mesomelas Schrbr., (Cape D. fox), called /gĩ·rib, also frequently called /gai·rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

[224 281]

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* I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /gĩb = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (57) since the desig-

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

nation for odor of fat is not /gĩb but /gĩ/b. */gĩ·/ri - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

The light golden-brown color of its pelt has also given it the name gold jackal. A broad black stripe mixed with white covers its back like a caparison from the neck to the root of the tail and the upper parts of the flanks. The last two thirds of the long thin brush are black; the throat and a line along the upper lip have a whitish color. 136

27. One of the prettiest of the South African jackals is the silver jackal, Vulpes chama (A. Smith), called !kxama·b. The round brush, as soft as wool, is larger than the thin body and is just about as long. The body itself is no larger than that of a Cape hare. The back and the nape of the neck, the outside of the upper legs and the root of the tail are silver grey mixed with a fine dark color. The rest of the body is yellow-brown, shaded variously. The broad end of the brush is black and there are black specks on both sides of the first third.

A belief of the hunters is that whoever says the name of the silver jackal while hunting will not catch one. Whoever is forced to speak of it, therefore calls it *≠gai·/hetoma·b, i.e. the one (-b) who is not (toma) called (gai/) (-he a pass. ending). [224]

28. Like the silver jackal, the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar) (Cape D. A-jackal), called //ã/b, is a small, harmless fellow that never attacks a herd. Its greyish-brown pelt is highly prized. The bushy tail is long, but thin, its tip colored a blackish-brown.

29. In contrast to all its South African relations the Cape hunting dog, Lycaon pictus (Temm.), is dangerous in the highest degree. In packs he chases the fleetest game, attacks herds and even men.

The Cape hunting dog does not have the fine pointed nose of the jackal, nor the broad skull of the hyena. One would be more likely to take its head [284] for that of our household dog. Its pelt is checked a blackish-brown, white and a light brownish-yellow. On its neck and behind its shoulders the yellow flows together to form several rather large spots. A dark stripe usually extends along a middle line between the eyebrows over the skull and continues over the nape, becoming narrower. The trunk and neck are very long in proportion to the head. Inevitably we compare the animal to a house dog and therefore the legs seem to us to be relatively long and strong. The thin slightly bushy tail reaches a little farther than the heels.

Because the front black part of the animal's nose stands out from the lighter areas next to it like a "mush beard," the Hottentots call the wild dog *!ga/u·b (from *!ga/u· = to have food sticking around the mouth). The name of the animal may also not be mentioned on the hunt. [224]

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot formerly had against the hare, !õ as, as wild game (66), has now vanished. [224 177]

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kχa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kχa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called */a·bara≠ga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tso/aru·s or tso/ara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *χa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

begin right behind the ears, lie like a dark-brown pelt. Towards the back they change suddenly into pointed white and dark-brown banded quills that are as thick as a pencil. From the nape to the beginning of the quills there is a comb of long flexible bristles that extends down the middle line of the back. When the quills are erect, the animal seems to be twice as tall as it actually is. The rattles at the rear end of the body complete the list of the animal's weapons of terror. 136

[287] The Hottentot name for the porcupine, !noa·b, is perhaps connected with !noa· = to become grey. Both words correspond in initial tone level and rising word-tone. !noa·b would then mean "grey head," corresponding to the general impression that the nocturnal animal arouses in the dark or the pale light of the stars.

36. The mouse and rat-like rodents are hunted and eaten by adult Bergdamaras as well as by half-grown Hottentots. A study of the skins and skeletons that I collected, will tell us how to classify the rat-sized animal which they call *!haɛb. duru·s (3. st.) is a collective name for various mouse species. They distinguish a night mouse, tsū·χudurus or !uru·s, and a kind with a pelt striped lengthwise belonging to Arvicanthis which they call *≠goma·b. [224]

37. The ground squirrel, Xerus capensis Kerr., is called */ga·eta ≠nā/b.

38. The smallest hoofed animal, rodent-like in its mannerisms, the rock rabbit, Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), (Cape D. dassie), called !aũ/b, often finds its way into the hunter's pot. The young are called *//gī/bigu. The rock rabbit inhabits the clefts in the rocks in great numbers near watering places.

39. In conclusion there are a number of mamals to be mentioned which the Hottentot occasionally traps rather than hunts regularly. He will not let the aardvark, Orycteropus afer (Pall.), called /kχubu·s, escape if he should happen to meet it during the day in an open field. But he must be really suffering from hunger before he will decide to undertake an uncertain difficult ambush at night in front of its hole. (See Kalahari.) 224 136

40. Hunting the elephant shrew, Macroscelides, called baus (in Little Namaland called !kχau/≠guib) is an amusement for boys. They differentiate two kinds as far as I could see, justifiably so: a lazy one, which is easily caught, "sleepy mouse," *//um·baus, and the "quick mouse," *!kχoɛ·baus, which can be recognized by its bald ears that shine through reddish when it is alive. [857]

41. The baboon, Papio porcarius (Boddaert), (Cape D. baviaan), called /nẽ·/rab, or as the older people call him /nõ·rab, is seldom

hunted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, distinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kx̃ē.aob, "scout," and the oldest leader as */ga⸗ro /nē⸗rab, because it presses toward the water first [288] (!ga⸗ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in the herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill. 136 224

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of baboon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the Orange bush country. They call it */hai· /nē⸗rab, i.e. "pale baboon" because of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mischief). [Picture. Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack a leopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to every native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously that the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth. 136 825

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an expedition, !ha⸗mi·, that takes several days or weeks. 224

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game]. Only the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game (/kx̃uri·, //ga⸗m, u⸗ru). First he sights the game at great distances and, in spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes, recognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has developed the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intellect to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One need only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has been shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the trail is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly covered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a hundred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards the sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it and will then point out the direction with his finger where the search must continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground is overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the surrounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings back a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal has brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours [151]

may pass, he finds the place where the wild animal lies dead.

Stalking supplies him with an unsurpassed knowledge of the way of life of the game. Although it might not seem to us to be sportsman like, still to the native hunter, to whom each bullet is of great value in the wilderness, it seems the safest to creep up on an oryx and wait quietly until it goes into the bushes after grazing to sleep away the hot noon hours. The Hottentot then follows it noiselessly and shoots the sleeping animal from close up.

Dogs are indispensible for hunting predatory animals.

Protected by the herd of cattle, the herder approaches the steinbok which is innocently grazing with the goats and the sheep and kills it with a precise stone throw (ǂnoǀa·s), or he corners klipspringer with his dog. The dog also performs good services in hunting oryx. Under certain conditions the dog stops it so well that the Hottentot can kill it with the assagai, his "throwing knife," //haĩǀgõab. One especially smart dog had the habit [290] of biting the cornered gemsbok in the nostrils, so that the animal could not move from the spot. The dog finally fell victim to a dying gemsbok, which it had carelessly approached, with a short motion of the neck sideways and back, the animal that was already shot down plunged a horn into its body.

b) The chase on horseback, !haǀe·s, seems to have been undertaken early by the Hottentot, if the information of a native hunter, who told me that elephants were hunted in this way, is based on truth. The elephant supposedly was the pursuer, since one rider after another let the elephant chase him until the animal was so exhausted that it could be overcome. [492]

The eland is supposed to be easy to chase.

Pursuing the ostrich on horseback is more successful than stalking which is difficult even for the native because the bird is very far-sighted. [492] [223]

A single oryx is a beautiful sight in itself, similar to a grazing stag. But no comparison with the game and landscape of our homeland, will suffice when one has had the good luck (as I did in May, 1904, south of Kubub) to see about 250 of these wonderful animals standing together, suspecting no danger, their heads deep in the grass, so sharply lighted by the evening sun that the movements of each animal could be clearly followed. Then suddenly they become aware of the riders. The uneasiness of the nearest ones spreads to the whole herd and in a few seconds the whole herd is off at a gallop and soon only a great yellow cloud of dust reveals the direction of the fleeing animals. Then one must dismount quickly and be very calm for a sure shot.

A peculiarity of the oryx, which makes their pursuit easier, is their habit of always fleeing in the direction against the wind. An oryx herd that one approaches from the east, for example, will always flee to the north if there is a north wind, never towards the west. In this case one only needs to swerve towards the right, if the horse can hold out long enough at a fast gallop, to see the wild animals fleeing close by across one's path at an angle from the left.

c) Waiting at water holes is the surest way of ambushing the larger antelopes and the zebra.

[291] The leopard usually does not drag its booty into its cave when it does not have young, but tears it apart in a hiding place not far from the place where it made its kill. Therefore the Hottentot follows the fresh tracks of the robber from the kraal it broke into to the place where it ate. He kills it when it comes back to fetch the rest.

The animals that burrow (Orycteropus) or live in clefts in the rocks (rock rabbits) are ambushed in front of their holes in the morning or evening.

The sociable antelopes, especially the springbok and the gemsbok, wander during the dry season from the interior of the country towards the west into the area of the winter rains. They wander slowly, sometimes in accustomed places, sometimes seemingly blindly across the veld, towards the north winds that bring the rains. The Hottentot is accustomed to place himself in the protection of a kraal made of bushes beside the place where the game will pass (*ǂga·rob). The enormous mass migrations, which the springbok undertake during droughts, are to be differentiated from the minor migrations that depend on the season and the local pasture conditions. The mass of migrating springbok (Cape D. trekboks) is at times so wide and so thick, that avoiding human settlements cannot be thought of. Actually the animals overrun the courtyards, trampling the crops and the gardens. In the year 1892 (74) the

74. H. A. Bryden, Kloof and Karroo, London, 1889.

civil commissioner of Little Namaland had to distribute about 100 guns to the Boers to turn aside the charge of the springbok herds. In one case the springbok overran a farm in such a dense and wide column that a part of them -- since none of them could turn aside -- were pushed into a cattle kraal and massacred there. The column will divide around an ox wagon. The animals swerve to the side as much as the pushing animals

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. 224
Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Hottentot follows the train of springbok (*doë//gũs). As late as the year 1896 (19)

19. W. L. Sclater, The Mammals of South Africa, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

d) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/5 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center χãǂ, and wings, /gubi·s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nã·ǂ kχa, horns, or //õa·kχa, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hõ·as, best made of tai [411] bush wood). Throwing the kirri, ≠gũǂ or /nami·, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kχaru !õaë, χam χam /araë, naũ /aoë, aũ /aoë, aχagu χaëse!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick [252 blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned 262] cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (*χam χam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (*naũ, aũ = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (χa·es is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a·χagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -ë, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.

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e) Trapping is well developed and corresponds to the Hottentot's predilection for outwitting his victim, whether man or beast.

Pitfalls, which the Hottentots seem to have copied from the Bergdamaras, are used for catching zebras. On the paths of the wild animals to the water, as a native hunter reported to me, [293] a ditch about 3 meters long, 3 meters deep and about 1 meter wide is dug out with straight sides and covered across the top with light twigs of freshly cut bushes. The Bergdamaras call such a pitfall !gai·seb.

Stone traps, !nu·igu, are used for catching jackals and hyenas. The Hottentots build a jackal trap out of large flat rocks. It is about 3/4 of a meter high and about 2 meters in diameter and resembles the base of a little round tower. When closing up the top opening, a hole is left through which one can look into the inside of the trap room and hit the captured animal in the back with a cudgel. [Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)]. The jackal gets to the bait by a side opening. The bait is in the center of the room. As soon as the animal tugs at the bait, an apparatus made of sticks is loosened which causes a heavy stone to fall down in front of the entrance. Sometimes it falls straight from above, sometimes at an angle from the side. [Picture. Hyena trap on the flatland to the north of Chamis.]

The hyena trap is built stronger than the jackal trap. Heavy flat rocks are built up, so that there are holes but held by their own weight to make a square structure. The inside room is about 1 1/2 meters long, a good 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 - 1 meter high. Large flat stones form the roof. On one of the narrow sides of the [294] structure a wide entrance, 1/2 meter high and 1/3 meter wide, is left open. Right behind this opening a horizontal chink is left open in the roof and surrounded by especially strong stones, so that the wall will stand the weight of the falling stone. In the back or the room is the bait (intestines of cows and such) tied by strings along the floor to two upright sticks on which a stone weighing a hundred pounds is loosely set. By tugging at the bait the hyena pulls the sticks out from under the stone which falls down and seals up the entrance. A thick wall of irregularly piled up blocks of stone braces the side walls on the outside. The roof is also weighted with such stones so that the whole stone building is a structure 3 1/2 meters long, 2 meters wide and easily 1 1/2 meters high. Such a trap stands for years.

The "jerking gallows" (see Kalahari) is a good name for the type of trap used for catching small antelopes, especially the klipspringer. A fresh branch, thick as an arm and several meters long is placed firmly in the ground, the thick end down. A noose of strong sinew thread is

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[p. 293]

Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)

Hyena trap on the flat land to the north of Chamis.

attached to the top end. Down the middle of the noose, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the noose are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The noose is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the noose. The branch jerks up, pulling the noose over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows. 224

Spring traps, //nõ-agu, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [295] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-r(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture. Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-a(a)das- wood. f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-r(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps °ǂhâ/ru-n.

Capitulum IV

Social Life

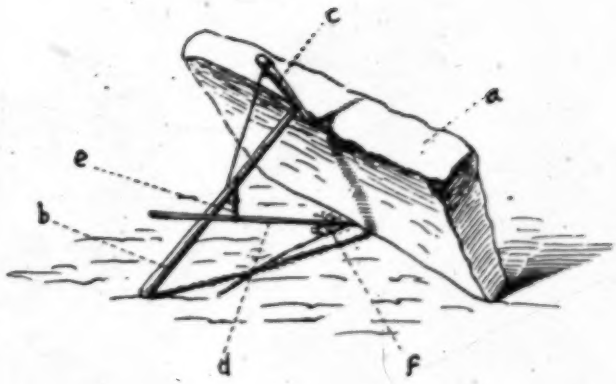
A. Family

1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, ǂaru-b or /ha/ba-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future 881 [582]

224

[p.295]



Springtrap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge,
d) horizontal stick, e) !a·r(a)das-wood. f) bait.

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "ǁu·rigye go /a·os gye, hõ.gye go ǂhã·eĩ gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (ǁuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hõ) a spring-

[224]

*The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

bok (ǂhãeĩ, neut. sing.)."

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra·b (3, st.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hõ.rab, //hõ·rab, /kǁĩ·ẽ·kǁ(u)m ǁau·sa !kǁã !ã·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," !kǁã, and "separate, !ã .) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra·b, go/ra·b, kǁi· ẽ·kǁ(u)m !ha·nsa !kǁã· !ã·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (ǂna/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclurus namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words ":" !hau·s !ga·rrase, !hau·s

"Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

[539] all the cartridges (from //hă, "to stuff"), and they shot off (!hui). Then all the Hottentots died (///ŏ "to pass away," toa, "to come to an end").

[Text omitted]

[424] Translation of XVII

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Climbs up to the Game Hoard of the Lion

The little Kaffir was looking for firewood (/aēb. The suff. -re takes the place of the gender ending and gives the word a verbal character) with !kʼxa) his mother (///gũi), and the two of them (-ra, dual masc.-fem.) came (hŏ) upon the game hoard* of the lion

[224 251]

*) !naosa, from !nao "to load." In order to protect the slain game from hyenas and jackals, the hunter sometimes hangs it on a tree, as the lion has done in this case.

(gai!gãb, ("Big Back," folk tale name of the lion.) Then the little Kaffir climbed* up (ai) the tree (hais) and threw (ao) [some of the

*) ǂoa. The verbal particle "!gã indicates a special goal of the action, as for example !aba!gã "to climb up" (on a wagon in order to bring down a recalcitrant person) in contrast to !aba "to climb up," when the wagon is ready to drive off.

booty] down (//na) to his mother; he threw down little (-re, dimin. particle) pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -na, ending of the neut. pl.).

But when the time (//aēba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (nĩ verbal particle of the fut.) to go (!gung), she told (gai)

*539

[Text omitted]

Translation of LIX

The Elephant Who Made Servants Of All Sorts Of Beings

The elephant had made servants of four-legged (haga /nūb) beasts of prey (*/guruna, neut. pl., collective term for all sorts of vicious animals), and every morning (literally: "on which?" mā, -- "on every" hoasa, "morning" //goas) they (-n in tain, suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl.) are urinated on* (/hXam, ai "on").

[321]

"So that they may make a good catch--
a curious superstition.

But the white (!uri with euphonious n) "dwarf" (/Ēb), who (-ha, suff. in tomaha) does not (toma) dig (hXao) a knapsack (//hōba) full (/oa) [of field onions], is drenched over and over again (ⁿūraga) with urine (/ūha): the others (*nauna, neut. pl.) are only (/gui [521] "single") urinated on a little bit (/hXari "little," -ro dimin. particle, -se adverbial ending); then they go (!gung) digging. And the others dig their knapsacks full, but the white dwarf comes (/hXi) with (/hXa) refuse (ǂÊs "thing," -ro dimin. particle i personal suff. of the neut. sing.) which sits (/hoa) there (//nā) in the back (hXaos ai) [of the almost empty sack]. Then they come (hā) along to hand over (mā) [the field onions], and when (-tsī, pret. participle) they have finished (toa "to cease") handing over they go. Then when (o) dawn breaks (//goa), they come and take (ā) the knapsacks and go after (o at the end of the sentence) they (-n in taahen) are through being urinated on (ra after i is euphonious for ra, verbal particle of progressive action).

Then one (/gui) day (tā) the white dwarf found (hā) a way out (/abeisa): he dug (ǂÊoo) holes (kga, masc. pl.) and comes back with very (gai "big," -se adverbial ending) little onions. But when he had finished digging the holes and the time (//aēba, the next morning is meant) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (tā, verbal particle of the fut.) to go, he goes (ti) to sit down (/hūi) on (ai) a hill (!homi "mountain," -ro dimin.), after (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) he had taken an amagai (gaaba), and cried (ǂgai): "You (-ta, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) urinate on me (-te, suff.) today (tā/tsī)!" So he cried.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Pornlaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest accounts of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 189-206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96-105; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 393-6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91-3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 229-32.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 262 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.

[45] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the

[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When

[251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 252 262 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Boubiesa burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chieftainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expected to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the /*nara* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 1907, 318.
[2] Wanderer, *op. cit.*, 673-4; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 38. [3] Wanderer, *loc. cit.*

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fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 102-7; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48-51; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 140; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 43.
[2] Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 88. Schultze, *op. cit.*, 102.

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224 As the wounded animal ran off he leisurely followed, showing a remarkable skill in reading and distinguishing its tracks; and when finally he came up it was an easy task to finish off his quarry with the spear.

Big game, such as elephants, rhinoceros, and giraffe, were often directly attacked in the open. These animals, as well as elands and quaggas, were hunted by large parties of men armed with spears; and when the wounded animal turned upon its assailant, other spears were hurled against it from behind; as it faced about to ward off the new danger, a renewed attack was made upon it from the rear, so that it was constantly kept at bay until, exhausted by its wounds, it fell helpless to the ground. Or when wild animals had raided the herds and the flocks, all the men of the kraal would unite in a drive hunt, dividing themselves into bands to discover the haunts of the animal they wished to destroy. On finding its retreat they formed a circle round it, closing in till they came within bowshot; then, after wounding the animal with their arrows, they were able to come up and dispatch it with the spear.[1]

Even at the present time, when guns and the horse have made hunting far easier, the Hottentot still shows a considerable amount of real ability in the pursuit. In stalking down game his intimate knowledge of their habits is readily evident. With considerable caution he will approach the gemsbok, and then patiently wait till in the midday heat it goes to lie down in the shade of a bush. Quietly he steals up towards it, and once within range he makes no mistake with his bullet. Sometimes he finds the nest of the ostrich, and knowing that before long the bird will return, he conceals himself in the nearest bush, fires as it passes or when it has settled on the nest, and thus secures a double prize. He will patiently lie in ambush in the same way near a waterhole for big antelopes or zebras, or outside their holes for the smaller burrowing animals. Under cover of his flocks the herdsman steals up to the steenbok, innocently pasturing with the sheep and the goats, and kills it with a dexterous stone-throw; or with the aid of his dogs he runs down the gemsbok and the klipspringer. Drive-hunts are employed to root out the hares, which are knocked down with the kirri. Where he possesses a horse, the hunter takes his gun and rides out into the veld, where whatever first offers—ostrich, zebra, eland, or smaller antelope—is closely pursued till near enough to be shot. Sometimes large

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 133-4; Wikar, "Reize aan van Plettenberg," *passim*.

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hunting parties are organized, when nearly all the men of a kraal leave in their wagons, with plenty of ammunition and their hunting horses, trusting to the success of the expedition for subsistence while away. Large sections of the country are partially invested, animals of all descriptions brought within a comparatively limited space, and great quantities shot. The flesh is then cut up into thin slices, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the shade and wind; and after several weeks have been passed in the veld, the huntsmen return with their wagons loaded with the dried flesh of the ostrich, zebra, and various kinds of antelope, which afford food to the whole kraal for a considerable time.[1]

Stone traps and snares, nooses and catches of all kinds are also made use of to waylay game. On some occasions, in former days, whole valleys were enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game from the heights into the valley below, which was staked and bushed across its whole breadth. At intervals the fence was broken, and here deep pitfalls were made. Since the fence was too high for the animals to jump, they were obliged to make for the gaps, where they tumbled into pits. Similar pitfalls were dug for elephants, rhinoceros, zebras, elands, and other big game in the paths to waterholes or along river banks. These pits were about 6 to 8 feet deep, and some 4 feet in diameter. A sharp-pointed stake was planted in the centre, the pointed extremity being on a level with the ground surrounding the pit, the surface of which was lightly covered and spread over with leaves intermingled with sand. As the hole was too small, the animal only fell in with its forefeet, thus causing the stake to enter its throat or its breast; it was thus unable to get away, for the more it struggled, the more it became fixed. The hunters then coming up killed it with their spears, or mounting upon its neck they knocked it down with stones or opened a vein with their knives to make it bleed to death. Running nooses similar to those of the Bushmen are still employed to catch small antelope, such as the klipspringer, duiker, and steenbok, as well as hares and dassies, while heavy falling traps of stone secure the jackal and hyena. Still more finely constructed are the falling traps for catching porcupines and small mammals. They are so made that the animal in attempting to get at the bait disturbs a horizontal peg; a small vertical peg is thereby released which, falling away, sets free an uppermost peg fixed between the stone slab and the support; the

[1] Rudolph, op. cit., 87-9; Schultze, op. cit., 288-92.

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224 stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

226 Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth
227 or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal
[481] sinews or catgut. They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

Special Observances

224 As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Naman, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute sanctioned to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

224 More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected
312 with hunting by pursuit, and reflecting the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 390–3; Kolb, op. cit., 128; Wikar, op. cit., 112.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 129–30; Morrell, *Narrative of Four Voyages*, 69–70; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 93.

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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gei /gab*, big brother, the latter as */gai-hetomab*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, there ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] *Transl. Connor*, 77. [2] Op. cit., 269.
[3] Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 40–2; Fiehn, op. cit., 84–5; Schultze, op. cit., 283.

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224 mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralize him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

224 264 Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony; [372] no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with potblack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

224 [137] Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] "Reize van den Heer van Plettenberg," 1779-80.

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and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde peerde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[1]

Campbell describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[2]

[1] Op. cit., 94.
[2] Travels in S. Africa, 230-1.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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224 554 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "andersmachen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the [5M] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." [216] The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his [304] body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best [834] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. [262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was [574] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1128-9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," 70.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 94; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 554 [224] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 618 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, III, 111.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

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not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

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The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

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Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to congeal the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipsweet or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

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The gecko lizard, the D/ung D/ung, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

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Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor head cloths.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kaboo, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In each case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74]

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[1]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, III.)

[74] Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 207).

[1] [The author is mistaken; see note 53 p. 40, col. 116. – Ed.]

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try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[*]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

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*) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 261).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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S H 845 847 [766] H [854]

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[1]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H 847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[1])

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If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

224 252

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[1]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1688): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 194).

H 766 847

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DDD devorant, reliquumque domi pullucto, licet vilatum, dispascuntur, nullosque carnales, nec morbum harum morbidarum carnium esu, macellarii visceribus inseminandum metuunt, judicantes cum Italis, mortua bestia, venenum intermori*: quae an emptorem unquam inter nostros cives, manu subitis avidâ inveneris, dictu non est proclive; hoc mane exploratum habeo eos gammarorum, rajarum, astacorum, pagurorum, caraborum, et quorumcunque piscium captorum, effossorumque bulborum frequentem hiantemque institorem experiri, qui saepe arte deludens, invicem arte deluditur, quaerenaque fragili illidere dentem, offendit solido: Λίθον τρὶς Φοινίκων.

Victorum est expedire hyemi commeatum alimentaque, amygdala silvestria, cortice holoserico, coloris crocei: ari majoris radices, aptatas cibo: varioque bulbos: quae soli ostenta, et igniculo relecta fercula vetustatem ferentia, in scrobibus cryptisque proinde ac in penario, pro cupedia, subsecivâ operâ, et tanquam ταμίευγ Cisalpini Afri reponunt: remotiores cavens Barbari effodiunt, in quibus solerter ad aliquot annos frumentum asservant, et quo sicca haec horrea habeantur, illis stramen ad justam epithamae(que) altitudinem interserunt, eodemque intera spinae satis circumdant, denique frumento caeteroque commeatu complent, orificiumque cellae cbartaceum primo stramine et virgulto, denique quartâ et novissimâ (ut ita dicam) contignatione cavernam cespitibus, puri cum satis libra, contegunt, et ab omni corruptione totam, integrumque relinquunt, de nullo solliciti, nisi ut delegentes scrobem, compressam annonam omnem quantocius depascantur, ne aëri, luciue expositam aliqua calamitas tangat.

* In the last few lines there are several difficulties. I do not understand pullucto, curcuiri, nec macellarii.

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● 229
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S
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[1] This description of hunting and of the method to avoid the possible effects of the poison in the meat applies equally well to the modern Bushmen (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 138 ff.)

[2] The account given by the "Discourse" over of the Khoisan corn-pits merely says: "They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years."

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, whet, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.[1]) Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his teeth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with soil to the level of the ground. The corn is then left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.[2])

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(1) Dobbs-Middlemiss, *op. cit.*, 88. The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[1]

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying bindings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To gripe with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable count in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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[1] our own, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi, 301). Dubois op. cit., 30-31 describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Animi vitio laborantem, flagitiosum, et novissima meritum exempla, circumrugienti leoni, hominibus pecorique infesto, pellibus probè imbibulatum, teloque armatum, coercendis nebulonis sceleribus, tanquam faeneum hominem periculo objiciunt, advolantibus subsidio omnibus, victoremque ovatu salutant, et hoc claro egregioque facinore in integrum restituto, abrogatis legibus, criminibusque abolitis, salillo puriori, omniumque sententiis atramento sutorio absoluto cuncti gratulantur: nec de nihilo, cum leo semel carne humana pastus, ut delicantissimam omnibus praefert. Qui adhaec in pretio habet carnem caninam, visus enim est devorasse canem, ejusdemque caput postridie pro repotiis edere maluisse, quod in propinquo ante decipulam abjectum erat, quam vervecem vivum duobus inde passibus frutici alligatum dilacerare, hunc dum intactum transit, glandibusque plumbeis trajectus cadit. Quem fecunditate sua vastaturum regionem liquet, nisi conquirens sibi foetuique praedam, rediens à venatione, saepe cubile scymnis vacuum inveniret, qui ferocia aut famis instinctu latius à lustro vagantes, hominibus praeda fiunt, aut inediâ pereunt, dum catuliens leaena vel leo nostratium armis aut decipulo necatur. Huc accedit quod leones prurientem catervatim sequentes leaenam, venereo aestu saevientes se mutuo dentibus ungulibusque dilacerant.

Leo à captura rediens ventriculum carnibus plenum coram pullis vomitu exonerat, pari modo leaena frustis esculentis crudis catulos alit, iisdemque insuper ubera praebit.

Qui leonem quantumlibet necat aut capit, ei ex publico aerario per aediles sedecim nummi argenti cum nummi bene, vulgo R. D. in *Specie* numerantur, decem si ejus dextra aut industria perdua, tres ubi lupus occiderit, addendis arcendisque animis praemio dantur. Quo nonnulli nimium accensi suo cum damno, vitaeque jacturâ discunt, quam asper leo tactu, et quam periculosi morientium animalium ungues morsusque sunt.

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[*]) This opportunity of rehabilitating himself may conceivably have been offered to one or two criminals known to O., but it is certainly not the normal Hottentot method of administering justice, even as described by the earliest writers. Dapper's account (see above, p. 63 ff.) has far more truth in it.

[**]) As early as 1656 the Council at the Cape, in consequence of the great damage caused by wild animals, had decided to

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character"). And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver nummi, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.") The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

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offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 8 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

412 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone weapons (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note:

412 This text was given, eg *Takab*, *Tatsé* and *Ao* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khare* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kieri* of ojive-wyse, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kieri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the kieri gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Karossenkleider der Hottentottische*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. !Kaisi's mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*gi'ase*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 *Tsa ǂ ra ǂare di ǂare. Ehje ǂkarakare Tsa ǂ di ǂare tsame. Ehje ǂa ǂare* 531 *gu; ǂkare di ǂare ǂkarakare ǂkamma ǂkare ka. Ehje !Akka!'nasakare tsarā ǂan gui ǂkare di thi gi'a ǂare thikare qtare. Ehje ǂkhoi'an, ǂki di thi gurikare thikare aengnā ǂan ǂkare. Ehje ghab ǂare ǂkamma.*

Translation:

[885] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springbuck and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants: *Digali, Matiti* and *Khoi*.

[228] [111] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the *firedrill* (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die.

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful.

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success.

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâtsi*, "the one which lives in a hole."

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year.

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Here I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large sand-buck to be found here; and an immense snake is occasionally seen, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PR19 Hahnesse PR19

121 to the south it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

224 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
787 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

224 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (Jeroyah) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
826 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which we already met in Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then search out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the brooding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden, cutting pain, runs off. Then reynard approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck; but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

220 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game into the air

14 Hatch L-S (ca. 1870-1890) 1881 FX13 Harkness FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǂGaunaga (masc. plur.), ǂHaitsaga (masc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.) and ǂHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǂKaxa ǂgoma te ai—i.e., I will hear it, if I am a ǂgoma—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǂHaitsab ka ǂi, Tsaudiri has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǂhoaxa. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǂGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǂgao, ǂgoa) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǂgoaxa ǂkoin ǂkoin—i.e., people who died the ǂgoaxa death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha-ru. 20/ 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumb. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana-b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba-s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, k(o)i-oa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [#18] [777]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering, hunting, and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

1. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is young. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [242]

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach. 225

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (ii) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lower sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [Hope] up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of peculiar shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 15.

Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, ǂkuri-s (in Little Namaland: /ha-/rob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size]

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called °//aru-s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [109] The fat of the //aru-s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called °!nu/nu. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva of Acanthoderus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size]. The marvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthoderus capensis White, called °/naori-b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thornveld worm, °//ǂgi-ǂa-i-ǂa, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid resin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthoderus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[110] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for pissing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1[see p. 4 (A)-Ab.] 2[see p. 4 (B)-Ab.]

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raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with clubs when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unweighed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later*). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or zwakkis cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhers or Korkoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their dish people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little clarified blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become mad and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing reeds from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.**) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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*) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 14, 1654.

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Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [196] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellane shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hâ?, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, uno-b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed cowskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu-hon, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [243] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai-Xoâi-b) or cooled (°/ā-daib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha-nib, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [107] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called !ha-run) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (°/kâ-kib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 254 [277] [278]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, °/ûtsib. °/ûtsib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aoheb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal sinews or catgut. They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

Special Observances

As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Namas, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute sanctioned to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected with hunting by pursuit, and rebelling the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 200-1; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 108; Wikar, *op. cit.*, 102.
[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 109-10; Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, 89-90; Hahn, "South-West Africa," 69.

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SUBSISTENCE.

The Gorinhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[*]

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karkhortiquas and Hessaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Hessaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[†]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Gorinhaikonas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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[*] should, since one previous or another, decline supplying it.
(Mentzel, Beschrif. Afr.)

[*] Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with ropes. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 58).

† [The author is probably correct (cf. p. 40, col. 1). — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

Two might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp reeds, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are governed to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no literature of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [*]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [**]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in those parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of Ammi; from buds of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the monk of wild marjoram; from hearts of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who, did not so much apply their remedies to patients or to every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus surfeit and shivering are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[*]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 38.

[**]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kiri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (f) ago they

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In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, nam-b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed ossikis is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu-hoa, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [240] 251 415

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Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like wine, called plm milk, °/daib. °/aidaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aodaib, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 193), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 204), the mortar (p. 204), and the honey stick (p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gam-s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoeti, usually milk containers. b and c: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoeti, milk pails, "sack bamboo." g: ǂgiga//hoeti, "four bamboo." h: !oes-s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are drawn. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string. It is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the naro sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

4 [Refer to discussion on p. 59 (3).—Author]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

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[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 190–3; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 128; Wikar, *op. cit.*, 112.
[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 129–30; Moffat, *Narrative of Four Voyages*, 69–70; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 65.

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha-ru. 204 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumb. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana-b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba-s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)i-na/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [322] [312] [318] [317]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

1. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

[Picture. A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer States.] 233

17. ǃnâ/ûkao: any general coloring, but with white on the buttocks, also for goats.

18. ǃhom-//gaoi-: yellow and white checked; also for goats.

19. ǃnâ//aŋ: any general color, only white in the groin. b) only valid for goats.

20. ǃnâ/ǂkao: spotted black.

[Picture. Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.]

21. ǃo-hoǂi-ra: spotted red.

22. ǃgoa/!ao: with a blackish-brown band around the neck.

23. ǃhoiga-e: white behind the ears.

24. ǃkhaoi-gũ: with a light-colored stripe on the back like an eland antelope.

[307] 25. //aro-: (used by old Hottentots) speckled black and white. c) Valid only for sheep:

26. ǃnâ/oiko-: black marking around the mouth (the black coloring on the mouth of the white sheep is as striking as the black jaws on a colorless insect larva (/o ai-ŋ).

27. ǃnûi- or /a-ha-ǂõ-b: with black or reddish-brown cheeks.

28. ǃo-rib, also called ǃo(i)-ǂnoa-ǂkao by children when teasing, is what a sheep or goat with naturally stubby ears is called.

[Picture. Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white)]

A favorite hobby of the Hottentots is collecting (/gi-, vb.) animals colored the same. To this end they trade cattle, sheep and goats. The Hottentot marks his cattle by definite cuts or notches, piercing or lopping the ears. 233 523

4. The Horse

The horse lives free in the fields as the cattle do and is easily caught at the watering places. Sometimes, especially in the broad plains of the Kalahari, the horse begins to turn wild and flees as soon as it sees a man coming from afar. If the tamer horses (easy to catch when alone) become accustomed to the leadership of such a shy animal, the owner is in a critical situation. In one case shooting the unapproachable horse was the only way of getting possession of the others. 231

1: Collection--'98 N-6 (1909-1968) 1907 P.E.S Hottentot P.E.S

The mares are guarded, and so the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [77]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the cuya antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama , vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's genitals or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they fend off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 226 [77]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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verdure may be found, such as various *Acacias*, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the *Ana* (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *Nauras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another belt of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this belt the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely devoid of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the great ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 19·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

618 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants
619 of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form
593 clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually
693 develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous
618 to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were
619 scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a
417 great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in
● 231 which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south.
618 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
592 but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Peter, *Klingbeersvan Suidafrika's*, 316 *sq.*; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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TOPHAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Mode of Life and Subsistence

Daily Routine

The Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–4; Alvo, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 84.

2; Schapera K-4, 5 (no date) :910
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Live Stock

The unrestricted nomadic life of the Hottentots is occasioned primarily by the ever-present need of grass and water for their live stock. The domestic animals upon whose milk and flesh they depend so largely for their subsistence are cattle, sheep, and goats. The cattle seem originally to have been of the large, straight-backed, long-horned type (*Bos aegyptiacus*), still found among the native peoples in the Horn of East Africa. They have, however, become considerably modified through mixture with other breeds, especially those introduced from Western and Northern Europe by the Dutch and other settlers, so that the original type can no longer be clearly distinguished. The sheep were fat-tailed, with scraggy hair rather than wool, but here, as well as in the case of the goat, the type now also shows mingled characteristics, owing to intermixture with other breeds.[1]

It is a point of some interest, upon which Johnston comments, that the Hottentot root word for cattle, *gomo-*, may possibly be derived from the Southern Bantu *-homo*, while *kiri-*, for goat, may be the early Bantu *kuri*, *kudi*, and even the root *gu-*, for sheep, can be traced to a Bantu source. From this he argues that "obviously the goat first, then the ox and the sheep, were brought to them from the north by Bantu or Nilotic negroes".[2] This is certainly true of the goat, which was not originally owned by the Hottentots and only acquired by them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came into contact.[3] We know, however, that within historical times at least the Hottentots at the Cape had cattle and sheep long before they came into contact with the Bantu. All their traditions, moreover, indicate that their pastoral mode of life was developed before their ancestors came south. Whether they acquired their domestic animals from the Bantu in East Africa is a more debatable question. In the absence of definite historical evidence, the argument from philological resemblances may seem plausible. It must be remembered, however, that cattle and sheep as domestic animals were introduced into Africa by the Hamites, from whom even the Bantu got them[4]; and the undoubted Hamitic

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 153-4, 163; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 173, 184-5, 268.

[2] "Man and Nature in South-West Africa," *Nature*, lxxvii (1908), 386.

[3] It may be noted in this connection that the usual Hottentot name for the BaChwana is *Mirina*, i.e. goat people.

[4] Cf. Ankermann, *Herkunft und Wanderungen der Hamiten*, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1910, *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land around Table Bay was so thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Namaqua chief Akembáis, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Namaqua remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even bartering stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, 56.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Namaa for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wanderer mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the Ovaherero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 164–7.
[2] Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namaa," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Grass Namaqualand*, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

233 morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

231 The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the 242 poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little [231] importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

231 The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of *!nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound [283] to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We [282] have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

231 Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots 182 specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 262–4. [2] "The Conception of Isaus," 73. [3] *Op. cit.*, 62–2.

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animal is eaten by the old men, the young men are given the blood and the entrails, and the women feed upon the broth. After the meal each group apart spends the rest of the day and the following night in singing and dancing. "These are acts of atonement for their offences against *Gounja*, and which they trust will render *Gounja* propitious to them and their cattle." If the distemper ceases after this ceremony, the people become wild with joy, believing that "*Gounja*" is pleased with their offerings. But if it does not immediately cease, they either lay the blame upon the sacrificer or suppose that their offerings were not good enough. Another old man is then selected and the ceremony repeated in the same way, fatter sheep being slaughtered. Or else it is decided that the sheep have caught the disease from some ill quality of the pasture; and if this opinion prevails the settlement is immediately removed elsewhere.

The other ceremony consists in driving the sheep at certain times through the smoke of a fire. Early on the day determined upon, the women milk the cows and bring the milk to the men, who must drink it all. The women themselves may not drink of it, nor even spill any drop, lest the whole procedure prove ineffective. When it has all been consumed, some of the men go to bring the sheep together to the place where the rite is to be performed, while others busy themselves in preparing the fire. This is made in the open, and thickly covered with green branches, so that a dense cloud of smoke is produced. When the sheep then come up, a number of men range themselves closely in a long row on both sides of the fire; and the animals are driven through this lane. As soon as one has been forced through, the rest follow, jumping over the fire and passing through the smoke. Great jubilation is raised when everything has passed off successfully, for it is believed that now all will be well. The explanation Kolb claims to have received was that this custom originated in the fear that predatory animals, especially wild dogs, would come among the flocks and work havoc. To prevent this occurring, said his informant, the sheep are driven through the smoke, for as long as its smell clings to them the dogs will keep away. Long experience had taught the ancestors of the people that this measure effectively protected the sheep, and it was therefore still kept up among them.

This particular ceremony does not appear to have been noted by any other writer, and it is difficult to decide how far Kolb's

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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description can be called upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be reconciled, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snout, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

Hunting and Fishing

Weapons and Methods

262. As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 90; Schultze, op. cit., 468.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 467; Rüdebusch, op. cit., 84.

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cows, calves and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of daggas, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Namas further north bartered cattle with the Ovaherero for iron heads and weapons, and with the Bergdama for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere is any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Namas themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organisation of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalised Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Peres and Morais, *op. cit.*, 13; Wikar, *op. cit.*, 121.
[2] Wikar, *op. cit.*, 97; Van Reenen, in Cordes-Middelburgen, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika* II, 147; Burrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 305–7.
[3] Tenis, "Buschleute der Namib," 146.
[4] Schreiner, *op. cit.*, 325 *sqq.*; Walker, *History of S. Africa*, 38, 40, 42 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

Some of characters and the conception of their names used Hamanaats 73

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an 881
Ayyaio, that is, a young unmarriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, [49]
each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or silver finery. A great deal of this is
heaped ceily and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She
is anointed all over with the oily which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is [30]
painted in various patterns with henna and ipsumit ("ground white stone"), and her
body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years
and more,* come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in
to the newly made Ayyaio. She takes her tiwa-tiwa ("powder puff") full of oily and rubs
their testicles (erkerite). This ensures fertility and is at protection against sexual diseases. [842
The full expression for this custom is tiwa-tiwa /o /ayawa ("to rub gently with a powder 751]
puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous
for them to eat any of the meat prepared by the girl, and the younger men especially go
eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah,
prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take
part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The hunting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both cows and heifers,
are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note (that the goat is never used in these [231 ●
ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that 177]
originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the
Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the 881
hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.* Her friends surround 535
her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The
youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the Ayyaio in their
midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in
the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring,
the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat
like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the Ayyaio throws slip over the
men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts
often right through the night, and when it is over, the ritual round of rites begins, reintro-
ducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she
has been living.

The old taria must accompany the Ayyaio in all thirteen rites, but often her friends go 881

* According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all her community old women took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. [177]
Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 398.

* A weapon is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

Baskets [334]
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day 281
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [335] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers [343] in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 345 themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231 ● nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [334] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 2,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 442
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

MRS. R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, B.A. (*née* MISS A. W. TUCKER).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

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NOTE.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalized u for the same reason.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guaap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluities-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[284]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[285]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afri. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

They
subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live. 619 [231]

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[34])

CHAINOUQUAS.

The people named Chainouquas[32]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle. [162 231]

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoã, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoã. The clothing of Chief Sousoã is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards. 619 622 [291]

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op cit.*, 155; D., Feb. 25, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandise amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 200-201). The principal Cnainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, XXVIII, 498-6). 619 622

[i.e. the Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.—Ed.]

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NAM

Des zelven jaers wierden ten zelfsten einde weer dertien lief-hebbers uitgezonden, die den viertienden van Slacht-maent uit-trokken, en des volgenden jaers, den dertienden van Sprokkel-maent, met hun twaelven, (want een was 'er verminkt, en jammerlijk om hals geraekt door eenen olifant) wederkeerden, met verslagh, van over de hondert mijlen in 't lant geweest te zijn, zonder eenige *Namaquas* te kunnen vinden; maer wel, ontrent de woon-plaets der *Namaquas* van verlede jaer, een negerye van de Hottentots, genaemt de grote *Karichuriquas*, die hen wisten te zeggen, dat de *Namaquas* heel verre, en diep te lande waren ingetogen, en dezen jare geen kans waer dezelve t'onderhalen. Zulx deze en voorige lant-tocht om gout, vruchteloos quam uit te vallen.

De *Namaquas*, volgens ondervinding der onzen, zijn luiden groot van gestalte, byna als halve reuzen, sterk van volk en rijk van kinderen.

Daer zijn vele bokken, van een zelve gedaente, gelijk hier in Hollant, desgelijx schapen, die zy van de *Brygoudiis* handelen, daer zy by duizenden zijn.

Men heeft 'er ook veel groote kalbassen in 't wilt, daer zy hun melk in bewaren.

Het vrouvolk is schoon van leest, en welgestelt van leden.

Zij gaen alle met bereide beeste-vellen om 't lijf geslagen, doch niet zoo smerigh, gelijk na by de kaep.

Deze vellen zijn verçiert met vele en glase Kambaysche kralen, die zy van de Portugesen diep in 't lant, ontrent de plaetsen van *Monomotapa*, *Kortada*, *Bellugarins*, &c. tegen hun vee verruilen.

De mans-perzonen hebben een plaet, gemaekt zeer kunstigh van olifants tanden, voor hunne schamelheit gebonden, en een ronde ringh van de zelve tanden, aen den eenen arm, desgelijx veel kopére ringen.

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44) Soon after the return of Cruythoff's expedition, another party under van Meerhoff was sent out to induce the Namaqua to come and trade at the Fort. It left on March 21, 1661, and returned on April 23, having gone beyond the limit attained by its predecessor but failing to reach the Nama chief (D., April 23, 1661). A further expedition was accordingly sent out on Nov. 14, 1661, under Pieter Everaerts, which, as mentioned by Dapper, returned Feb. 13, 1662. The journal of this expedition is appended to the Dagverhaal entry of the latter date, and is obviously the basis of Dapper's brief account of its progress.

45) Dapper's description is based mainly on Meerhoff's journal of the first successful expedition, but has some additional details probably obtained orally from other members of the party.

46) Van Riebeeck says: "Their king had sent the commander (of the expedition) a small goat, the first that we had ever seen in this country, regarding which goat they had spoken a

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[44]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[45]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[46]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.[47]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottenots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

47) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

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The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

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Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

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The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[56]).

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was known of them in 1662 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 492). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

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[56]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters desp., iii, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74])

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root *dacha*.[1/4]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, 291.)

74) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 297).

1/4 [The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, cat. 116. – Ed.]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *ba*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

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TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[82]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

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The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[82a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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[82]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597. I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckszoon*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[82a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 23).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, H intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers 151 on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of 142 the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as *musimones*, or hairy. ● 231 A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of 262 game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or [252] boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who S refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[7]). They live [262] also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned 415 of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip 321 sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions H and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, 262 forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it S right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of [272] hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[8])

[7]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

N 81 [see pp 180-81 for footnote. – Ann'ys F]

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S H 845 847 766 H 854

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[11]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H 847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[12])

231

If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

224 252

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[12]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1669): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 334).

H 766 847

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The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[15]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head. a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[16])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[17]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 *f.*). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

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Gravem ex humero et a tergo pharetram, et sicubi adversarius imminet telum, sarissam, pilum, jaculumve, longo latoque, et quandoque adunco hamatoque praeferrata spiculo, ossibusve asperata, dextrâ gestant; altero cubitorum sex septemve et pluribus eburneis armillis calbeisque digiti crassitudine singulis, seque invicem contingentibus, tam in sui tutelam, quam ornatus gratiâ munito, quibus ictus hostiles, dentes unguesque ferarum è re nata cominus excipiunt: sinistrâ vero retinent clavam seu fustem ex praeduro gravique ligno, buxeo simillimo, cum aliquot sagittis arcuque, et illo quo teguntur laxo, lanatoque scorteo, quo eminus hostium telis veluti clypeo scutati illudunt: abtegentibus se nonnullis praesultatoribus rorariisque, decumanorum boum ferociorumque taurorum corporibus, quos prolusionibus simulacris pugnae certaminibusque ludicris exercitos et in prima acie stare doctos, in adversum hostem capistratos agunt, quem hoc mobili et in omnem partem versatili vallo, veluti peribolo loricave tecti, fidenter thoracati petunt.

Hoc apparatu bellico instructi, pugnam laeti lacessunt, impavidique subsilientes, vibrando tela, jaculis certi, et sagittâ metuendi, vario corporis flexu et inclinatione hostilia exeunt arma; horrendo inconditoque clamore quo maximè hostis conterretur, tremendisque sibilis (voluntatis virtutisque indicibus) sublatis, dum fremitu aethera retonant, cum hoste paribus adsiste in armis, introrsum sinuata acie, formidabiles concurrunt, conserti cohaerentesque, et collato pede aperto Marte manum conferunt, et priusquam unum

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[19]) This statement finds an interesting confirmation in the account given by de Barros of the skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay in which de Almeida was killed (1510). The Hottentots, says de Barros, "having called their cattle, which are accustomed to this kind of warfare, began to whistle to them and make signs by which they guide them, so that forming into a squadron, and sheltered by the cattle, they attacked our men with wooden darts hardened by fire. Some fell wounded and were trodden down by the cattle, and as most of them were without shields, their only weapons being lances and swords, in this kind of warfare they could not do much damage to the negroes, who from among the cattle hurled their weapons against

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Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[18])

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying hissings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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our men, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi. 301). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 23-24) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

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080 Morbi epidemici inter Cisalpinos Afros subinde grassantes sunt gramia, gravedo, rheuma, et fortè alii mihi ignoti, vereorque ne foedam impetiginem venereamque luem à nostratibus contraxerint.

Etiam atque etiam illis suasor fui, lectulos lignis pedibus, loris tanquam stramine tectos, pellibusque perstratos sibi conservandae curandaeque valetudini conficerent, sed surdis narrata fabula, dum videntes probantesque meliora tamen deteriora sequuntur: tantae molis est! ab inveterato, damnoso damnatoque errore, perversaque consuetudine terrae filios divellere.

Fatidicus seu flamen sacrificium facturus cote clunaculum subigit, vaccamque tribus quatuorve passibus ab ostiolo tugurioli, in quo aeger decumbit, stantem pedibusque revinctam, capite Septentrioni obversam levi pugno, laterique sinistro impacto, victimarius sternit: cadentique in dextrum, inque virides substratos ramulos, illico particulam cutis palmae magnitudine et quantam laevâ capit, dextra prope umbilicum exscindit, eamque sine mora dextro decumbentis carpo alligat, mox pergit vivam deglubere, eviscerataque mugientem audivi, exenterataeque et viventis ilia malè carbonibus tosta, devorantes Afros vidi: hinc pauxillo sanguine, quem ollâ extari, capeduncula, aut testudinis putamine excepit, aegri faciem diluit, et felle victimae libans, ejus folliculum tecto infirmi imponit.

Testor longe segnius irritasse animum meum, quaecunque de ritu sacrificandi veterum tam lapidibus, quam aeri insculptaque caelataque, aut in tabulis, aulaeis, tapetiis, membranis, libris chartave picta unquam vidi, quam hic nostrorum Barbarorum sacrificalis et for(di)cidiorum apparatus, oculis meis subjectus.

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164 [1]) The description which follows of diseases and their treatment refers entirely to the Cape Hottentots, and is much fuller than any given by earlier writers. It appears in the main to be fairly accurate, although some of the details mentioned cannot be confirmed from other sources.

757 [2]) Even among the modern Hottentots the skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain, and poultices are also made of the entrails of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 231 412-3). The ordinary Hottentot method of slaughter is well

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Cape Hottentot

Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.[61] A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us.

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognized as such.

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.[62] His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house.

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books.

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 124).

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The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

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The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

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where the Nama uses *b*; thus, ǃKora ǁkhām, Nama ǁkhāb; ǃKŏra ǂgām, Nama ǂgāb; ǃKora mūm, Nama mūb, &c. &c. *Vide* Th. Hahn, "Die Sprache der Nama" (Leipzig, 1870), p. 67, 3; also p. 29, sub Dritte Person, and p. 65, ǂgā.

[2] As to the prehistoric condition of the Hottentot race, *vide* Th. Hahn, "The Graves of Heitsi-eibib," in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* (May, 1878), and Friedr. Müller, "Allgemeine Ethnographie" (Wien, 1879), pp. 78 and 93, &c.

231 [3] Cattle, sheep, and goats. All the records of the Dutch and English and Portuguese navigators agree on the point that the Khoikhoi they met with at St. Helena Bay, Saldanha Bay, the Cape, Mossel Bay, Algoa Bay, were rich in cattle and sheep. The Hottentot sheep is particularly known for its long tail and hair in place of wool. We are led to believe that the Central African natives originally had no sheep. Certainly the Kafir, the Zulu, the Tyuana, the Herero (Damara), and Mbò had no sheep; and the present Herero sheep is the true type of the old Hottentot sheep. The Herero come from the heart of Africa, from parts where no sheep are to be met with.

[4] Of the hospitality and kind-heartedness of the Khoikhoi, Kolb and Valentyn give some striking proofs. It is also a prominent feature in the character of the Khoikhoi that they are *not* inclined to steal.

[5] In the "Idioticon Hamburgense," p. 101, by Michael Richey (Hamburg, 1755), there is the following remark:—"Hüttentüth, Schimpfwort auf einen unnützen Artzt, welcher beim gemeinen Mann heisset: Doctor Hüttentüth, de den Lüden dat water besüht." Then again, "Bremisch Niedersächsisch Wörterbuch" (ii. p. 678):—"Hüttentüt, so nennt der gemeine Mann in Hamburg einen Stümper in der Arzney Kunst." Both remarks evidently show that the word Hütentüt, or Hottentot, means something irregular, something which is out of order, something

reproduction, is periodic like the latter, and adapted in quantity to the nutritional needs of the calf. Therefore the Hottentot calls the milch cow *//ora·go/mas (from //ora·, to bear). When the calf is old enough to nourish itself, the milk secretion stops and the cow "goes dry," */ō or ũ?. The milk production of a single cow varies greatly. There are native cows who give milk, although in diminishing amounts, until shortly before the next calf, if the pasturage is good. If all the conditions favorable to milk production occur simultaneously, even the South African cow is supposed to be able to give 10 to 15 liters a day. About 4 liters a day seems to be average for the "afrikaner" race. (73) In dry years under certain conditions the cow gives so 233

73. Ibid.

little milk that the calf starves and therefore milking cannot be considered.

If the calf dies early or is born dead (ǂgxa/m), the cow at first gives only a little milk, 1/2 to 3/4 of a liter night and morning during the first week, except for the "biesmilk" (see below) which is easily drawn off. Gradually, with proper treatment, the cow will give as much milk as one with a living calf. If the calfless cow does not wish [232] to give milk, the Hottentot blows air in her genitals or he deceives her with the skin of a dead calf. All kinds of cattle, whether cows, goats or sheep which are milked without the aid of the calf or lamb are called oro·s. The milk production of the South African cow is supposed to be greatest after the third or fourth calf.

c) Although milking is man's work among the cattle-owning Bantu [171] tribes, among the Hottentots it is regularly the work of the women and girls, the man only doing it to help out (concerning milking time see management of the herd).

Before being milked, the cow's hind legs are tied together with straps; if a peaceful animal above the ankle, if unruly right under the shoulder. Ones that buck are also firmly tied to a pole near the hut or to the kraal by a strap around the horns. The three methods of tying are differentiated as *!go·robis, *ǂĭ·bis and *ǂo·mais.

[258] If the cow is standing, the calf is allowed to suck for a short time (the younger ones longer than the older ones) and then the woman comes with the wooden pail, drives the calf away from the udder with a stick and milks. Where there are many cows, milking is done all

sharpened for generations and practiced since youth, and then the knowledge that a mistake will cause him to wander around half-starved and without success for days, enable him to accomplish things which no white man can equal. [Picture. Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.] 233

The cows, go/ma·ti, are driven to the pasture early in the morning, then left to themselves. Evenings they come back of their own accord to the kraal. The milking cows know that they will find their calves there and the others are accustomed to go with the mother animals. Old cows which can no longer have calves are fattened for slaughter by placing them with the oxen. The latter wander farther afield than the cows that come home every evening, and therefore find better grass and graze longer, as they do not lose any time wandering back and forth. A sterile young cow, ǂgõ/a·s (also called gau!/kʏãs i.e. fat body), is [260] usually left with the herd as an ornament because she normally stays well-nourished and has a shining coat.

The calves (called tsaũna until weaned) are separated from the cows in the evening after they have sucked and placed in a kraal. The kraal, !ha/ra·s (3.st.) is usually made by the Hottentots from topped thorn bushes, more rarely from stones and clay and is an outdoor enclosure about as high as a man. The mother animals bed down in the open near by. Early in the morning the calves are allowed to go to their mothers and then are driven out into the field in a different direction from the latter. They stay out until evening under the constant guard of a herder. Only when a calf becomes seriously thin is it allowed to go along with the mother to the meadow (sao!, vb.). [Picture. "Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.]

Breeding in the sense of a selection of certain animals or a regulation of the time and place of propogation is unknown to the Hottentot. The bull, //gõ/b, rules with complete freedom over his harem in the field, at the watering places and in the kraal. During the rainy season, from October and November until February or March he follows the cows closely. At the beginning of the dry season, after he has impregnated them all, he absents himself and lives alone in the field until the time of the first rains. Only when he cannot find enough water does he come near the kraal to drink. Otherwise he (//an) "lives" outside. Because of this and because of his bad temper, he is called [232]

*//kǂao//an//gõ!b. //kǂaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground. [824]

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

e) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called *ǂkǂamgo/mab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep,[1] the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

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232 233

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2. The Sheep and the Goat

Sheep and goats have exchanged their roles as to relative numbers in the herds of the Hottentots in the course of the last century. The fat-tailed sheep, gũ‡b, according to reports from the beginning of the previous century, (6) once existed in tremendous numbers, but are now 233 [178]

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc. [so printed in Bib., ed.] from the Year 1822 to 1831. New York, 1841.

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Goats and sheep are tended during the day in the field as are the calves and during the night are kept in the kraal. Individual goats or small groups do not need tending. They quickly get used to coming back home by themselves in the evening, recognize dangerous predatory animals which threaten them and flee, whereas sheep are stupid. But a larger herd of goats or sheep always needs a herdsman. Without him (not counting dangers and theft) the animals crowd each other in the pasture or scatter too far. An important job of the herdsman is to collect the animals in the shade of a tree or rock during the hot hours so that they rest. This gathering of cattle seeking shade is characteristic for the noon landscape of the pastures.

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7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Massage.

757 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part
755 with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common
[841] use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation
[842] of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head
[278] of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing
● 232 any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the
142 testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentot, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.] 301 304

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture Necklaces Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.] 301 [824] [435]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes. 301 439

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.] 221 [137 136] 221 233

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (ǂhabu·, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle. 221 233 492 493 484

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight. 233 221 484

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at 175 233

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 233 178

earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 233 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72). 233 174

71. E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

72. G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland all together, so that the race which the Hottentots originally owned, i.e. at the time they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and

1: Schultze--66A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

●233

Namagua trek ox, about 6 years.

1: Schultze--66B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71. 3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53. 5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129. 5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and squattier body.

squattier body.] The only clue is a tradition maintained by the natives 233
and the settlers which designates a certain cattle type as native to 174
Namaland and the model of the old cattle of the Hottentots. This cannot be proved. It is probably only a general likeness. Two such cattle are presented here.[1] An expert on domestic cattle will perhaps be able to distinguish what is characteristic of the Namaland race by a comparison (73) of these pictures with those of the "afrikaner," the

73. H. v. Francois, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe). [n.d.] ed.

Bechuans' and Damaras' cattle. */hō·nati is the name the Hottentot gives [256] cows imported from Europe, whose most noticeable characteristic for him are its small horns.

b) The propagation of South African cattle has certain common 233
characteristics in spite of the different racial mixtures. At the time of the best pasturage, i.e. in the fall when the summer rains of the so-called "great" period have fallen, in other words in our territory in March and April, the bull copulates most frequently and most effectively. Since the cow carries for nine months, calving time comes in December and January. The irregularities in the arrival of the rain and therefore of the sprouting of the pastures cause the time of copulation to vary and along with it the calving time. [Picture. "Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.]

The Hottentot keeps careful track of the increase in his herds by noting the life history of each individual cow. He knows the age of his cattle better than his own. He also knows about each cow in his herd, whether she is pregnant (*tra·nu, v.) and calving (!kχa/n/ī) for the first time, or whether she is bearing for the second or third time (/gam and *!nona· //kχum go/ma·s).

When the part right under the root of the tail of the pregnant cow loses its tension and the inner parts shake under the skin with every step, the calf is expected that same day. A herdsman [257] has to guard the cow then specially and bring the mother and the calf immediately back to the house.

The milk secretion of the South African cow, in contrast to our native cattle, has preserved its original function as a phenomenon of

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 66(A) and 66(B). --Annlyst]

1: Schultze--67A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p.256]

"Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.

reproduction, is periodic like the latter, and adapted in quantity to the nutritional needs of the calf. Therefore the Hottentot calls the milch cow *//ora·go/mas (from //ora·, to bear). When the calf is old enough to nourish itself, the milk secretion stops and the cow "goes dry," */ō or ūf. The milk production of a single cow varies greatly. There are native cows who give milk, although in diminishing amounts, until shortly before the next calf, if the pasturage is good. If all the conditions favorable to milk production occur simultaneously, even the South African cow is supposed to be able to give 10 to 15 liters a day. About 4 liters a day seems to be average for the "afrikaner" race. (73) In dry years under certain conditions the cow gives so

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73. Ibid.

little milk that the calf starves and therefore milking cannot be considered.

If the calf dies early or is born dead (≠kxa/m), the cow at first gives only a little milk, 1/2 to 3/4 of a liter night and morning during the first week, except for the "biesmilk" (see below) which is easily drawn off. Gradually, with proper treatment, the cow will give as much milk as one with a living calf. If the calfless cow does not wish to give milk, the Hottentot blows air in her genitals or he deceives her with the skin of a dead calf. All kinds of cattle, whether cows, goats or sheep which are milked without the aid of the calf or lamb are called oro·s. The milk production of the South African cow is supposed to be greatest after the third or fourth calf.

[232]

c) Although milking is man's work among the cattle-owning Bantu tribes, among the Hottentots it is regularly the work of the women and girls, the man only doing it to help out (concerning milking time see management of the herd).

[171]

Before being milked, the cow's hind legs are tied together with straps; if a peaceful animal above the ankle, if unruly right under the shoulder. Ones that buck are also firmly tied to a pole near the hut or to the kraal by a strap around the horns. The three methods of tying are differentiated as *!go·robis, *tĩ·bis and *ǂo·mais.

[258] If the cow is standing, the calf is allowed to suck for a short time (the younger ones longer than the older ones) and then the woman comes with the wooden pail, drives the calf away from the udder with a stick and milks. Where there are many cows, milking is done all

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai·daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called *tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk *tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop. 233

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //haǂmi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (*ǂhĩrasãǂb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called *!kãã//gyere//haǂmi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called *da//haǂmi. [824]

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals. [312]

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, goǂma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

sharpened for generations and practiced since youth, and then the knowledge that a mistake will cause him to wander around half-starved and without success for days, enable him to accomplish things which no white man can equal. [Picture. Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.] 233

The cows, go/ma·ti, are driven to the pasture early in the morning, then left to themselves. Evenings they come back of their own accord to the kraal. The milking cows know that they will find their calves there and the others are accustomed to go with the mother animals. Old cows which can no longer have calves are fattened for slaughter by placing them with the oxen. The latter wander farther afield than the cows that come home every evening, and therefore find better grass and graze longer, as they do not lose any time wandering back and forth. A sterile young cow, ǂgõ/a·s (also called gau/ǂkʉ̃as i.e. fat body), is [260] usually left with the herd as an ornament because she normally stays well-nourished and has a shining coat.

The calves (called tsaũna until weaned) are separated from the cows in the evening after they have sucked and placed in a kraal. The kraal, !ha/ra·s (3.st.) is usually made by the Hottentots from topped thorn bushes, more rarely from stones and clay and is an outdoor enclosure about as high as a man. The mother animals bed down in the open near by. Early in the morning the calves are allowed to go to their mothers and then are driven out into the field in a different direction from the latter. They stay out until evening under the constant guard of a herder. Only when a calf becomes seriously thin is it allowed to go along with the mother to the meadow (sao/, vb.).
[Picture. "Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.]

Breeding in the sense of a selection of certain animals or a regulation of the time and place of propogation is unknown to the Hottentot. The bull, //gõ/b, rules with complete freedom over his harem in the field, at the watering places and in the kraal. During the rainy season, from October and November until February or March he follows the cows closely. At the beginning of the dry season, after he has impregnated them all, he absents himself and lives alone in the field until the time of the first rains. Only when he cannot find enough water does he come near the kraal to drink. Otherwise he (//an) "lives" outside. Because of this and because of his bad temper, he is called [232]

1: Schultze--70A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.

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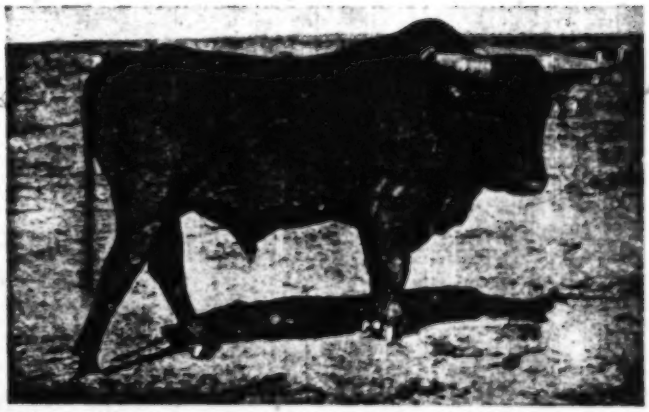
[260]



"Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.

*//kχaο//an//gõ!b. //kχaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground. [824]

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

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[p262]

Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.

233

[263]

Nama wether.

Nama goats.

233 mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (ǂhau·ǀbe, vb. I heard older people say ǂhau·ǀra)

The billy goat (ǂkxa/ra b(i)rib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (baib, i.e. the butting one) (57) always pasture freely with the

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

[365] The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called tsau· b(i)rigu. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail [262] fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name, 233 as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat 552 race] I only came across two instances [265] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru·s and ǃxã·sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (ǃxã) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual 233 names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

1: Schultze--73A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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• 233

Kapater of the Nama goat race.

233 One is forced to define more precisely several popular designations. Checked: a few, large, irregular colored areas, often joined together. Spotted: numerous medium-sized separate colored areas. Speckled or dotted: innumerable, little, separate colored spots. We may disregard the solid colors.

a) The following designations are exclusively for cattle (unless otherwise stated):

1. */kx̃ĩ!na/m: With any general coloring, a black spot on each side is characteristic.

2. /hõ·: black and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and dogs).

3. //gani·: Reddish-brown and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and horses).

4. *≠nũ!/garu: speckled with black and white, (also for sheep goats and dogs). The marking of the guinea-fowl, for example, is characterized with /garu· (cf. the leopard).

5. */a·ba/garu·: speckled red and white.

6. *!aũ!huni·: referring to the greyish yellow-brown coloring of the rock-rabbit; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

7. *!u/ri≠gui!gã/: white around the mouth, nostrils and end of the nose bridge.

8. /a·baǂ!gã·/: general red coloring with a white back (not the reverse as might be surmised from a translation that is close to it but contradictory in meaning).

9. ≠nũ/ǂ!gã/: general black coloring with a white back.

10. *≠nũ/!na/meri: general black color. Belly white to the flanks.

11. */a·ba!na/meri: general red color. White belly.

[266] 12. *≠nũ/!nã/: general black color. Middle of the forehead and bridge of the nose white; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

13. */a·ba!nã/: general reddish-brown coloring, otherwise like 12.

14. *!huni!nã/: general yellow coloring with a blaze i.e. white stripe on the middle of the forehead and the bridge of the nose.

15. ≠nũ/!ao: any general coloring, but a black ring around the neck.

16. */a·ba!ao: like 15 but with a reddish-brown ring around the neck.

[Picture. A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer States.] 233

17. *!nā/kχao: any general coloring, but with white on the buttocks, also for goats.

18. *!huni· //gani·: yellow and white checked; also for goats.

19. *!nā//aē: any general color, only white in the groin.

b) only valid for goats.

20. *ǂnū/ǂūra: spotted black.

[Picture. Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.]

21. */a· baǂū· ra: spotted red.

22. *!goa/!ao: with a blackish-brown band around the neck.

23. */haiǂga·e: white behind the ears.

24. *!kχan!gã̄: with a light-colored stripe on the back like an eland antelope.

[267] 25. //aru·: (used by old Hottentots) speckled black and white.

c) Valid only for sheep:

26. *ǂu/niam·: black marking around the mouth (the black coloring on the mouth of the white sheep is as striking as the black jaws of a colorless insect larva (/u ni·s).

27. *ǂnū!- or /a·ba-χō·b: with black or reddish-born cheeks.

28. *ǂa·rib, also called *b(i)ritsinã·χas by children when teasing, is what a sheep or goat with naturally stubby ears is called.

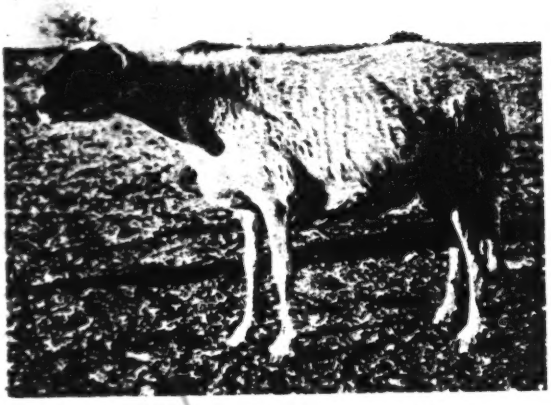
[Picture. Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white)]

A favorite hobby of the Hottentots is collecting (/gē, vb.) animals colored the same. To this end they trade cattle, sheep and goats. The Hottentot marks his cattle by definite cuts or notches, piercing or lopping the ears. 233 523

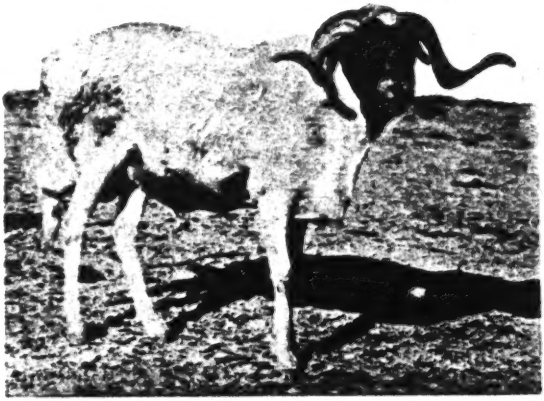
4. The Horse

The horse lives free in the fields as the cattle do and is easily caught at the watering places. Sometimes, especially in the broad plains of the Kalahari, the horse begins to turn wild and flees as soon as it sees a man coming from afar. If the tamer horses (easy to catch when alone) become accustomed to the leadership of such a shy animal, the owner is in a critical situation. In one case shooting the unapproachable horse was the only way of getting possession of the others. 231

233



A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer states.



Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.

1: Schultze--75B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white.)

[539] particles gye and re indicate a frequent practice and at the same time the past) by (ǂa) the boys (aǂagu) with /kǂa) thongs (!haũgu) by the leg. Then she ran away (double vb.: !gũng and bē) and she went (≠gã) into (!na) a Buiver tree (//garas, Aloe dichotoma L.; see p. 112) and made (dī) the rock-rabbit (!aũsa) her maid servant (!gā) and every (hoa) day (tsēti) the boys [come] there (//nā) under (*!gao) the quiver tree; yes, there (//nāba) they come (hā) to drive up (double vb.: ≠nau "to hit," maĩ "to place") [the cattle], and yet (ǂabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) they do not (/ū) know that (!kǂaiē) someone (kǂoēĩ "person," neut. sing.) is hidden (≠gana, vb.) inside.

Then one (/gui) of the boys was watching (!ũi) [the cattle] with the son (õab) of the mountain Kaffir woman (damas) of his mother (//gũs, di gen. particle). And the two of them (-kǂa, personal suff. masc. dual) went under the quiver tree to lie down (//goē). And
[233] when (o) the cattle (/goan, neut. pl.) ran away (!gũng; during the hot noon hours the cattle are driven together into the shadow of a tree), he sent ("allowed" gai, "to go") the little mountain Kaffir (damaroba) out to chase [them] back (//kǂai). And he went to turn them back, and while (hĩa) he [411] comes back (oa "to turn around," /goaǂa "to arrive"), fire (/aēs) smoke (/anā) becomes [visible], and while he comes he says: "Master (*/hon-kǂoētse, vocative), [don't] you (-tsa, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) see (mũ) smoke (neut. sing. in the sense of some undetermined sort) rising (≠oa) from (ǂu) this (nē) quiver tree?" Then he looked there (gõ, vb.) and said: "You are lying!" (≠humi). But the little Kaffir said: "The smoke is rising into the air." Whereupon the former: "You are lying; in just a minute (/āse) I will hit (≠nau) you (tsi, personal suff.)."

And on the next (nau) morning (//goaga, "early at sunrise," in contrast to //goab "early before sunrise") the two of them come /kǂĩ) again (//kǂaba). Then they both saw the smoke, come up, and [the boy] said: "In just a minute I'll chop down (double vb.: //hā "to chop," !gao "to cut") the tree (hais) for us; open!" (//kǂoba am). Then they opened [for them] and the two went in. And the one (the young Hottentot in contrast to the Kaffir) married (!game) the girl.

Then they went away. And when (o) they came to (doba) a mountain (!homi), they said to (//ga) the rock-rabbit [in order to

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Mode of Life and Subsistence

Daily Routine

The Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–4; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 24.

233 361 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 361 484 492 [415] The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women [222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 512 517 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat 512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the 517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 257–8; Kolb, op. cit., 79–80; von François, op. cit., 258.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Cape Hottentots

233 the early morning they are again allowed to drink, then are driven out into the veld in a different direction from the cows. Here they remain under the continuous watch of the herd-boys, who drive them back to the kraal in the evening. Only when a calf grows really thin is it allowed to accompany its mother in the veld.[1]

Occasionally, if the pasture round the settlement is poor, the cattle are driven far into the veld under the care of a few herdsmen, who keep them at outlying posts for weeks and even months. A wealthy cattle-owner may have several of these cattle-posts, which either he or his chief herdsman inspects from time to time by personal visits.[2] As a rule, however, each family remains and moves with its own herds, sometimes even acting independently of the rest in the search for water and grass.

[S24] It may be noted here that herdsmen often carry as charms pieces of a certain shrub called *!abib*. If cattle have gone astray one of these pieces is burned in the fire, in the belief that this will keep the animals safe till they can be found the next morning, and will prevent their being destroyed by wild beasts.[3]

No attempt is made to control the breeding of the cattle. The bull is at all times allowed free access to the herd, in the veld and at water. The months at the end of the second rainy season, March and April, when the pasture is at its best, are the favourite time for jumping, and the bull then follows close on the heels of the cows. At the beginning of the dry season it separates from the herd and roves in the veld till the next rains, only coming to the fountain when there is not enough water elsewhere. Its movements are apparently quite unrestricted.[4]

The proportion of bulls is nowhere indicated, but is almost certainly quite small, since a large number of oxen are required for domestic purposes. The young bulls are gelded when their horns are just beginning to show. The Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, bound the scrotum closely and tightly, so as to cut off communication with the spermatic vessels, the calf then being allowed to run in that condition till the testicles rotted off.[5] Schultze was unable to learn the method of gelding employed by the Naman. He mentions, however, that according to his informants the successful "castration" ("Kastrierung") of a number of calves was formerly celebrated by a feast, consisting of the meat of a specially-slaughtered calf cooked

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 79; von François, op. cit., 257–8; Schultze, op. cit., 258–60; Ridsdale, *Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand*, 83–4.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 261; Wandres, op. cit., 678. [3] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 82.
[4] Schultze, op. cit., 260, 257. [5] Op. cit., 79.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Cape Hottentots

together with the pounded testicles of the new oxen.[1] A similar feast was noted among the Cape Hottentots by Jan Hartogh in 1707.[2]

The young oxen are trained to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen are used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with the few household utensils, which are bound securely on them with "riems" (long thongs of raw hide). The riding-oxen are guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit. Instead of a saddle a sheepskin is thrown over the back of the animal and fastened by a thong drawn tight round the body. No stirrups are used, but both men and women ride the animals with ease, being accustomed to do so from childhood. "One can travel comfortably and securely in this way for a great distance and over rugged mountains," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "provided one is not in too much of a hurry." Kolb relates also that special oxen were taught to guard and keep the sheep together while they were grazing; such an ox, he says, is strictly obedient to the voice of its master, and flies round the pasture ground to bring back within proper limits those of the flock that are straying off! No stranger is allowed to come within range of the pasture ground; the ox drives off the intruder and gives the robber a rude reception. The Hottentot oxen, he continues, are even taught to combat in a body, like a regiment of elephants, against the enemies of the nation. This statement, at least, is confirmed by other observers, but one cannot resist doubting if oxen were ever really used as sheep-dogs. Nowadays, at any rate, they are generally employed for the far more prosaic task of drawing wagons, and have been almost entirely superseded by the horse for riding.[3]

The goats and the sheep, like the calves, are herded by day in the veld, and kept at night in the kraal. Single goats or small flocks need no care, and easily accustom themselves to returning of their own accord at night. Bigger flocks are put under the care of a herd-boy, who guards them from danger and theft, and sees to it that they do not spread too widely over the veld. He also has to collect them during the midday heat under some trees or a rock, where they may rest in the shade. The lambs while still small remain continuously in a special kraal, and are allowed to go to their mothers only before the

[1] Op. cit., 262.
[2] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, ii, 9.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 253–4; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 24; Kolb, op. cit., 82–3; cf. Barros, *Da Asia*, quoted in Colvin, *Romance of S. Africa*, 20; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 323; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 237–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of *!nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 262–4. [2] "The Conception of Inau," 73. [3] Op. cit., 61–2.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hāĩ, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [262] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (*/ai·χadai·b) or cooled (*/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year; the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (*/kχabĭb) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, */ũdaib. */aũdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

1: Schultze--14A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

415
252
234
281

[p.187]

Butter calabash, encircled with hide.
1/5 natural size.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kʒao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kʒao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kʒāb) of the plant is well covered (-ʒa) with hairs (/ū·/gu) it bears the name /ū·/ʒa/kʒā·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (ǂhūi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kʒaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 284–296; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 210–12.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nowadays each ox and cow

231 is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers;
552 formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or
[192] physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

231 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child
425 in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after
438 birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing
425 cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal
463 method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

● 234 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the
462 Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264–7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 257-8; Kolb, op. cit., 79-80; von François, op. cit., 258.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[27]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[28]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[29]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[27]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hottentotsvygs* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (=*Mesembrianthemum edule*).

[28]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 247) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauchen Sack, in welchen unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, jeder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, bis Butter wird, als denn lassen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich zuerachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie hämmen alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 237).

[29]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 57).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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How the Hottentots milk their Cows (A) and make Butter (B).
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p. 178]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 Palmariae marium partes sunt pascere pecus, illudque curare, et contra leonum omniumque ferarum et hostium insultus tueri, quos certo ictu jaculô sagittâve (plurimum venenatis) feriunt.

Sub vesperam pastum pecus sepimento clausum, et anteriore sinistro pede loro vinctum, palo alligant, cujus distenta lacte ubera mulieres mulgent, et si quae vacca illud retinet (ut ferè sit) illico adest femina, quandoque etiam vir, qui ore admoto, podici tenacis bestiae inflant, quo medio invita lac mamma manare patitur.

Ex collo et in pectus pasceolum, et in illo spiculum, cultrum, nicotianum, tubulumque hauriendo ejus fumo, adhaec nonnulla frivola, cum uno alteroque dupondio, quae nostrates emunxere, et quod palmarium est, cum quodam ligno dactylidem non excedente, vice praebiorum propendentem, habens, hoc lignum averuncandis quibusque periculis, dum nox illos in latissimis leonibus anguibusque infestis campis, sub Jove frigido fruticeque dormire coactos deprehendit, salutiferum sibi pervigili excubatione, anili superstitione fingunt.

Pari credulitate de scarabeo quodam somniant, bonique ominis sibi augurantur dum illum tugurio insidentem vident, quem pro numine venerantur, nec patientur Europaeum illi insidiari, nedum illum laedere, sed leniter arreptum in deserta loca deferunt, illicque tuto deponunt, quo facto diem hunc hilarem sibi sumunt.

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234 15) This usage is also described by Schreyer (*op cit.*, 46). Even at the present day, among the Naman, if a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, someone may stand behind it and blow hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place (Schapera, *op cit.*, 295).

789 16) A similar use of amulets was already mentioned by Dapper (see above, p. 53) and is confirmed by most other early writers, as well as by more recent authorities on the Naman (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 394).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[15]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[16])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[17]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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000 Vulnus herbarum succo per syphonem ei immisso, aut earundem foliis, aut bulborum quorundam tunicis, etiam insulso butyro seboque obligatum curant, sauciique urinâ ferventi, et in dimidiam sui partem decoctâ abluunt; si quem venenatum animal pupugit vel momordit, aut si quis virulentis armis laesus, protinus ejus crus, pedem aut brachium supra subtusque plagam vincturâ, morâ, fasciâ, aut loris arctissimè sistendae sanguinis circulationi, et ne virus per venas latius serpat constringunt, variisque incisionibus cultro aut spiculo circum vulnus rectâ descendenti non transversâ linea per cutem factis, continuò vir aut mulier accurrit, oreque plagae admoto, virus omne exsugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope medica praestantius? quid hac fide majus? quid hoc alexipharmaco salubrius?

Cupido sciendi confectionem Butyri dicam. Utrem lanâ introrsum versâ lacte propemodum complent, loroque ejus orificium constringunt, quem dextrâ laevaque, et utraque extremitate sublatum, ultrà citràque divaricatis cruribus stantes commovent, quassant et concutiunt, donec cremor in butyrum congelatus concretusque sit.

Si forte contingit contra haec remedia malum ingravescere, illico insectantur viperam, anguem aut serpentem qualemcunque obvium, quem necatum apud saucium ferunt, apertoque effractoque ejus ore, omne virus ei adimunt, quod duabus vesiculis quantum vel avellana caperet, ovi albumini assimile, in utraque maxilla juxta dentes situm, qui morsu infixi hominum bestiarumve corpori, per foramen, quo vicinum eis virus receperunt, concavi illud vulneri inspirant: has vesiculas cum aliquot scorpionibus aliisque toxicis simul mistas et elixas cum vaccino lacte, tanquam sacram anchoram aegro pro potione medica dant, adhibentes malo huic nodo malum cuneum, saepiusque hoc clavo clavum feliciter pellunt! ultimoque serpentem totum quantum candentibus carbonibus to(s)tum in pulvisculum lapidibus commolunt, quo saucii corpus, praecipuè vulnera perfricant, hocque medicamentum usu exploratissimum.

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752 [67]) cf. Ten Rhyne's description, p. 149 f. above.

● 234 [68]) See above, p. 129.

752 825 278 [69]) The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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They treat wounds by introducing into them through a pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the leaves of plants or the coats of certain bulbs, using also unsalted butter and lard. They also wash the wound with the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal, or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading along the veins; then they make various incisions in the skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not across but in descending straight lines; then immediately a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and sucks all the poison out[67]). O noble deed! What could be better than this medical aid? Where shall we find greater loyalty? What more effective antidote exists?

234

If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart, and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been massed and hardened into butter[68]).

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If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in them the poison they draw from the glands nearby. It is these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons, boil in cow's milk, and administer to the sick man as a last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the toughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded man, especially the wounds[69]). Experience has shown them the great worth of this remedy.

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nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 409). G's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough.

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14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

551 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagā-mā-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called ǀgaob, and if it is a daughter ǀgaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnūb, the dark one, ǀhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀawab, the red one, ǀnubub, the short one, gāχub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xaṃ-ǀhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǀhās geis. 2. Xam ǀhas ǀnagu-mās. 3. Xam ǀhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǀUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǀUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǀUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǀUrisi-s.

591 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was
●234 entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in
562 accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

E. Care of the Skin

515 The care the Hottentots take of their skin cannot be judged exclusively by our standards of cleanliness, principally because water is so valuable in that land.

1. Cleanliness

[207] During the hot season of the year, when there are great accumulations of water, as in the area of the Fish River, the Hottentot bathes. It is even said that he swims excellently. (66) But he shuns

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

wash water as a daily method of keeping clean.

On the other hand, fresh ox dung and cow dung take the place of water, brush, and soap, and the dry air substitutes for a towel. However extraordinary this may seem at the first glance, such a way of washing is effective. The moisture in the manure suffices to loosen the sweat that has dried on the skin, the fine plant fibers scour ever more effectively, the drier they become in the course of the rubbing and finally the flat hand brushes off the last bit as a light dust from the part of the body that has been cleaned and at the same time pleasantly rubbed.

2. Massage

302 237 In order to give their skin the necessary suppleness, the Hottentots smear themselves with fat (≠ǂxaus(e)n or so/bos(e)n). They smear at least the face, the skin of the head, the hands and arms, but best of all, they like to smear their whole body. This is especially true of the women.

302 415 237 The containers for fat, *≠kxĩ·nas or *!gõ//nã/s, which are found in every hut where the inhabitants have pride in their appearance, are cut out of an oxhorn and the two openings are closed with cowhide, the bottom being firmly attached, the top moveable. The fat from

he tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats be- 302
ause of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers 415
ver a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be [237]
onveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers.

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word
gu·ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat [757]
Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a
eeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of
iredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind
f body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat
Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pat-
ern of the horn.]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves 302
vith buchu (//nõs(e)n). The buchu, sã≠b, is a fine brown powder which 137
he women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, 303
ometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste:

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species,
vhich they call gai- and *≠kχari-≠ga·eb. Instead of these leaves, the
boveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes
re used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part
f a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta
Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called */u·i//kχao·b,
.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names *!na·/robeb
nd *!u·/risã·b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a
odaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang
he dried spore container by a thread around their necks [209] and it
empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the
nushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, 303
vhich is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born pre- 302
maturely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is [415]
emoved in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a
tone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the
ire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust,

302 303 415

//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

302 415 237

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [829] [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

302 [515 841] [832]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

[854 764]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ĩs(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

[386]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

[386]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," */u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hō‡ti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro //hō/s*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [53]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [54]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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53) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

54) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Mode of Life and Subsistence

Daily Routine

The Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–4; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 24.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The soil, which is fruitful both of corn and wine, provides a copious plenty of provisions and supplies. It even yields tobacco, which, if it were cultivated, would rival the American. The grain crop is wonderfully abundant, the increase of the harvest being sometimes forty-fold. I count ninety-nine stalks and as many ears from one grain of wheat, and in one ear which I rubbed out there were seventy-five grains. This is an astonishing yield, equal even to that of Sicily.

I have it on reliable authority that there are wide plains bearing wild onions and other vegetables suitable for food, and huge tracts of land full of supplies, such as leeks, shallots, edible thistles, spring onions and garlick. I have myself seen fields full of ambugia, which I have sometimes gathered and found fit for eating, together with *asidull*(?) and wild asparagus of various species.

Fields have been shown to me which twenty years ago, and perhaps from the creation to that day, were a rude waste on which neither nature nor man had grown anything. But for the last twenty years they have been well sown, and with only two or three fallow periods in all that time, with no manure, and after the slightest turning of the surface with the plough, they have yielded an abundant harvest of wheat. At the time I saw them the corn was in the blade and promised a rich crop.

I remember that a sprig or cutting of an apple-tree two feet long took root when planted. A year later a slip was grafted on to it, and within the year it bore ripe fruit. Also a vine planted in June bore grapes the following December. Such fertility is unprecedented. But indeed all the fruits of other lands, those which genial Europe, fertile Asia, and America, the farmer's joy, pour from their open lap, can with few exceptions be seen flourishing here on our promontory and never disappointing the hopes of the husbandman.

I have seen heads of cabbage and marrows so big that hardly a pot could be found to hold them. The turnips here are equally large, so much so that I have used one for a stool when I got tired walking. Beets have been dug out of a bank in my presence so fleshy that they were as long and as thick as a man's arm. Such vegetables it has astonished me to behold, and the more so on finding them all deliciously flavoured.

Our vines here bear so well that a reliable farmer told me that in one vintage from eight hundred choice vines he got six casks (commonly called hogsheads) of excellent pale-red, dark-red, or yellow wine. And everybody assures me that the native vine produces so mellow a grape that

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hāī, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [262] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (*/aī·ǂadaī·b) or cooled (*/ãdaīb), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (*/kǂabīb) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, */ũdaīb. */ũdaīb is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man.

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, */ā·ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (/ā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.]

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness.

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dōdi·b (also called !no/bo·s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *≠goa/g(a)a·ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realized that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth.

1: Schultze--23A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p.199]

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251
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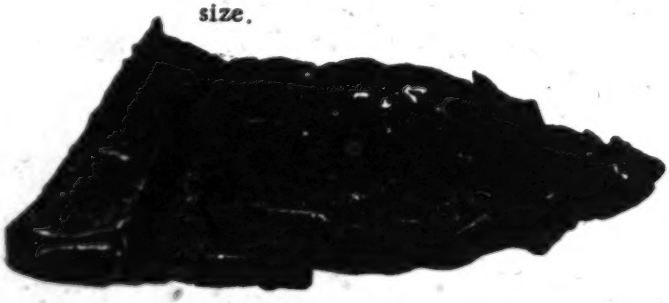
262
265

Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size.

Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size.



Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

539 all the cartridges (from //hã, "to stuff"), and they shot off (!hui). Then all the Hottentots died (//õ "to pass away," toa, "to come to an end").

[Text omitted]

[424] Translation of XVII

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Climbs up to the Game Hoard of the Lion

The little Kaffir was looking for firewood (/aëb. The suff. -re takes the place of the gender ending and gives the word a verbal character) with !kχa) his mother (//gũs), and the two of them (-ra, dual masc.-fem.) came (hõ) upon the game hoard* of the lion

[224 251]

*) !naosa, from !nao "to load." In order to protect the slain game from hyenas and jackals, the hunter sometimes hangs it on a tree, as the lion has done in this case.

(gai!gãb, ("Big Back," folk tale name of the lion.) Then the little Kaffir climbed* up (ai) the tree (hais) and threw (ao) [some of the

*) ≠õa. The verbal particle *!gã indicates a special goal of the action, as for example !aba!gã "to climb up" (on a wagon in order to bring down a recalcitrant person) in contrast to !aba "to climb up," when the wagon is ready to drive off.

booty] down (//na) to his mother; he threw down little (-ro, dimin. particle) pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -na, ending of the neut. pl.).

But when the time (//aëba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (nĩ verbal particle of the fut.) to go (!gũng), she told (gai)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 262 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk. [115] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the [372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When [251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 252 262 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Bauhinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch 482 of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[70]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [325] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

262 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of 252 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[71]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [70]) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[71]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when [251] plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[73]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[73]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, whet, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.[13]) Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his tooth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

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It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with sods to the level of the ground. The corn is then left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.[14])

(Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 66). The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

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alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hāʔ, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [262] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (*/ai·χadai·b) or cooled (*/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (*/kχabib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, */ũdaib. *aũdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

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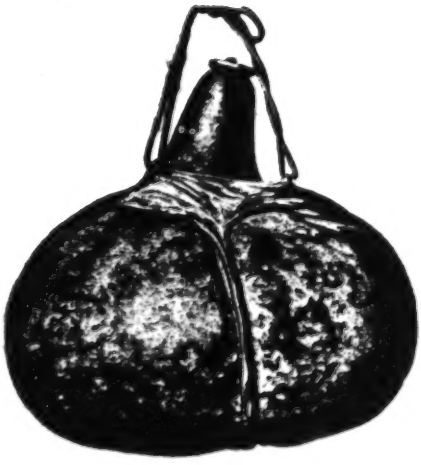
[p.187]



Butter calabash, encircled with hide.
1/5 natural size.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kʒao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kʒao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kʒāb) of the plant is well covered (ʒa) with hairs (/ũ·/gu) it bears the name /ũ·/ʒa/kʒā·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (≠hũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kʒaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

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Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and 252
eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not 262
despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, ǂ/ʞuri·s (in Little Namaland: [223
/hu·ǂrob),* is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its 857]
shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. [225]
If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are [415]
scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture:
Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size] ½

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

136
The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome 222
dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called 252
*!nuǂms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or 262
raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva ½
of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kʞũ·ǂu·ǂnis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than find- 222
ing the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the 136
underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

½ [see p. 16(A)-Anm.] ½ [see p. 16(B), -Anm.]

passages, pea-sized openings in the ground. If one follows these passages, one will come to the house at varying depths, sometimes only 1 to 1 1/2 feet under the surface, if a rock or hard layer of ground sheathes the soft ground and gives the house protection from above. Sometimes, however, one must dig down 6 feet before one reaches one's goal. 222 136

The underground dwelling has the shape of a lens, about 1/2 meter in circumference and 20 to 25 centimeters high. The material used for building is a brittle, fragile, yellowish-grey, paper-thin mass; it is resistant to water. One can immerge the house in water for days without its falling apart. It merely becomes soft and less fragile. 136

The house is built up of about 40 stories, each averaging about 1/2 centimeter in height. Although at first glance the labyrinth with its many hundred rooms that communicate on all sides may seem complicated, nevertheless a simple principal of construction can be divined: the spiral passageway. The innumerable spiral passageways are sometimes widely separated, sometimes right next to each other, sometimes with even, horizontal flights, sometimes with sharp angled axes and correspondingly steep paths, but the construction is always such that the course of each passage passes into that of the neighboring one without any interruption. Thus chambers, halls, corridors, gates and columns arise.

The composition of the inhabitants changes according to the season. In July of 1904 I found in one structure eggs, larvae in all stages up to the adult worker, workers of various sizes, large-chinned soldiers, [191] three queens about 2 1/2 centimeters long, and finally,* in addition to a few undeveloped insects, numerous nymphs,

*In the nests of Hodotermes viator (Latr.) I found a new Cetoniinae, Trichoplus aepytus Kolbe. The Hottentots know this companion of the termites well. It is about 9 centimeters long and of an even black color. They call it //k!au#ams.

mostly without wings.

These fat white nymphs, that are 12 millimeters long, are the goal of the Hottentot. First he shovels the whole house with its inhabitants and clinging earth into a sack. He sorts out what is edible in his hut. To do this he shakes the mass bit by bit into a vessel containing lukewarm water and stirs up the bottom with a stick 222 252

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," *!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches *!ga/enu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, *!kũu/enu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on locusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kʼai-ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called ǂgunub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classify ǂgao-heb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Morsea spec. 2/3 natural size. ǂha-ǂob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Morsea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ǂgarib), is supposed to have given its

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name to the place Karibib (ǂga·ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called °/ũ·/ robis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (°ǂha·/ob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L. f. (called !kx̃a·ros) is [252] ● considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

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Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The !ha/ni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "ǂkxara-!goreb kx̃oma !haŋ̃x̃a tanasa ũ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, °/ao·beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call °!kx̃õ·aireb, and which plant corresponds to the °/a·mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

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If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: °!kx̃u·ib, or °ts̃ã/x̃a·ǂgai·eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture. Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man.

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, *ǂā-ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (ǂā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture, Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.]

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness.

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dõdi-b (also called !no/bo-s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *ǂgoa/g(a)a-ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realized that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth.

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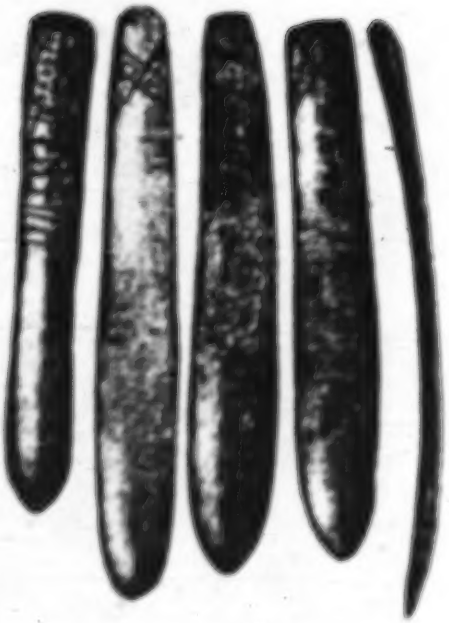

Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars,
about 1/2 natural size.

252 262 415 137

[Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[329 170] [402]

The cup for mashing "hai-os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ-ab (-arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call tsa/ma-b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat.

137 252 262

Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, "so'-robe-tsa/ma-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma-s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a-nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D C. (called #aũ's) in the Kalahari.

[222]

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Aizoa capensis Thbg which, enclosed in wing-shaped [illegible], are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called ma-/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[p199]

415
251
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Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size.

Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size.

Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

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●252

[p200]

Pestle for nara seeds, 1/3 natural size.

[201] Finally, the food called //kχuni-b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kχu-ǂnibe-b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is *!ga-riaob!ga-ǂmi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaǂm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (*/nu-bi!o-reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !naǂbaǂkχaǂrab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called /goǂa-b and !kχo-bab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called *//huǂms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called *ǂkχo-rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go·bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gĩ·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned [824]
Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kxã/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. 224
Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Hottentot follows the train of springbok (ǂdoē//gũs). As late as the year 1896 (19)

19. W. L. Sclater, The Mammals of South Africa, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

d) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/5 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center ǂxã̄ǂ, and wings, /gubi·s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nã·ǂ kχa, horns, or //õa·kχa, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hõ·as, best made of tai[411] bush wood). Throwing the kirri, ǂgũǂ or /nami·, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kχaru !õaē, χam χam /araē, naũ /aoē, aũ /aoē, aχagu χaēse!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick[262 262] blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (ǂam χam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (ǂnaũ, aũ = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (χa·es is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a·χagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -ē, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.

224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 262 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk. [415] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the [372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When [251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 252 262 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Boukinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 110–3.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

293 tied to it (called zou in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back 412 a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

WEAPONS.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[10]. The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [385] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

FOOD.

262 As far as their food is concerned they eat little by way of 252 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[11], but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [178] [10]) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[11]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when [251] plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[73]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

Marriage.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[1]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

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[1]) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 201).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[21]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *strigoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[22]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[23])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbrook (see below, p. 251) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

[22]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarized by Schapera, op. cit., 314.

[See 10: Grevenbrook, this File, ent. 11b, p. 251. — Analyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [43]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [59]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [61]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a karosa, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [67]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat" (*op. cit.*, 282).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, H intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers 151 on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of 142 the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their 231 sheep. The sheep I should describe as *mussimones*, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of 262 game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or [252] boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[1]). They live S also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased [262] victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. *Such are their choice feasts!*

H In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned 415 of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip 321 sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions H and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it 262 right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of S hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from [272] sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[2])

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[1]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Oudste Mededeelingen, Annexe to Zuid-Afrika, III, 62).

* 6] [See pp. 182-83 for footnote. – Ed.]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FA17

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the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

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Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

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If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Ifoodie, Record, 417). Grevenbrook evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (op. cit., 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

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[9]) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 230-231) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *umrewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Ifoodie, op. cit., 418).

[10]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 87).

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
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S H 845 847 [7W] H [B5W]

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[11]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H 847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[11])

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If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

224 252

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[11]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1888): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 23n).

H 766 847

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

devorant, reliquumque domi pulmento, licet vitiatum, deprascuntur, nullosque carnales, nec morbum harum morbidarum carnium esu, macellarii visceribus inseminandum metuunt, judicantes cum Italis, mortua bestia, venenum intermori*: quae an emptorem unquam inter nostros cives, manu subtilis avidâ inveneriit, dictu non est proclive; hoc mane exploratum habeo eos gammarorum, rajarum, astacorum, pagurorum, caraborum, et quorumcunque piscium captorum, effossorumque bulborum frequentem hiantemque institorem experiri, qui saepe arte deludens, invicem arte deluditur, quaerentaque fragili illidere dentem, offendit solido: Σίφων υρὸς Φωκίωνα.

Virorum est expedire hyemi commeatum alimentaque, amygdala silvestria, cortice holosericeo, coloris crocei: ari majoris radices, aptatas cibo: variosque bulbos: quae soli ostenta, et igniculo reiorta fercula vetustatem ferentia, in scrobibus cryptisque proinde ac in penario, pro cupedilia, subsecivâ operâ, et tanquam παράγγυ Cisalpini Afri reponunt: remotiores cavernas Barbari effodiunt, in quibus solerter ad aliquot annos frumentum asservant, et quo sicca haec horrea habeantur, illis stramen ad justam spithamae[que] altitudinem insternunt, eodemque latera spisse satis circumdant, denique frumento caeteroque commeatu complent, orificiumque cellae cisterialem primo stramine et virgulto, denique quarta et novissimâ (ut ita dicam) contignatione cavernam compilibus, pari cum solo libra, contegunt, et ab omni corruptionis totam, longumque relinquunt, de nullo solliciti, nisi ut delegentes scrobem, compressam annonam omnem quantocius depascantur, ne afri, lucique expositam aliqua calamitas tangat.

* In the last few lines there are several difficulties. I do not understand pulmento, carnales, nec macellarii.

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[1] This description of hunting and of the method to avoid the possible effects of the poison in the meat applies equally well to the modern Bushmen (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 132 ff.)

[2] The account given by the "Hottentot" crew of the Khoen coro-pin merely says: "They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years."

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Africa: FX17

they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, what, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.[1]) Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his tooth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with sods to the level of the ground. The corn in them left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.[2])

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[1]Dodo-Middelergen, op. cit., 66. The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. [2] It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.*) A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us.

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognised as such.

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.**) His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house.

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books.

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was dismally torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 134).

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

(pot sũ-s, to boil, to cook sãi). Food, especially meat, is always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

We must also conclude that the process of melting ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general separation; for ǂarib is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǂé, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gôagu), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂganugu, literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǁhoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *pack-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (sã-b or buχu).

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* "Their leader on slow-paced oxen rode behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

9: Ten Rhyne D-S (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a colobium or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves *from* the rain or *from* the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with the skin or better compenioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, soothing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[**])

[**]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the hairie out look as like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.H.S.* I, 56).

14:Hahn L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX13 Hottentot PX13

881 river, among the Gei ǂKhauas at ǂNais, and among the ǂOgois, on the banks of the ǂKhuru river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

883 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, gnitaxus), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 931 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repeatedly and apologize, until he hears the word "ǂtiaga," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me!" He laughed, and thought that I was in fun. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

14.Hain L-S (ca. 1870-1890) 1881 PX13 Homeotel PX13

578 other man by taking a handful of dust, and holding it out to his adversary. The enemy then beats the challenger on the hand, so that the dust falls to the ground, and the challenge is accepted. If the other is a coward, he will not beat the dust to the ground, and then the one who made the challenge throws the dust into his face. In duelling together two men try to kick each other, or to knock each other down by fencing with knobkirrie, or to throw each other with spears, covering themselves the meanwhile with their shields. This kind of duelling was called ǂhiga.

• 241 * For this reason the Namaquas pretend not to eat the flesh of the hare. The fact, however, is, that they believe, by eating hare-flesh, they will become as faint-hearted as a hare. They, for instance, eat the flesh of the lion, or drink the blood of the leopard or lion, to get the courage and strength of these beasts. The same custom we find among the Malays, Polynesians, and Indians of America, and other savages who drink the blood of wild animals or slain enemies, in order to become ferocious and courageous as they are.

* *The lion, however, hath wings.*—Ctesias, "De Rebus Indicis," speaks of griffins in the following way:—"There is also gold," he says, "in the Indian country, not found in the streams and washed, as in the river Pactolus, but there are many and great mountains, wherein dwell the griffins, *four-footed birds of the greatness of the wolf, but with legs and claws like lions.*—Ctesias, "De Rebus Indicis," 12; according to Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 3; 8. Herodotus repeatedly mentions these griffins (Γρῦπες), iii. 116; iv. 13, 27, 79, 152.

* *Veldt*, or, in proper Dutch, *veld*, means the fields, the uncultivated grounds, the grazing-grounds and sheep-walks.

* Ellio-game literally translated in *the cloud-game*, from ǂhîo, an antiquated word for cloud. This ǂhîo game is also called ǂkhowa, a kind of *dice*. Why is the ǂkhowa called ǂhîo? Here we have again metaphor. When the battle in the clouds is fought

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha-ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana-b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba-s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, h(e)i-sa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [315] [317]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering, hunting, and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

1. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (?) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lower sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [196] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of peculiar shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the molluscs used for food, turn to page 31.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught 226
following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame [227]
and baited with snails, is also eaten.

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier 224
nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There
is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only [262]
thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the prepara- [252]
tion of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the
fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the 251
air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is
not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that
not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin
pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hâ!, v.).

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire 252
so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones
until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk.

Meat soup, suro-b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the [245]
fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the
Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they
cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of 251
freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and 415
blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape.
Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp
edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //go-hus, they
pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung.

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he 262
reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of 252
milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk 254
to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as [173]
the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai-!xoâi-b) or cooled
(°/ôâib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according [229]
to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha-reb,
the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit (197) of
the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na-rus) are
chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a
bulb-like form (°/kâbib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and
then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods).

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is,
because it supposedly tastes like wine, called pisa milk, °/ôâsib.
°/ôâsib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail,
the cream of which (!aoîeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned
into butter.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba-s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i-b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kxao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (!kxao//nu/i-b) or fried (/gê-be//nu/i-b). 485 252 239

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/hâ-b) of the plant is well covered (ǂa) with hairs (/u-/gu) it bears the name /u-ǂa/kxa-s. 239 252 [320]

The maahi a madila of the Bechuana corresponds to the °/hu-nin/hu-ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare-b). 171 239 252

[108] The wooden milk pail (//hoê-g) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (/hûi-b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kâru-s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 485 239

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 239 [153]

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner.

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat; mice; hares, rock rabbits, porcupines, °dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [325] [327]

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Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, ‡Aguri-s (in Little Namaland: /ho-/roti), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size]$\frac{1}{4}$

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru-s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [190] The fat of the //uru-s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

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The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called *!nu/ma. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva $\frac{2}{3}$ of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size]. The marvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called *//nami-b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kxo-ku/nis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid resin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/3 natural size.]

[191] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

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Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

[see p. 4(A)-An.] [see p. 4(B)-An.]

1:Schultze--16A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p188]

Zonurus polyzonus Smith. Actual size.

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[p.189]

Larva of Acanthopsarus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size.

Acanthopsarus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," "!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "!ga/e‖hou/ns. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "!kũ/‖hou/nsi, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on locusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called !Gai-ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called "Gaoub"), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kuhuber mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not clearly "!gau-heb. (Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. Aha-?ob. 2/3 natural size.)

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called #garib), is supposed to have given its

1: Schultze--16A N-6 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[illegible]
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Babiana spec.
2/3 natural size

Moraea spec.
2/3 natural size

Ga. /ob
2/3 natural size

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name to the place Karibib (ǂga-ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called */u-/ nobis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (*ǂha-/ ob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L.f. (called !kʔa-ros) is considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

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Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The !haʔni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

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50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "ǂkxara-!goreb kʔoma !hanʔa tanasa ǂ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, */ao-beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call "!kʔ-aireb, and which plant corresponds to the */a-mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

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If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: "!kru-ib, or "nuʔ/naqai-eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture, Ceropegia spec, 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

1: Schultze--20A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p194]

Griqium hamiferum Thbg. 2/3 natural size.

1/Schultze--208 N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Cenogale spec. 1/2 natural size.

Landwirtsch.--GIA N-6 (1963-1968) 1967 FX13 Hannover FX13
Hanna

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[198]

Ornamental grub.
1/2 natural size

the "Ostrich foot."
1/2 natural size

Schnitzler--218 N-8 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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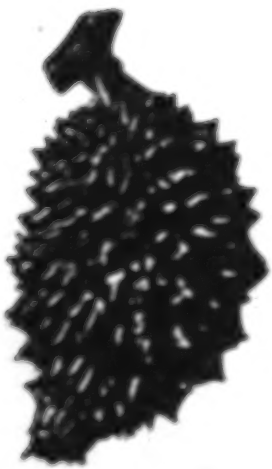
[plant]



Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size.

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man.

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, *//ā-ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (//ā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.]

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness.

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dõdi-b (also called !no/bo-s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *≠goa/g(a)a-ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realized that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth.

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252 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara
262 Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

415 Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve,
137 are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[324 The cup for mashing ǂhai-os (the one depicted here, was carved
770] from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush
[402] wheat and perhaps storm from it. The pestle, //ō-ab (- arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of
137 Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call
252 tsa/ma-b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat.
262 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, ǂo-gobe-tsa/ma-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the tsenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig." /no/ma-s, and the seeds of an Anacardiacae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a-nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaũ's) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [223] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Aizoa capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped lamellae, are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa-ǂmab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

I: Schultze--23A N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hamazaua FX13
Nama

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Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size.

Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size.

Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

[201] Finally, the food called //kʰuni-b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kʰo-/nibe-b, often lives with the ants that gather their seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is °!ga-rian!ga-ʔmi. !garian is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaʔm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (°/ho-bi!o-reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !na/hariʔxa/rab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called /go/a-b and !kʰo-hab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called °//huʔms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called °/kʰo-rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[Picture. Antherium despanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.]

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called °!go-bo//nãĭs) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name °/gĭ-gye/ga-mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai-rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kxãĭs, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

1: Schultze--SSA N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size.

Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.

1: Schuitse--258 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. [243]

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mub, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [242]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [241] They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognise abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [239] Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [240] are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. [243] [226] According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kxuru-i. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/nu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hās. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hās, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhōs. They often explain

mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (ǂhau-ǂae, vb. I heard older people say ǂhau-ǂoe)

The billy goat (ǂhau-ǂa ǃ(g)oib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (haib, i.e. the butting one) (37) always pasture freely with the

37. J. G. Kroedlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called tau-ǃ(g)oiga. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name, as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat race] I only came across two instances [285] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru-s and ǂã-sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (ǂã) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Horsemen follows the train of springbok (*khoē//gūi). As late as the year 1896 (19)

19. W. L. Sclater, The Mammals of South Africa, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

c) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/3 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center ǂkaē, and wings, /gubi-s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nāi/kya, horns, or //ūa-kya, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hō-as, best made of tail bush wood). Throwing the kirri, /gūi-ē or /nami-, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kxaru !oaē, ǂam ǂam /arae, nāũ //aoē, aũ /aoē, a-ǂagu ǂaēse!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (*ǂam ǂam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (*nāũ, aũ = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (ǂa-es is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a-ǂagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -ē, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.

§)Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	• the annoyance
	/ara·b		• rib
	/a·ʔrab		• the crack
2.	//a·ri		• yesterday, tomorrow
[308]	//aʔri·		• to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oʔʔu)
3.	!a·ba		• to climb up
	!aǂba·	(3, m.)	• to scratch
4.	ǂoa·		• to scrape
	ǂo·ʔa		• to write
5.	ǂaru·b		• powdered coals
	ǂuǂru·	(3, m.)	• to pull out
6.	ǂu·bu		• to pulverize tobacco
	ǂuǂbu·	(3, m.)	• to drink from [sip]
7.	gara·		• to be cool
	ga·ǂra		• to have German measles
8.	gaǂro·	(3, m.)	• bend, bow
	ga·ro		• to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		• to sprinkle
	/gaǂbi·s	(3, m.)	• the cup
	(/gabi·		• to be high)
10.	//ga·ǂe		• to imitate
	//gae·		• to chew
11.	//ga mi		• water
	//gaǂmi·	(3, m.)	• to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		• the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaʔna·s		• name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX10

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen in FX 10

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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Sepedon haemachates*) are among the most formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendraspis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachnidea are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anopheline mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

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Nama

the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Namas, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two lesser offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, *//kaus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Great Dunda* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldschoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldschoen*, Nama *//habeb* or *//hawed*); while the */Aunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Narunin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauas* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*khai*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauas* and */Hai //Khauas*. The Witbooïs, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */hoîle*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauas*, */Gami /Nus*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khais* and *//Khau /Goas* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Geis* and */Aunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4-7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

Chapter X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Mode of Life and Subsistence

Daily Routine

The Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 513–43; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 24.

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matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 184–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 210–12.

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plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk. All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Bauhinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 102–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

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As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

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[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, "Berigt aan... Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, "Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96–7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.
[6] "The Nama," 129.

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BIRTH

Pregnancy

The ideas of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception do not appear to have been specially investigated. The fact that in cases of premarital pregnancy the girl's lover is expected to marry her, and in any case has a claim to the child, seems to indicate that physiological paternity is recognized. But there is no concrete information that the Hottentots are acquainted with the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. In their mythology we even meet with a few instances in which women have conceived without having connection with a man. Thus it is told that on one occasion, when some young girls had gone out to fetch firewood, one of them took a kind of sweet juicy grass, chewed it, and swallowed the juice. As a result she became pregnant, and was delivered of a son, Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth.[1] An instance of this kind, however, can, owing to its mythological character, hardly be interpreted as reflecting the normal beliefs of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception.

On the whole there seems to be a general desire among the people to have children. A barren woman, as we have seen, is looked down upon, and may even have to suffer the mortification of seeing her husband take a concubine. There are also various indications of rites specially designed to secure the birth of children. Graevenbroeck and Kolb, in their descriptions of the Cape Hottentot marriage ceremonies, both state that the person officiating publicly expresses the wish that the young couple will have offspring; and similarly the slaughter of only female animals for the Nama marriage feast is interpreted as due to the desire that the marriage may prove fruitful. Wikar, again, mentions that a barren woman will have recourse to a magician, who strokes her on the abdomen with pieces of horn and wood, and also smears her there with the contents of his medicine horn. Moreover, an ewe heavy with lamb is slaughtered, and the woman must carry the amnion of this unborn lamb on her back, like a child. Also, according to Schinz, women during confinement (*sic*) must eat only goat's flesh in order to promote their fertility.[2]

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[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 69. Another myth of the same kind relates that Heitsi Eibib was born as a young bull of a cow impregnated by eating grass (ibid., 68. The original Nama text is given in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 177).

[2] Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 104; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97.

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551 with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same " great name ", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this " great name " derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

853 A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old.
[854] When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby
[862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the
[847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still
262 dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says
[145] Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 31–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, op. cit., 303–8; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 14–15.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 76; Schinz, op. cit., 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, op. cit., 222, 299.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*Jgui ǁhan*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 300; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 522–3.

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be *!khai !na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is *!khai !na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

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881 784 577 "You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

881 [262] These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, [304] together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Nama transition rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

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morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of *!nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 262–4. [2] "The Conception of Inau," 73. [3] Op. cit., 61–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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231 description can be relied upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be connected, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snouts, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

[177 492] From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

Hunting and Fishing

Weapons and Methods

262 As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 90; Schultze, op. cit., 268.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 267; Ridsdale, op. cit., 84.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 125–7; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48–51; Barrow, *Travels in Africa*, i, 149; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 43.
[2] Schinz, op. cit., 88. Schultze, op. cit., 102.

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A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death, Burial, and Mourning

In dealing with the social, economic, and political life of the Hottentots, we have had occasion to notice in various connections ceremonies and beliefs of a ritual character. For example, all the observances and avoidances centring in the conception of *!nau*, as well as the rites and beliefs developed round hunting and war, really form part of the magico-religious or sacred aspect of Hottentot life. But they are so intimately associated with more profane activities that to discuss them separately would have been to divorce them from their proper context in native life, and thus to overlook their real significance. The beliefs and usages relating to death, on the other hand, lead more directly to a consideration of religion, since this supreme and final crisis in human life is one of the most important sources for the Hottentot conceptions of supernatural agencies.

The coming of death into the world is related by the Hottentots in a myth which varies but slightly from that told by the Bushmen. The Moon, it is said, once sent the louse to Men, saying, "Go to Men, and tell them, 'As I die and dying live, so you shall also die and dying live.'" The louse started with the message, but on its way was overtaken by the Hare, who asked on what errand it was bound. The louse repeated to him the message of the Moon. Then the Hare said, "As you are an awkward runner, let me take the message." With these words he ran off, and when he reached Men, he said, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die and dying perish, in the same manner you shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then he returned to the Moon, and told him what he had said to Men. The Moon thereupon angrily reproached him, saying, "Did you dare to tell the people a thing I did not say?" and taking up a piece of wood he struck the Hare on the lip. Since that day the hare's lip is split. There are several other variants of this myth, but in all of them the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon. Its flesh is consequently forbidden to men: "We are now angry with the hare," say the old

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hei /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The *!gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gauab*, or the */Hei /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of *!nau*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85–6; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 517–21 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 520–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 87.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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114 101 [262] perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous !náras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

124 181 The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

[796] 115 The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[1] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂÃunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidised by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Àmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[1] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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things, become !nau without some individual or group of individuals being !nau. This 783
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly !nau and none 888
but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262]
one realises that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realises how strongly this !nau influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes !nau certain things also become !nau. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is !nau. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the !nau person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The !nau fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a !nau person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became !nau, but every 778
!nau person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Hottentot witch doctor, or *!gâi-âop*, never touches [791]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Berseba in the time of his grandfather, when [683]
a !gâi-âop who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become !nau, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her *!gûs*, or petticoat, when she was !nau.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this: 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing.

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts.

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals.

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else.

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Iqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Quickgrass, P/arre, which has jointed roots of tremendous length, is used in decoction for coughs.

Baboon rope, P/nyra sooriep, a species of liana, is burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms. Several of the modern herbalists use it in decoction for boils, administered internally, as also they use the smaller climber, bakker bosch, *Cynanchum capense*, Thun. *Passerina filiformis*, P/tou, which when lighted disappears in a blaze of flame, whence its usefulness to the baker after whom it is named, is used in decoction for shooting pains.

Suitduizel, *Berkheya* sp. a holly-like little bush about three feet high that grows near rivers and springs, is used in decoction for the same ailment. Sam uses it in powder as a plaster for burns and boils.

Candle bush, *Sarcocaula Burmanse*, a smaller variety *Patersonii*, is gathered, pounded fine, and used as an astringent for diarrhoea. Because of its laborious method of preparation it is named D/nou D/nou, which Sam translates as "work-wogk," but which is evidently an onomatopoetic word representing the sound of the stamping. The root is ground fine and used as a poultice, which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster.

Gums and resins are used to only a small extent.

[824
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Heyra, the exudation of the acacia tree, is used as a food, and when boiled with fat as a salve for whitlows and boils. Possibly the ease with which the tree exudes this substance was the starting point of this use.

Scaap rapayce, D/ta dou, a resin greener than the others, is eaten by animals, but not used much by man.

D/Goonu, the resin of several species of Euryops, is gathered in the sands of Bushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath: this is the reason that it is thought most of. It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used. The stems of this plant when old are reddish and inflammable, even in wet weather.

PURGATIVES.

Purgatives are in great request. P/gameroo, a whitish tuber with flat, green leaves not unlike those of the pumpkin, is cut and boiled, and the liquor is used as emetic and purgative, in stomach complaints.

Krasibosch, D/nareeree; *Roycna hirsuta* L.; wild gentian, known as the Ambiser bosch, or piles bush, *Chiroma baccijeca*, of the decoction of which two mouthfuls is an efficient dose, have a rapid effect. It is also used in decoction for boils.

SNUFFS.

As well as snuffs to drive out the infection of death there were snuffs that cured headaches.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[9]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11])van Riebeeck (*Letters Dep.*, iii, 239) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khuma, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 26, 1658).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yea! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1. 1661).

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In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[44]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[45]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[46]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.[47]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottentots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

[47]) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

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293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back
482 a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[70]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [325] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

262 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of
252 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[71]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [70]) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[71]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted [251] or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

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raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

INDUSTRY.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

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try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[75]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

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[75]) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 201).

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CHAP. III.

Birds.

Among the birds, which are plentiful enough and of varied colours, are ostriches, peacocks, cranes, black storks, herons, geese, pelicans, ducks, penelopes, querquedulae, glaucia, divers, urinatrices, coots, boscades, penguins, partridges, red and ash-coloured pheasants, vanelli, figpeckers, the lesser gallinago, screech-owls, myriads of cephi, martins, swallows of various hue, colybrides, or suckers of a certain verticillated plant, and a certain kind of pelican called by the French *Flammants*, and by our countrymen, who learned the name from the Portuguese, *Flaminken*, with upstanding variegated plumage.

CHAP. IV.

Fish.

Here the sea and also the rivers yield their own wild creatures, sea-lions, sea-rabbits, guapervas of Brazil, whales, small sharks, tunnies (the glory of the table), salmon, rays, mullets, mussels, gilt-bream, decumanae, eels, two species of carp (the inhabitants call them Hottentots' fish, since the Hottentots delight in them, because they are scaly, and haunt the rocks, and have a tasty flesh). Another large table fish is the *steenbras*. Then there is a species of dog-fish, which the Portuguese call *Cassaon*. Also oysters, lobsters, crabs, the true torpedo, turbines, cuttlefish, and viriform shells, among which is the Pareo, called by Pliny the sailing nautilus. But to enumerate all is impossible within the narrow limits I have set myself; I shall merely add one to conclude. When I was skirting the edge of a gently curving shore beaten by quiet waves in order to prosecute my researches into the offspring which the sea casts forth from her womb, I discovered certain animalcula firmly attached to the rocks, which by the innumerable living fibres they thrust out present a rosy hue, and are in consequence popularly known among the Dutch as rock-roses.

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specht, and of which he enumerates nine species, while I from my own observations have noted but three, described elsewhere.)

n) vid. eundem p.m. 133.

o) Balenae quaedam species hic frequens Belgice wont-kapers & vin-vissen. (A certain species of whale common here, called by the Dutch *wont-kapers* and *vin-vissen*.)

p) vide Marcgrav. lib. 4. c. 12.

*) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 47.1. (B.P.)

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CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a *colobium* or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [622] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [301] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, [262 261] under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[20])

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[20]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the inside out look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.R.S.* 5, 50).

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They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

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CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

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CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[21]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *sirigoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[22]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[23])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 251), briefly desribes their mode of manufacture.

[21]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarized by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 314.

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, cnt. 116, p. 251. —Analyst]

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CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

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The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[24]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

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CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[27]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[28]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[29]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[27]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hotnotsvyg* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (=*Mesembrianthemum edule*).

[28]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 247) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauchen Sack, in welchen unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, ieder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, biss Butter wird, als denn lossen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich zuerachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 237).

[29]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 57).

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Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[30]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera, op. cit.*, 129 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An H 151 additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H 142 231 It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as *musimones*, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H 262 [252] They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[7]). They live S [262] also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H 415 321 In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S H 262 S [272] They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[8])

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[7]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

N 8) [see pp. 180-81 for footnote. – Analyst]

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OOO Et quamvis variae hic praestantesque salinariae lacusque, quorum aquae sua sponte in sal concrescunt, salis tamen usus ignorant. Nostratium autem salgama, eorundemque carnem, aut piscem salictum, reliquosque cibos muriaticos non fastidiunt, quorum lactucam, oleraque tandem avidi edere didicere, quae olim pecori cum graminibus campi, illudentes Europaeorum ingluviei, depascenda censebant, et Boves convivas facerent, herbasque aggererent, invitantibus in prandium aut caenam regerebant, jactantes se inediam sustinere, pauperiemque pati ab infantia didicisse. Certe penitius omnem vitam eorum inspiciens comperi ipsos penuriae tolerantissimos, eamque per omnia extrema Rechabitarum similem ducere.

Potus nobis vicinis aqua et lacte, sed extimae gentes sitim insuper oxygulo, alicâ, zyrho, ceriâ, aut cervisiâ levant, quam Rotterodamenti similem, ducentis et amplius hinc milliaribus in capacissimis fictilibus vasis, primae et secundae notae cum pane autopyro coquere, adhaec pinsere granum nostratibus ignotum, farinâ candidissimâ boni nutrimenti, trifarium, milio aliquanto majus, et ab illo panicoque non multum abludente, norunt mulieres, quibus rei familiaris onus, et educendorum liberorum, agrorumque colendorum cura incumbit.

Si quae uno foetu geminos enixa, eos tollunt, et puerperae fovendos, nutriendosque dant: multum discrepantes à citerioribus, et qui nostratibus intermixti degunt, sueti alterum gemellorum, puellam scilicet, marem semper servantes, immani saevitia! avibus ferisque diripiendam dilacerandamque in dumo exponere, aut vivam in terram

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*) None of these food taboos seems to have persisted down to recent times, save only that of the hare. In all the Hottentot tribes this might only be eaten by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites. This taboo was apparently associated with the well-known myth in which the hare distorts the message given him by the Moon to convey to people on earth, and promises them death instead of immortality. Any man found guilty of eating the hare's flesh was excluded from the company of other men until he had been purified of his offence. (See Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 239-40, 283, 357-8). The "Stavenisse" crew reported of the AmaXhosa that "the old men and women do not eat hares, but the young people may . . . they also do not eat lions and 'wolves' (hyenas), which are held to be unclean." (Godée-Molsbergen, *loc. cit.*) And again: "They do not eat poultry because these feed on filth, still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

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Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

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If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

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[9]) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 418).

[10]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 67).

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.[61]) A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us. 164

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognized as such. 000

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.[62]) His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house. 782 757 231

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books. 000

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 124). 231 [262 252]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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If I may be allowed a conjecture, I should say that the reason of their hanging the entrails round the neck of the patient and anointing him with fat is to check the excessive exhalation of the vital spirits, and, by closing the pores of the body, to keep out external cold and foster the native heat.

The pasture grass found in the stomach or bowels of the victim, and the excreta, are cooked by some together with the flesh and looked upon as a great treat: not a very refined one to be sure! Others fling these things before the sick man's door, and when the marrow has been extracted from them by the heat of the fire, they anoint the sick man with it, a very powerful remedy. They treat the patient also by fasting and dieting. A favourite diet is cow's milk boiled with a handful of pepper and other aromatic herbs, and given to the patient cold.

A very frequent remedy is to turn the patient on his back and on his front and make water on him. They do not allow even his face to escape a bath of urine. Some even take, in a sea-shell or tortoise-shell or some other vessel, the amount of water discharged by one man, mix it with a powder from a certain plant, and administer it to the sick man. They do not attach any healing property to the water of women: the women themselves think it injurious to them. But sometimes a sick woman is made to sit upon her haunches with her legs bare, while the men make water upon her from the knees to the feet.[63])

When a woman is ill, they take fresh cow dung, mix it with water, and heat it on the fire; the woman is put to sit in a trench, and the warm water is dashed over her legs up to the waist. The patient sometimes recovers, but in my opinion most of the credit is due to Nature which always strives to preserve itself.

As a cure for disease they also employ scarification or criss-cross incisions in the skin of about a finger's length, especially on the chest and sides. The cuts are made very close to one another. Sometimes also they try cautery.

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in a circle round their fire. The 'doctor,' after addressing himself to the sun with much gesticulation and talk, went up to the patient, who was lying completely naked on the ground, and began to make water all over him, from the head down all over the body, until his flow had ceased; the other Hottentots, 7 or 8 in number, then faithfully followed his example. The patient, after being lustily bathed and washed in this way, went to sleep in his kaross, and the following day was again fit enough to accompany us" (*op. cit.*, 31-2). Kolb also gives a good deal of attention to this mode of treatment (*op. cit.*, 566 ff.).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[75])

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[76]) There is a gleam of sense in their words.

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Heitsi-eibib ǁKhāb, ǂGama-ǂgorib, Tūsib and ǀAub, the Serpent.

769 Captain James Alexander, later Sir James Alexander, had, no doubt, a very fascinating way of gaining the confidence of the natives. The Namaquas even now speak of him in the highest terms, and praise his social and familiar habits. An old Namaqua said to me of him "ǀAva-khoĩ khemi ko tsā ǀhūb ke,"—That man had the flavour of a Redman,—meaning to say that the English traveller knew how to fraternize with them.

Alexander's observations, therefore, we must consider very valuable. He was the first to supply us with specimens of Khoikhoi folk-lore. In these pages we can only reproduce his notes on the mythology and religion of the Namaquas:—

"These Namaquas," says Alexander, "thought that they came from the East. In the country there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones on which had been thrown a few bushes; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap. They mutter, 'Give us plenty cattle.'"—(Alexander, "Expedition of Discovery," i. 167.)

821 "There is a strange story about the moon which is a little better than their usual ignorant notions. The moon, they say, wished to send a messenger to men, and the hare said that he would take it. 'Run, then,' said the moon, 'and tell men that as I die and am renewed, so shall they also be renewed.' But the hare deceived men, and said, 'As I die and perish, so shall you also perish.' [262] Old Namaquas will not therefore touch hare's flesh; but the young men may partake of it—that is, before the ceremony of making them men is performed, which merely consists in slaughtering and eating an ox or a couple of sheep."

222 413 [405] makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes a honey bag, *//kxo·rob, from the hide of an iguona, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263 317 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206]

5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264 415 The branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !ore·s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //go/a·b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two occasional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. 264 If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called *a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264 524 Tsu·bugu/hu·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FA17

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the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

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Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

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If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

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[9]) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 418).

[10]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 67).

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

If I may be allowed a conjecture, I should say that the reason of their hanging the entrails round the neck of the patient and anointing him with fat is to check the excessive exhalation of the vital spirits, and, by closing the pores of the body, to keep out external cold and foster the native heat.

The pasture grass found in the stomach or bowels of the victim, and the excreta, are cooked by some together with the flesh and looked upon as a great treat: not a very refined one to be sure! Others fling these things before the sick man's door, and when the marrow has been extracted from them by the heat of the fire, they anoint the sick man with it, a very powerful remedy. They treat the patient also by fasting and dieting. A favourite diet is cow's milk boiled with a handful of pepper and other aromatic herbs, and given to the patient cold.

A very frequent remedy is to turn the patient on his back and on his front and make water on him. They do not allow even his face to escape a bath of urine. Some even take, in a sea-shell or tortoise-shell or some other vessel, the amount of water discharged by one man, mix it with a powder from a certain plant, and administer it to the sick man. They do not attach any healing property to the water of women; the women themselves think it injurious to them. But sometimes a sick woman is made to sit upon her haunches with her legs bare, while the men make water upon her from the knees to the feet.[63])

When a woman is ill, they take fresh cow dung, mix it with water, and heat it on the fire; the woman is put to sit in a trench, and the warm water is dashed over her legs up to the waist. The patient sometimes recovers, but in my opinion most of the credit is due to Nature which always strives to preserve itself.

As a cure for disease they also employ scarification or criss-cross incisions in the skin of about a finger's length, especially on the chest and sides. The cuts are made very close to one another. Sometimes also they try cautery.

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in a circle round their fire. The 'doctor,' after addressing himself to the sun with much gesticulation and talk, went up to the patient, who was lying completely naked on the ground, and began to make water all over him, from the head down all over the body, until his flow had ceased; the other Hottentots, 7 or 8 in number, then faithfully followed his example. The patient, after being lustily bathed and washed in this way, went to sleep in his kaross, and the following day was again fit enough to accompany us" (*op. cit.*, 31-2). Kolb also gives a good deal of attention to this mode of treatment (*op. cit.*, 566 ff.).

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[206]

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[p.206]

Wooden spoons, 1/5 natural size.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobos*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 102–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do; while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Nama, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, Tweede Deel*, 273.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralize him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony; no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with potblack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] "Berigt aan den Heer van Plettenberg," 109–10.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

both with a powder of the bochu shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock.

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free foot begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in special quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.[32a]) Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest for her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time exulting with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with the bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Lucina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever.

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here the drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after calling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is in childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the

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32a) This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[73])

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[74]) There is a gleam of sense in their words.

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

823 271 782 Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 125.
* *Tsuni ǁGoam*, p. 77.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go·bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gī·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned [824]
Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kχã/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

[272] 276

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it *χao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta bagab. Wild hemp, da· ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ǂnuni· //ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa/rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (ǂna/o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called */ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and *tsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [136] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, *!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

1: Schultze--26A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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222
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[p.204]

Farob, a tea fern. 4/5 natural size.

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai·daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called *tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk *tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop. 233

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //ha/mi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (*ǂhĩrasã/b, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called *!kã//gyere//ha/mi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called *da//ha/mi. [824]

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals. [312]

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, go/ma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

262 [761] and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also " deemed unlawful " to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the " pure blood of beasts " and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is " good only for the men ", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, " a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

276 824 As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity 272 with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, " Berigt aan ... Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, " Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.
[2] " Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit. 96–7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] " Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.
[6] " The Nama," 129.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Alberecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[1] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. orata. – Analyst]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jaakal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Iqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

841 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful 823 married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled [272 to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares, 177] formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gâra 823 dama gôure ǂhaba ǂhabare "* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as [844] the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will [755] be the older women who have looked after her who will free her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When 823 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a 841 neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain; it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* ǂHaba is *Fockea damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 93 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[73]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[73]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[27]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[28]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[29]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[27]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hotnotsvyg* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (=*Mesembrianthemum edule*).

[28]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 247) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauchen Sack, in welchen unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, jeder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, biss Butter wird, als denn lassen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich zuerachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 237).

[29]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 97).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An H 151 additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H 142 231 It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as *musimones*, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H 262 [252] They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[7]). They live S [262] also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H 415 321 In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S H 262 S [272] They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[8])

[7]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, III, 62).

N 81 [See pp 180-81 for footnote. – Ann Lys F]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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000 Et quamvis variae hic praestantesque salinariae lacusque, quorum aquae sua sponte in sal concrescunt, salis tamen usus ignorant. Nostratium autem salgama, eorundemque carnem, aut piscem salictum, reliquosque cibos muriaticos non fastidiunt, quorum lactucam, oleraque tandem avidi edere didicere, quae olim pecori cum graminibus campi, illudentes Europaeorum ingluvieî, depascenda censebant, et Boves convivas facerent, herbasque aggererent, invitantibus in prandium aut caenam regerebant, jactantes se inediam sustinere, pauperiemque pati ab infantia didicisse. Certe penitius omnem vitam eorum inspiciens comperi ipsos penuriae tolerantissimos, eamque per omnia extrema Rechabitarum similem ducere.

Potus nobis vicinis aqua et lacte, sed extimae gentes sitim insuper oxygulo, alicâ, zyrho, ceriâ, aut cervisiâ levant, quam Rotterodamenti similem, ducentis et amplius hinc milliaribus in capacissimis fictilibus vasis, primae et secundae notae cum pane autopyro coquere, adhaec pinsere granum nostratibus ignotum, farinâ candidissimâ boni nutrimenti, trifarium, milio aliquanto majus, et ab illo panicoque non multum abludente, norunt mulieres, quibus rei familiaris onus, et educendorum liberorum, agrorumque colendorum cura incumbit.

Si quae uno foetu geminos enixa, eos tollunt, et puerperae fovendos, nutriendosque dant: multum discrepantes à citerioribus, et qui nostratibus intermixti degunt, sueti alterum gemellorum, puellam scilicet, marem semper servantes, immani saevitia! avibus ferisque diripiendam dilacerandamque in dumo exponere, aut vivam in terram

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S H 262 272

*) None of these food taboos seems to have persisted down to recent times, save only that of the hare. In all the Hottentot tribes this might only be eaten by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites. This taboo was apparently associated with the well-known myth in which the hare distorts the message given him by the Moon to convey to people on earth, and promises them death instead of immortality. Any man found guilty of eating the hare's flesh was excluded from the company of other men until he had been purified of his offence. (See Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 239-40, 283, 357-8). The "Stavenisse" crew reported of the AmaXhosa that "the old men and women do not eat hares, but the young people may . . . they also do not eat lions and 'wolves' (hyenas), which are held to be unclean." (Godée-Molsbergen, *loc. cit.*) And again: "They do not eat poultry because these feed on filth, still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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ODD H 263 262 177

the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

S H 273 252

Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

S 462 S H 845 847

If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

H S 262 272

[9]) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 418).

[10]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 67).

S 241

[272] 276

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it χao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da·ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ≠nuni·//ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa·/rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (≠na/o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called */ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and *tsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [136] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, *!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[1] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ovata. — Analyst]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Iqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort.

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[27]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little.

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho,* for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away.

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27) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![4])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[5]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey[6]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 of 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1896, Min. Proc. p. xvi).

[5]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator spp.*). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

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Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

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If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (op. cit., 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

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[9]) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 418).

[10]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 67).

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11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !karib* (honey beer)

danisa u: ***≠ke:i.***

//nãib ina !hũe, ina /kũ /kũe, ina //karae, ina thamsa !kaib ab u:e. ina danis /kwa ≠gobe.

ina /kamsa //gammi ha ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx$^{\ell}$aie. ina /kũ /kũe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The ***//nãib*** root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " ***Travels.***" II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name ***moer-wortel***. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " dregs " (***moer***) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named ***haap*** or " haarwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by ***Tabab***. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The ***//nãib*** was described by ***Tabab*** as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (***Africanderisms,***) the ***Mesembryanthemum Mill*** is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The ***//hu:s***. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (***Aus Namaland und Kalahari***, p. 313-315). The

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not forgiven him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower-garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-beer (ǃkharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ǂǁNaiχab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will certainly return home, and they say, "ǁGaunabi ge dahe hã," we are overpowered by ǁGauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ǁõ ge ni," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (huri-ǂoab) is blowing,

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[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it *χao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta· bagab. Wild hemp, da· ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ǂnuni· //ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa/rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu· b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (ǂna/o· b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani· b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called */ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and *tsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [136] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, *!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles. For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Orcotragus saltator (Layard)] skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have collected there. 415 281

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, ǂkʗa·bis, to store tobacco. A pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the stuffing (/kʗaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap of hair. 415 276

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces (/kʗa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in most sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the outside surface of the shoe sole (//haʃbo·b, also means shoe). It is to be assumed that sandals, /kʗabu·s, were the original foot wear of the Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally wear. 294 [291 177]

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is made into a large water bag, !gaʃba·b. The left front leg of a freshly killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening. Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the 415 281

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nõǂti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kχõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõ/ns (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !haǂi-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /ui!k‡ob, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha- bes.

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available.

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1]

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

[1] [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see cat. 116, p. 62(B). -Ananlyst]

1: Schultze--62A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f a serpentine pipe of European design.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

262 [761]

and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

276 824

As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

272

[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, "Berigt aan... Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, "Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96–7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, II, 40.
[5] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.
[6] "The Nama," 129.

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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[2] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104-5; Alberdis, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[2] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-narcotic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ovata. – Ann Lyst]

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585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women —but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

591 606 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

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fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of *!nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever *!gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 94.

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224 554 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the [514] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." [276] The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his [301] body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best [634] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. [262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was [574] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128–9.

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To what extent specialization enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialized activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognized practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowob*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wandres's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Angra Pequna*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119–20.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
● 276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of
411 serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Iqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 752 patient. On the spot where a snake has lived for many years, the Natives say, a slimy patch develops that is almost cement like. This is used as an antidote for all poisonous bites, and is also given to dying people.

Abstract of Hottentot Herbal.

278 In discussing the various herbs used by the Hottentot medicine man, the following plan has been adopted:—

The Nama name is first given for the purposes of reference, then, in some cases, reference by travellers or other observers, and when modern uses are discussed the Nama name (if known), the Afrikaanse name and the scientific name are given.

Medicines.

Kanna. Kanna is a Salsola, of which there are several species. Graevenbroeck mentions that it was used similarly to hemp, and that the leaves were roasted in ashes and used as food. Paterson states that a certain district around the Kromme River was called Channa by the Hottentots because of the quantity of the plant which grew there.

Namaquas in 1662 accepted presents from the Dutch, and in return gave fat-tailed sheep and Kanna, which the Commander pronounced to be similar to the Chinese Ginseng. The Cape root was scarce and was considered valuable, and possibly is the channa mentioned by the traveller Paterson in 1779. During the early days of the settlement at the Cape, a Hottentot would perform any task willingly if he knew that the reward was to be a piece of kanna. It would appear that certain of these 278 writers confuse the root ningin or kanna with kaawgoed, the ● 276 leaves of a Mesembryanthemum, because they described properties which are certainly those of the latter. It was chewed and retained in the mouth for a while, when their spirits would rise, eyes brighten, and faces take on a jovial air, and they would commence to dance. But if indulged in to excess it robbed them of their senses and they became intoxicated.

278 Kauwgoed, *Mesembryanthemum tortuosum*. Leaves chewed for toothache and pains in the stomach. Has a strong narcotic effect due to alkaloid, mesembrine. Will make a child sleep. Used to-day for sand in horses.

Slaai, *Mesembryanthemum Crystallinum*, Nama N/nhoo or N/nghoop, is used for taking hair off skins, and is still in use among farmers.

[276] Karremoer, *Mesembryanthemum stellatum*. One of the beer making roots, a deliriant and intoxicant with an earlier stimulant action.

278 Krampsiekbosch, *Cotyledon Walchii* or *Lessertia annularis*. 757 Stem is pounded and used for poultices on abscesses after spine and bark have been removed. When dry has somewhat the appearance of ginseng.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 757 [276] leaves is used for pains in the eyes. Its growth for commerce is now prohibited by law. It is still used with tobacco for smoking. A decoction of seeds boiled and allowed to stand is used for bronchitis and headaches.

Kraalbosch, D/kooi dabee, Kraal bosch, *Galenia africana*, is chewed for toothache in small quantities. If too much is used it blisters the mucous membrane of the mouth. This bush is now used in a mixture in decoction with Aister bosch for toothache and also for venereal disease.

Sages. Aromatic sage, Afrikaanse Salie. Blaauwblom, *Salvia africana* and *Salvia paniculata*. Geelblom or strand salie (sand salie), *Salvia aurea*. Decoction of leaves used for coughs and colds and also for women's troubles Wittle blom. *Nuxia congesta*. Salie prout. Leaves resemble those of a sage. *Buddleia salvifolia*. *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*.

Stink sali, (small grey whitish leaves), dried leaves used in decoction for common colds and externally as a lotion for sores. Berg salie, or mountain sage, green or dried leaves in decoction for coughs and colds, is evidently an expectorant, as it is stated it makes the cough ripe. Also used in decoction for washing sores. To-day these salies are used in combination with Katakruie and plein hout and vaal bosch for fevers, such as measles.

Wild olives are used to make diaphoretic mixtures, or sweating draughts. One species, named in Nama, P/koem, is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and also the leaves are used as a plaster. The most prized is the sand olein houd, the Nama D/koubi, a decoction of the leaves of which is adminstered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid.

Klein koorts bosch, little fever bush, *Grassula lycopodioides* L. is used in decoction as a diaphoretic.

[844] Taaibosch, L/ or P/guara, *Rhus* sp. or *Rhus undulata* Jacq. The leaves of this plant are boiled and the liquor given for the troubles which arise after parturition. Of the two species of bush, long and short, the latter is preferred.

Vogelent, *Viscum capense* Lin. Nama Aie L/ kwoe, a Taaibosch parasite, is used as an emmenagogue. Barend uses it for amenorrhea, mixed with P/au, wild celery. By the Cape Boers it is used for epilepsy, chorea, and diarrhoea.

757 844 278 L/aiser, a bush not identified, is used in decoction for puerperal fever. It is strongly purgative, and as the Native doctor says: "works the fire out of the stomach." It is never used for the young, but only for adult women. One informant states particularly it is used, when the patient is delirious, to "work it out."

Faierrank, Nautsi amma (Nama), a red tipped faier rank, *Mesembrianthemum edule* or *acinaciforme*, is used for delayed labour, or retained after-birth. It is stamped and given as a pulp.

‡ [i.e. Dagga leaves — Analyst]

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NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

619 [131] 574 [533 534] [276]

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9). [191] 619 177 144

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

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000 den overste van de *Chainouquas* daer eenige beesten en schapen quamen verhandelen, gaende aenstonts weder met hem naer hunne woonplaetsen.

De *Heusaquas* zijn vee-rijk: dan deze alleen erneren zich ook met 't planten (want geen onder al de daer te lande gevonden Hottentots planten of zaien, dan alleen de *Heusaquas,*) van zekeren krachtigen wortel, dien zy *dacha* noemen, en eten om dronken te worden; hoewel zy den zelven bywijlen ook met water mengen, om te drinken. Wanneer het eten en drinken des wortels *dacha* hen de hersenen bedwelmt en bevangen heeft, stellen zy zich, met het bedrijven van vreemde grepen en wonderlijke grillen, als dolle en uitzinnige menschen aen; onder welk krioel en gewoel, de vrouwen komen, en zeker fijn geklopt en gewreven kruit, genaemt *boggoa*, op hun hooft stroien. Dit kruit, dat geel en sterk-riekend is, wast op het hoogh geberghte, met klompen of klaeuwen aen de klippen, in groten overvloet, en wort van de mans opgezocht, en van de vrouwen bereit.

Ontrent de *Heusaquas* leggen de vee en volkrijke *Hankumquas,* doch zijn noit by d'onzen aen het Fort geweest.

De *Heusaquas* zijn byzonder vaerdigh met jonge en oude leeuwen om te gaen, die zy in strikken weten te vangen, en te temmen, met een bant aen den hals, als een hont. Zy trekken ook wel met leeuwen, die zy lang gehad, en heel tam gemaekt hebben, ten oorloge, en kunnen daer mee den vyant, zonder moet van eenige tegenstant te bieden, in de route op de vlucht drijven; 't geen velen vremt wil voorkomen, en echter in 'er daet onder hen gepleeght wort.

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276 [53]) *Leonotis leonurus*, whose leaves are still smoked by the S.A. natives like those of Indian hemp, producing a similar stupefying effect. Dapper is wrong in stating that the Hessequa cultivated this plant. Van Riebeeck terms them "regular dagga makers of the Hancumquas" (Sept. 27, 1660), but says of the latter (from hearsay evidence also) that "they plant and dry a certain plant *dacha*, which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242; cf. D., Dec. 16, 1661). Maingard, after discussing all the evidence, concludes that these Hottentots never *cultivated* dagga, but that they traded in it, which probably gave rise to the legend (*op. cit.*, 493).

302 [54]) More correctly *buchu*, a common name to this day in S. Africa for various species of *Barosma* and *Diosma*, much used by natives as a sweet-smelling powder.

619 [55]) First mentioned, as Chancumqua, in the list of tribes given by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657), supplemented later by the statement that they cultivated dagga (D., June 21, 1658). Soeswa told van Riebeeck that the chief of these "Hamcumquas" was "the chief lord of all the Hottentoo tribes" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). All that

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[56]).

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was known of them in 1662 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 492). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

[56]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters desp., iii, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 320).

[64]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

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raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

INDUSTRY.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[73]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

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Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco; and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[39]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera, op. cit.*, 129 ff.

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repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.P.

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49) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

50) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

51) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203), was at least eight days.

52) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Annlyst]

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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [1]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [2]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [3]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a karosa, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [4]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

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000 pretio redimere potui. Quapropter falluntur & fallunt, qui se a mendacibus, & quae norunt, corde prementibus *Hottentottis* multa intellexisse jactant. *Colicam aromatica* quadam *radice* confestim curant. Subigunt & *Daturae* quandam speciem, ut opinor. *Dacha* vocant illi, quam accurate pinsunt, pistam, conglobatam & exsiccatam comedunt (ut plerique *Muhamedanorum* Amsion sive *opium*) eoque enormiter inebriantur. Recens natorum infantium *umbilicalia* rasa pressura ligant, non resecant, tandem sponte decidentia. Singula haec a quadam *Hottentottica* accepi, ab aliis praeter ea nihil rescire potens.

CAP. XXVII.

De Lingua eorundem.

Si quis eos loquentes auscultet, reviviscere *Pythagoras* aevum diserit, in quo aves mutuo sermonis consortio polluisse fingebantur. Quippe revera [1]) *stridor* non vox est, si *Hottentottorum* expressionem expendas: nam quodvis vocabulum stridulo linguae (sonoro applicita* palato) clangore finitur. Hinc haud perperam quis opinetur, hanc linguae ad palatum crepitationem vocalium vim exprimere, caeteras autem vocum copulas ex alto pectore producunt, pleraque orbiculatis labiis pronunciantes. Adeo ut cum aliis gentibus omni orationis commercio careant; neque ex tanto temporis intervallo e nostratibus repertus sit aliquis, qui perfecte cum ipsis colloqui potuerit: nisi illi, qui dudum prope *fortalitium* vitam transegere, nostratibus se accommodent, plurima *Belgica* vocabula, sola terminatione diversa callentes. Omnia ferme finiunt in *Kom*, ut tabaghkom, tabacum, kortom, portiuncula, korom, audire, &c.

[1]) Jul. de Allantibus Plin. Ridem.
* *Applicitae*. B.F.

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757 278 [**]) The Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use decoctions of *Eriocephalus Umbellulatus* or of the powdered and boiled root of *Hegeria pallens* for this purpose (Schapera, op. cit., 411).

● 276 [***]) On *dagga* (the leaves of *Leonotis leonurus*), see above, p. 48.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselvs. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabagkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[56]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 264, 282).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[44]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?). S 428

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge. H 291 H [554]

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable. H 302 H [824]

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do optum and the Egyptians ostum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them. H 276

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to daughters" (Molsbergen, III, 68). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property allotted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72). S 428

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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000 Eodem in usu pretioque ipsis herba Cannah, forte nostratium cannabis, cujus semina dicerem non multum abhorrere ab illis, quae aliquando Mantuae Carpetanorum in sartagine cum pipere, oleo et sale frixa (canamones Hispanis dicta) degustavi.

Animalium terrestrium, volucrium et aequatilium, tam domesticorum quam silvestrium immensus, tanquam vivario et ad prodigium numerus, et omnium instar hoc specimen habeas, quod ultrà mille elephantes quandoque gregatim pascantur, quorum aliqui tantae vastitatis, ut alterum eorum dentem (meo calculo cornu) triginta supra centum librarum pondere viderim: nec minor serpentium, amphibiorum, et insectorum multitudo, quorum genera ut plurimum in quatuor et plures species se spargentia, easdemque maximam partem nostratibus ignotas, omnibusque scriptoribus incognitas, attonitus animadverti, et ne à fide abhorrentia narrare videar, sciias eadem mihi assiduos testes retulisse, et inter caetera visas ipsis pascentes belluas, capite equo similes, oblongo collo, brevi caudâ, reliquis vero corporis partibus elephantem referentes adaequantesque, incredibilis penè perniciitatis, adeoque cicures ut manuefactas crederes; porrò ex ore nonnullorum haud spernendae fidei accepi, vivos sibi monocerotes equo statura omnibusque membris simillimos in fronte cornu brachii longitudine et crassitie gestantes ferocissimos: alii quorum fides non vacillat narrant dari illic bicornes equos paris ferocitatis et formâ egregios: nonnulli praetendunt se vidisse insignes arduosque silvestres equos catervatim pascentes, et inter illos quosdam nive candidiores, alios carbone nigriores, nonnullos albos, sed jubâ caudâque nigrâ, et vice versâ, quosdam atros, caudâ jubâque candidos, omnes Astutconibus praestantiores, quos ob velocitatem Pegasos diceres: Onagrum non minoris pernicitatis et spectatae pulchritudinis fasciis albis nigrisque ducrum digitorum latitudine alternatim per totum corpus, ab auribus usque ad caudam et linge tales affabrè variatura

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276 222 [1]) Cowa or Gowa is identified by Marloth (*Common Names of Plants*, 30) as "several species of *Salsola*". Reference is made to the Hottentot use of it in the notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's expedition to Namaqualand. "They

10: Grevenbroek F-9 (ca. 1694) 1933
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They use for the same purpose and hold in equal esteem the Canna plant, which is perhaps our hemp.[44] The seeds of it do not seem very different from those which I once ate in Madrid, fried in the pan with pepper, oil and salt, and called canamones by the Spaniards.

S H 136

The number of animals here of earth, air, and water, and both domestic and wild, is so prodigious that it is like living in a zoo. Let one example serve for all: more than a thousand elephants sometimes feed together in a herd, and some of them are of such a size that I have seen a single tooth (I should rather call it a horn) that weighed more than one hundred and thirty pounds. The number of snakes, amphibians, and insects is just as great. Each class of them splits up as a rule into four or more species, and these, I am astonished to perceive, are for the most part unknown to the Europeans and unrecognized in the writings of all naturalists. I do not want you to suppose that I am straying from the truth; you must know therefore that the most careful observers have reported the above facts to me, and have told me among other things that they have seen creatures grazing with horses' heads, long necks, short tails, like elephants in the rest of their parts and as big, of an almost incredible swiftness, and at the same time so little shy that they seemed domesticated. I have also heard credible witnesses state that they have seen ferocious unicorns as big as horses and like them in every limb, with a horn on the forehead as long and as thick as your arm. Others, of unimpeachable veracity, say that there are horses here with two horns, equally ferocious and of exquisite beauty. Some profess to have seen fine tall wild horses feeding in herds, and among them some fairer than snow, others darker than coal, some white with black mane and tail, and vice versa, some black with white mane and tail, all of them outclassing the Asturian breed and each a Pegasus in swiftness. I have seen with wonder a zebra of no less speed and rare beauty, artistically striped over his whole body from his ears to his tail and down his legs to the pastern with alternate bands of black and white two fingers thick. It was only in the size of his

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generally chew a certain herb called cannat. They pound it root and stem together between stones and store and preserve it in bags made of sheepskin. In October, when we were approaching the Copper Mountain, everybody was gathering this herb on the surrounding mountains as a supply for the whole year. They use it as the natives of India use betel or areca. They chew both stem and root almost all day and become thereby intoxicated, so that on account of this effect and its pleasant smell and stimulating taste, one may safely expect some advantage from its workings" (Walcherouw, 183, 185).

H 276 222

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) *omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) *!ga-/marib- (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ǂha-bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)*/kʊu-bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called */a-miǂai-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na-ranin from the gourd fruit !na-rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222 [342] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [627]

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Omam! gaub.
1/2 natural size

the "Ostrich foot."
2/3 natural size

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously. 752

[213] To the west of !Hoaɣa!nas, in the border territory of the Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded barelegged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there. 757

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls ˢtsu'itso/a·b, or more frequently calls fi·lsib, borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /kɣanis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called ˢ//hã/b), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water. [164] [178]

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with fingernails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scabs, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired. [753]

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Fotzenfuss," *ǂnũigyeǂai·bes, or pea-foot, *ǂai·!naro·s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhõ͡ãs, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound. 757 [278]

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called *a·ragyetsĩ·bes, i.e. "curling toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa·bagu, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and bast if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, uncleaned reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name */ha·/raǂgã/. [752 278]

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllum cardifolium L. f. (called *ǂnu/haĩb because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat. 757 278 752

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name !nu·/mgu.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds huts" (om, v.). 753

Splinting (/goe·) of a broken bone (*kxõa·s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely. 752

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth. 844

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A rosin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called */ho·ras, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */nunu·b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body. [278]

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily. [278] [753 826]

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */ho/abe·s). If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat. 846 278

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor 853

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" *ǂnuũhum*, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [841]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [777]

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, 845
bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward.

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less 757
clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The 278
use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning.

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, 757
either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. 278
He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing 825
ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties.

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kχo·ras, consists in the follow- 757
ing: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 278
1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have.

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[224] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake *≠no-/bo/ao-/s, 752
Scelotes capensis Gthr. is considered an infallible antidote for snake 825
bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni· //hui· b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [751] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gā aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind testing and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives. 757 278

The excrement of rock rabbits, *!aũ· /aru· b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

1: Schultze--43A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr.,
1/2 natural size.

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] *!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the *!garisab plant, *

> *When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [128]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called *!gu/bi·b or *xam≠kxa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in [562] the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all *over with fat, then laid on the ground,* [278] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 217–23; Schinz, op. cit., 97; von François, op. cit., 214–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

states that the head of the joint was tied up with sinew, and cut through below, the sticky juice of certain leaves and other herbs then being applied to the raw surface.

For relatively localized pains the universal remedy is bleeding, either by venesection with bandaging or by cupping. In the former case, as described by Kolb, a thong is tied round the limb and the vein cut open below it. When enough blood has been drawn off, the incision is closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Cupping, apart from its use in the */nau* ceremonies and diseases, is specially employed for stiffness and pains in the limbs, in order to hinder their swelling, for colics and pains in the stomach, and also, according to Laidler, for the relief of madness and epilepsy. The cupping horn is a carefully-prepared tip of calf or goat horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is first applied dry, i.e. over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified, the horn pressed tightly over the bleeding cut, and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established, he bites the resin and so closes the aperture in it. The horn is then left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn.

Cures and antidotes for the bites and stings of the multitudinous snakes, spiders, and scorpions found in the country naturally play a large part in Hottentot medicine.[1] An "infallible" antidote for snake bite is the dried body of the lizard *Scelaus capense Gthr.* Small deep cuts are made slightly above and below the bite, and cupped for about half an hour. Then a tiny fragment of the lizard's body is pressed into each cut and rubbed in with wood ashes. The bite itself is only washed with water. Snake poison itself may also be used as an antidote, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. Sometimes the "doctor" makes incisions over the bite, then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. Vegetable poultices are sometimes applied, or the crushed head of the snake may be used in the same way in case of snake bite, while similarly powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting, the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste. The patient at the same time is given

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 214-5; Laidler, op. cit., 438-40.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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752 278 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and fæces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff- [159] adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in this way are known as */ao/ga aon*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the */ap* diseases.

278 789 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, [823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, *op. cit.*, 418–9; Schultze, *loc. cit.*
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 322.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

treating lupus, and consequently known as */noni heip*, "lupus stick," must be treated with great deference. "When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not wholly disappear." [1]

Laidler has described at some length the herbal lore of the half-breed Naman of Little Namaqualand.[2] From the details he gives it appears that the principal ailments treated with herbs and roots are internal pains and fevers, classed together, he says, as "fires", and distinguished only by locality, certain women's troubles, flatulence as an entity, diarrhœa, and, among the accidental injuries, burns. In anæmias and weaknesses red substances are used, such as *Pelargonium anceps*, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are employed, several of his informants stated, because they are red, and the blood is red, and, therefore, they strengthen the blood; and, of course, when grown on red ground their value as drugs is increased enormously! All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. *Sutherlandia frutescens*, another red plant, was formerly used in decoction for washing wounds, and given as drink for fevers; nowadays it is used for consumption, chicken-pox, etc. *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, is considered a good poultice on bruises and cuts, and here again the colour appears to have been the chief attraction. Other decoctions for coughs and colds and fevers are made from the leaves of various Sages (*Salvia sp.*), as well as from the leaves of one species of wild olive, which are administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid. Other wild olives are used as sweating draughts, as is also *Grassula lycopodioides*.

Another species of wild olive is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and the leaves are also used as a plaster. Pains in the stomach are also treated with decoctions of *Eriocephalus umbellulatus*, or of the powdered and boiled root of *Reyena pallens*; pains in the back are treated with *Boscia foetida*; and shooting pains with *Passerina filiformis* or *Berkheya sp.* For toothache the people chew the alkaline

[1] "Conception of Illness among the Hottentots," 79.

[2] Op. cit., 434-5, 440-4; cf. for the Namas of L.W.A., Schultze, op. cit., 103 ff., Meinhof, op. cit., 63-9.

2: Schapera Z-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[757] [278] leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[845] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia resinifera* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus sp.* are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is */au /arub*, the condensed urine and faeces of the dassie (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "dassiepis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition [847] generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the action of the atmosphere, is given internally [752] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhœa is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanni*, pounded fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chiroma hæcijera*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Cynanchum capense Thun.* and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanni*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Cotyledon Wakkii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkheya sp.*, powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the same reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, that its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox is given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

Star Lore and Calendar

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and medicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or less directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the cares of everyday life, there is little trace of organized conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen are, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, and, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of season and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force the attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not discuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives a valuable detailed description.[1]

From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies for the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

[1] *Namaland and Kalahari*, 362–73.

which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //ghnab is mixed in with it. A chopper, *!ôp*, which has been heated red hot is then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man [a]— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins so that they perspire (*onaqa*). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potblack. Some informers say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

How long the widow remained !nau, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlieb and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would on no account take the path through the valuable !narus plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleansed from head to foot with ≠houp or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

[a] None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground hartse pips, goats' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with lucop, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the /drap, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "dolbe /aba", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaxaib.[A] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by Kabes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "*Xarî dama kaure ≠aba ≠abure*", "don't get thin, get fat like the ≠aba onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xarî dama kaure ≠aba ≠abure", and, filling the water pot, //ho-ts, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlieb gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and //abus* juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //gurib, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //gurib. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dabi and //ghnab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become !nau, and have to be dealt with similarly.

* * *

I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

* A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[A] [ie. A young marriageable woman. See cat. 46, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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757 argument, be a good." blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

754 The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; " there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P'goi° sup.

824 278 Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Columbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal leaders in the country is but small.

757 823 278 Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Bokuun's ear, the Kalkoen bloom. Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

[824 825]

759 278 824 Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of " scientific " and " sympathetic " lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

[104]

D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

"For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus :—

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Flaer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a T'gai sup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Xama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fever," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dacha," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D'aip jackal, and the ore bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of Kids) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

Massage.

757 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part,
755 with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common [P41] use, and is called P/hourse. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/hoo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation [P42] of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai sup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then
• [278] cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. One old Xama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at dismembering
232 any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently
142 referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentot, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Toxicology.

825 757 The snake stone has been a famous antidote in all countries. The South Africans imported them from India, but few farmers could afford to purchase this remedy because of the expense. Barrow examined specimens and pronounced them to be pieces of firm bone charred round the edges leaving a white speck in the centre. When thrown into water, a snake stone caused bubbles to rise and this test was a proof of genuineness. It adhered to the snake bite, sucked out the poison, and was cleansed by soaking in water which it turned blue. Country people believed that it was obtained from the head of a snake.

825 The snake stone of the Hottentot is quite a different matter, though it also is believed to be part of a snake. A young Richtersveldter gave this description: "I saw a snake's light. If you see it afar off it looks like a person's fire, but I know that there are no people there. Go nearer, and then it is seen that the light walks about. Then I keep away. I have heard that if a snake's hole be closed with earth that the snake then bites himself to death. Next day the snake stone is found in front of the hole where he dropped it when he went away."

Sam, two hundred miles south of the last informant, says that at night a twinkle is seen on the rocks, and that is a snake stone; and it is seen because the snake is away at the river. Then, to procure the snake stone it is necessary to keep a good look-out, and to approach cautiously with a handful of beast dung, which is to be thrown so that it puts out the light. Thereupon the absent snake becomes blind and cannot see, and can only creep aimlessly to and fro. Next day the dung is picked up and the snake stone, which is the snake's strength, taken away. He is ordinarily a strong-tempered fellow, but after losing his stone he becomes weak, and cannot sit up to bite. The stone is used by the Natives together with bush medicines for poisonous swellings. Probably it is one of the numerous quartz crystals, loose or embedded in the rocks, which occur in profusion all over Namaqualand, and that reflect light at evening time.

● 278 759 Jacob Klaas, whose father was a full-blooded Nama, is the Poison Doctor for the Northern portion of Namaqualand. He learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been taught by his father. He states that a boy must be strong to begin with, that is, he must have a good constitution. His father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, and into them rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom that contained several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery." This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until the size of a pin's head was reached. Though now about forty years old, Jacob still takes his daily dose. The only venom

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 759

not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

752

The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

[224] 278 752

Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to congeal the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipsweet or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

825 136

The gecko lizard, the D/ung D/ung, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

278 752

Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor head cloths.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kaberro, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In each case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 752 patient. On the spot where a snake has lived for many years, the Natives say, a slimy patch develops that is almost cement like. This is used as an antidote for all poisonous bites, and is also given to dying people.

Abstract of Hottentot Herbal.

278 In discussing the various herbs used by the Hottentot medicine man, the following plan has been adopted:—

The Nama name is first given for the purposes of reference, then, in some cases, reference by travellers or other observers, and when modern uses are discussed the Nama name (if known), the Afrikaanse name and the scientific name are given.

Medicines.

Kanna. Kanna is a Salsola, of which there are several species. Graevenbroeck mentions that it was used similarly to hemp, and that the leaves were roasted in ashes and used as food. Paterson states that a certain district around the Kromme River was called Channa by the Hottentots because of the quantity of the plant which grew there.

Namaquas in 1662 accepted presents from the Dutch, and in return gave fat-tailed sheep and Kanna, which the Commander pronounced to be similar to the Chinese Ginseng. The Cape root was scarce and was considered valuable, and possibly is the channa mentioned by the traveller Paterson in 1779. During the early days of the settlement at the Cape, a Hottentot would perform any task willingly if he knew that the reward was to be a piece of kanna. It would appear that certain of these 278 writers confuse the root ungin or kanna with kaawgoed, the 276 leaves of a Mesembryanthemum, because they described properties which are certainly those of the latter. It was chewed and retained in the mouth for a while, when their spirits would rise, eyes brighten, and faces take on a jovial air, and they would commence to dance. But if indulged in to excess it robbed them of their senses and they became intoxicated.

278 Kaawgoed, *Mesembryanthemum tortuosum*. Leaves chewed for toothache and pains in the stomach. Has a strong narcotic effect due to alkaloid, mesembrine. Will make a child sleep. Used to-day for used in horses.

Sissi, *Mesembryanthemum Crystallinum*, Nama N/ubio or N/ughoop, is used for taking hair off skins, and is still in use among farmers.

[276] Kerremoer, *Mesembryanthemum stellatum*. One of the beer making roots, a deliriant and intoxicant with an earlier stimulant action.

278 757 Krampoiekbosch, *Cotyledon Welchii or Lexertia annularis*. Stem is pounded and used for poultices on abscesses after spine and bark have been removed. When dry has somewhat the appearance of ginseng.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Buchu barosma, Letulina. Nama Sab (Tyndale). P/nkaou (name given to writer). Two varieties known in Nama as D/nhora, D/khonaa or Haas buchu, and P/kabourie. Considered by Hottentot to possess great virtues in curing disorders, and rarer forms are valuable to the Native. In powder used for dusting, for fire and sunburns. Baby powder made of D/nhora kept in tortoise shell puff box, roasted with fat and dropped in ear for earache. Powder also mixed with C/ghoonabi, an acacia thorn sucker, and then considered a high class powder. The second rate powder used for babies was mixed with ground acacia thorn bark, and is named O/kai. D/nhora Buku is roasted with oil and fat, mixed with mother's milk and dropped into the ear for earache. P/nkaou is rare and valuable, and a thimbleful is worth from a sheep to an ox. It is obtained in mountainous districts and when used is pounded and tied in a cloth over which hot water is poured. Is this a method due to exercise of economy?

P/thun dancep, or sweet honey, a sticky soft-leaved sweet tasting plant, is also used for powder making.

The thorn tree sucker was put to many uses. The Bushmen used its ashes to blacken his face. To-day an oil not unlike cajuput is expressed and used for rheumatic troubles.

Xgboris or Xhous, which means "smells strong," is a plant so far not identified. The whole plant is ground up and strewed on dead bodies, and is also applied to the living body when it has an unpleasant odour. This powder is also used as a snuff to keep away the smell of the dead "so that it doesn't strike in."

Bitter Roots. Many roots are known to-day under the name of bitterbosch, or bitter wortle, that is, bitter bush or bitter root. The chief are the blue bush, *Rosyrus pallens*, *Xysmalobium undulatum* (*Asclepias crispa*?) and the Sand Bitter bosch, a tall bush found in the mountains. These are so much used by the present white population that the Afrikaanse name has quite ousted the Nama one. The blue-bush root is also known as the black root, the wonderful emetic-purgative. These roots are powdered and boiled, and the decoction is used for pains in the stomach; if used for diarrhoea, then the stems of the plant are included. The liquor so prepared is greenish in colour and is exceedingly bitter, with a *Nux vomica* type of bitterness.

Dagga. Two species are recognised: witte daggs, *Leonotis leonuris*; and klip daggs, *Leonotis ocstia*. Graevenbroeck mentions its use. The powdered leaves, he said, were made into a little cake no bigger than a Rijksdaler, a coin about the size of a modern shilling, which the Hottentots chewed, even as the Indians and Chinese chewed opium. In 1730 its use, mixed with tobacco introduced by the Europeans, is mentioned. A decoction of the roots is used for headaches and for bronchitis. An ointment made from raw fat and pulverised daggs

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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leaves is used for pains in the eyes. Its growth for commerce is now prohibited by law. It is still used with tobacco for smoking. A decoction of seeds boiled and allowed to stand is used for bronchitis and headaches.

Kraalbosch, D/koi debee, Kraal bosch, *Galenia africana*, is chewed for toothache in small quantities. If too much is used it blisters the mucous membrane of the mouth. This bush is now used in a mixture in decoction with Aister bosch for toothache and also for venereal disease.

Sages. Aromatic sage, Afrikaanse Salie. Blaauwblom, *Salvia africana* and *Salvia paniculata*. Geelblom or strand salie (sand salie), *Salvia aurea*. Decoction of leaves used for coughs and colds and also for women's troubles. Witte blom. *Nuxia congesta*. Salie prout. Leaves resemble those of a sage. *Buddleia salvifolia*. *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*.

Stink salie, (small grey whitish leaves), dried leaves used in decoction for common colds and externally as a lotion for sores. Berg salie, or mountain sage, green or dried leaves in decoction for coughs and colds, is evidently an expectorant, as it is stated it makes the cough ripe. Also used in decoction for washing sores. To-day these salies are used in combination with Kotakruie and plein hout and vaal bosch for fevers, such as measles.

Wild olives are used to make diaphoretic mixtures, or sweating draughts. One species, named in Namo, P/hoem, is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and also the leaves are used as a plaster. The most prized is the sand olein hout, the Namo D/koubi, a decoction of the leaves of which is administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid.

Klein koorts bosch, little fever bush, *Grewia lycopodioides* L. is used in decoction as a diaphoretic.

Taaibosch, L/ or P/guere, *Rhus* sp. or *Rhus undulata* Jacq. The leaves of this plant are boiled and the liquor given for the troubles which arise after parturition. Of the two species of bush, long and short, the latter is preferred.

Vogelnest, *Viscum capense* Lin. Namo Aie L/ kwee, a Taaibosch parasite, is used as an emmenagogue. Bavenel uses it *for* amenorrhœa, mixed with P/ee, wild celery. By the Cape Boers it is used for epilepsy, chorea, and diarrhœa.

L/oiser, a bush not identified, is used in decoction for puerperal fever. It is strongly purgative, and as the Native doctor says: "works the fire out of the stomach." It is never used for the young, but only for adult women. One informant states particularly it is used, when the patient is delirious, to "work it out."

Paierrenk, Nootai amma (Namo), a red tipped faier renk, *Mesembrianthemum edule* or *sericiflorum*, is used for delayed labour, or retained after-birth. It is stamped and given as a pulp.

[i.e. Dagga leaves — Analyst.]

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Hookiedoorn, P/ahbi, is also an emmenagogue.

P/ngooma, a thorn bush, *Sarcocaulon* sp., pounded whole and boiled, is a successful abortifacient according to many. Barrow says that it is exceedingly good, but that he uses it only for parturient troubles in sheep. Klip melk bosch, *Euphorbia restituta*, given for tedious labours. When the treatment is continued for two or three days it "helps and strengthens."

Roode rabassam. Pappe, in his "*Flora Capensis*," mentions two Pelargoniums that are used medicinally in the Cape and Namaqualand, *Pelargonium antidysentericum*, in Nama D/kanie, which is boiled in milk and used as an astringent, and *P. cucullatum*, known to the Coloured and Afrikanders as *Roode rabassam* and used by the Cape Malays to produce abortion or for helping on a confinement. In Namaqualand this is known as rabass, which appears to be the original Nama name for it, or a corruption. The Afrikander names it rooi wortle or rooi stamm. It is used for anaemias and weaknesses and repeated doses are given during fevers. The Boer uses it boiled or "set op brandywijn." Bavian's oor, Boboon's oor, Boi (Nama), *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, used as a cold poultice on bruises and cuts, is considered good. The colour in each case appears to have been the chief attraction.

Kalkoen blom, or turkey flower, *Sutherlandia frutescens*, was used in decoction for washing wounds and given as drink for fevers. To-day it is used for consumption, chicken pox, etc. Boxi rainkie leaves, red again, are used as a poultice when thorns have pierced the foot, a common occurrence in a country covered with *Acacia horrida*.

Stinkbosch, *Nymania capensis* was, and is, given for convulsions. Stink bosch, Ou meide's bosch, or Old Woman's bush. P/kabou, *Boscia foetida*, is possibly used as an emmenagogue, but mainly, as far as I can gather, as a decoction for pains in the back. There are a large number of aromatic bushes in the African veld, and many of these, in fact most, are in use, or have at some time past been used medicinally.

Rosemary, Nama name not identified, *Eriocephalus umbellulatus*, is used in decoction for pain in the stomach.

Stinkkruit, is used in decoction for stomach pains, in cases of scorpion sting, pounded, moistened and applied cold as a plaster.

D/khammie or P/thoogma, "something that grows near water," aromatic thyme, used as a tea, as a *diaphoretic*.

The common fire bush, L/narou, so named because of its domestic use, combines the characteristics of aroma with redness of its small thick, juicy, finger-like leaves, which are chewed for pain in the stomach.

Kattendoorn, or cat thorn, D/nouoro, and the use of its roots in decoction in wasting diseases, has already been mentioned. It is probably a modern application of the ancient principles of sympathetic medicine.

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Quickgrass, P/arre, which has jointed roots of tremendous length, is used in decoction for coughs.

Baboon rope, P/nyra sooriep, a species of liana, is burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms. Several of the modern herbalists use it in decoction for boils, administered internally, as also they use the smaller climber, bakker bosch, *Cynanchum capense*, Thun. *Passerina filiformis*, P/tou, which when lighted disappears in a blaze of flame, whence its usefulness to the baker after whom it is named, is used in decoction for shooting pains.

Suitduisel, *Berkheya* sp. a holly-like little bush about three feet high that grows near rivers and springs, is used in decoction for the same ailment. Sam uses it in powder as a plaster for burns and boils.

Candle bush, *Sarcocaula Burmanae*, a smaller variety *Patersonii*, is gathered, pounded fine, and used as an astringent for diarrhoea. Because of its laborious method of preparation it is named D/nou D/nou, which Sam translates as "work-work," but which is evidently an onomatopoetic word representing the sound of the stamping. The root is ground fine and used as a poultice, which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster.

Gums and resins are used to only a small extent.

Heyra, the exudation of the acacia tree, is used as a food, and when boiled with fat as a salve for whitlows and boils. Possibly the ease with which the tree exudes this substance was the starting point of this use.

Scaap rapeyce, D/ta dou, a resin greener than the others, is eaten by animals, but not used much by man.

D/Goonu, the resin of several species of Euryops, is gathered in the sands of Bushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath: this is the reason that it is thought most of. It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used. The stems of this plant when old are reddish and inflammable, even in wet weather.

PURGATIVES.

Purgatives are in great request. P/gameroo, a whitish aloe with flat, green leaves not unlike those of the pumpkin, is cut and boiled, and the liquor is used as emetic and purgative, in stomach complaints.

Kraalbosch, D/nareeree; *Roepera hirsuta* L.; wild gentian, known as the Ambiaer bosch, or pills bush, *Chironia baccifera*, of the decoction of which two mouthfuls is an efficient dose, have a rapid effect. It is also used in decoction for boils.

SNUFFS.

As well as snuffs to drive out the infection of death there were snuffs that cured headaches.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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White Kafir-wood. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is snuffed for flatulence, and is a very pungent snuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter.

Witte vergeit, a white chicory-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Barend declares that this is "first class" for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of "driving out" by means of an explosive sneeze.

POULTICES.

Plasters and poultices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether cow-dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C'koos P'naboo, veldschoon blaar or field shoes leaf, a large soft sole-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. P'nums ghana has been mentioned. D'nou D'nou was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is peppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of bushes contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopœia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern goat-dung poultice is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, warm and ready to hand of selected bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such poultices have been applied by white people for pneumonia, appendicitis, peritonitis, and innumerable other complaints. For who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigine? And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a goat or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many "Bush things and strong things" that his stomach contents must be very good medicine.

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

L'oes uru. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists, is dassiepis, L'nus uru, or D'geous, the inspissated urine and faeces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the clefts and crannies inhabited by them. Boiled and strained the liquor is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of Dassiepis acted upon by the atmosphere, which gradually removes all the organic matter, form a dark pitch-like mass, the dassiepis of commerce, which

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 757 625 gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

278 757 [894 897] Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

[826] Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

757 171 Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1913. 82, among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

752 278 C/ngomo, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

278 757 The Kanker beetle, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Hereros uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much prized remedy is cubae C/naroep, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guasp. *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluitjies-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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the poison of wild animals or of weapons. If they are wounded they beat the injured part with a stick until it is deprived of feeling, then they scarify it, and then suck so vigorously that the skin almost comes off with the blood.[1]) This method of cure, however, (which Severinus* compares with his own effective surgery) differs, according to the various poisons, both in the length of time for which the beating must be carried on and in the efficacy of the sucking. The scorpion, for instance, does not leave the traces of his poison so deep as the millipede. Indeed the scorpion in these parts is not so poisonous. If you press his tail hard a little above the sting, he gradually emits a clear little drop on the barbed end of the sting, unless he happens to have struck a little time before. He is but little more injurious than our bees at home; he is slow in recovering the force of his poison; one that is stung by him thinks that he has got a knock from a stone. But the millipede with burning ferocity presses his poison home. Of the vipers we have spoken above. 752

If the wound is a bad one, they cut away the slightest sign of gangrene with the sharp points of their weapons, and if it has spread far, they remove the whole of the infected part. All bruises they treat by anointing them either with sheep's or cow fat, for they know no other kind of unguent, then by scarifying them, and finally by vigorous sucking, so that the blood and the skin are removed. They get rid of rheumatism in the same way, the only difference being that they expose the part anointed with fat to the fire, in order that, if the affected parts are plump, they may by roasting the flesh drive the rheumatism out. Immediately on toasting the part they fall to at the sucking. 757

Apart from this they know a very few vegetable remedies, but choice ones; and, as I have said, these cannot be got from them for love or money. Accordingly we must suppose those persons to be themselves deceived or to be deceiving 757 278

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on the foot small incisions were made as the suppers are accustomed to do; the foot itself was placed in hot cowdung. A man and a woman were sucking the blood from the cuts, spitting it out on the cowdung, and pulling away as heartily as a child at its mother's breast." Ten Rhyne's description of the Hottentot medical practices is on the whole borne out by Grevenbroek and other reliable authorities.

* Marcus Aurelius Severinus (1580-1656), an Italian physician, was the author of numerous works on medical subjects.

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gentio redimere potui. Quapropter fallunter & fallunt, qui se a mendacibus, & quae norunt, corde prementibus *Hottentottis* multa intellexisse jactant. Collum *aromatico* quadam *radice* confestim curant. Subigunt & *Daturae* quandam speciem, ut opinor, *Dacha* vocant illi, quam accurate pinsunt, pistam, conglobatam & exsiccatam comedunt (ut plerique *Mahumedanorum* Amsion sive opium) eoque enormiter inebriantur. Recens natorum infantium umbilicalia usque pressius ligant, non resecant, tandem sponte decidentia. Singula haec a quadam *Hottentottica* accepi, ab alia praeter ea nihil rescire potens.

CAP. XXVII.

De Lingua eorundem.

Si quis eos loquentes auscultet, reviviscere *Pythagorae* sermum diceret, in quo aves mutuo sermonis consortio pellucidae fingebantur. Quippe revera[1] *stridor* non vox est, si *Hottentottorum* expressionem expendas: nam quodvis vocabulum stridulo linguae (sonoro applicita' palato) clangore finitur. Hinc haud perperam quis opinetur, hanc linguae ad palatum crepitationem vocalium vim exprimere, caeterus autem vocum copulas ex alio pectore proferunt, plerasque orbiculatis labiis pronunciantes. Adeo ut cum aliis gentibus omni orationis commercio careant; neque ex tanto temporis intervallo e *nostratibus* reperius sit aliquis, qui perfecte cum ipsis colloqui potuerit: nisi illi, qui dudum prope *turicidiam* vitam transegere, nostratibus se commendarent, plurima *Belgica* vocabula, sola terminatione diversa callentes. Omnia ferme finiunt in *Kom*, ut tabaghkom, tabacum, kortom, portiuncula, horom, audire, &c.

[1] Jul. de Alicarnasseus Phr. Isidem.
[2] *Appiunior.* B.P.

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[1] The *Hottentots* of Little Namaqualand use decoctions of *Brunsvigia* Undulatulata or of the powdered and boiled root of *Eugenia pallens* for this purpose (Schapera, op. cit., 411).
[2] On dagga (the leaves of *leonotis leonurus*), see above, p. 48.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselves. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[*]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[**]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amaion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[**]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in -kom: as tabakkom, tobacco; kaetjom, a little piece; kaetom, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[*]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the body to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 264, 262).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot
Nama

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.**) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean. 752

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bocku powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bocku, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.**) 757 782 [824] [579]

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day**). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below. 824 278 821

**) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Hama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Howitt, *Harvard African Studies*, II, 77-9; *cf.* Schapera, 468-9, 230 f.).

**) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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Vulnus herbarum succo per syphonem ei immisso, aut earundem foliis, aut bulborum quorundam tunicis, etiam insulso butyro seboque obligatum curant, saepiusque urinâ ferventi, et in dimidiam sui partem decoctâ abluunt; si quem venenatum animal pupugit vel momordit, aut si quis virulentis armis laesus, protinus ejus crus, pedem aut brachium supra subtusque plagam vinciunt, morâ, fasciâ, aut loris arctiusmè aliendae sanguinis circulationi, et ne virus per venas latius serpat constringunt, varieque incisionibus cultro aut spinis circum vulnus rectâ descendenti non transversâ linea per cutem factis, continuò vir aut mulier sacrarii, ore quo plagae admoto, virus omne exsugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope medica praestantius? quid hac fide majus? quid hoc alexipharmaco salubrius?

Cupido scindi confectionem Butyri dicam. Ulcera lanâ introrsum versâ lacte propensedum complent, loraque ejus orificium constringunt, quem dextrâ laevaque, et utraque extremitate sublatum, ultrà citràque divaricatis cruribus alacres commovent, quassant et convellunt, donec cremor in butyrum congelatus concretusque sit.

Si forte contingit contra haec remedia malum ingravescere, illico insectantur viperam, anguem aut serpentem qualemcunque obvium, quem necatum apud nostrum ferunt, aperiuque effractoque ejus ore, omne virus ei adimunt, quod duabus vesicula quantum vel avellana capaces, ori albumini assimile, in utraque maxilla juxta dentes sitam, qui morsu inflat hominum bestiarumve corpori, per furamen, quo victorum ab virus reserpserunt, omnem illud vulneri inspirant: hae vesiculae cum aliquot serpentinibus alliisque bestiis simul mistas et elixas cum vaccino lacte, tanquam sacram antiquorum aegro pro potione medica dant, adhibentes malo huic modo malum remedium, serpiusque hoc clavo clavum feliciter pellunt: ultimoque serpentem totum quantum candentibus carbonibus brizatum in pulvericulum lapidibus commolunt, quo saepiùs corpus, praecipuè vulnera perfricant, hocque medicamentum usu exploratissimum.

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752. **) cf. Ten Rhyne's description, p. 149 f. above.
237 **) See above, p. 138.

752 ***) The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion
635 as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom
278 diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

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They treat wounds by introducing into them through a pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the leaves of plants or the coats of certain bulbs, using also annealed butter and lard. They also wash the wound with the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal, or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading along the veins; then they make various incisions in the skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not across but in descending straight lines; then immediately a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and sucks all the poison out[*]). O noble deed! What could be better than this medical aid? Where shall we find greater loyalty? What more effective antidote exists?

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If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart, and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been massed and hardened into butter[**]).

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If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in them the poison they drew from the glands nearby. It is these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons, boil in curdy milk, and administer to the sick man as a last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the toughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded man, especially the wounds[**]). Experience has shown them the great worth of this remedy.

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[*]) Snippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. Schapera, op. cit., 466. G's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough.

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1: Schultze--14A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

415
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●281

[p187]

Butter calabash, encircled with hide.
1/5 natural size.

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !hafs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 28/

1. Tanning, /no-ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [46]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (ǂ/a-mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [128]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũ) with a piece of tanning stone (ǂ/goms) the size of one's fist. [303]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no-ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (ǂaxi, probably borrowed). Then [129] the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles [398] wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth.

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, 28/ ǂgo'a-n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, 352. springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo'a-s. ǂgo'a-b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews.

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna-mti, made from sheep, jackal, 28/ Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur 291 cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X,). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by [177] European clothing.

γ) The front apron *(!ga/e-b, 3. sf.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//k!b-nogu, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hũ/am/hoas, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail.

δ) The back apron (!gũ/i) of the girls (also specially called /gũ-/hes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The hat is called ũ-mi!gũ-/hes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman.

ε) All the fur caps, /gobasi, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 90 [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Ahs Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[238] ζ) The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ a/hõ s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis).

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin.

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hõ/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.]

L: Schultze--SIB M-6 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[illegible]

Cap made from the back skin of the Aardwolf. 1/6 natural size.

/hã/a//hã/a. 1/5 natural size.

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari-, vb.). Further
preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for
oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ-b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag
Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular
outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and
has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the
irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is
about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles
[Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the
spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an
overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and
weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like
a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick
is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and
round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin
that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly
twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls
out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again
in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed
with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap
is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox
straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the
Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [71]
Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the
same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã-gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba-b is
cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 294
/a-bib)* in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls.
1/4 natural size.]

*One has tried to connect the word /a-bib, 196
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

1: Schultze--SSA N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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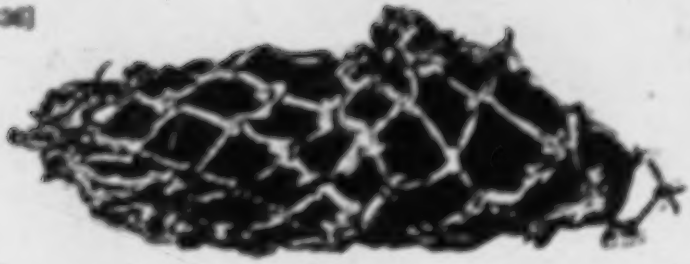
[236]



Net bag knotted from skin strips.
1/7 natural size.

Twisting the ox straps.

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles. For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Oreotragus saltator (Layard)] skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, /kʔa-bis, to store tobacco. A pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the stuffing (/kʔaũi) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces (/kʔa-na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in moist sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the outside surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo-b, also means shoe). It is to be assumed that sandals, /kʔabu-s, were the original foot wear of the Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is made into a large water bag, !ga/ba-b. The left front leg of a freshly killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening. Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (s) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hôti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro //hâ/r*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

4: Schultze--SSA N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hammond FX13
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Woman's shoe.
1/4 natural size.

The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (s) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. Cf. next figure.)

Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

1: Schultze--SGB N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Traveling knapsack made from a goat's skin.
1/6 natural size.

Small household knapsack, made from kid skin.
1/6 natural size.

wood stem doro- which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari). [196] [372] [719]

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ-b, about 1/4 natural size.] [28]

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa-ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used. [283]

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips. [824]

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /ãb, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. [516]

1: Schultze--STA N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Doro //hǂ/ı. About 1/4 natural size.

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /ga^{n}nirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called *ha /rehab or *ha/retsab, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin that he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally gray.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho^{n}mi, the same name they give the coastal caredinal.

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [283]26. the "caparism" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales), Canis mesomelas Schrbr., (Cape D. fox), called /g^{n}i-rib, also frequently called /gai-rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

[224 287]

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*I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /g^{n}ib = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (57) since the desig-

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

nation for odor of fat is not /g^{n}ib but /g^{n}i^{n}b. */g^{n}i-^{n}ri - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

well as green chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually cover themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *bucku*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *bucku*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise tum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1925), 84–96; Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 309–13, 317–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–4; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

241 24 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when [415] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, [604] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated [301 415] ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *dacha*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

[177] Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

[481] Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, [436] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold [177] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

301 177 [415] The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing the knife, pipe, tobacco, money,, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of /nau must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 262–4. [2] "The Conception of Inan," 73. [3] Op. cit., 61–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schulze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–12.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

Among the Naman skins are dressed and worked into clothing, bags, riems (thongs) and other objects by both men and women.[1] The tanning of leather is largely the work of the women, and involves a good deal of labour. The fresh skin is stretched out to dry, with the hairy side upwards; when it has hardened, it is softened again with the juice of succulent plants, which are pounded upon its inner side; the superfluous liquid is poured off, and the skin rolled up so as not to dry prematurely. Then the woman kneels on the roll, spreading out flat before her only as much of the skin as she can work at the moment, and after strewing the fleshy side with sandstone powder she rubs it hard with a stone. When all the flesh particles have been scraped off in this way, the skin is again allowed to dry slightly, is then kneaded and wrung out, and is rubbed on the outside with fat. Next it is tanned with the pounded inner bark of the acacia, then rolled up together with the pads of fibre and steeped in red lye made from the bark of the same tree, is afterwards again allowed to dry slightly, and is then spread out and lightly covered with sand. Finally one man takes it at the tail end, another at the head, women and children at the sides, and together they stretch and pull it smooth. It is then dried in the sun, and is now permanently soft and water-tight, and beautifully red on the inside.

Skins prepared in this way are used for a variety of purposes. Those of the calf, goat, sheep, springbok, and duiker are laid as rugs on the floor of the hut, either singly, or a number cut and sewn together, while karosses are sewn from the skins of the sheep, jackal, dassie, or lynx. Others are cut up and used for making the small bag, to hold personal belongings. Formerly also the rear apron of the girls was made exclusively from sheepskins similarly prepared, and the front apron of the boys cut from any such soft skin, while fur caps were made from the back skin of the aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*).

Where the removal of the hair is desired, the fresh skin, crumpled together and wrapped in a tanned skin, is exposed to the heat of the sun by day and placed near the fire in the hut at night. After three or four days of this treatment the skin stinks, and the hair can easily be pulled out. The hide is then rolled up, and the craftsman, in this case a man, stands upon it and works it up and down with his feet until it is soft and almost dry. The fleshy side is then rubbed in with fat.

Sheep or goat skins treated in this way were formerly used for

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–41.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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281 making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Lashes for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

In other cases the skin of the animal is not specially treated, but is simply converted into bags of various kinds, such as knapsacks for carrying objects needed on the march, and smaller bags for *buchu* roots, herbs, tobacco and so on. An interesting bag of this kind is 281 415 that used for holding milk or water. A freshly-killed goat, calf, gemsbok, or steenbok is cut open all along one side, from the left foreleg right up to the shoulder. Through this opening the whole body is shelled from the skin, head and legs having been first cut off. Then all the openings are sewn up, with the exception of that for the right foreleg, which serves as a spout for pouring the liquid in and out, and has a stone cork which can easily be tied fast. The fresh skin is turned inside out, the inner side cleaned of all particles of flesh and fat, and then it is dried. The hairs remain on the inner side of the bag.

283 [824] The thread with which skin objects are sewn together is generally animal sinew, and so formerly was the bowstring. Strings of varying thickness are also made from the bark fibre of the *Acacia horrida Willd.* The branches of the tree are chopped off by the men, freed of all twigs and thorns, and rapidly passed through the hot ashes of a fire; then the bark is loosened at one end by hammering, and the whole pulled off in strips with the hands. Next the women separate the innermost white layer of fibre from the rest of the bark, and after

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as *!na/nihaigu. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called *≠gurihaib or kx̃a!nab, also */naĉhaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rush, a Mariscus species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called /hu· mi·haru s by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view. 2/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried.

Piercing and hemming (kx̃u·iam or *kx̃u·im) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, */kx̃a·ru nã·b, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point to that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row.*

*In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

flat iron awl. The awl was placed on a slant so a path for the thread would be held open. A reed was threaded instead of a needle and then worked into the opening. The Little Namaland people call this reed /kʸo-rereb, but the Topnaars use this word to designate the end of the bast thread that is threaded into the bone needle. 342 285

When a few thousand reeds are lined up in this manner, they are pierced and sewn again in reverse order a few centimeters from the first row of sewing (see the arrows in the illustration). This is repeated in alternate directions until each meter long reed is pierced 16 to 18 times.

The free ends of the reeds are now bound together as the picture shows either in pairs or in threes and tied to the outer sewing thread all along the mat. Whatever part of the reed sticks out beyond this hem is cut off evenly with a knife leaving an amount the breadth of a finger. [Picture. Piercing and Hemming the Mats (Plan). a) Reed, b) Sewing Thread, c) Hem Thread.]

The mat is now ready for use. It is generally called /haru-b (3. st.). A mat called !gũ/b is prepared from considerably longer and stronger reeds.

The length of the mat varies with the size of the hut (it must span the whole dome in one piece) and depending on the mat's position on the dome, is between 4 and 8 meters long and not quite 1 meter wide.

The reeds in the mat are placed only sufficiently close together to keep out direct sunlight. They let in enough scattered rays through the cracks to light up the hut pleasantly and also enough air to ventilate it. In comparison, the clay hut of the Herero is gloomy and dank but offers better protection against the rain. Only when it drizzles slowly and the mat has time to swell do the reeds contract to form a rainproof roof. [231] A mat lasts 10 to 15 years. When it reaches that worthy age it is called /ha-mi. [171]

c) The mat is fastened to the framework with straps or bast threads to the loops of the sewing threads that stick out like handles, in other words along the narrow sides of the mat. Mats (usually three) are hung (!na/ni) with their long sides parallel to the ground from the bottom of the hut wall to about the height of a man. They thus embrace the framework like a crown. The edges overlap a great deal. The other 342 [283]

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari-, vb.). Further preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!hau/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles [Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [171] Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã·gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba·b is cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 294
/a·bib* in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls. 1/4 natural size.]

*One has tried to connect the word /a·bib, 196
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

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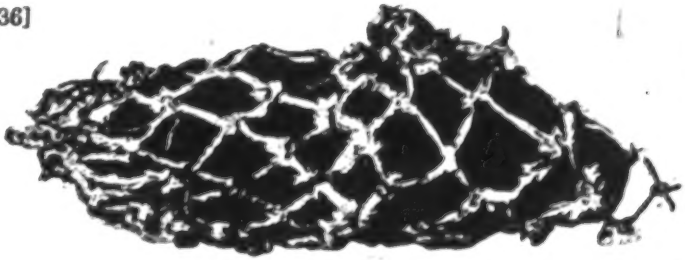
[236]



Net bag knotted from skin strips.
1/7 natural size.

Twisting the ox straps.

word stem doro- which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari).

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.]

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa-ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used.

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips.

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /a/b, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips.

they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. The flat surface of the leg 283
serves as a base for their work. Two bast fibres are stretched out across the leg, held between the fingers of the left hand and with the right hand rolled firmly over the skin of the leg so that each fibre twists over itself. During this rolling motion towards the knee each of the two fibres is twisted individually. They are rolled back immediately which twists them together into one thread.

They solve the problem of making one long knotless string many meters in length out of hundreds of short fibres in the following way: [Picture. Twisting of Long Strings From Short Threads (plan)].

1. (See Figure I.) The end of thread a, which is to be lengthened, is spread out in a fork shape. Thread b, also spread in a fork shape, is placed on thread a so that its longer tine lies on the shorter tine of thread a and its shorter tine is on thread a's longer one. Thread b_1 is half as large as a.

2. (See Figure II.) Each fork that consists of two fibres or threads that lie loosely beside each other (until *) is twisted into one thread by rolling it towards the knee. The reverse rolling makes the twisted tines into a single piece of thread. Thread b_1 is now anchored. The free end of thread a is now forked making two tines, one longer than the other. The latter now is attached to the free end of thread b_1.

3. (See Figure III.) A double rolling motion brings the loose ends together to **, making a new piece of thread. The longer piece of thread b_2 is placed on the last little end of thread a, and the shorter side of thread b_2 is placed on the free end of thread b_1 and all these pieces are twisted together to one piece of thread to ***. [Picture. A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.]

In this way all the shorter threads are twisted into one string, the strength of which leaves nothing to be desired. [Picture. Making the sinew knots in the net bag.] [Picture. Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.]

The only useful object made exclusively [244] of sinews (and 283
preferably from those of an oryx) is a large net bag, ≠ûi-s, which is 415
used in the hut as a kind of bag drawer for keeping all kinds of things. 286
When traveling it is used as a rucksack for bedding. A similar bag is 484
also knotted from narrow strips of chamois skin.

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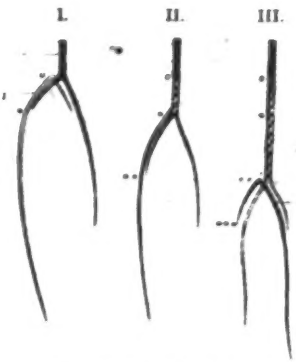
[p.242]



Twisting of long strings from short threads (plan).

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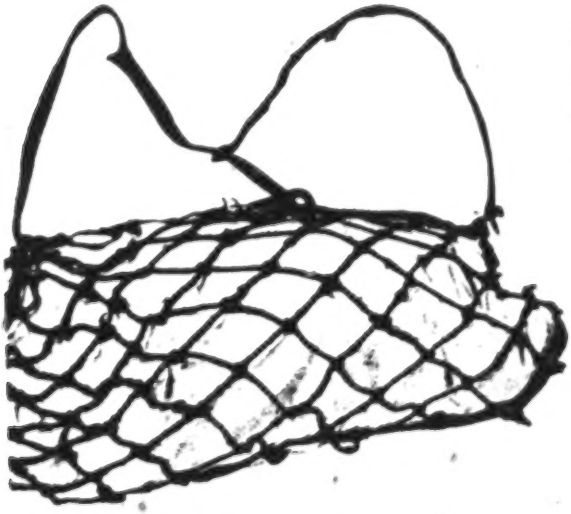
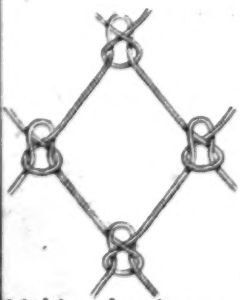
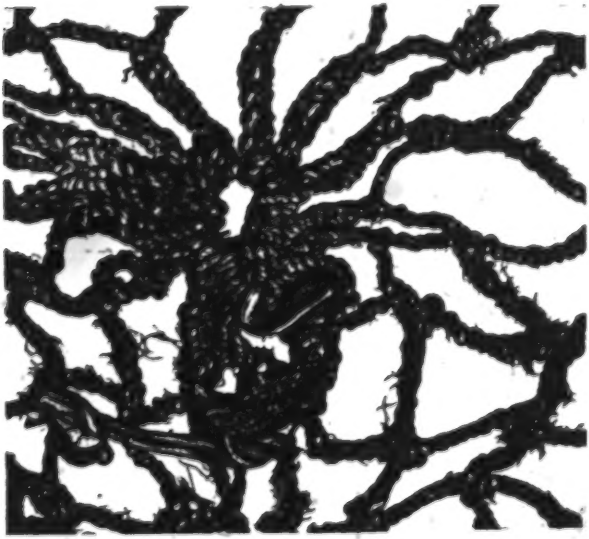
[243]



A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.



Making the sinew knots in the net bag.



Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.

*539 "mouth part") of the ax broke (*kχõ̃a). Then he said: "How (matisa) is this, mother?" (ais). And she replied: "That [is] no (toma "not," ĩ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) thing that is supposed (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to sound (*!naũ) like that (tĩ) [when it] talks" (mĩ). Then they uncovered it and saw that (!kχaiẽ) it was a stone. Then they killed (!gam) the woman (tarasa) immediately (/ãse) and ate (õ) her up.

[396] [Text omitted]

Translation of II

The Two Women Who Were Taken Along by Aigamuchab

And it happened this way (hĩhe "was done"): Two (/gam) women (kχoẽra) had gotten lost (!kχoẽ "to hurry," /ari "to lose"). And they came (/kχĩ) to (ai) the place (!kχaib) where Aigamuchab refused (//hã, ta = ra) cattle food (//ũna, neut. pl.).* Then they

[283 824]

*The smooth, shiny, yellowish, innermost layer of fibers of the bark of the thorn tree, which tastes sweet, is sucked and then twisted into twine.

[called]: "Man, [you] who (-ẽ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) are hammering (!gõ!gõ) there (nẽba), take (ũ) us* to the (//ga) kraal!" (//gaũs, p. 232).

*Literally: "one," kχoẽẽ = "person" in the neut. sing., corresponding to our impersonal "one." This indefinite manner of expression is preferred to the personal pron. of the 1st pers. if the request is made to a stranger. In this form I heard women ask strange Hottentots for tobacco.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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281 making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Lashes for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

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The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

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[178]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 241–4.
[2] Schlenker, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 25–32, pl. II; Schultze, op. cit., 246 and fig.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [53]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [54]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[53]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

[54]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35. – Analyst]

757

[p.212]

Horn for bleeding. 1/2 natural size.

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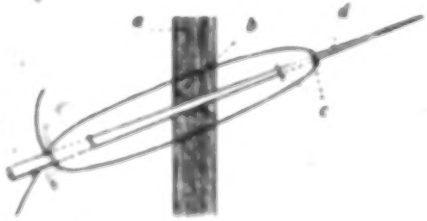

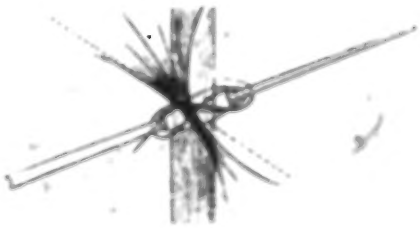

Closing a wound.

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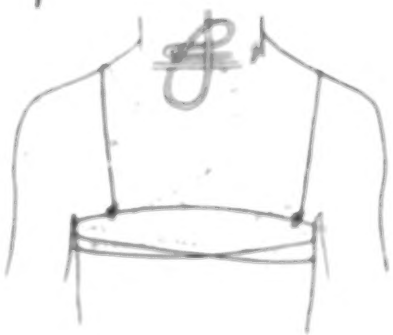
284

[p.227]

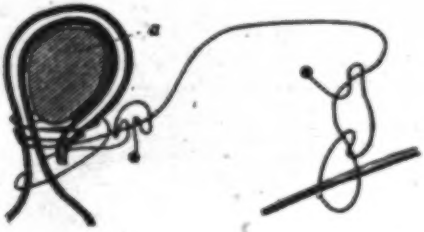


Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.

[p239]
281
291
415
●284

Woman's shoe.
1/4 natural size.

The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. Cf. next figure.)



Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare·s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ǂaigaĩ //hoës, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[Refer to diagram on p. 59(A).—Analyst]

1:Schultze--59A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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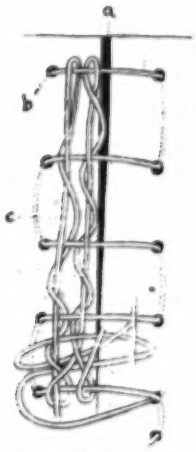
[p.244]

f

!ao//hoẽti, milk pails, "neck bamboo."



Repair of wooden article.

1: Schultze--598 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: /aigaĩ//hoës, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.

a

b

c

d

e

g

h

i

[p199]

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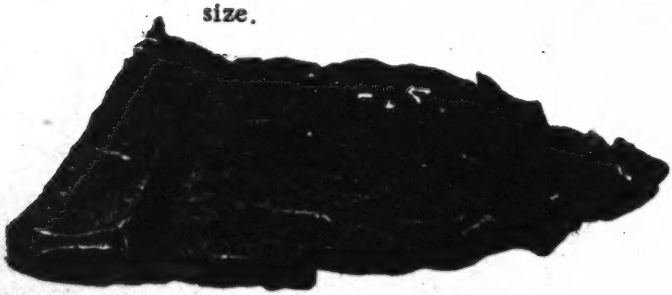
Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size.

Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size.



Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as *!na/nihaigu. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called *ǂgurihaib or kχã!nab, also */naĕhaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rush, a Mariscus species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called /hu· mi·haru s by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view. 2/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried.

Piercing and hemming (kχu·iam or *kχu·im) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, */kχa·ru nã·b, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point to that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row.*

*In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

flat iron awl. The awl was placed on a slant so a path for the thread would be held open. A reed was threaded instead of a needle and then worked into the opening. The Little Namaland people call this reed /kʔo·rereb, but the Topnaars use this word to designate the end of the bast thread that is threaded into the bone needle. 342 285

When a few thousand reeds are lined up in this manner, they are pierced and sewn again in reverse order a few centimeters from the first row of sewing (see the arrows in the illustration). This is repeated in alternate directions until each meter long reed is pierced 16 to 18 times.

The free ends of the reeds are now bound together as the picture shows either in pairs or in threes and tied to the outer sewing thread all along the mat. Whatever part of the reed sticks out beyond this hem is cut off evenly with a knife leaving an amount the breadth of a finger. [Picture. Piercing and Hemming the Mats (Plan). a) Reed, b) Sewing Thread, c) Hem Thread.]

The mat is now ready for use. It is generally called /haru·b (3. st.). A mat called !gũ/b is prepared from considerably longer and stronger reeds.

The length of the mat varies with the size of the hut (it must span the whole dome in one piece) and depending on the mat's position on the dome, is between 4 and 8 meters long and not quite 1 meter wide.

The reeds in the mat are placed only sufficiently close together to keep out direct sunlight. They let in enough scattered rays through the cracks to light up the hut pleasantly and also enough air to ventilate it. In comparison, the clay hut of the Herero is gloomy and dank but offers better protection against the rain. Only when it drizzles slowly and the mat has time to swell do the reeds contract to form a rainproof roof. [231] A mat lasts 10 to 15 years. When it reaches that worthy age it is called /ha·mi. [171]

c) The mat is fastened to the framework with straps or bast threads to the loops of the sewing threads that stick out like handles, in other words along the narrow sides of the mat. Mats (usually three) are hung (!na/ni) with their long sides parallel to the ground from the bottom of the hut wall to about the height of a man. They thus embrace the framework like a crown. The edges overlap a great deal. The other 342 [283]

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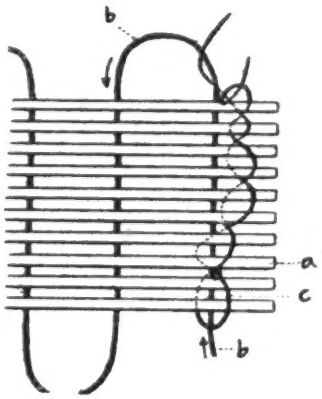
[p.230]



Piercing and hemming the mats (plan).
a) reed, b) sewing thread, c) hem thread.

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[Refer to diagram on p. 59(A).—Analyst]

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285] ●
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

INDUSTRY.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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How the Hottentots build their Huts.
(In the background is a representation of a kraal.)
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p. 116]

0: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

ength. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the aw of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and ut with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all ver with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the ot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too uickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with ry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright re. After baking it is ready for various uses.[73])

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture).

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[74]) Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is.

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures.

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell.

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[74]) The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

γ) The front apron *(!ga/e·b, 3. st.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//kʔo·rogos, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hõ/am//hoēs, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail. 281 291 [531]

δ) The back apron (!gũ/s) of the girls (also specially called /gaũ·/bes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The bat is called se·rtsi!gũ·/bes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman. [413]

ε) All the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 99) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Aba Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[235] ζ) The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ a//hõ s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis). 281 415

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin. 281 286

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hõ/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.] 281

1: Schultze--53A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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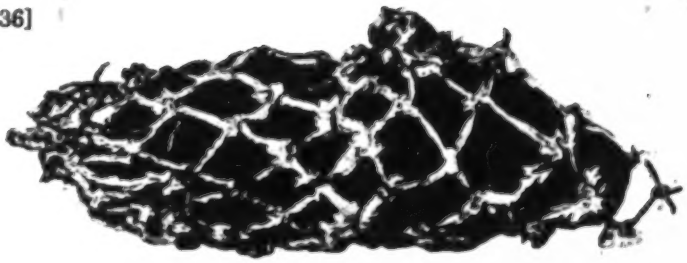

Net bag knotted from skin strips.
1/7 natural size.

Twisting the ox straps.

they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. The flat surface of the leg 283
serves as a base for their work. Two bast fibres are stretched out across the leg, held between the fingers of the left hand and with the right hand rolled firmly over the skin of the leg so that each fibre twists over itself. During this rolling motion towards the knee each of the two fibres is twisted individually. They are rolled back immediately which twists them together into one thread.

They solve the problem of making one long knotless string many meters in length out of hundreds of short fibres in the following way: [Picture. Twisting of Long Strings From Short Threads (plan)].

1. (See Figure I.) The end of thread a, which is to be lengthened, is spread out in a fork shape. Thread b, also spread in a fork shape, is placed on thread a so that its longer tine lies on the shorter tine of thread a and its shorter tine is on thread a's longer one. Thread b_1 is half as large as a.

2. (See Figure II.) Each fork that consists of two fibres or threads that lie loosely beside each other (until *) is twisted into one thread by rolling it towards the knee. The reverse rolling makes the twisted tines into a single piece of thread. Thread b_1 is now anchored. The free end of thread a is now forked making two tines, one longer than the other. The latter now is attached to the free end of thread b_1.

3. (See Figure III.) A double rolling motion brings the loose ends together to **, making a new piece of thread. The longer piece of thread b_2 is placed on the last little end of thread a, and the shorter side of thread b_2 is placed on the free end of thread b_1 and all these pieces are twisted together to one piece of thread to ***. [Picture. A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.]

In this way all the shorter threads are twisted into one string, the strength of which leaves nothing to be desired. [Picture. Making the sinew knots in the net bag.] [Picture. Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.]

The only useful object made exclusively [244] of sinews (and 283
preferably from those of an oryx) is a large net bag, ~~Ku'i-s~~, which is 415
used in the hut as a kind of bag drawer for keeping all kinds of things. 286
When traveling it is used as a rucksack for bedding. A similar bag is 484
also knotted from narrow strips of chamois skin.

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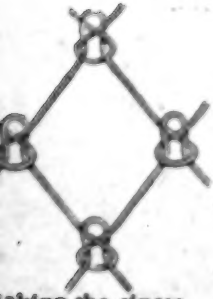
484

A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.

Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.



laking the sinew
nots in the net bag.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schinz, op. cit., 241–6.
[2] Schofield, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 25–32, pl. 8; Schultze, op. cit., 246 and fig.

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. 142 The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has 171 the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The [516] tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its [291] movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)] 1/A

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and 192 by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

1/A [see p. 8B. – Analyst]

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !haĩs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (*/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũʃ) with a piece of tanning stone (*/kχoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (*basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//haʃn) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ≠goʃa·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ≠goʃa·s. ≠goʃa·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ≠na·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

γ) The front apron *(!ga/e·b, 3. st.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//kχo·rogos, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hõ/am//hoēs, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail. 281 291 [531]

δ) The back apron (!gũ/s) of the girls (also specially called /gaũ·/bes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The bat is called se·rtsi!gũ·/bes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman. [413]

ε) All the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 99) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Aba Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[235] ζ) The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ a//hõ·s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis). 281 415

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin. 281 286

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hõ/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.] 281

1; Schultze--52A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
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[Between 234 and 235]

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in an apron.

A Topnaar Hottentot woman with a child in Aba skin.

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.

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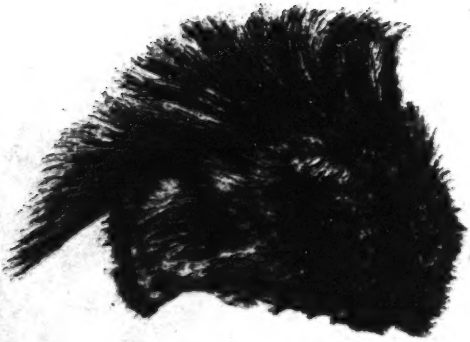
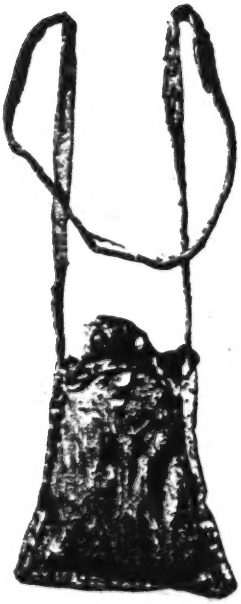
[p.235]



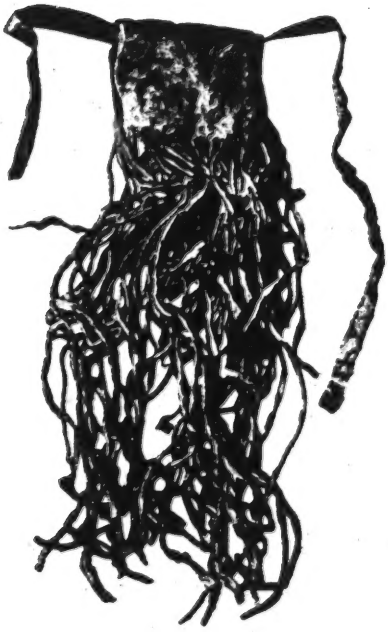
Cap made from the back skin of the Aardwolf. 1/6 natural size.



/hõ/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.

1: Schultze--53B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[237]



Apron front of the girls.

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in 415
the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles.
For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Orcotragus saltator (Layard)] 281
skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews
except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is
just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the
sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls
of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have
collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, ǂkχa·bis, to store tobacco. A 415
pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, 276
sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the
pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and
then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he
crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the
stuffing (/kχaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from
nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up
the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap
of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used 294
for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces
(/kχa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a
bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in
most sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten
with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used
without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the out-
side surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo·b, also means shoe). It is to be [291 ●
assumed that sandals, /kχabu·s, were the original foot wear of the 177]
Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally
wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is 415
made into a large water bag, !ga/ba·b. The left front leg of a freshly 281
killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of
the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening.
Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

1: Schultze--56A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p.239]
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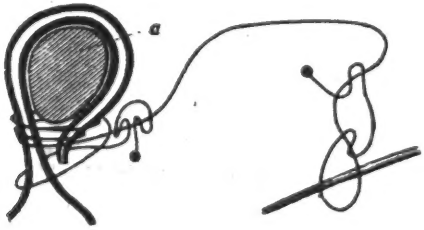
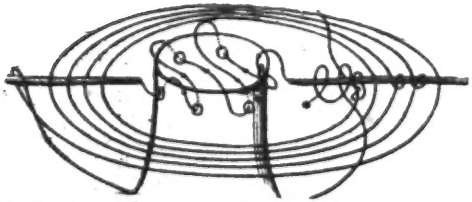
Woman's shoe.
1/4 natural size.

The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. Cf. next figure.)





Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

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[Between 262 and 263]

Plate XI.

A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

Hottentot boy in an apron.

Schultze--99A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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301

Plate XII

Topnaar Hottentot girl.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

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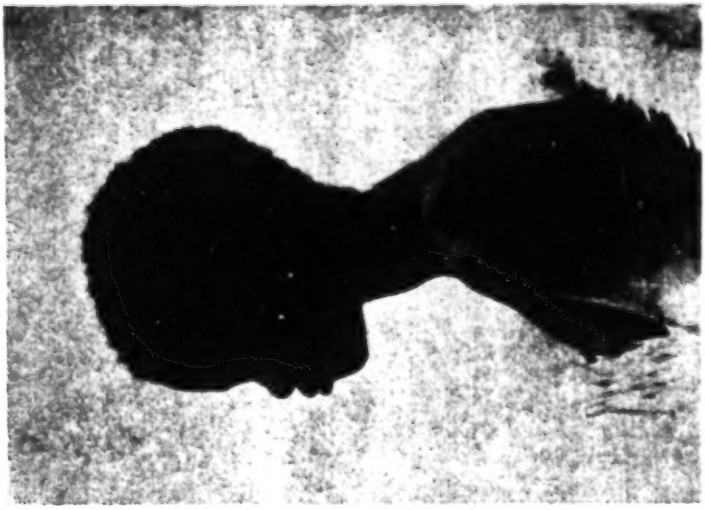
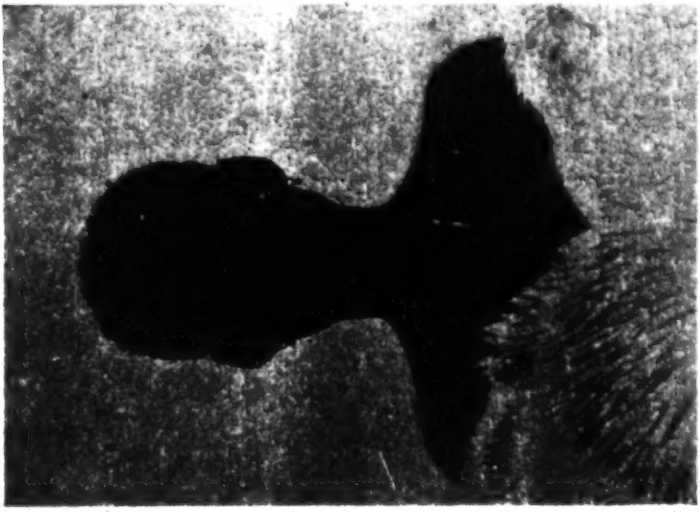


L. Schultze

TOPNAAR GIRL WEARING SHEEPSKIN KAROSS



881 574 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ǂap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ǂap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tards* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[841] [343] [535] 881 783

First, during the day, the *aba tards* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axa /uip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tards* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-kaross slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-kaross* (lit. breeches-kaross) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tards*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–12.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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Hottentot.

[facing p. 108]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928

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Hottentot Woman.

[facing p. 109]

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [841 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

Goringhaiquas.

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The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11])van Riebeeck (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khuma, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 28, 1658).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yea! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1. 1661).

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They
subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very 619
fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in [231]
the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which
to live.

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[34])

CHAINOUQUAS.

The people named Chainouquas[35]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near [162
to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more 231]
than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle.

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoã, an old 619
man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, 622
Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by
an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he
cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break
up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to
and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named
Kamisoã. The clothing of Chief Sousoã is a fine leopard [291]
skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in,
while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to
local custom, faces outwards.

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). 619
About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, 622
Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op cit.*, 155; D., Feb. 25, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandize amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 200-201). The principal Cnainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495-6).

Africa [illegible] Karichuriquas and Hosaas.—Am.]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[44]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[45]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[46]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.[47]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottenots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

47) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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000 De vrouwen gaen moeder-naekt, en hebben niet dan een klein velleken, gelijk dicht aen de kaep, voor haar schamelheit gebonden, en dragen aen een stok op het hooft, gelijk de *Sonquas* vrouwen, voor het steken der zonne, des zomers zonne-schermen van struis-veren.

Ieder *Namaquas* heeft altijts een klein licht en frai stoeltje, gemaekt van hout en tou, zonder yzer of koper, aen den arm hangen, dat zy overal by zich draeght, om daer op te zitten.

De bestiering staet aen eenen koning, geheten *Akambia*, die drie zonen heeft van een ongemene lengte.

BRYGOUDYS.

Noch verder te lande in, dan de *Namaquas* leggen, woont een ander volk, genaemt *Brygoudijs*, daer af weinigh by onkunde te schrijven valt, naerdien zy noit by d'onzen gevonden zijn.

Het is, 't geen d'onzen, die noit deze volken hebben kunnen vinden, aen de kaep, uit den mont der *Namaquas* hebben, een talrijk volk, en zoo magtigh en rijk van vee, als alle de *Hottentots* ontrent de kaep van goeder hope.

De *Namaquas* en de *Brygoudijs*, voeren tegen elkandre sterke oorlogen.

HEUSAQUAS.

De *Hottentots*, genaemt *Heusaquas*, leggen ontrent noord-west-waerts van de kaep van goeder-hope, zeer verre en diep te lande-waerts in. Weinig kennis hebben d'onzen aen de kaep tot noch toe van den wandel en omgangh dezer volken bekomen, en niet dan uit den mondt van andere Hottentots; aengezien noit iemant hun woonplaetsen gevonden heeft, nochte noit zijn meer dan drie van hen aen het Fort van goeder hope geweest, die met

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301 ● 291 [48]) Van Riebeeck says more accurately: "Ivory also seems to be more abundant among them than among the Cape Hottentoos, as may be observed from the very thick arm rings which they wear of it on their arms, as well as from the rare plates of the same article on a beautifully pleated and prepared skin worn like a little apron before their private parts" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 244).

352 [49]) Van Meerhoff merely says: "The king sat on his chair a little distance off. This chair is a round piece of wood three or four fingers thick, beautifully ornamented with beads, and is generally carried with them wherever they go". This one can hardly interpret, as Dapper does, to imply that every man had a stool of this sort.

[50]) See above, n. 46. Van Riebeeck gives the name first as Bryckje (March 10, 1661) and later as "Brygoudys, ere this wrongly mentioned as Brichje" (Apr. 23, 1661).

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ivory, in front of their private parts,[48]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[49]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

291 ● 301 352 622

BRYGOUDYS.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[50]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[51])

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HEUSAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[52]) lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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51) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

52) Also referred to as Hessaqua, Hassequa, Essaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hesaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumquar . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 496, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *heib*, tree, *-se*, adj. ending, *-qua*).

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 320).

[65]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

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CLOTHING OF THE MEN.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or sealskin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Heusaquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape; their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down.

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned.

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-strips, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The genitals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild bush cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

CLOTHING OF THE WOMEN.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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sheepskin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Molquerer women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men.

Ornamentation.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, doits, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, when they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,[66]) into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away.

Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Choro,[67]) who, like his brother, has greasy skins

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[66]) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, not for decoration but in connexion with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 72).

[67]) *Sic.* Choro was the chief of the Gorachouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[68]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[69])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[68]) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[69]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 394).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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HOW THE HOTTENTOTS TREAT NEW-BORN BABES.
(Notice in the background the child exposed to death in the grass, and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p.54]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

2. Alteram *Namacquaes* constituunt, hunc sibi peculiarem in vestitu servantes ritum: quod ubi alii vulpino, caprinove corio, hi ex elephantino dente contextis canistellis pudenda tegant, vix penetrabilibus aliis tutiores in bello scutis.

3. Hos sequuntur *Sousvas*, ejusdem cum nostris Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Hinc *Sonquas*, quibus sontica* de caussa a nostratibus ereptae sunt pecudes, ut silvis degentes alimoniam ex desertis, ferarum praesertim venatione petere cogantur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregoriquas*.

6. Inimicum agmen claudunt *Honnimas*, quibuscum nostrates ob dira municipum homicidia bella gerunt. Quorum *praefectus supremus*, *Honnima* dictus, claudus etiamsi senex; strenuus tamen miles est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros securi arcem frequentant, auxiliares in terrestri bello copias componunt. Eorum praefectus generalis *Claes* appellatur, & ab illo secundus *Capteyn Cuyper*, egregii uterque & vafri milites, non semel a me visi, mera cum nudipeda plebe mendicabula: sic huic, sex stipatoribus comitato, emendicatum *tabaci* frustulum pluries dedi, Gallice tantillum cum eodem locutus.

* Ten Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 90) about Table Mountain and the table of the Governor. B.F.

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7) See above, p. 34.

8) A misleading description; the garment referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully pleated and prepared skin" (see above, p. 38). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the Cape Hottentots wore goatskins, for none of them possessed any goats.

9) Van Meerhoff describes these as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 58).

10) The Chainouquas (see above, p. 26), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Souswa.

11) Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1669 Cruse encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandize, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 26, 1669: Moodie, *Record*, 303-4).

12) Called *Karichuriquas* by Dapper.

13) *i.e.* Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 23). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 88).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933

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Cape Hottentot

Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Sousvas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[14]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1666, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1672, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (!) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

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All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom[17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled[18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[18]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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HOW THE HOTTENTOTS BUILD THEIR HUTS.
(In the background is a representation of a kraal.)
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p. 116]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a *colobium* or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [622] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [301] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, [262 261] under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[20])

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[20]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the inside out look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.R.S.* 5, 50).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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HOTTENTOT DANCES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(1. Gom-Gom; 2. Rommelpot.) [*After Kolb*

[facing p 132]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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How the Hottentots milk their Cows (A) and make Butter (B).
(After Kolb.

[facing p. 178]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[51] Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 660 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two 782 distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[52] Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no [582] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under ● 291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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[51] Probably the Berg R.

[52] A similar usage was noted as far back as 1658 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 383 ff.

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South Nguni FX17

600 videntur redimita, quo eorum pondere praepeditis, haud aliter ac ōēreatis, malitiosae desertionis, aut abnoctandi, longiusque quam par est à gurgustiolo aberrandi facultatem, semper novitatis avidis caute provideque his periscedelibus recidant.

Quotiescunque foras palatum et pabulatum procedunt, ex dorso manticam, bulgam, ascoperamve, et in illa nonnunquam infantulum sedentem secum asportat, convasantes quaecunque huc et illuc observando ab obviis exterebrare, aut ex campis tripedali ferreo, quandoque etiam ligneo vecte, in mucronem deficiente, imaque sui parte cuspidato, effodere valent.

In Magocis filias cum hospitibus stupro coire parentes patiuntur, comitasque habetur vulgati corporis vilitas, totaque impudicitia (honos castis abstinentibusque auribus oculisque sit) urbanitas vocatur, modo pretium flagitii lunula, condalium, dactylion aeneum ferreumve, vel novena aut dena vitria corallia, hisque similia muliebria monilia crepundiaque dentur, et abstineant cavantque parentibus coram lascivire, et propudiosa, turpia, obscaenaque jacere verba, aut reverentiae pudorisque claustra violare, qui quàm aegrè ista ferant, et quàm gravia ipsis sint haec flagitia, torvo et reflexo in tergum vultu, fronte obducta, teretibus religiosisque auribus, et propero secessu, solliti suos adamare et deperire liberos, pudibundi talibus vitiis abhorrentes, testabuntur nec facili usquam gentium parentes, nil ve[r]nale redolentes, intimioris in liberos pietatis invenies, nullo aere nec quantovis pretio extraneis eos mancipio distracturos. Liberis quippe servitutis pretium ingratum est.

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● 291 [244]) This statement does little credit to G.'s fund of commonsense. A more reasonable explanation of these leggings is given by Dapper (see above, p. 33).

S 101 [25]) i.e. AmaXhosa, a branch of the S.E. Bantu. The spell "g "Magosi" or "Magoes" figures in the various reports of the "Stavenisse" crew.

S 836 576 573 [24]) The foregoing passage is obviously based on the following remarks of the "Stavenisse" crew: "The unmarried daughters may indulge freely in love, nor is it any disgrace for them to sleep even with married men, although for this they must be paid, generally with three iron finger rings, or 10 or 12 coral beads, or some similar objects. The men are greatly offended if anybody should speak dishonourably or disrespectfully of their daughters, sisters or other female relatives, and show this by at once leaving the company" (free translation of the original Dutch account, given

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[**]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles. 562 291

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Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip. 222 482 412

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Among the Magosi[**]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[**]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[**]) Freemen despise the price of servitude. 836 576 543

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is Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., III, 84). The verbal embroidery is all O.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the Amaxhosa as ukumeteka, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Amaxosa*, 113 ff.). 836 576 543

**) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 85).

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length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[73]

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture).

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[74] Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is.

Ranging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures.

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell.

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[73] The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

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I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[75])

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[76]) There is a gleam of sense in their words.

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[85]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?).

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge.

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable.

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians oetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them.

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to daughters" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property alloted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72).

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [292]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [844] Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [262] are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kxuru-s. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/nu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hās. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hās, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhōs. They often explain

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2]

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, 'tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .', the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals.

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Oipp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */has*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly */á-há-há*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 85. [3] Op. cit., 224–5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jackal) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 30.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE V.

Matiti plugging a Flute

Matiti blowing a Flute.

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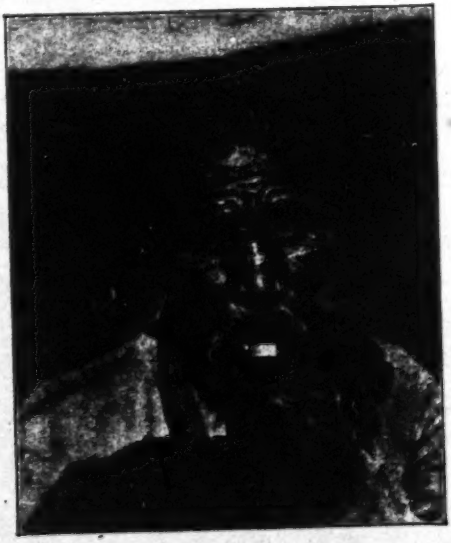

Method of blowing the *Reed-Flute.*

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE VII.

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Tabab playing the *!Gabus*.

Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 386
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gũ!b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [293
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 825
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na-bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [136]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[68]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[69])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[68]) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[69]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 394).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[70]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[71]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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70) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa. (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

71) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera *op. cit.*, 238).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[73]) 323

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture). 285 415

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[74]) Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is. 291 301 755 782

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures. 301

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell. 293 291

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74) The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari·, vb.). Further preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles [Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [171] Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã·gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba·b is cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 244 ●
/a·bib) in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls. 1/4 natural size.]

"One has tried to connect the word /a·bib, [illegible] 196
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

The apron -- naturalia non sunt turpia -- may occasionally drip. Schinz (50) derives 196

> 50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc., Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

the word from the verb "to rain" and translates it as "drip." That is not possible linguistically since "to rain" is not /a-bi but /abi-. Krönlein (57)

> 57. J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

connects the word with the designation for "to slit," obviously connecting it with the apron's slit strips. But the word used for slitting the skin for medical reasons is pronounced /a/bi- (3. st.), which is different from the word for front apron in its initial, tone level, its word-tone, and the place of its accent. [Ed. note: These terms are explained on pp. 143-151.] In my opinion this is a case of three words which are not derived from each other; there are three stems with the same arrangement of letters, each one of which is independent phonetically and in its meaning.

1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a depilated sheep or goat skin. Then one side is slit (from the future bottom edge) into long strips about 2 millimeters wide. On the opposite end an edge about 15 centimeters wide is left, the future upper edge of the apron. The piece of skin which has thus been cut is folded three times so that the hanging strips are thick enough to cover nakedness. The upper edge is folded [238] and the strap that holds it up is drawn through. The strap tsõ-ab, is one centimeter wide and sewed to the apron to the right and left. It is drawn around the hips and fastened in back. 294

e) The economy sack, /na-ma//hã/s, holds all the household scraps which might perhaps be useful later. Here a few coffee beans may be lying about, there gourd seeds, here a strip of leather, there 415

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles. For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Oreotragus saltator (Layard)] skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, /kʇa·bis, to store tobacco. A pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the stuffing (/kʇaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces (/kʇa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in moist sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the outside surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo·b, also means shoe). It is to be assumed that sandals, /kʇabu·s, were the original foot wear of the Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is made into a large water bag, !ga'ba·b. The left front leg of a freshly killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening. Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Clothing of the Men.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or sealskin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Heusaquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape: their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down.

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned.

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-strips, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The genitals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild bush cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

Clothing of the Women.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

1: Schultze--88 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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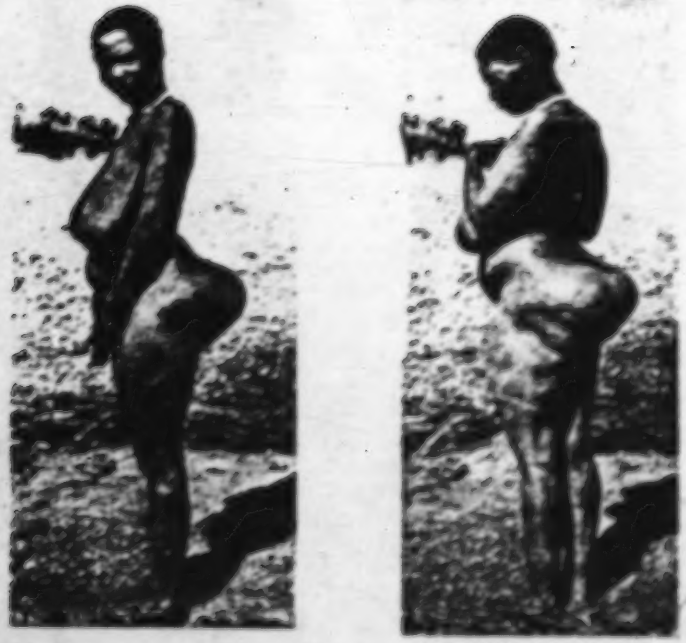

Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /uiikyôb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha-bes.

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available.

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1]

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

1 [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). -Ausl/ps]

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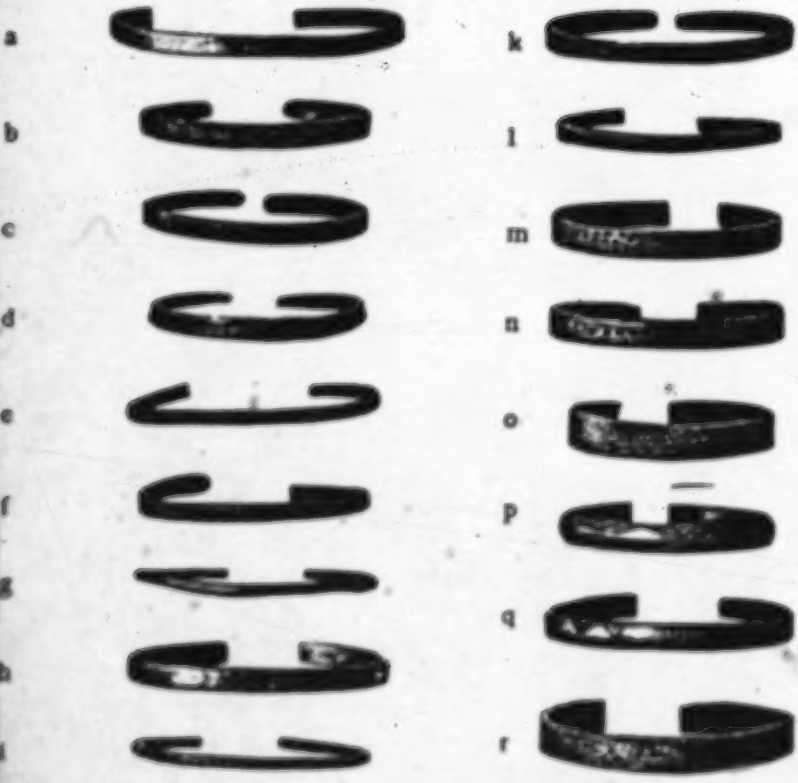

Bracelets. 4/5 natural size.

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to prehistoric ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i. 301 325 531

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (l) The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251]. A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, !gamti, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are 301 304

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Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

●301

[p252]

Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin.
In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.

1:Schultze--99A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p. 296 a]

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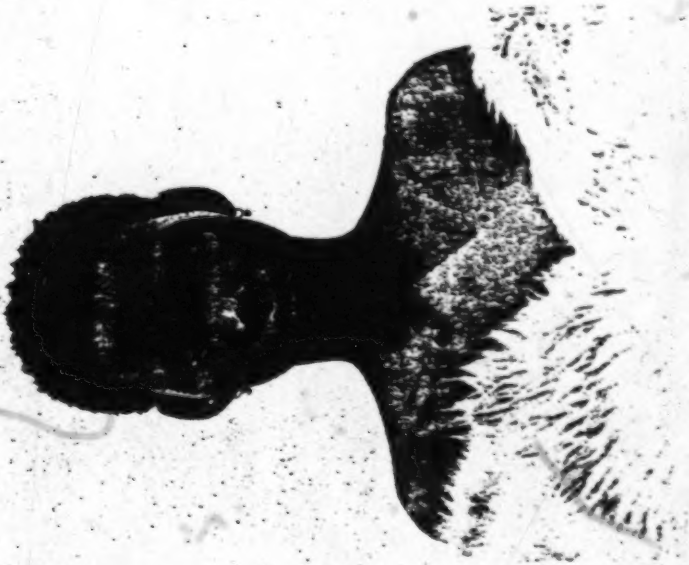

Topnaar Hottentot girl.

Plate XII

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Bushmen FX10

"MOSARWA" BUSHMAN, S. KALAHARI

A. M. Combs

B 142

KORA (HOTTENTOT) WOMAN
Notice the excessive facial wrinkling

H 142 301

PLATE IV

[facing p. 60]

291 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of
281 jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when [415] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, [834] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated [301 415] ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

[177] Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

[481] Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, [438] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold [177] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

301 The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women
177 still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing
[415] the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au ... Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 43.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

does not ask her directly for her consent, but *oua*'s or "seeks her" in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, "if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him, he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bridegroom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, "praise men who seek wives, since to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered by a magician ("tovenaar"), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

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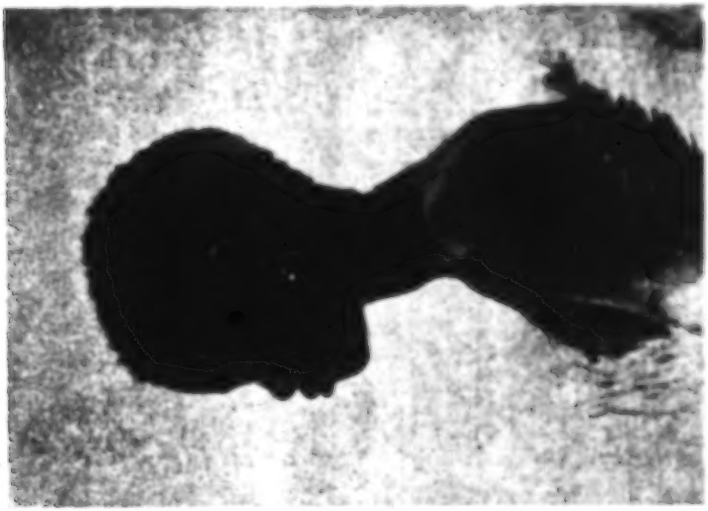

TOPNAAR GIRL WEARING BEFORE-MEN CARDS

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or [illegible] over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde peerde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[1]

Campbell describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[2]

[1] Op. cit., 84.
[2] Travels in S. Africa, 430-1.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "andersmachen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalised by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128-9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13

In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[*]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[*]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[*]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Mortado, Bollagoatoa, etc.[*]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottentots at this time possessed goats. The Namaqua obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BeThlapping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Biriqua (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryekja, etc.), i.e. goat people (from birk, goat).

*) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckaerts under the names: "Cortado, on the river Infanta, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . Hamus, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Bolagoatta, on the river St. Lucia" (D., as cit.). The idea that the Namaquas traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Chariboriquas sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. Cambay, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujarat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Nama

De vrouwen gaen moeder-naekt, en hebben niet dan een klein velleken, gelijk dicht aen de kaep, voor haer schaemelheit gebonden, en dragen aen een stok op het hooft, gelijk de *Sonquas* vrouwen, voor het steken der mugge, des somers mugge-schermen van struis-veren.

Ieder *Namaquas* heeft altijts een klein licht en frai stoeltje, gemaekt van hout en lou, sonder yser of koper, aen den arm hangen, dat sy overal by sich draeght, om daer op te sitten.

De bestiering staet aen eenen koning, geheten *Akambis*, die drie mannen heeft van een ongemeene lengte.

Barouwas.

Noch verder te lande in, dan de *Namaquas* leggen, woont een ander volk, genaemt *Bryqoudijs*, daer af weinigh by onkunde te schrijven valt, naerdien sy noit by d'onsen gevonden zijn.

Het is, 't geen d'onsen, die noit deze volken hebben kunnen vinden, aen de kaep, uit den mont der *Namaquas* hebben, een talrijk volk, en soo magtigh en rijk van vee, als alle de *Hottentots* ontrent de kaep van goeder hope.

De *Namaquas* en de *Bryqoudijs*, voeren tegen elkandre sterke oorlogen.

Hennaquas.

De *Hottentots*, genaemt *Hennaquas*, leggen ontrent noord-west-waerts van de kaep van goeder-hope, meer verre en diep te lande-waerts in. Weinig kennis hebben d'onsen aen de kaep tot noch toe van den wandel en omgangh dieser volken bekomen, en niet dan uit den mondt van andere Hottentots; aengesien noit iemant hun woonplaetsen gevonden heeft, nochte noit zijn meer dan drie van hen aen het Fort van goeder hope geweest, die met

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[*]) Van Riebeeck says more accurately: "Ivory also seems to be more abundant among them than among the Cape Hottentots, as may be observed from the very thick arm rings which they wear of it on their arms, as well as from the rare pieces of the same article on a beautifully pleated and prepared skin worn like a little apron before their private parts" (*Letters dagr.*, II, 344).

[**]) Van Meerhoff merely says: "The king sat on his chair a little distance off. This chair is a round piece of wood three or four fingers thick, beautifully ornamented with beads, and is generally carried with them wherever they go". This one can hardly interpret, as Dapper does, to imply that every man had a stool of this sort.

[***]) See above, p. 46. Van Riebeeck gives the name first as Bryckje (March 16, 1661) and later as "Bryqoudijs, are this wrongly mentioned as Brukje" (Apr. 22, 1661).

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FX13 Hottentot FX13

Cape Hottentot

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ivory, in front of their private parts,[48]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[49]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

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Brygoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[50]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[51])

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Heusaquas.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[52]) lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[48]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 19/3/61; 23/4/61).

[49]) Also referred to as Heusaqua, Hasaequa, Essaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hesaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumequas . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters desp.*, II, 341; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Heusaquas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Mainguard, *op. cit.*, 426, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *hoib*, tree, *-se*, adj. ending, *-qual*).

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FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1650 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [*]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [**]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root dacha, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [**]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brass-coloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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suggest nowadays him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 228).

[**]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a custome taught them by some ill-bred Beare, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travail into Asia and Africa*, 32.) Cf. also Two Rhyne Guides, p. 118.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

shoepakin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Molquerer women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men.

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Ornamentation.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, dolls, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, whom they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,[*]) into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away.

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Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Chore,[**]) who, like his brother, has greasy skins

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*) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Namaqua, not for decoration but in connection with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, op. cit., 78).

**) Sic. Chore was the chief of the Gorachouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namie.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[*] They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odoriferous and tasteful), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[**]

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[*] Hamilton, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, correctly says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe bestaande tusschen de Koper gelijkt. (They also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[**] The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Kolben have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 260).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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How the Bangwaru treat Big-nose Sam.
(Notice in the background the child exposed to death in the grass, and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
(After Kolb.

[facing p.57]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

2. Alteram *Namaquaas* constituunt, hunc sibi peculiarem in vestitu servantes ritum: quod ubi alii vulpium, caprinove corio, hi ex elephantino dente contortis canistellis pudenda tegant, viz penetrabilibus *stilis* tutiores in bello acutis.

3. Hos sequuntur *Souanas*, ejusdem cum nostris Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Illinc *Sonquas*, quibus sanitas* de causa a nostratibus erepitas sunt pecudes, ut silvis degentes alimoniam ex desertis, ferarum praesertim venatione petere cogantur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregriquas*.

6. Intimiorem agrum claudunt *Houtmas*, quibusnam nostrates ob dira municipum homicidia bella gerunt. Quorum *praefectus supremus*, *Houtma* dictus, claudus etiamsi esset; strenuus tamen miles est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros secuti aversi frequentant, auxiliares in terrestri bello copias componunt. Eorum praefectus generalis *Claes* appellatur, & ob ille secundus Capitaya Cupper, egregii utriusque & valiri militis, cum sesse a me viri, mera cum indigenda plebe mendicabula: sic hinc, aut stipatoribus comitata, emendicatum tabeat frustulum plurimi dedi, Gallico tantillum cum eodem lucrum.

* This Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 68) about Table Mountain and the table of the Governor. D.F.

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[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] A misleading description; the garment referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully plaited and prepared skin" (see above, p. 38). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the Cape Hottentots were geophilus, for some of them possessed any grain.

[3] Van Meerhoff describes them as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Dodo-Mythologen, op. cit., I, 36).

[4] The Cheiriquaas (see above, p. 38), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Gouvia.

[5] Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1660 Oman encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandise, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 30, 1660; Moodie, Record, III-4).

[6] Called *Kerichariquas* by Dapper.

[7] Lit. Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 38). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 38).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[14], just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom[15] — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled[16]. He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular bouchou.[17] Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[14] On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 36.

[15] Bucku was always ground to powder, never burned.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a colobium or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [622] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [309] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the [262 261] soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[*])

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[*]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the hairie out look as like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*P.H.A.* I, 58).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so cleverly built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so easily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the furies of the enemy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[1])

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying bleatings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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one more, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi, 351). Schreyer *op. cit.*, 19-20) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[1]

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen wooden pails of native manufacture.

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[1] Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and goods, including fish-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is.

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures.

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell.

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[1] The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magoni when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Whence from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new dittos and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[13]

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoens, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magoni, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[14] There is a gleam of sense in their words.

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

302

302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hair styles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Electrical appliances 648
Combs, brushes, etc. 655
Bathing suits 658
Dissimulation 814
Bathing and boating 836
Decorative art 855
War paint 754
Personal hygiene 861

E. Care of the Skin

56 The care the Hottentots take of their skin cannot be judged exclusively by our standards of cleanliness, principally because water is so valuable in that land.

1. Cleanliness

[207] During the hot season of the year, when there are great accumulations of water, as in the area of the Fish River, the Hottentot bathes. It is even said that he swims excellently. (66) But he shuns

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten, Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie. (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

wash water as a daily method of keeping clean.

On the other hand, fresh ox dung and cow dung take the place of water, brush, and soap, and the dry air substitutes for a towel. However extraordinary this may seem at the first glance, such a way of washing is effective. The moisture in the manure suffices to loosen the sweat that has dried on the skin, the fine plant fibers scour ever more effectively, the drier they become in the course of the rubbing and finally the flat hand brushes off the last bit as a light dust from the part of the body that has been cleaned and at the same time pleasantly rubbed.

2. Massage

202 297 In order to give their skin the necessary suppleness, the Hottentots smear themselves with fat (ǂhaeun(c)n or ao/hun(c)n). They smear at least the face, the skin of the head, the hands and arms, but best of all, they like to smear their whole body. This is especially true of the women.

202 95 237 The containers for fat, ᵓǂgûi-nas or ᵓǂgûi//nâ(s), which are found in every hut where the inhabitants have pride in their appearance, are cut out of an udder and the two openings are closed with cowhide, the bottom being firmly attached, the top moveable. The fat from

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers.

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu-ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nâ(ç)e). The buchu, nâb, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste:

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and °/hgari-gha-eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called °/o-l//hgao-b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names °!nâ-/roboeb and °!o-/riâ-b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried spore container by a thread around their necks [208] and it empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust,

1. Schultze--29A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Homeomat FX13
Nama

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[307]

Nova fat containers, 1/4 natural size.

J: Schultze--228 N-6 (1908-1909) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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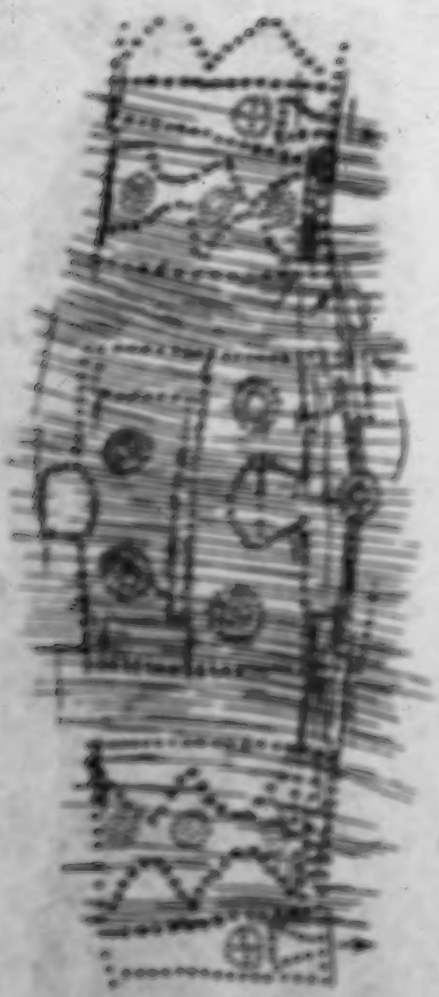
[304]



Pricked ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container, 1/3 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the hide.

//guru-s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ûr rox, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather band strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ia(o)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/ho) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/o-i aon-(o)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

1: Schnitzer--SGA N-6 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hornemann FX13 Hanna

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415

Bucku bones. 2/3 natural size.

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has been previously greased. They get black powder from the knurry parts of the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark stuff can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called "gaib" from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a black gas mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yolks of raw penguin eggs in order [311] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times a bundle of ostrich feathers. "Tai-bes or gaess is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more flesh and the inhabitants of the more elevated parts of the country have more lice.

5. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the excellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

That they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

Menstruation usually begin between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *//hũã/a-o(o)si, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture, Plate XII. Topnaar Homeeast Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 218).

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone o do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I know of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race.

b) Marriage. /ga-meb, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization.

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the "nab of the girl, the girl the "nam of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word (nao - to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom.

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways; openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

H 301 177

and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

H [439]

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

H 515 302 ● H [415] H [415 321] H [386]

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

B 304 856

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 283; Ashmenny, *Voyage & Explorations on . . . Cape de Bonne-Espérance*, 267; Black and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 431.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nam*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nam*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and */naop* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarda* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarda* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxuis*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *kucha* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxuis*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *kucha*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 324). In the earlier version ("Conception of Isaus," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the *Isaus* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarda*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarda* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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84| 78| 783 [823] not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /aa*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /aa*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

84 262 A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, [788] lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill [757] them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

83 184 Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one [802] custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first [578] symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the [245] continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

84 783 Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *undersmacker* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 156. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., I, 114.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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in the heap and projecting about a foot or so, indicates the head end of the grave; occasionally also the gemsbok horn used in excavating the grave is placed in this position. Everybody adds a stone or twig to the mound, which is afterwards strewn with *buchu*. Any relative or friend of the dead person unable to be present at the funeral will also, on visiting the kraal, go to the grave and place something of the sort on the mound. Cold water is likewise thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. "The reason given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the 'seventies of last century was that it 'cooled the soul of the deceased'."[1]

When the people come back from the grave, all the inmates of the kraal, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, which is placed in front of the dead man's hut. Cold water is also sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. The explanation given for this washing is that the people would get sick if they did not do so, and the cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.[2] Meanwhile, the dead man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood into one or more pots.[3] The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others, all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and mixed with a certain herb, and then is stirred about with a chopper, which has been heated red hot, in order to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the dead man—men, women and children—collect round the pots and cover their heads with their karosses so that they perspire. Then an old man, related neither to the deceased nor to the widow, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person—"to prevent their getting pains from eating the food." The flesh which has been cooking is now eaten by the relatives only, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. These rites—the sweeping, the putting on of the black line, and the eating—are all done in the dead person's hut. It may be noticed here that the removal of the

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 1917; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 113.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.
[3] The description which follows is taken from Mrs. Hoernlé's account in "The Conception of Sin", loc. cit.

neither must she speak above a whisper. All informants lay great emphasis on these two points. Ihamba declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and unable in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view.

Nowadays her elder girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling herb or root or leaves to make powder (otji) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entrusted to send back a special sweet smelling resin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. Otjize, a fine paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The time during which the girl must remain in the khuri-haus has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about lengths of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says Ihamba. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called khuri-eiip. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and child of all must be a heifer. The animals, plant, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This khuri-eiip is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Bonelas tribe said to me: "That killing is as great as the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing[1] to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings[2] to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exception to this rule that all grown women may partake of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never

[1] Vide infra, p. 72, and n. 36.

[2] Vide infra, p. 72.

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house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂaxais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is bestowed only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is anointed all over with the clay which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in various patterns with ǂaoup and ǂgoamib ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,* come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂaxais. She takes her *ǂkrue dous* ("powder puff") full of clay and rubs their testicles (*orkwiris*). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is *ǂkrue dous /o /nuru* ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.† Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂaxais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of *Jolly Miller*. During the dancing the ǂaxais throws clay over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The old taris must accompany the ǂaxais in all these rites, but often her friends go

* According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, p. 399.

† A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[17] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gkaub is mixed in with it. A chopper, ||ip, which has been heated red hot is
[612] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man,*— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
● [305] so that they perspire (sweat). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potlikerk and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potlikerk. Some informants say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to
[513] the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained !nas, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlieb and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
[789] on no account take the path through the valuable !nawa plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleansed from head to foot with ≠koup
[278] or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

* None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground barley pips, grain' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with lumps, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from the pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the /drap, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "dalbe /abe", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the introduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the /kayais.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by Kalem. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "*Xari dama kauru oraba oraburu*", "don't get thin, get fat like the *oraba* cattle". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "*Xari dama kauru oraba oraburu*", and, filling the water pot, //hoba, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlieb gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and //abus* juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //gurie, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //gurie. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dibi and //ghoab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become taus, and have to be dealt with similarly.

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I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

* A small shrub with astringent leaves.

1 [cf. A young marriageable woman. See vol. 16, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

9: Vedder M-9 (ca. 1910) 1928
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415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
•[303] In this receptacle they preserve the herbs-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "bag" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a cleen horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of
177 serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are
226 used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
177 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
600 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. [593] [576]

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Treurnicht, Viervoet, Afrikaner, etc., etc. [581] [575]

5. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. [291]

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [577]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleansing themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. [302] [578]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "kwiss" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [588] [595]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. [574]

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On [571] [536] [524]

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the Gorinhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koshque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoá, his subordinate king Gonnemoá, and the third lord of the kingdom Kouhoaá.[1]) The subordinate king Gonnemoá our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[2]) On the other hand the *koshque* or king Oldasoá, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[3]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very prudent, who almost never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoá left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[4]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

619 622 [624] [302] [595] [142]

Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[1]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They 619

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of the sea (*Anerfi*, seal). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters dep.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Homas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters dep.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamana," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

619 144 167

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000 den overste van de Chainouquas daer eenige beesten en schapen quamen verhandelen, gaende aenstonts weder met hem naer hunne woonplaetsen.

De *Heusequas* zijn vee-rijk: dan deze alleen erneren zich ook met 't planten (want geen onder al de daer te lande gevonden Hottentots planten of zaien, dan alleen de *Heusequas*,) van zekeren krachtigen wortel, dien sy *dacha* noemen, en eten om dronken te worden; hoewel sy den selven kywijlen ook met water mengen, om te drinken. Wanneer het eten en drinken des wortels *dacha* hen de hersenen bedwelmt en bevangen heeft, stellen sy zich, met het bedrijven van vreemde gropen en wonderlijke grillen, als dolle en uitzinnige menschen aen; onder welk krioel en gewoel, de vrouwen komen, en zeker fijn gekiopt en gewreven kruit, genaemt boyyoa, op hun hooft strooien. Dit kruit, dat geel en sterk-riekend is, wast op het hoogh geberghte, met klompen of klaeuwen aen de klippen, in groten overvloet, en wort van de mans opgezocht, en van de vrouwen bereit.

Ontrent de *Heusequas* leggen de vee en volkrijke *Hankumquas*, doch zijn nuit by d'onsen aen het Fort gewent.

De *Heusequas* zijn bysonder vaerdigh met jonge en oude leeuwen om te gaen, die sy in strikken weten te vangen, en te temmen, met een band aen den hals, als een hont. Zy trekken ook wel met leeuwen, die sy lang gehad, en heel tam gemaekt hebben, ten oorlogs, en kunnen daer mee den vyant, sonder moet van eenige tegenstant te bieden, in de route op de vlucht drijven; 't geen veten vremt wil voorkomen, en echter in 'er daet onder hen gepleeght wort.

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276 [49]) *Leonotis leonurus*, whose leaves are still smoked by the S.A. natives like those of Indian hemp, producing a similar stupefying effect. Dapper is wrong in stating that the Heusequa cultivated this plant. Van Riebeeck terms them "regular dagga makers of the Hanccumequas" (Sept. 27, 1660), but says of the latter (from hearsay evidence also) that "they plant and dry a certain plant dacha, which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 243; cf. D., Dec. 16, 1661). Maingard, after discussing all the evidence, concludes that these Hottentots never *cultivated* dagga, but that they traded in it, which probably gave rise to the legend (*op. cit.*, 493).

30? [50]) More correctly buchu, a common name to this day in S. Africa for various species of *Barosma* and *Diosma*, much used by natives as a sweet-smelling powder.

619 [51]) First mentioned, as Chancumqua, in the list of tribes given by Eva (D., Oct. 21, 1657), supplemented later by the statement that they cultivated dagga (D., June 21, 1658). Goeswa told van Riebeeck that the chief of these "Hamcumquas" was "the chief lord of all the Hottentoo tribes" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). All that

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name dacha*). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named hoppie**). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas**), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them**).

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was known of them in 1661 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequuas or Kings" (*Letters dasp.*, III, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumquas, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 483). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

**) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (*Letters dasp.*, III, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

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De huÿt is van taimelijke lengte, met smalle schouderen en langachtige armen, doch voor na de handen heel mager en dun. De handen zijn van goeden maaksel; de vingeren lang, daer sy nagelen laten aenwassen als arents-klauwen, sy hem voor een cieraedt geachti.

Dyna hem alien is de huÿk dun en rang, met uytsteekende billen, ter oorsake het lichaem, van groot ontbeet of in 't lot groast gekleet, niet in evenwicht of prangingo gehouden wort. Zy zijn frai en frisch van benen, doch velen dun van kuiten, maer hebben, inzonderheit het vrou-volk, seer fraie en kleine voeten. Zijn vlugh te voet, en zoo sterk, dat eenigen seeren vlier, in vollen loop, gemakkelijk kunnen tegen houden, en doen stil staen. Begaeft boven gemeen met een groote manmoedigheit.

Het vrou-volk is klein van stal, inzonderheit onder de *Kochoquas of Saldenhars*, en worden daer eenigen zoo benaeden van trant gevonden, (waer toe niet weinigh helpt, dat sy gene maaslen, noch te kinder-pokken onderworpen zijn,) als met een penseel zoude kunnen afgetrokken worden, behalve dat sy wat platachtigh van neuse vallen. Dan vallen boven maie, vervia de getroude, groot van boesem, ook zoo groot, dat sy de borsten, die sy los en bloot hebben hangen, den kinderen van achteren over de schouderen, daer sy die gemeenlijk op dragen, in den mont kunnen te zuigen geven; doch de ongetroude wederom niet. Het schijnt als of haer de voetingo los is, alzoo haer op sommige plaetsen wat uithangt.

Al de *Kaffers of Hottentots*, is een volk, beroofd van alle wetenschap, en letteren; meer plomp, en in verstant meer den beesten als menschen gelijk; hoewel eenigen, door het gestadigh verkeeren met d'onsen, de vonken van hunnen menschelijken aerdt allengs doen te voorschijn komen; gelijk sommigen ook een 't Fort de Duitsche tale beginnen te begrijpen.

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[302] [44]) I have been unable to find any evidence in confirmation of this statement.

481 [45]) The swiftness of the Hottentots is mentioned by most of the early observers as being particularly noteworthy, and the ease with which they generally managed to flee from their pursuers is often commented upon. Fritsch, however, remarks with justice that their scanty clothing and their familiarity with the country inevitably gave them a considerable advantage over the fully-dressed Dutch with their heavy footwear, and adds that in his experience he found nothing to confirm the idea that the Hottentots were exceptionally fleet-footed (*Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, 304).

142 [46]) An exaggeration; there is nothing unusual in size about the genital organs of the male Hottentots.

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The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [a]. The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [b]. They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [c].

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there[a]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [b]).

All the Kaffrs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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a) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a lambskin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 388).

b) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten*, 183).

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sheepskin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Malagasy women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men. 291

Ornamentation.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, dolls, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, when they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,[**] into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away. 301 302 304

Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Choro,[**] who, like his brother, has greasy skins 291 556

**) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Namaqua, not for decoration but in connexion with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, op. cit., 72).

**) Sic. Choro was the chief of the Gorachouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

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CHAP. IX.

Their relations with other peoples.

Who the people are that neighbour the Hottentots is not yet known; those who venture a word about the negroes (popularly called Kafirs) depend more on hearsay than on the witness of their own eyes. Thus one of our officers would have it believed that he learned the facts I shall now mention from the most remote branch of the Hottentot family, to whose territory he had been sent with a guard of six men. These Hottentots differ widely from the rest in their ways, although they are not yet known by a special name; and they told him, says our officer, that between them and the negroes lies a broad river which they cross in boats made out of hollowed tree-trunks in order to exchange goods [1]). The Hottentots are separated from one another by no boundaries.

CHAP. X.

Physical Characteristics.

The human race as a whole, apart from local and national peculiarities, is provided at birth with a character proper to itself; but no less wonderful is it that every single individual of the species, down through the ages and among so many peoples, should be supplied by nature with his own personal lineaments, distinct from those of other men, expressive alike of the inner and the outer man, and constituting an indefinable difference between one individual and another. Thus the Hottentots as a race have everywhere a dark and swarthy skin, as if scorched by the sun, and are generally endowed with a dry, warm blood. Yet the faces of some show much fairer, departing from their native dusky hue. Nevertheless the blackest are the loveliest in their eyes, and they think themselves never so finely adorned as when they sprinkle divers coloured earths upon their hair, or rub them, mixed with fat, upon their faces. For in this region there is a mountain that produces colours, which if carefully worked might perhaps be profitable.

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[1]) I have been unable to identify this officer or the journey to which reference is made. It may possibly refer to Hieronymus Cruse, who with fifteen men landed at Mossel Bay in 1668 and went eastwards overland as far as the Gouritz R., bringing back reports of the Attaquas, "a tribe similar to the Cape Hottentots, but well supplied with copper and beads, which *they obtain from another nation dwelling further east and somewhat darker*" (D., Nov. 28, 1668).

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All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae* [11]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom [12]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled [13]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[14]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[13]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[14]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

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CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a *colobium* or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [602] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [301] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the [262 261] soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[38])

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[38]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the inside out look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.R.S.* 5, 50).

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They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

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CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[27]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the s[illegible] inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie th[illegible] to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[28]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[29]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[27]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hotnotsvyg* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (=*Mesembrianthemum edule*).

[28]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 347) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauchen Sack, in welchen unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, jeder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, biss Butter wird, als denn lossen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich zuerachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 237).

[29]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 57).

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CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any art except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [53]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [54]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[53]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

[54]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35. – Analyst]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[75])

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these veldkoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[76]) There is a gleam of sense in their words.

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[55]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?). S 428

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge. H 291 H [554]

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable. H 302 H [824]

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians oetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them. H. 276

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to daughters" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property alloted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72). S 428

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

tama, i ||haosen tama, ina ≠kwa: ta o, |kona gũ kx'ãm ||aba ≠kwa:sa, ina gei khwesa !oasi.

iku ta o, iku ≠u:kwa tĩa o, ina !kãsab gu:b mã, ina gu:b ≠ae, ina a:b !na !aoxodomae, ina ≠gaus !na xaba die |aubi, ina gei khwesa sãsie, ina gei oudi ina habu, ina ||khom di |harab u:e, ina |harab |kwa ≠kauwe, ||nuib |kwa ina uree, ina ure twa sta o, ina ||nuiba ≠kauwe, ina !nouba ||haba |hoboe, ina sãba thũmme.

ina gu:b ta sãsie o, ina |aeosa keisa khwedi ≠ũe, ina !kũ:b |kwa, |habib tsi ≠namma tsikwa anae, ina !amdi ||ka:e

ina gei khwesi kwa hwaxu:kwa !ko tsi xun |uib tsikwa, ina xun |kxwae.

ina !gariba u: ≠kae, i ousi heis u:||a, ina ho:sista o, ina ≠goap u:e, ina ≠goaba he:ba !kurue tsi ≠geithakwa u:kx'ãi !kurue, ina ||na:ba ||gamma kx'ãm !na mãe, ||kwaku kx'ãi mãe, ina he: heisa ≠naue, ina kx'ãi xarie.

ina|| kãũba !koa !kũ, ina gei khwedi ||nae, ina ||am, ina ≠na:.

Translation :

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sãb* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grind-stone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick, When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to bend on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the stad. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

881 *Note :* Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ho:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

114 881 This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise, the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

302 824 The *sâb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */kaep ;* (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !kūb ;* (v) *!gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the */honabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

585 It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal.

814 431 When a child was born a */naes /ho:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

342 539 *gei !koab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx²ai !nae ha. ikje !koub hwa kx²omina !go kx²ai. //na: //kae, kx²omina /harukwa xu die ha. ikje /harukwa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedi !garib !na /hākwa di /hou /hou.*

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

000 (pot sũ-s, to boil, to cook sãi). Food, especially meat, is
252 always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

325 We must also conclude that the process of melting
196 ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general
174 separation; for ǀurib is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǀũ, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gõagu), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǀganugu, literally meaning the ties, from ǀgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǁhoe-χoa-ǀna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

174 But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that
413 the priest (ǀgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

492 Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǀgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *pack-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

302 It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (sã-b or buχu).

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* "Their brides on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—CAMOENS, *The Lusiad*. Book V.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsūi‖goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (‖amab, trade, ‖amagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-‖khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the !Amas tribe), and of the ‖Khomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-!hoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the *!Khâseti* (‖Khunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or *!goregu* the Zebras, *α* Orionis *χami*, the Lion, *α* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *torob*, from *toro*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (!gari-b, ‖gob, !ĕ-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or !gaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-!gamteb, Lion-killer, ‖Otsātamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ōb, Destroyer of heroes, &c, Names of places

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 doers, especially against the Lion. The etymology of
196 |Gurikhoisib offers no difficulty. |*Guri* means *single, only, alone.* Khoi-si-b derives from the root *KHOI*, meaning *man ;* with the suffix *si* it has a more collective meaning, like *mankind ;* therefore, |Gurikhoisib, means the only man, the first man, primitive man. Here the worship of the Supreme Being and ancestor-worship have become amalgamated.

The name ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb consists of three words —ǂeiχa (from ǂei), brass-like, |kha, body, and ||nabiseb, the back-bone ; thus the whole name conveys the meaning: "The man whose body has a brass-coloured backbone." This is the lightning, who descends from heaven (|homi), or from the cloud (|nanub) to the earth.
302 Here we have, perhaps, the explanation why the Khoikhoi women on certain occasions anoint themselves with red ochre, and also for the purposes of worship make marks with red ochre (torob) on certain sacred stones and cairns.

782 I remarked previously that we have reason to believe
302 that there was among the Khoikhoi also a period when *human* sacrifices formed a part of their offerings. They still cut off a finger. I shall not be surprised if continued investigations corroborate the idea that the painting of the sacred stones with red ochre was merely an act to replace the cruel offering of human blood by a simple symbolical ceremony. It may also be that the red lightning, in killing a man, and thus demanding blood, might in the commencement have led to human sacrifice; and that the red colour of the lightning and the bloody sacrifice together afterwards introduced the use of red ochre or other red paint into the worship of the Khoikhoi. I have already quoted in the second chapter from Ludolf's "Commentary," p. 228, "Uxores solere conspergere caput dei *terra rubra.*" In place of this terra rubra (red ochre, *tōrob*), they also use frequently the red tannic juice of the Acacia giraffæ.

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers. 302 415 [237]

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu·ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.] [757]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nõs(e)n). The buchu, sã≠b, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste: 302 137 303

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and °≠ĸχari-≠ga·eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called °/u·i//kχao·b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names °!na·/robeb and °!u·/risã·b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried spore container by a thread around their necks [209] and it empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust, 303 302 [415]

302 303 415

//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

302 415 237 [829]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

302 [515 841] [832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ĩs(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

[854 764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

[386]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

[386]

The Hottentots and the darker Bushmen whose skin is light-brown or fawn-colored stand alone among the blackish-brown to black human races of their neighborhood. A pale, fawn-colored, brownish-yellow is the basic color of the Hottentot's body. On the face the skin is often brown but on the sole of the foot, it becomes the slightly tanned skin color of our race, even more so under the nails of the feet and hands, sometimes seeming yellower, sometimes pinker. They do not have our bright red lips. The mucuous membrane of the mouth (including the parts of the lips which are invisible when the mouth is closed) [178] and of the throat is a dull red tinted with violet. That is also true of the vulva. The glans penis, however, is a bright pink color. I never saw a single case of circumcision.

The Hottentots cannot consciously move either the muscles of the skull or the ears, only the platsyma, as I later tested.

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old]

The body hair is extremely scant. Because of this and the strong curl in each fine hair, wherever the hair grows in bunches (except for the eyelashes, the eyebrows, the moustache and the beard), it mats together into separate, isolated tufts between which the skin shines brightly. But these visible parts of the skin are not bald: The implanting of the hair in the skin is regular, at least no group arrangement can be identified which would correspond to those matted tufts. That is true for the hair on the skull as well as around the genitals and in the armpits. The stronger the spiral curling of the individual hair and the scantier the total amount of hair is, the firmer and smaller the tufts. There are variations in all stages from compact formations that measure only a few millimeters across to loose clumps that are centimeters large. Only in a few rare exceptions is the hair on the head so strongly developed that it forms curls as long as the finger, thickly massed, but individually differentiated, which then stand straight up in confusion or dangle around the head in a fantastic way (cf. Plate V.) The Hottentot himself [179] designates the black round knots of hair on his head with the same word that means goat dung (!no/ra·s). The Boer compares these hair knots with peppercorns and calls the Hottentot "Pepperkopp". Among several hundred Hottentots I met only one bald one.

The Hottentot has only those parts of a beard that our race has best developed, namely, a weak mustache (especially developed towards the side) and a chin beard. The separate hairs of these are well developed. He does not have side-whiskers and a complete hair covering

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to prehistoric ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i. 301 325 531

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (1). The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251] A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, !gamti, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are 301 304

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, °//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ns from the small-beaded ones °ga·rab. Ankle rings, °!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself ᵓǂ//nāǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaixāba ◉," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara ǂāba ũts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." (ᵓ!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩ≠nũisõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (≠nũis, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse sa !gãsa ǂaẽ "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "≠gũits go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

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AUEN BUSHMAN
Showing initiation cuts between eyebrows

L. Fourie

[facing p. iii]

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B 184 304 224 881

given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

B 184 304 881

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

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Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 843; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarised by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

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been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 884 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

[i.e., excision of the left testicle. - Analyst]

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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 520; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

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if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Names

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Graevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Graevenbroeck naïvely puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and then, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Naman, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gei khoi /ons*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomarib*, and that of the mother *//khunibes* (*-b* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khunibeb* and a daughter *gomaris*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khunibeb-gomarimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if found follows the same principle; hence *gomaris-//khunibemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khunibeb geib*, the second son */khunibeb /nagamab*, the youngest *//khunibeb ǂkarib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Ten Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 98–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

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"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Nama transition rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

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and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde peerde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[1]

Campbell describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[2]

[1] Op. cit., 94.
[2] *Travels in S. Africa* 430–1.

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726 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not
789 follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden
787 ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere
[821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, " we are overpowered by *//Gauna* "; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha*, *//o ge ni*, " war is approaching, we are going to die." [3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot
[643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something
554 similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. " Bravery was highly admired," he says, " and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony.
[304] The priest or *!gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-!gamtèb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsătamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ŏb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as *!Khami* and *!Khams*, Battlefield; *!Kho-//oa-tes*, " You cannot catch me "; *!Khotoas*, the one last caught; *†Kxĭxas*, peace; and *!Huritamas*, " I am not afraid." [5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 339. [2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Kreft, " The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

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765 783 [304] If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

775 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hei /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hei khoin*, "fawn-coloured people,"[1] or *sobo khoin*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gauriab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 29.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 517, 519.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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759 the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

757 On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also [842 841] previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

752 The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the 752 bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice 304 in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 19 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.
[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

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states that the head of the joint was tied up with sinew, and cut through below, the sticky juice of certain leaves and other herbs then being applied to the raw surface.

For relatively localized pains the universal remedy is bleeding, either by venesection with bandaging or by cupping. In the former case, as described by Kolb, a thong is tied round the limb and the vein cut open below it. When enough blood has been drawn off, the incision is closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Cupping, apart from its use in the */nau* ceremonies and diseases, is specially employed for stiffness and pains in the limbs, in order to hinder their swelling, for colics and pains in the stomach, and also, according to Laidler, for the relief of madness and epilepsy. The cupping horn is a carefully-prepared tip of calf or goat horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is first applied dry, i.e. over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified, the horn pressed tightly over the bleeding cut, and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established, he bites the resin and so closes the aperture in it. The horn is then left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn.

Cures and antidotes for the bites and stings of the multitudinous snakes, spiders, and scorpions found in the country naturally play a large part in Hottentot medicine.[1] An "infallible" antidote for snake bite is the dried body of the lizard *Scelates capense Gthr.* Small deep cuts are made slightly above and below the bite, and cupped for about half an hour. Then a tiny fragment of the lizard's body is pressed into each cut and rubbed in with wood ashes. The bite itself is only washed with water. Snake poison itself may also be used as an antidote, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. Sometimes the "doctor" makes incisions over the bite, then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. Vegetable poultices are sometimes applied, or the crushed head of the snake may be used in the same way in case of snake bite, while similarly powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting, the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste. The patient at the same time is given

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 224–5; Laidler, op. cit., 438–40.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Remarriage ceremonies. So far as I could discover there are no !nau ceremonies connected with the marriage of two people who marry for the first time. But should a widower marry a young woman, or a widow a young man, or even a widow a widower, great precautions are necessary, and the full influence of !nau can be seen at work.

Should a widower be marrying a young girl, a special animal, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat, is killed for the remarriage feast.[20] This is a special ceremony following upon the regular marriage feast.[21] The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut which has been built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor and await proceedings. The fire has become !nau now, and the two people themselves are !nau, and in an extremely precarious condition. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan !karesin for them, and see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut. Still less would any one who had not undergone the ceremony himself dare to intrude there.

The special animal which has been slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there. No portion of it must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the fire and into this the contents of the stomach and the small intestines[22] are thrown. The hole is then filled up and must not be interfered with. Any blood that may be spilled during the skinning, must also drop into the hole. Meantime the old woman[23] who is to do the operation on the couple is in attendance, and must herself be a widow who has been re-married and is now long past childbearing. Further she must not be a relative of the couple. The skin of the animal is given to this old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up in such a way as to leave the pelvic bones intact, as they are to be made use of later. Every scrap of the animal is then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots. While the meat is cooking the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife[24] and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn blood is cupped from these cuts, mixed together, and some of the blood of the slaughtered animal is added. Next the old woman scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it in with the blood. Finally the mixture is rubbed into all the cuts and the two people are bumped together so that their blood mingles.[25] They are then considered as duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

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[20] /Gâo ǂkhâm ǂâs.

[21] /Gâ-ǂâs.

[22] /Hareb, "intestinal contents".

[23] The ceremony may be performed equally well by an old man.

[24] Formerly it was always a sharp piece of quartz, //gwrâs, which was used on this and similar occasions.

[25] /Âo /âu, Et. "to throw the blood".

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sheepskin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Molquerer women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men.

Ornamentation.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, doits, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, when they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,[66]) into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away.

Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Choro,[67]) who, like his brother, has greasy skins

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[66]) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, not for decoration but in connexion with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 72).

[67]) *Sic.* Choro was the chief of the Gorachouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]

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All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom[17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled[18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[18]) On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

[19]) Buchu was always ground, ie, powder, never burned.

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CAP. XXI.

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De Magistratu.

Quilibet casularum *viculus* suum *Praefectum*, & ille plerumque superiorem, quos uno nomine *Capitaneos* vocant, agnoscunt. *Essequas*, tamen, sed soli, *Regem* habent. Juxta horum magnatum placita gubernantur omnia; ita ut subjecti nil magni suopte praestare ausint, ad nutum *Capitanei* semper paratissimi. Migrandum cum est, a *Praefectis* monentur; inire matrimonium cum volunt, a *Capitaneo* libertatem petere coguntur, summa cum observatione dicto ejus obedientes.

CAP. XXII.

De Jure gentium.

Quamvis non *Numinis* neve pudoris vinculis adstricti sua se lege exsolvant, [t]) sibi ipsis saepe sunt lex, ea quae fecere majores, caeco impulsu, consuetudine magistra, imitantes. Ita si gemellos pariat mater, masculum & femellam, hanc jure gentis occidunt in cunis. In eo fere tantum a *Scythis* dissimiles, quod hi in *Amazonum* regno mares interfecerint; dissimiles in eo priscis in *Africa* [u]) *Carthaginensibus*, qui vivos praesertim pueros, & innoxiam aetatem *Saturno* sacrificabant. Omnes vero quotquot nascuntur masculi alterutro castrantur statim a navitate testiculo; ne in frugifera terra, plures, quam alere possit, incolas recipiat; atque ut illi addunt, quo tanto velocius possint currere.

[t]) Roman, eod. cap.

[u]) ut de Scythis Justin. (Bk. II, 4, 10: *Si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant.* Bk. II, 2, 5: *Iustitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* B.F.)

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845 [44]) Grevenbroek describes this custom somewhat more fully. See below, p. 181. A

● 304 856 [45]) Many of the early writers on the Hottentots mention this practice. some saying that it was done in early childhood, others that it was a puberty rite, and still others that it was performed upon a youth before his marriage. Kolb actually gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Maxwell, more soberly, says: "Being inquisitive to know the truth of this I had the curiosity to search several of 'em (who will readily suffer you for a double stiver to do it), in two of which I could find but one testicle, they I suppose being married, as the rest who had two were not; which however shows the mistake of Nieuhoff and others who assert that the Hottentots cut out one of the testicles of all their male children

A [See W. Grevenbroek, His File, CAT. 116 p. 181. — Analyst]

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CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognizes its own chief, and the chief generally recognizes a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequas, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [44]). In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [45]).

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as soon as they are born (according to Nieuhoff) or at the age of 9 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Soc. 5, 51). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb [and also Maxwell] may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (*op. cit.*, 333-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were monorchs.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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000 Uxoribus, quot habuere viros, tot digitorum articuli a primo minimi digiti incipiendo abscinduntur. Polygamiae, *Muhammedorum* more, indulgent. [u]) Industria* gentis hujus ingeniis culta, non legibus. Sola vindicta illis est homicidii poena; ubi trucidati cujuscunque consanguinei percussorem persequuntur; neque quiescunt, nisi ultionem fecerint; repertumque itaque fustibus caedunt, telisve transverberant, occisum multis etiamnum ictibus ferientes. Caetera, sive adulterium, sive furtum, vitia non nisi talionis lege puniunt. Denique id sibi peculiare habent: si juvenis inter eos aegrotat, pinguem mactant bovem, futuri delicias convivii, atque, quae maxima opima sunt, exta cum omento aegrotantis collo appendunt, usquedum putrefacta decidunt, quae senex quisquam devorare debet. In successionibus haereditarium jus apud eos, praesertim apud *Essequas*, valet.

CAP. XXIII.

De Matrimonio.

Conjugium inire volentes suos *parentes* sollicitant, illi *Praefectos*, ut sibi integrum sit, ducere virginem; etsi nunquam, nisi bajulum, ad minimum unum, *bovem*, transportando cum suppellectili tugurio, unam alteramve lactariam *vaccam*, emulgendo *lacti*, *ovesque* decem vel duodecim, celebrandis sponsalibus repotiisve &c. possideant. Qui vero locupletiores, *Turcarum* ritu polygamiam exercent: atque iis si connubium non arriserit, nubtam

* I feel sure *industria* is a mistake for *iustitia*. Ten Rhyne in this sentence is simply transcribing Justin. See note [u]), p. 142. B.F.

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304 [46]) This form of mutilation has already been discussed, see above, p. 63. a

628 [47]) Blood vengeance. || *Kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots, down till within fairly recent times. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act (cf. discussion in Schapera, *op cit.*, 345-6).

755 [48]) The treatment of sick people is described more fully by Grevenbroek, see below, p. 243. b A similar observation to that of Ten Rhyne was recorded in 1710 by Commissary Cnoll, who learned from some Hottentots, near the present Houw Hoek, that "in case of the very worst diseases, it is their custom to place

a [See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 63. — Analyst.]

b [See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, cat. 116, p. 243. — A.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [46]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [47]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [48]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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South Nguni FX17

If any girl bears a child as the result of promiscuous intercourse, she becomes an object of contempt to all, and is bound to rear the babe, which has no father except the community. Nor does she readily find a suitor until the child by its own efforts is able to obtain food and clothing for itself; so averse are the men from taking on matrimonial burdens. When she does marry, she and the child pass into the power of the husband.[25])

When a girl becomes of marriageable age and ripe for a husband, a suitor from a neighbouring village, but never from the same one as his beloved — an excellent institution — purchases her from her parents at the lowest price for which he can get her. Through this old established custom it is secured that she is betrothed to a stranger and not to one of the same stock; the risk of incest is met, and the danger of illicit union within the tables of consanguinity avoided. The intention may also be that peace, harmony and concord, and the threads of friendly dealing may be drawn tighter by this sacred treaty, pledge of union, and matrimonial bond; that the marriage may be a link to bind them more closely to one another. When the bridegroom has then made payment in accordance with the terms agreed upon, and when arms, cattle and other things the natives value, have been presented to the father-in-law, then the father, or, if he be dead, the son of the deceased, or if he be dead, the male next of kin, gives the pledged and promised bride in marriage (more truly, in my opinion, in slavery) without dowry, without possessions, without preparations, equipped only with a few rags of clothing;[25]) the whole bride-price he keeps for himself, the bride marries into the family of the father (of the bridegroom), and as a token and gauge of her love and conjugal fidelity she cuts off a joint of the little finger of her left hand, and she resorts to a similar amputation as often as she passes to a new husband.[25]) Wherefore she does well to concern herself for her husband's health, should she have no taste to see her hands grow fingerless.

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[25]) The "purchase" referred to is the payment of *lobola* cattle made by the bridegroom's family to the bride's people (see Soga, *op. cit.*, chap. 13).

[25]) This is a Hottentot custom. Amputation of the finger joints is also found occasionally among the AmaXhosa, but, according to Soga (*op. cit.*, 298-9), the custom takes its rise in children's ailments, and is due to the superstitious belief that if the first joint of the child's little finger (either hand) were not cut off, the child would waste away.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[11] next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[11]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, op. cit., 244 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

A Judaeis circumcisionem, non praeputii, sed graviorem cuticulae ad imum ventrem usque resectae, mutuatos diceres eos, qui abdita regionis inhabitant: et ab his eos qui nobis propinqui, didicisse sinistri colei (honore dicto) excisionem: utrosque autem omnes ritus tam sacerdotales quam sacrificales, meram antiquitatem redolentes, ab Israëlitis, tot licet saeculorum intervallo obumbratos, traxisse, quis adeo lusciosus ut non videat?

Si quis nostrorum Barbarorum virilia sua popae ejusque secespitae, clunaculo, aut excisorio scalpello subjicere abnuens, mavult genitalia numero et mensura juxta naturae legem integra sibi conservare, quàm se doloribus excruciandum et quadantenus emasculandum praebere, hunc omnis diminutionis inimicum, per opprobrium arietem vocant, eumque ab omni societate hereditateque excludentes, tanquam fulguritum fugiunt: alii incisurâ in scroto factâ particulam cutis testiculo dextro abscindunt, sucque loco repositum, et vulnere curato, sui juris ephebum faciunt.

Afri circa trigesimam secundam Australis Poli graduum inclinationem, et prope Lusitanis Natalem dictam, degentes, insigni pompa, et splendidiore ociliferio circumcisionis sacra celebrant: quippe in propatulo et patente campo, flaminiam plus mille passibus ab omni habitatione secretam, annuam exstruunt, quo totius regionis praetextati circumcidendi confluunt, omnibusque rite praeparatis pontifex seu hariolus penis cuticulam sub Jove frigido juvenibus deglubit, eamque pube lanugineque tenus abscindit, mox adipe plagam recutitis ungit, eique involucra cujusdam bulbi, à caepe tunicis non multum abludentibus, applicat, et dumtaxat percuratis hinc egredi, et tum demum cum parentibus, amicis, et puellabus loqui fas est, quorum cautio est, ne miserè excruciatis cibus aut potus, ceteraque necessaria, per flaminem subministranda in trimestre desit: transactâque hac indictiva duplicatae quadragenariae stationis morâ, quisque tripudians domum revertitur, adultus virorum numero accensetur, multoque amplexu et convivio, remotis mulieribus, exceptum, sui juris faciunt, excedentique jam ex ephebis, ad omnia uxorem ducere patiuntur.

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[*]) On the alleged semi-castration of the Hottentots, see above p. 142 n.

[**]) This paragraph is derived almost literally from the accounts of the "Blaveniase" crew (see Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii 64-65, 94). It is a highly condensed but substantially accurate description of a custom still found among the AmaXhosa.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot
South Ngwi FX17

H 304

It must be supposed that it is from the Jews that the inhabitants of the remoter parts have learned the practice of circumcision,[38] [although it is a more serious operation with the Africans, involving the cutting away not only of the prepuce but of the skin right up to the base of the abdomen. From the Jews also the natives near us must have acquired the practice of removing the left testicle, if you will excuse the mention of it.[39]) Indeed who is so blind as not to see that it is from the Israelites that both divisions of Hottentots have derived all their sacerdotal and sacrificial rites, which are redolent of the purest antiquity, though admittedly the lapse of so many centuries has obscured the connection.

H [626]

Should any of our Hottentots refuse to subject his male members to the sacrificial blade or lancet or operating knife of the priest, preferring to preserve his genital organs perfect in the shape and number provided by nature rather than submit himself to agonies of pain and a partial castration, this enemy of all amputation is insulted by the name of "ram," shut out from all fellowship and inheritance, and shunned as if blasted by the lightning of heaven. The others make an incision in the scrotum, cut away a little skin from the right testicle, send the young man home(?), and when the wound is cured regard him as his own master.

S 881 304

The Africans who live at about the thirty-second parallel of the degrees of the South Pole and near to the place called Natal by the Portuguese celebrate the rite of circumcision with notable display and brilliant éclat. Every year they build, in a wide spreading plain, a sacred booth more than a mile away from every habitation. To it flock the youths of the whole district to be circumcised; and when all preparations have been duly made the priest or prophet, under the open sky, draws back the skin of the penis of each youth and cuts it away as far as the hair on the pubis. He then anoints the wound with fat, and applies to it a wrapping of some bulb with coats not very different from those of an onion. Only when they are cured may they leave the booth; only then are they permitted to talk with parents, friends, and girls, whose business it is to secure that food and drink and other necessaries, to be dealt out by the priest, should not fail the poor sufferers for the space of three months. When this compulsory inactivity of twice forty days has gone by, each returns dancing home, and being now adult is numbered among the men. The women are sent away, while he is welcomed with many embraces and much good cheer. He is now his own master, and having left the ranks of the youths is given full liberty to take a wife].[40])

If I may be allowed a conjecture, I should say that the reason of their hanging the entrails round the neck of the patient and anointing him with fat is to check the excessive exhalation of the vital spirits, and, by closing the pores of the body, to keep out external cold and foster the native heat.

The pasture grass found in the stomach or bowels of the victim, and the excreta, are cooked by some together with the flesh and looked upon as a great treat: not a very refined one to be sure! Others fling these things before the sick man's door, and when the marrow has been extracted from them by the heat of the fire, they anoint the sick man with it, a very powerful remedy. They treat the patient also by fasting and dieting. A favourite diet is cow's milk boiled with a handful of pepper and other aromatic herbs, and given to the patient cold.

A very frequent remedy is to turn the patient on his back and on his front and make water on him. They do not allow even his face to escape a bath of urine. Some even take, in a sea-shell or tortoise-shell or some other vessel, the amount of water discharged by one man, mix it with a powder from a certain plant, and administer it to the sick man. They do not attach any healing property to the water of women; the women themselves think it injurious to them. But sometimes a sick woman is made to sit upon her haunches with her legs bare, while the men make water upon her from the knees to the feet.[43])

When a woman is ill, they take fresh cow dung, mix it with water, and heat it on the fire; the woman is put to sit in a trench, and the warm water is dashed over her legs up to the waist. The patient sometimes recovers, but in my opinion most of the credit is due to Nature which always strives to preserve itself.

As a cure for disease they also employ scarification or criss-cross incisions in the skin of about a finger's length, especially on the chest and sides. The cuts are made very close to one another. Sometimes also they try cautery.

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in a circle round their fire. The 'doctor,' after addressing himself to the sun with much gesticulation and talk, went up to the patient, who was lying completely naked on the ground, and began to make water all over him, from the head down all over the body, until his flow had ceased; the other Hottentots, 7 or 8 in number, then faithfully followed his example. The patient, after being lustily bathed and washed in this way, went to sleep in his kaross, and the following day was again fit enough to accompany us" (*op. cit.*, 31-2). Kolb also gives a good deal of attention to this mode of treatment (*op. cit.*, 566 ff.).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

Tabab was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *doro !na |gorekwa hã tama*, " in the *doro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *≠a:di*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *doro*. The " laws " given by Wuras are slightly different and not so full.

The *doro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gam ||kxaeb* ceremony.

ina ibta xami khamma ≠noa o, ina ||nausab si ||nae, ina goman ≠ae, |gorekwa māsi |kha: kx²ai ||nausab.

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teteb* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *doro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *!nau* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *doro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wuras (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!guwisa:b* He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *|habab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

||kaeb ta ha o, |ko:s di |habab, ina !khaib dibae, ina |haruba māsi ≠kae, ina |kona mā kx²am ||ab dibae, ina !nose ≠nu, xu:kwa geise !gaba

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsũi||goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (||amab, trade; ||amagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-||khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǃAmas tribe), and of the |Khomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-ǃhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the *ǃKhãseti* (|Khunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or *ǃgoregu* the Zebras, *a* Orionis *χami*, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *torob*, from *toro*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǃgari-b, ||gob, ǃĕ-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǃgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǃgamteb, Lion-killer, ||Otsătamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu||ōb, Destroyer of heroes, &c, Names of places

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ||Gauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ||Guana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami‡nus, on the banks of the Geiḷāb

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253]

Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H B 133

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Environment and Culture

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The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

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The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

H B 105 311

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the */naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa!mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [797]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second 233
time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is,
according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the
first milk which they call ai·daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is
therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after
the calf has sucked for the third time, is called *tsaũ/gubib, the fourth
milk *tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to
the last drop.

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called
ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several
hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has
sucked a second time.

The milk, //ha/mi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately
after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into
a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for
himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272]
The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and
therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing [824]
parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mush-
room (ǂhĩrasãb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is
called *!kã//gyere//ha/mi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves.
If it is white it is called *da//ha/mi.

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Nama-
land, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area,
is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary.
Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and [312]
beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places
after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scat-
tered animals.

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since
they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, go/ma·gu, de-
pending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes
every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while
they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies
they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job
can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which
are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the
particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

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a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

H B [312 492]

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Environment and Culture

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H B 105 311 312

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H B 105 311

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the */naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Gei ǁKhauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei ǁKhauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the ǁO. Gein 800, ǁKhau /Goan 1,000, ǁHaboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei ǁKhauan numbered only about 100 and the ǁKhau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/kau /nani*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-/Goam*, 57.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 54, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chieftainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expected to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the */nara* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 197, 318.
[2] Wanders, op. cit., 673–4; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76. [3] Wanders, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 257–8; Kolb, op. cit., 79–80; von François, op. cit., 258.

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THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

MRS. R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, B.A. (*née* MISS A. W. TUCKER).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

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NOTE.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalized u for the same reason.

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Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Áb, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáms, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xorás, or Xorábes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgās, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garúb, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /āp, or vlei, and the !khowís, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garúb, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year. I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the géi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa!nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

* "Geographische Bezeichnungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—65.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damoh*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practice polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[21]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[22]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kenima, ostrich feather, and a woman *Hau na maos*, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (Kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

[22]) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Soc.* 5, pp. 60 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.[90])

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Salmacis, won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be *à propos*, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.[90]) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.[91])

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[90]) See above, p. 47.
[91]) Judges, 7, 4-6.

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as *!na/nihaigu. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called *≠gurihaib or kχã!nab, also */naĕhaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rush, a Mariscus species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called /hu- mi·haru s by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view. 2/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried.

Piercing and hemming (kχu·iam or *kχu·im) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, */kχa·ru nã·b, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point to that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row.*

*In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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neither must she speak above a whisper. All informers lay great emphasis on these two points. !Amatis declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view.

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or root or leaves to make powder (*sắp*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entreated to send back a special sweet smelling rosin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. *!Naop*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The time during which the girl must remain in the kharú óms has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says !Amatis. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *kharú ≠ắp*. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and chief of all must be a heifer. The entrails, pluck, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This kharú ≠ắp is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Berseba tribe said to me: "That killing is as great as the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing [10] to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings [11] to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never

[10] Vide infra, p. 73, and n. 16.

[11] Vide infra, p. 73.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would ask, |*Gu*riseb hã ? Is he alone ?

|*Gam, two,* I derive from the root |ka, |kha, |ga, or |ya, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with, "added," "contributed," in connection with.*

!*Nona, three,* comes from !*no-na-s* or !*no-ma-s*, the *root*, the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger*, it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three*, because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the symbol of the abstract number *three.*

Haga, four, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gore, five,* which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *goreb*, for palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, "*Goreb* !na ta ni tani" (I will carry it in the palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. *Goreb* is also the Euphorbia candelabra, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the number *gore* and the *gore*-tree have derived the name from goreb (also koreb), the open hand. It is also certain that the number *gore* and the tree *kore* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gore*-tree has served from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Koreχas in the North-western Cape Colony; a |Kora told me that he was born at Koreχas in the Free State;

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

222 413 [415] makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes a honey bag, *//kxo·rob, from the hide of an iguona, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263 ●317 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

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5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264 415 The branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !ore·s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //go/a·b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two occasional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called *a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264 524 Tsu·bugu/hu·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nō/ti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kx̄ō·/uis, and the flint, !nō/ns (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !ha/i-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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causes are the physical features of the mountains and the annual course of the sun. Not but what we must also admit the possibility that these changes should arise from great marshes, which are very ample store-rooms of vapours.

For this reason the physical features of places should be studied by captains just as much as the tides and the currents. I have myself had experience of this on the coast of France between the town of S. Malo and the Isle of Wight, where there is a dangerous ridge on the coast of Normandy called on the maps Cape de la Hagne. But the enquiry is full of difficulties. The freshening or slackening of a trade wind depends not only on near but on distant places, and often on the rising or setting and recession of the sun; while its change of direction depends on the season of the year. But the cause of winds that blow throughout the year is still more obscure, and Oedipus himself could scarcely solve the riddle of the relationship of mountain to plain on which depends the perpetual blowing of the South-Easter, a common wind in many parts of the world, a permanent possessor of the Cape of Good Hope.

If Descartes, the prince of philosophers, had had the opportunity of experiencing these and other like phenomena, he would not have invoked the moon alone as the presiding deity of his thought. Indeed Nature refuses to be bound by general laws, where there is need of induction based on experience. Thus the ebb and flow of the sea does not everywhere obey the hypotheses of Descartes. It is different in the Ligurian, Tyrrhenian, and Baltic Seas, it is very violent in the Gulf of Jacqueta; in New France we have *le passage courent;* and in the Gulf of Mexico the Bahama Channel. To Descartes also many ravings about the force of the magnet can be attributed. But I must not stray beyond bounds. Let me rather describe with more care the adjacent localities, rivers, mountains.*

Five *leucae* from the Fort there is a salt-producing bay, Salt Bay,** very rich in edible salt. This salt is mined, and is therefore to be called rather a crystal salt than sea salt. It keeps its shape if not broken up. The pieces are generally large, but can easily be ground to a fine powder.

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* What Ten Rhyne is protesting against in this paragraph is the *à priori* approach of Descartes to natural philosophy. It is peculiarly interesting then to note that Ten Rhyne had made a special study of the Hippocratic tract on Ancient Medicine. (B.F.)

** Salt Bay (*i.e.* Riet Vlei, beyond Milnerton. B.F.)

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It is white even in its natural deposit, although black specimens are also found. But when the dog days scorch it with their tremendous heat, of its own accord it splits and shows a gleaming white surface. It surpasses the common salt of our country somewhat in pungency of taste, and forms a most agreeable accompaniment of food. Can this be the reason why (as already known in Aristotle's time) if one digs near the sea in Africa, one first finds sweet water, then, after a little, salt?

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CHAP. II.

Animals.

This mountainous desert is a fitter habitation for wild beasts than for men; for here are to be found lions, the cruel enemies of flocks and herds, elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers or rather panthers, wolves, elks, hippopotamuses, wild horses, buffaloes, boars, mountain-bred *napes* (?), baboons, porcupines, hedge-hogs, *putorii* (?), lynxes, stags, rabbits, badgers, otters, hares, zebras of a most beautiful colouring, as if a furrier had inserted white stripes at regular intervals in a black hide, goats, mountain goats, ibexes, both spotted and ash-coloured, springboks, wild cats, shaped like tigers and grey, a species of fox which the Dutch call *jakhals*, and more rarely *Tamandua-Guacu* (?), differing only in size from the Brazilian variety. In truth an enormous supply of animals must harbour here, for in a brief space of time a few hunters brought the governor several thousands of pounds weight of animals they had taken, chiefly hippopotamuses, elks, ibexes, and similar creatures. Hence we can see into how serious an error Aristotle fell when he says that in Africa (where there is no lack of that beast whose teeth are precious at its death) the boar, the stag, and the wild goat are not to be found.

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e) Prodigiosae magnitudinis beluae, a me non semel conspectae, quas saepe cum vitae periculo venatum eunt nostrates: videatur Plin. lib. 8. cap. 25 & c. 26. (Beasts of enormous size seen more than once by me. Our countrymen often go to hunt them at the peril of their lives. See Pliny, Natural History, bk. 8, chaps. 25 and 26.)

f) Quas Marcgravius describit sub nomine Mienen deidera. Hist. quadrup. lib. suo 6. cap. 4. (Described by Marcgravius under the name Mienen. *History of Quadrupeds*, bk. 6, chap. 4.)

g) de hist. anim. lib. 8 cap. 28.

h) Petron. in satyr. (The reference again is to Petronius *Satyrae*. §119, lines 15, 16. *Equi* seems to be corrupt. The passage in Petronius concerns the elephant. B.P.)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX 10

and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *bucku*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Ackermann, *Voyage of Exploration on ... Cape de Bonne-Espérance*, 403; Burchell and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 319; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 431.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

322 [177] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Naman by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, *!nara* drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *kucha* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements 324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that, as in the case of the Bushmen, it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Grevenbroek, op. cit., 24–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 249–63; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 331; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[21]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *stripoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, them, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[22]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[23])

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[21]) The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 261) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

[22]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 314.

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, cat. 11, p. 251. — Awaiting]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [43]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [44]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from bears of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[43]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

[44]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 9:Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35. – Analyst]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, H intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An 151 additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of 142 the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their 231 sheep. The sheep I should describe as *musimones*, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of 262 game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or [252] boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who S refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[1]). They live [262] also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned 415 of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip 321 sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions H and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, 262 forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it S right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of [272] hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[1])

[1]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Blavenlaar" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

[1]) [see pp 180-81 for footnote.—Ann'ys F]

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare-s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ≠aigaĩ //hoës, "foot bamboo." b: !ore-s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[Refer to diagram on p. 59 (A).—Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

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[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 24–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 244–6; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27.

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CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[21]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *sirigoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[22]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[23])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 251) briefly desribes their mode of manufacture.

[23]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarized by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 314.

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare·s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. h and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ≠aigaĩ //hoës, "foot bamboo." b: !ore·s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned, which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[Refer to diagram on p. 59(A).—Analyst]

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kʟoe·kʟoesūs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gūs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂkʟanu·b and *ǂkʟanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation.--Analyst]

415
●323

[p.246]

Baked clay vessel of the old kind.
1/4 natural size.

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are 857
therefore called go/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious 526
soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.]

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy 857
of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic 524
drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about 323
eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give 532
it nuances of color as well as hardness.

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I.][1] The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [steatopygia]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

[1] [Figures refer to p. 112B. — Analyst]

1: Schultze--112B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

857
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[p. 311]

I.

The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.

II

1: Schultze--112C N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

857
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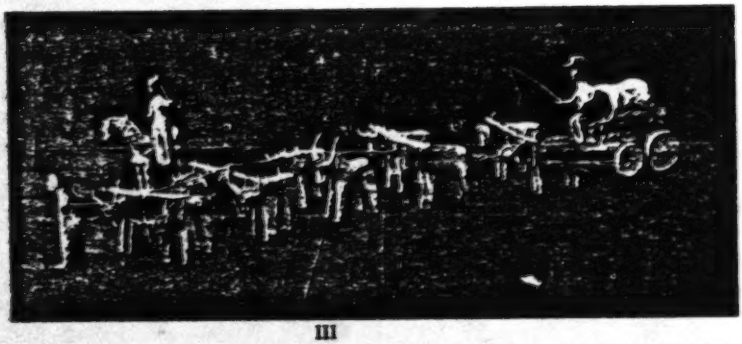

III

An ox wagon. The old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 241–4.
[2] Schönland, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 25–32, pl. ii; Schultze, op. cit., 246 and fig.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

322 [177] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Naman by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, */nara* drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *buchu* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements
324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that, as in the case of the Bushmen, it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 24–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 244–6; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CAP. XIII.

De Supellectili.

000 Si quis in supellectilis partes inquirat, antiqua opus est mente revolvat secula; ubi *) *Thebanum Cratem* populo rem familiarem donasse, & solitudinem delegisse, arbores plurimas & frugiferas prae uno baculo sprevisse, ac villas ornatissimas una perula mutasse comperiet. Sola quippe pera & baculus olim *Cynicae*, nunc *Hotteniotticae* gestamina familiae sunt; quae olim *Diogeni* & *Antistheni*, ea nunc *Hottentottis*, idem quod Imperatoribus paludamentum, quod Regibus diadema, quod Pontificibus galerum, quod lituus auguribus, sunt. Neque in hoc *Diogeni*, cum magno *Macedonum Rege* de regni veritate certabundo, *baculoque* sceptri, & *vasculo* solii vice glorianti, cedunt, semper sua sorte contenti. Utuntur tamen nonnumquam *poculis*, ex collectis in litore *conchyliis*, vel ex comestarum prius *testudinum* (quas *Sirigoos* vocitant, & in cineribus tostas edunt, ac pro *tabaci* frustulo peregrinis divendunt) operimentis: quibus si careant, cavata manu cum *Cynico* aquam hauriunt. Cibum quandoque rejecta in testa, alias sub cineribus apparant, secus cruda vorantes. Attamen peculio ditiores exquisitas ex argilla *ollas*, coquinae destinatas, alii ex arborum truncis cibarios *alveolos* oblongos conficiunt.

*) Vide Apulejum in apol. pro se ipso. (See Apuleius, *Apologia*.) (Chap. 22. The whole passage from *Thebanum Cratem* to *solii vice glorianti* is taken, with slight adaptations, from this chapter of Apuleius. B.F.)

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415 31) Cf. de la Loubère, *Description du Royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1691), vol. ii, 109: "When we offered them brandy, they picked up as receptacle the first suitable shell they saw lying on the ground, and after blowing through it used it for drinking".

● 323 32) The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it appears that the most common form was that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord was passed for purposes of suspension. Other pots of the same style were quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base was slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[31]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *stripoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[32]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[33])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 251) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

[32]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 314.

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, ent. 116, p. 251. — Analyst]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[75]

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (Tavel-//Gosse, 88, 90).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

fundo aut basi ollae destinatos: hinc pari modo testam profundam latamque ex arbitrio et proportionis norma construunt, eamque digitorum et conchae marinae ope, introrsum et extrorsum perpolitam laevigatamque, rubro colore, (minio subacto) quaquaversum illinunt, et sub eodem tecto ubi elaborata, pelle aut storea in diem unum alterumve probè cooperiam, ne nimio aëre aut vento, justo citius siccata, rimas agat aut fatiscat, relinquunt: denique siccâ aridâque bucerdâ repletam, luculento igni amastam imponunt, coctaque in varios usus apta.

Adhaec calathos, canistros, flcellasve ex hibisco consolidatas hauriendae aquae, et continendo cuivis liquori, magnitudine et forma nostratium sitularum, nunquam perfluentes, solertissimi texunt, interiorem plagam inhabitantes, et in occidua Europaei navem et retia viderunt.

Uterque sexus verenda meloti aut alia quavis pelle tegit: capilli variis anadematibus, crepundiisque intermixti conchulis, cochleis, plurimisque maris ejectamentis conspersi, aureaque crotalia graves, et nonnunquam in vertice virorum, veluti militis galeati pinna, leporis cauda eminet: et quotiescunque ovem aliudve animal mactant, ejus felle se illinunt, folliculumque capillitio innectunt, atque felle bestiae pro salute aegri caesae, prolibant, folliculum verò tugurioli tecto, in quo aeger decumbit, superstitiosi, ut dixi, imponunt.

Ex collo, auribus, et femore catellos, astragalos, crotalia, fila, lineas, funiculosve coralia globulosque Cypreis, eburneis, ferreis vitreisque consertos feminae pendentes habent, in digitis varios condylos, et in utroque carpo ferme eadem cimelia.

Viri caudam pardalis, vulpis, felisve odoratae aliorumve animalium bacillo superinductam, ad cubiti longitudinem, ut plurimum dextrâ euntes sedentesve tenent, quâ gramini sudantesque, vicè pannuli aut sudarii, se abstergunt: iidem coriaceam fasciam, corrigiam aeream cingulum, duos aut tres digitos latum, aliquotiesque ulnas longum, nudis femoribus circumligant, et prope pudicum nodo constringunt, prope dentibus utrimque ejus extremitatibus seminudae longitudine, et caudarum similitudine inter clunes.

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323 *) This account of potmaking by the Hottentots is much more detailed than any previous mention, and is on the whole an accurate description of a process still employed by some natives of S. Africa.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[1])

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture).

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[1]) Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including coral-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is.

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures.

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell.

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[1]) The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

Ti χamas! My lioness! 542

!Gaibida ǂoets! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomasa ke ǂausi ǁgeni !omasi!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǂGabi-ǂkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamas! My lioness.

Gei khoits ǃaus! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [401]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χamas*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174
(ǂhaua-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap

(pot sū-s, to boil, to cook sūi).

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asũ'ŝ, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it °kxloŏ-kxloŏsũ'ŝ, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called °//gũ/ŝ, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, °/ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone°, °/uiams (always feminine

°The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kuiub there are two watering places next each other, °ǂkxanu-b and °ǂkxanu-s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1 [i.e., p. 130 of the translation.--Analyst]]

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[247]

Stone mill for hand use. 1/4 natural size.

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nõǂti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kpõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõ^ns (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [35] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1906.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !haǂi-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /ui!k‡ōb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha· bes. 324 276

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available. 325 301 [439]

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a. 325 301 53

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross-lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

1 [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). —Ed.]

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[248]

a and b are bone tobacco pipes, c - e serpentine pipes of native design, f a serpentine pipe of European design.

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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 100-1; Allemão, loc. cit.; Schinz, op. cit., 504, 648.

[1] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively common herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocyta. – Ed.]

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323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

322 [177] Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced among the Naman by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, */nara* drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *kuchu* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements 324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that [illegible] it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Grevenbroek, op. cit., 10–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 244–6; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25.

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which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 247-8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 177-8.
[3] "Reports and Diaries of Henry Hugh Tredinnick," 93.

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1 [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). -Analyst]

[249]

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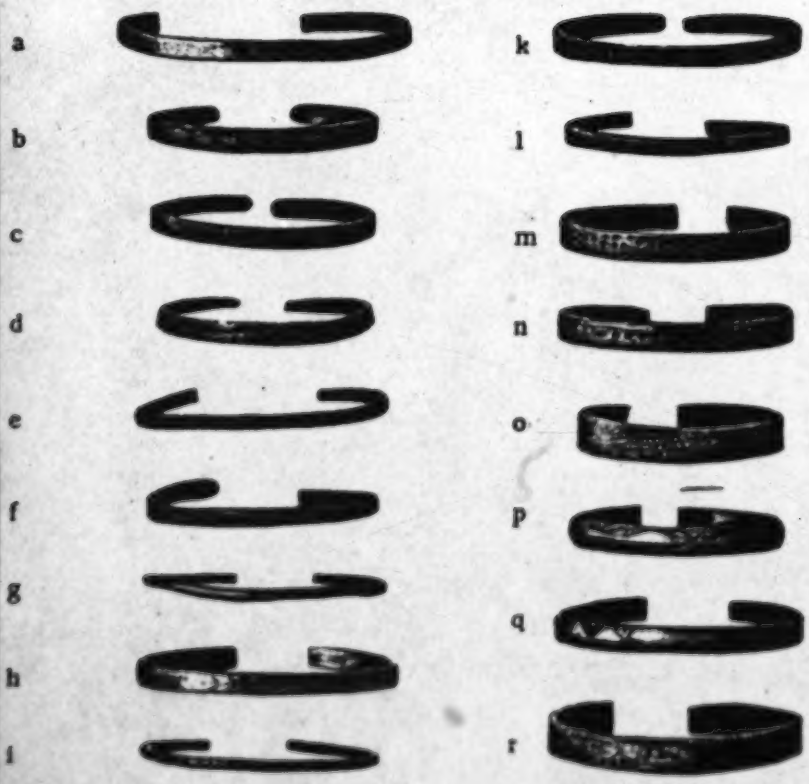

Bracelets. 4/5 natural size.

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to prehistoric ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i. 301 325 531

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (1). The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251] A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, !gamti, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are 301 304

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Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 297-8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] Op. cit., 177-8.
[3] "Rapport van den Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 77.

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325 177 326 439 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, but hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into beads for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 57.
[2] Schinz, op. cit., 248–51.

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293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back 412 a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[1]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [328] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

262 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of 25 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[2]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [1]) Malingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, XXIX, 713 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[251] [2]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachcombing Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 228).

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raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[1]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. *Their adult people also usually feed on cabbage, mallow and* mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become mad and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[2]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[1]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

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Beschrijving.

De *Goringhaikonas* of Waltermans, die dicht aen de kaep woonen, ernaren sich met vischt te vangen, (naerdien sy geen vee gelijk d'anderen hebben,) die sy uit armoede aen d'inmen voor broot en tabak verhandelen. Al de meeste anderen hebben geen kennis van vischt te vangen, noch eenige vaertuigh om de see te gebruiken; maer al hun reisen, te lande, te voet geschiet, wanneer sy van plaets willen verwisselen, of hun mede-makkers besoeken. In stede van peerden hebben sy groote ossen, daer op sy hunne omsingh en goederen van d'eene plaets tot d'andere doen vervoeren, en leiden en besturen dezelve door middel van een hout, door de neus gedaen, als met een toom.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars* ernaren sich alle met de vee-hoedery, en hebben over de hondert duisent beesten, alle even schoon, en wel eens soo veel schagen, niet met wol, maer met langachtigh gekleurt hair. De kleine en groote *Karichuriquas* en *Hoesas* ernaren sich mede, gelijk hunne geburr-volken, de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, met seer schoon en meenighvuldigh vee, hun eenighste hope en vertrouwen; want deze volken hebben in den drogen sumer-tijt niet anders, dan van hun vee te leven; maer 's winters, gelijk gesaid is, in den regentijdt, groeien daer sekre wortelijes in d'aerde, hun gewoonelijke spijse. Geen onder al de Hottentots saien of planten, dan alleen de *Hoesaquas*, die sich met het planten van den wortel dacha ernaren.

Velen, inmiddelst de *Goringhaiquas*, of Kaep-mans, [illegible] geschiet; wanneer sy by nacht eenigh wilt gedierte vernemen, 't sy olifanten, elanden, reinosters, leeuwen, tigers, buffels of peerden, dan springen alle weerbare mannen uit, en maken luitruchtigh een groot geschreeu en gejuich, waer door het dier uit vreese wijkt; maer soo by dagen eenigh verscheurend wilt-gedierte verschijnt, dan springht al uit wat wapenen kan voeren, wel ten getale van twee of drie hondert, elk versien met twee of drie aasgaien, en vervoegen sich alle in 't ronde, om het gedierte, met schutskelijk te roepen en schreeuwen, soo lange tot dat het wilt sich uit de ruichte op de vlughi begeeft: als dan past ieder wat te raken, om niet gequetst of verdelt te worden, gelijk soks lyweljaen wel geberurt, en het wilt te treffen. In

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325 [17]) Wagenaar, in the memorandum left for the information of his successor, says in this connection: "To sell them this square iron iron, as the Cochoquas would have recently wished, is by no means advisable, as they know how to beat it into pickpoints, or sharp points for their arrows and assegais, and to harden it very tolerably; so, that, should they come again to ask for this iron,

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74]) 226 439 501 481 492

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[1] 231

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must 224

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Sparrman, Account, 281.) 325

[74]) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 197).

1 [The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, col. 116. — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and fur thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [44]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [45]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from bears of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[44]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 31.

[45]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p 35, - Analyst]

(pot ǂē-s, to boil, to cook ǂē). Food, especially meat, is always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

We must also conclude that the process of melting ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general separation; for ǂarib is the word for iron or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǂā, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gôaga), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂgaunga, literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǂhoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *peak-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (ǂā-b or bu χu).

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* "Into inside on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

325 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little
177 Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar
states that the Namas preferred not to work their own metal, but
●326 hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into bekds
435 for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Namas only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and leather, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 97.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 248-50.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

To what extent specialization enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialized activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognized practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*Abessel*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wanderer's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Namas, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Namas and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Namas living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChuanas. The latter crossed the intervening desert trails during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Olpp, Reisen*, etc. [2] *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of
177 serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 2. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely
283 be expected to obtain in this crew nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make running cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are
226 used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
177 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
600 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) "omamigaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ame) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture, omamigaub, 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [271]

) "!ga-/marib (3, n. cf. p. 332.) or #ha-hab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)"/kâu-bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called "/a-mi#ai-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Walvis Bay received their name !na-rania from the gourd fruit !na-}eb, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 1/3 natural size] 221 222 [343] [56]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Bergdamaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 [56] 223 223 [56] 223 [56]

Syphilis claims many victims.

Although probably based on superstitious fear, the custom of the Hottentots of destroying a hut after a death has occurred in it and re-building it somewhere else on new ground is of great practical hygienic value.

Capitulum II

The Hut and Handicrafts

A. The Hut

The hut, ǂ-mi, of the Hottentots is characteristic of nomadic housing. It is airy, yet protected against wind and sun, light in weight, [228] simple in material and in construction and therefore easy to take down, pack up and rebuild in another place.

1. Material and Construction

a) The framework of the hut is best made of thorn tree wood because of its elasticity. Next to be used is the more brittle hakjes (Acacia detinens Burch.) thorn. Other woods are used only as a last resort.

The dome shape of the hut demands that the framework of the hut have a definite curve.* The freshly pelled and trimmed branch (about

*This curve is the basis of a Hottentot designation for rainbow as tertium comparationis: °/a-ts[ha-/nab, i.e. "rain hut-pole."

5 centimeters across at the base) is placed flat on the ground. One end and the middle are weighted down by heavy stones. The free end is bent and braced against a stone block and kept in this position until the wood has dried and therefore stays bent. Or they place the branches in handles upright in the ground, tie the free ends together, bend them down and hold them with a strap which is anchored to the ground. [Picture, Framework of a Hut].

1: Schultze--48A N-6 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Нотеншоп FX13
Наша

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Грузия

Framework of a hut.

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth 342
vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters.
They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The
upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends
the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive.
The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about
2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or
cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with
a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower
part of the wall are specially designated as °!na/nihaigu. There are usu-
ally four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary sup-
port by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the
ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The
Berthaus hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called °/gurihaib
or kgâ'nab, also °/naihaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut.
The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. 342
The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually 285
called rub, a Restionaceae species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening
with fat and therefore called /hu- mi-haru s by the Hottentots. The
plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat
Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full
view. 1/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until
dried.

Plaiting and hemming (krâa-iam or °krâa-im) a mat requires a great
deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181)
on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, ir-
regularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which
is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the
new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the
reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To
sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, °/krâa-ra nâ-b, made from
a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her
left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the
point so that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are
drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already
in a row."

"In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are
not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

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Cyperus, reed for a mat hut.

Bone needle for sewing mats.
a) side view; b) full view.
2/3 natural size.

flat iron awl. The awl was placed on a slant so a path for the thread would be held open. A reed was threaded instead of a needle and then worked into the opening. The Little Namaland people call this reed /kʃo-reeb, but the Topnaars use this word to designate the end of the bast thread that is threaded into the bone needle. 342 285

When a few thousand reeds are lined up in this manner, they are pierced and sewn again in reverse order a few centimeters from the first row of sewing (see the arrows in the illustration). This is repeated in alternate directions until each meter long reed is pierced 16 to 18 times.

The free ends of the reeds are now bound together as the picture shows either in pairs or in threes and tied to the outer sewing thread all along the mat. Whatever part of the reed sticks out beyond this hem is cut off evenly with a knife leaving an amount the breadth of a finger. [Picture. Piercing and Hemming the Mats (Plan). a) Reed, b) Sewing Thread, c) Hem Thread.]

The mat is now ready for use. It is generally called /haru-b (3, m.). A mat called !gũ/b is prepared from considerably longer and stronger reeds.

The length of the mat varies with the size of the hut (it must span the whole dome in one piece) and depending on the mat's position on the dome, is between 4 and 8 meters long and not quite 1 meter wide.

The reeds in the mat are placed only sufficiently close together to keep out direct sunlight. They let in enough scattered rays through the cracks to light up the hut pleasantly and also enough air to ventilate it. In comparison, the clay hut of the Herero is gloomy and dank but offers better protection against the rain. Only when it drizzles slowly and the mat has time to swell do the reeds contract to form a rainproof roof. [251] A mat lasts 10 to 15 years. When it reaches that worthy age it is called /ha-mi. [n]

c) The mat is fastened to the framework with straps or bast threads to the loops of the sewing threads that stick out like handles, in other words along the narrow sides of the mat. Mats (usually three) are hung (!na/ni) with their long sides parallel to the ground from the bottom of the hut wall to about the height of a man. They thus embrace the framework like a crown. The edges overlap a great deal. The other 342 285

1: Schultze--48A N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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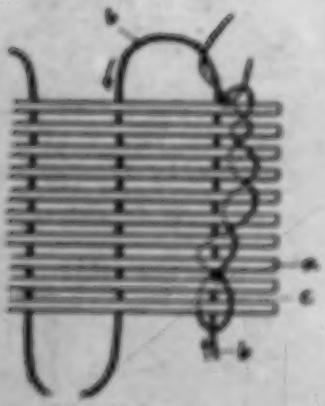
[1230]



Piercing and hemming the mats (plan).
a) reed, b) sewing thread, c) hem thread.

mats are placed over the framework vertically to the others, usually so 342
that they run from door to door. [Picture. Completed Mat Hut.]

2. The furnishings of the hut consist of nothing except the barest [354]
necessities of daily life. Two doors, only one of which is ever used, the other being kept closed, control the ventilation. The door openings, ǂnuxaxa, i.e. "hut mouths," are about 60 centimeters wide and 1 and 1/2 meters high and are opposite each other. The front one faces east. The door itself is a hard goat skin or calf skin that has been dried stiff, ǂgûǂnuǂgoas. A thong is fastened on each side and in the middle of the upper edge. These can be fastened to the hut wall in bad weather. If the inhabitants go out, a stone is placed on the overlapping edge of the skin to close up the hut completely. Here and there someone would remember that in the olden times elephant ears were made into door skins. [Picture. Floor Plan of a Hut. a) Front Door. b) Back Door. c) Fireplace. d) "Raiser" e) Framework Poles. f) Side Rooms. g) Back Room.]

[352] On the inside the levelled ground is covered with skins, ex- [362]
cept the hearth, located in the front half towards the door. 359

If the family is large, a hearth is built outdoors beside the hut and protected from the wind by a semicircle of transplanted bushes. But even if the cooking is done in such a kitchen protected from the wind, //hoxb, there is always a hearth in the hut. The evening fire that is lighted immediately after sunset unites the family and the inevitable boarders, friends, relatives and neighbors.

The sleeping places, hâa-roga, are right on the ground. All kinds 513
of skins are used as mattresses and sleep skins (cf. p. 336) as covers. 352
The sides of the hut, ǂaoxa, i.e. the area behind the hearth to the right and left of the back room, (see below) are the best places for sleeping, and are reserved for the master and his wife and after them the older members of the family. The unmarried servants, hired man or maid-servant, usually Bergdamara people or Bushmen who look after the children and the cattle, sleep near the door.

The household utensils (cf. handicrafts) and the food supplies hang 495
from the poles of the framework or are packed in sinew nets or in skin sacks. On the floor in the back room, ǂgo-rab, i.e. of the room be- 352
tween the place for the fire and the back door, stands the so-called "raiser", ǂhâ/a, made from four vertical branches with twig ends that are used as hooks for hanging things on. (Fig 10).

342

[221]

Completed mat hut.

Floor plan of a hut. a) front door, b) back door. c) fireplace. d) "raiser," e) framework poles, f) sidewarms, g) back room.

1: Schultze--50 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Nama

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaiǂ, ǂhaǂa), and where now scattered groups of huts (ǂharigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

8. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

[Between 262 and 263]

Plate XI.

A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

Hottentot boy in an open.

2: Schapera E-4, 9 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

361
512.

also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the /gun or servants.

342

The huts themselves (oms) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple underwood. Twenty to thirty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its outline is the work of the men. Withes are now twined round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of reed mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and closely over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks; other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the mats contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the mats swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

[462]

[492]

The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of mat matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] For the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Kolben, *Am ausführlichsten und deutlichsten beschrieben*, vol. ii, pp. 108 et seq.; also Pringle, *Narrative and Poems*, 1st ed., Index, "The Kaffer Encampment," pp. 9.

342
415
231
142
137

TOPNAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

(See p. 130

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered wi
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, w
[354 round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates slee
513] To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles wi
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts o
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with the
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is no
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family t
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed b
[544] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thu
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All th
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, wa
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with he
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife
594 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriag
the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, bu
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and is
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wanless, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17-23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299-312, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero. 161 178

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps: then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode. 342 361

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular. 342 177

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children. 352 177

S: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception 589
of the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man lustfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple does not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 573
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. Hut since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with 582
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

It happened about five years ago that a certain man, a great friend and kinsman of the Koshqua or King of the Saldanhars, sank so low as to commit incest. But justice was done upon him as well, without regard for his person. He managed nevertheless by pleading hard to get off with a whipping, the confiscation of all his cattle, and exile; and betook himself to the Gorinhaikonnas at the Fort, deserted by all his friends, but with the promise that if he should conduct himself as before then he would again be taken into favour. This shows again that even to these savages discipline is not unknown. 684

Punishment of Homicide and Assault.

They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some Hidoers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end."[1] 682

Dwellings.

As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts 342 ●

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was [illegible] and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser states his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Schapera, *op cit.*, 390 ff.) 695 696

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth 359 is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing 372 under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

Language.

377 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the 379 turkey-cocks; they clap or cluck each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck. 101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.*) They 192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brukwa, Hottentot brukwa*, by which they mean to say,

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*) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-92; xxix, 666-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was not bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautiou* (whence *Hottentot*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *khoikhoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

342
361
291
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How the Hottentots build their Huts.
(In the background is a representation of a kraal)
(After Kolb.

[facing p. 116]

9: Ten Rhyne D-S (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so easily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[*]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[**]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[***]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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*) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hottentots fig*) or *sour fig* (= *Mesembrianthemum edule*).

**) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbruek (see below, p. 347) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern linsenartig runden Sack, in welchem unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, anderen nehmen für every den Milch-Sack, leder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, bis Butter wird, als denn lassen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein ausfliessen, thun die Butter herum, welche denn, wie leichtlich nachzichten, weil Haar ist, das einem davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können allen Unrein essen, warum wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1881, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (*cf.* Schapera, op. cit., 237).

***) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 87).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.*)

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (Tunzi-//Goam, 88, 90).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note: Henceforth, explained *Ile* and *Moti*, she ceased to be a */ku-o* and became an outsider, until her marriage when she became a *tama* or wife. *Ile* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 222-229) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ab* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khoi* brought me some and she and *Ile* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) */kaup*; (ii) */oi ab*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) */karoè*, "veld biscuits," roots only; (iv) */ho* (?); (v) */gaukoè* grown in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the */kaukoè* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*/gki kaw*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *tsiaxi* and dancing. The *abe gomse* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *!naxe /ko:xe gomsi*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *!naxe /ko:xe gomse*.

The life history of *Ile*

gri !koab kaeb !na Ile kje !kkoab kx'ai !naxe ka. tkje !koab kaxa kx'omina !go kx'ai. !na: !kae, kx'omina !karakaxa xu die ka. tkje !karakaxa !kkb xu die, tkje tarakkoadi !garib !na !kkaxa di !kae !ko.

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation:

Ia was born at Saron (*Mouté*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The woman collected the rushes in the river. 342 537

Note:

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes: "On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow" (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ia* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tatsé* and *Klein*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902). 132

Funeral of a Chief.

gammab te !naw a, ina /hobab !naw-ina /khaib dikaw, ina haikwa !naiwa, ina /kurub !xaiko, ina /kha: //o:b tʃ'aumma na namia, ina //ne:ha /gwisia, ina /nai /kuruka /kila ka²amma, ina /ha:ka tkaiwa. 766 539

Translation:

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note:

My informants were *Tatsé* and *Ia*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tatsé* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tatsé* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 316 766 [84]

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones[1]

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants 601

[1] [See 11: Kirby, cont. 766, end plate 4. -Analyst]

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX12 Hottentot FX12

and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabi- 776
tants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western
Cape Colony.

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed his people. He was very clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst the Bundle-Zwart, or ǂGamiǂnas, I heard the following story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied, among the ǁHaboben, ǂKharugei-khoin, and ǁO-geis.

Heitsi-eibib's battles with ǂGama-ǂgorib ǀHaũ-ǂgai-ǂgaib, ǂAmab and the Lion.

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ǂGama-ǂgorib, 777
ǀHaũ-ǂgai-ǂgaib and the Lion lived on the other side, on three roads, in the middle (between him and his people). There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a rumour why they did not come. He then started to look after them, and came first to the place of ǂGama-ǂgorib. But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another). ǂGama-ǂgorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to ǂGama-ǂgorib: "I have come to look after my people." But on the place of ǂGama-ǂgorib there was a hole, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

The latter's mother gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *khara oma*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been reappointed for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *abe xarib*), carries her into the *khara oma*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *khara oma*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also /*nau*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other /*nau* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *abe xarib* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "gumbeard dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Namaas that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Namaas is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blast") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beitrge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 103-4, 94.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 8.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44-7.
[4] From a casual remark by Hahn (*Travels in Great Namaqualand*, 22) it is the magician (*gai-aob*) who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

mats are placed over the framework vertically to the others, usually so 342
that they run from door to door. [Picture. Completed Mat Hut.]

2. The furnishings of the hut consist of nothing except the barest [352]
necessities of daily life. Two doors, only one of which is ever used, the other being kept closed, control the ventilation. The door openings, "omaxa, i.e. "hut mouths," are about 60 centimeters wide and 1 and 1/2 metres high and are opposite each other. The front one faces east. The door itself is a hard goat skin or calf skin that has been dried stiff, "!gũ/ma/gas. A thong is fastened on each side and in the middle of the upper edge. These can be fastened to the hut wall in bad weather. If the inhabitants go out, a stone is placed on the overlapping edge of the skin to close up the hut completely. Here and there someone would remember that in the olden times elephant ears were made into door skins. [Picture. Floor Plan of a Hut. a) Front Door. b) Back Door. c) Fireplace. d) "Raiser" e) Framework Poles. f) Side Rooms. g) Back Room.]

[232] On the inside the levelled ground is covered with skin, ex- [352]
cept the hearth, located in the front half towards the door. 354

If the family is large, a hearth is built outdoors beside the hut and protected from the wind by a semicircle of transplanted bushes. But even if the cooking is done in such a kitchen protected from the wind, //haob, there is always a hearth in the hut. The evening fire that is lighted immediately after sunset unites the family and the inevitable boarders, friends, relatives and neighbors.

The sleeping places, k‡a-rogu, are right on the ground. All kinds 513
of skins are used as mattresses and sheep skins (cf. p. 234) as covers. 352
The sides of the hut, !anira, i.e. the area behind the hearth to the right and left of the back room, (see below) are the best places for sleeping, and are reserved for the master and his wife and after them the older members of the family. The unmarried servants, hired man or maid-servant, usually Bergdamara people or Bushmen who look after the children and the cattle, sleep near the door.

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did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 24

1. Tanning, /ho-m, in the broadest sense (usually woman's work). [84]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (ǂa-mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [124]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/uiǂ) with a piece of tanning stone (ǂkoms) the size of one's fist. [103]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/ho-ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (ǂhai, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles [129] [39] wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/u) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth.

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ǂgo/a-n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo/a-s, ǂgo/a-b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 28 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna-mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 28 291 [177]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero. 161 178

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode. 342 361

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular. 342 177

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children. 352 177

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
NAMA

De vrouwen gaen moeder-naekt, en hebben niet dan een klein velleken, gelijk dicht aen de kaep, voor haar schamelheit gebonden, en dragen aen een stok op het hooft, gelijk de *Sonquas* vrouwen, voor het steken der zonne, des zomers zonne-schermen van struis-veren.

Ieder *Namaquas* heeft altijts een klein licht en frai stoeltje, gemaekt van hout en tou, zonder yzer of koper, aen den arm hangen, dat zy overal by zich draeght, om daer op te zitten.

De bestiering staet aen eenen koning, geheten *Akambia*, die drie zonen heeft van een ongemene lengte.

Brygoudts.

Noch verder te lande in, dan de *Namaquas* leggen, woont een ander volk, genaemt *Brygoudijs*, daer af weinigh by onkunde te schrijven valt, naerdien zy noit by d'onzen gevonden zijn.

Het is, 't geen d'onzen, die noit deze volken hebben kunnen vinden, aen de kaep, uit den mont der *Namaquas* hebben, een talrijk volk, en zoo magtigh en rijk van vee, als alle de *Hottentots* ontrent de kaep van goeder hope.

De *Namaquas* en de *Brygoudijs*, voeren tegen elkandre sterke oorlogen.

Heusaquas.

De *Hottentots*, genaemt *Heusaquas*, leggen ontrent noord-west-waerts van de kaep van goeder-hope, zeer verre en diep te lande-waerts in. Weinig kennis hebben d'onzen aen de kaep tot noch toe van den wandel en omgangh deser volken bekomen, en niet dan uit den mondt van andere Hottentots; aengezien noit iemant hun woonplaetsen gevonden heeft, nochte noit zijn meer dan drie van hen aen het Fort van goeder hope geweest, die met

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48) Van Riebeeck says more accurately: "Ivory also seems to be more abundant among them than among the Cape Hottentoos, as may be observed from the very thick arm rings which they wear of it on their arms, as well as from the rare plates of the same article on a beautifully pleated and prepared skin worn like a little apron before their private parts" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 244).

49) Van Meerhoff merely says: "The king sat on his chair a little distance off. This chair is a round piece of wood three or four fingers thick, beautifully ornamented with beads, and is generally carried with them wherever they go". This one can hardly interpret, as Dapper does, to imply that every man had a stool of this sort.

50) See above, n. 46. Van Riebeeck gives the name first as Bryckje (March 10, 1661) and later as "Brygoudys, ere this wrongly mentioned as Brichje" (Apr. 23, 1661).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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ivory, in front of their private parts,[48]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudends, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[49]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

291 301 352 622

Brygoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[50]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[51])

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Heusaquas.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[52]) lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[51]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

[52]) Also referred to as Hessaqua, Hassequa, Essaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hesaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumquar . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters desp.*, iii, 341; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 406, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *hetb*, tree, -se, adj. ending, -qua).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
59 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck. Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kxoikxoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; *idem*, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

592 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the ●357 veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

463 These family servants, *!gan*, are to be distinguished from the 465 *!gaisan*, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they [357] cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children are free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [439] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

461 357 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 146 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 797 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this 411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are 262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

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[p.228]

Framework of a hut.

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

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67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc.. Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !haĩs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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618 619 593 643 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 618 619 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 417 231 618 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 592 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up, but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the */gan* or servants.

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The huts themselves (*omi*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

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The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, op. cit., 106–8; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 208–10; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354 round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513] To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
594 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage
the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
● [361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CHAPTER X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

MODE OF LIFE AND SUBSISTENCE

Daily Routine

THE Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–4; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 24.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down
484 their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
492 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
[415] bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
512 and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time
517 in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for
361 the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall
614 find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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614 621 that they have been very much exposed to incoming influences. To-day they have all Dutch surnames. I have, however, been able to collect some of the old Nama names which were in use before the European surnames came into common use. The chief's sib has now the surname Christian, and they call themselves the *!Gami ≠Nun*. The Matros family have the Nama name *Tsububin*. The Aprils are the *!Nanin*. The Hackskind family takes its Dutch name from a translation of the old Nama name *!Noarin* (*!Noas* = the heel). Another sib is called the *!Nurubin;* a third the */Nabasin*, another the */Arimun*, who to-day also have the surname Christian. In giving me these names the old headman, Christian, gave me the fountains in the Bondelswart territory which were known as the headquarters of these different sibs.

The Orlam tribes, that is, the tribes who came into the territory from the south, have all surnames taken from Europeans, such as the Izaacs, the Goliaths, the Christians, the Hendricks, and I have found it impossible to get their old Nama sib names from them. In the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 15, 1901, however, there is an account of the sibs of the /Hobesin, given by the then Bezirkshauptmann von Burgsdorff in answer to a questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kohler. According to him there were seven sibs among the /Hobesin:

1) */Khowan* (families: Witboois, Dragoners, Hanses, Kaisers).
2) *!Amin* (Izaacs, Gertses, Zals, Banks, Vishers).
3) *Dausan* (Jods, Classens, Stewes, Sewis, Jahrs).
4) *!Noresen* (Jantzes).
5) */Kharan* (Piqueurs, Marius).
6) *!Hawe* ≠Nun (Romans, Jacobs, Links).
7) */Khorin* (Pitters, Fredericks, Jochems, Links).

This evidence from the Witboois is sufficient to show that the structure of these tribes from the south was essentially the same as that of the tribes of the Great Namaqua.

361 The families claiming to belong to a sib still tend to live together, though the old original camping order has long been given up. Information from many sources, however, enables one to reconstruct the old encampment, and this reconstruction agrees

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots. 361

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the *!Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbools camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *!Oa Gaon*, the *//Naigaman*, the *!Gurusin*, the */Gari Karin*, the *!Neise ein*. On his right in order came the *Goamun*, the *//Khau Tanasen*, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga ei Tanasen*, meeting the *!Neise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Hornibin Gein*, *//Hornibin /Goan*, *!Noraban*, */Ubuxan*, */Heibin*, starting from the *//Hornibin Gein* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left. 621 614

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the tribe. [622] [623]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

MRS. R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, B.A. (*née* MISS A. W. TUCKER).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

312 361 731

NOTE.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalized u for the same reason.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[288]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

COCHOQUAS OR SALDANHARS.

The Kochoquas[289]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afri. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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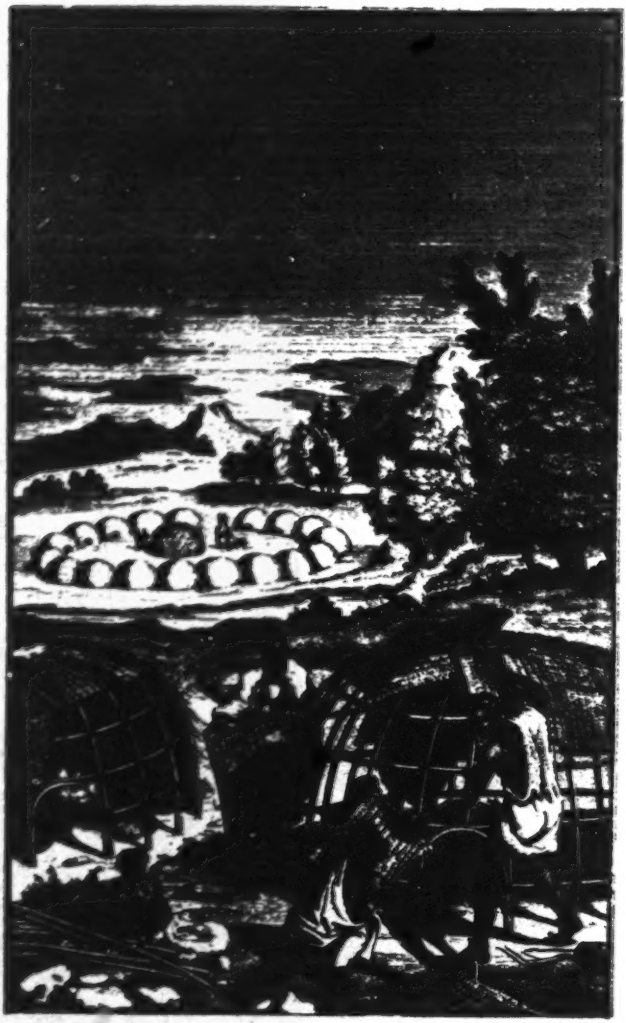

How the Hottentots build their Huts.
(In the background is a representation of a kraal.)
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p. 116]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[15] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[16] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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15 B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
16 B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.
17 B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.
18 B. M. B. years 1848-1854.
19 B. M. B. 1850, p. 202
20 B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hō‡ti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro //hō/s*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

word stem doro· which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari). 196 372 [171]

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.] 281

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa·ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu·rib, not sinew thread, //aba·b, is used. 283

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips. [824]

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro·b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /ã/b, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. [516]

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one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded.

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

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gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill.

[372]

The three cooking stones, !nõǂti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kχõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõǂns (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use.

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[35]
[317]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !haǂi-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even
262 the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.
[115] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the
[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen;
[251] nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld.
252 Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others
262 baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Bauhinea burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. Since, however, a */nau* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become */nau*, only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life, and no longer fear anything, are qualified to deal with him. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition; they alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the community. But not any old man or old woman will do; it must be one having the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by the recent loss of husband or wife. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease, and preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease—the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of "initiation" varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth, marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises—remarriage, boys' puberty ceremonies, reception into the rank of hunters, treatment of diseases regarded as */nau*, etc.—a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The */nau* person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the "essence" of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one part is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person.

Next follows a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. During this time certain other things become */nau* in relation to the */nau* person. First of all there is the fire in the hut in which he is secluded. This fire must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the hut and the renewal of the fire. During all this time, moreover, nothing must be cooked at the fire, nor must anyone come near it who

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783 784 372 might increase the peril in which the */nau* person finds himself. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The */nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a */nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes */nau*, but every */nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the */nau* person also become */nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the */nau* person and persons who can no longer become */nau* may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

[585] [1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of */nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the sacramental meal in which only the bride and women already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these transition rites (*ondermaaken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Graevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women eat apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Graevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted by Seiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course, be said. 853 171

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water. Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also[2] that at a child's birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked by a feast, provided by the father. 847 846 372

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Fransfontein Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e. after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay; among the Topnaars, it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the 852

[1] From other accounts it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.
[2] Op. cit., 77.

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 524). In the earlier version ("Conception of Isaus," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the */aus* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal sinews or catgut. They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

Special Observances

As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Naman, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute sanctioned to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected with hunting by pursuit, and reflecting the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 292–3; Kolb, op. cit., 128; Wikar, op. cit., 112.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 129–30; Morrell, *Narrative of Four Voyages*, 69–70; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 25.

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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gei /gab*, big brother, the latter as *!gai-hetomab*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, there ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] *Tsui-!/Goam*, 77. [2] Op. cit., 269.
[3] Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 41–2; Hahn, op. cit., 84–5; Schultze, op. cit., 283.

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224 mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralize him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

224 Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an
264 elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony; no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with potblack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

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224 Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate
437 obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] "Berigt aan den Heer van Plettenberg," 109–10.

881 [841] 843 stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the abá tarás takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the kharú óms, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is !nau and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must !karesin for the [784] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the kharú óms. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

881 535 As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

881 First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the !nau fire, and is cleaned[32] with moist cow dung (*≠houp*) and !naop from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the *ǂxa /urip*.[33] The abá tarás smears the ≠houp all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, ≠houp and /urip, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the abá tarás. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the kharú óms. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the abá tarás and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the abá tarás takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from [372] another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use tinder boxes nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[34] The fire thus lit is now no longer !nau. *Neseaki ómaa ko ≠au*[35], *orike tari wai ni ≠aǂa* ("now the

[32] *//Aui ≠kiaen*, "the cleaning before going out".

[33] Literally "boy dirt".

[34] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, p. 77.

[35] *≠Au*, "free" or "right", e. g., *≠ou ≠aro* "the right path".

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342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they 354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing 372 under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these 194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck. 101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They 192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kxoikxoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die. 844 372

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful. 224 372 777

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station, Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success. 224

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ǂ*Gābeb*, "the one which lives in a hole." 823 825

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year. 825

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally seen*, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing. 302 303 415

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ü·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell. 302 415 237 [829]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder. 302 [515 841] [832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/is(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves. [854 764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in. [386]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," */u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly. [386]

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 386
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gũ'b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [293
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 825]
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na·bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [136]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (*/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũ!) with a piece of tanning stone (*/kχoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (*basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ǂgo'a·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo'a·s. ǂgo'a·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 43.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there. 587

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots. 783 784

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die. [841 843]

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and */naop* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls. [302 386]

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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neither must she speak above a whisper. All informers lay great emphasis on these two points. !Amatis declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view.

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or root or leaves to make powder (*sǎp*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entreated to send back a special sweet smelling rosin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. *!Naop*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The time during which the girl must remain in the kharú óms has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says !Amatis. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *kharú ≠ǎp*. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and chief of all must be a heifer. The entrails, pluck, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This kharú ≠ǎp is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Berseba tribe said to me: "That killing is as great as the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing [10] to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings [11] to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never

[10] Vide infra, p. 73, and n. 16.

[11] Vide infra, p. 73.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933

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CHAP. IX.

Their relations with other peoples.

Who the people are that neighbour the Hottentots is not yet known; those who venture a word about the negroes (popularly called Kafirs) depend more on hearsay than on the witness of their own eyes. Thus one of our officers would have it believed that he learned the facts I shall now mention from the most remote branch of the Hottentot family, to whose territory he had been sent with a guard of six men. These Hottentots differ widely from the rest in their ways, although they are not yet known by a special name; and they told him, says our officer, that between them and the negroes lies a broad river which they cross in boats made out of hollowed tree-trunks in order to exchange goods [15]). The Hottentots are separated from one another by no boundaries.

CHAP. X.

Physical Characteristics.

The human race as a whole, apart from local and national peculiarities, is provided at birth with a character proper to itself; but no less wonderful is it that every single individual of the species, down through the ages and among so many peoples, should be supplied by nature with his own personal lineaments, distinct from those of other men, expressive alike of the inner and the outer man, and constituting an indefinable difference between one individual and another. Thus the Hottentots as a race have everywhere a dark and swarthy skin, as if scorched by the sun, and are generally endowed with a dry, warm blood. Yet the faces of some show much fairer, departing from their native dusky hue. Nevertheless the blackest are the loveliest in their eyes, and they think themselves never so finely adorned as when they sprinkle divers coloured earths upon their hair, or rub them, mixed with fat, upon their faces. For in this region there is a mountain that produces colours, which if carefully worked might perhaps be profitable.

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[15]) I have been unable to identify this officer or the journey to which reference is made. It may possibly refer to Hieronymus Cruse, who with fifteen men landed at Mossel Bay in 1668 and went eastwards overland as far as the Gouritz R., bringing back reports of the Attaquas, "a tribe similar to the Cape Hottentots, but well supplied with copper and beads, *which they obtain from another nation dwelling further east and somewhat darker*" (D., Nov. 28, 1668).

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. 224
Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Hottentot follows the train of springbok (*doe̯//gũs). As late as the year 1896 (19)

19. W. L. Sclater, The Mammals of South Africa, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

d) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/5 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center χã-ǂ, and wings, /gubi·s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nã·ǂ kχa, horns, or //õa·kχa, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hõ·as, best made of tai [411] bush wood). Throwing the kirri, ǂgũǂ or /nami·, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kχaru !õae̯, χam χam /arae̯, naũ /aoe̯, aũ /aoe̯, aχagu χae̯se!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick [262 262] blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (*χam χam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (*naũ, aũ = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (χa·es is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a·χagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -e̯, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.

• 411

[p. 292]

A Kirri. 1/5 natural size.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendraspis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants B [262] are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the H B [164] moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one B species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent [411] ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

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fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 123–7; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48–51; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 149; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 43.
[2] Schinz, *op. cit.*, 88. Schultze, *op. cit.*, 102.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting —the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305–6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 362.
[2] Genevoisbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 368–9; Kolb, *Vergelijkinge der Caapse Hottentots*, 92–8; Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4; Sparrow, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Theal, *History of Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
● 411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food " veldkos " altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
● 411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back 482 a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[70]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [325] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

262 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of 252 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[71]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [70]) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[71]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when [251] plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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squammosa, quâ impense delectantur. *Tabacum* infantes aeque ac senes, feminae ac mares, in maximis deliciis habent, ita ut quamvis suis invidiosi, fumantem tamen fistulam sociis per vices distribuant. Crescit in his oris *s) Ari Africani radix*, tanta pollens acrimonia, ut linguam non modo adurat, sed & acerrime lancinet, venenis merito accensenda. Hanc *Hottentotti* coquendo mitigant (igne nocivum expellente *sulfur*, volatilem simul & acrem ligante *salem*) ut esui apta sit haec radix, *t) erinaceorum* (qui hic mirae effigiei sunt,) dapes. Nonedulibus, veluti arefactis & pulverulentis *pellibus* (queis pro calceis saepe diu fuere usi) quin & *excrementis*, modo non solis, vescuntur incompositi omnes ad unum, etiam non excluso *Rege*, vilissima mendicabula, ut singuli ferè *Nigritae* sunt.

CAP. XVII.

De Modo Bellandi.

Nihil est hac plaga infestius, ubi tempestatibus atrox coelum, saxeique montes incolarum ingeniis congenera sunt; unde asperae & in flagitia astutae mentes cum molli nostratium indole haud conveniunt, bellum levissima de causa suscipientes. *Arma* illis sunt praeter coriaceam *lacernam* (qua clypei loco utuntur) *arcus & tela*: Haec vel *u) projectoria*, queis adeo accurate ad scopum collineare sciunt, ut ad quadraginta passuum distantiam, propositum offendant punctum, quosque prono jaciunt brachio; vel *jaculatoria*, quibus bipennibus magno nisu ad artem vibratis, hostes transverberant. Ea plerumque impuro veneno hunc in modum inficiunt: viperum aliudve infestum

s) Alibi a me delineati. (Illustrated by me elsewhere.)

t) Quorum figuras alibi quoque dedi. (I have given drawings of these elsewhere.)

u) Vulgo Assagayen.

**) The use of poisoned weapons is more generally associated with the Bushmen, but there is sufficient evidence that the Hottentots also knew and practised it. Ten Rhyne's description of how the snake poison is applied need not be taken at its face value. A more reliable account is given in the descriptive notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's journey to the Koperberg (1685-6). On one of the plates is figured a snake, called *hamachou* by the Hottentots (and rather doubtfully, and inaccurately, identified by Waterhouse as the mamba). The accompanying note says: "The natives set large traps for this snake and poison their arrows and assegais with its powerful venom. They first remove the skin from the upper jaw-bone, and disclose beneath it a small oblong bladder, full of little glands.... They

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco; and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[30]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera, op. cit.*, 129 ff.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they beat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.[31])

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Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the lions, which are here very common[32]). In rainy weather, which puts our muskets out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on cunning for their criminal success, the natives bestow themselves in thickets and tough undergrowths; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. But in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to raise a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of them encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the invincible ardour which barbarians mistake for valour, meantime shouting horribly. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Florus made about the Insubrian Gauls finds a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Florus) and bodies more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The bodies of a mountain folk bred amidst moist clouds have a resemblance to their native snows: they warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a sweat, and are dissolved by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the flinty rocks and shuddering woods match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots hang about the mountains, scouring every part of them by night and day.

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31) A further description is given below, p. 151.

32) A more rational explanation of these tactics is given by Dapper. See above, p. 13. Ten Rhyne's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records, cf. e.g. D. July 25, 1673; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 353 ff.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[15]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[16])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[17]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[18])

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying hissings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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our men, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi. 301). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 23-24) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[19])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausouwe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.[20]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[19]) There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[20]) This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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THE HOTTENTOT MODE OF WARFARE.
(Notice the use of oxen as tanks.)

[After Kolb.

[facing p. 194]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

412 539 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note :

412 This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khares* also means a " hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. " They have," he writes, " a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored ; through the weight which the kirri gathers from the round stone " the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, " A note on bored stones among the Bantu " in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255 ; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. *!Kutsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*≠noa*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 539 *!ha:b sa:kwa di |kwa. ikje !korakwa !ha:b di |kwa tama. ikje |ko:kwa |ga: kha:di |kwa |hurubekwa khama |huru ha. ikje ||kākx^{g}ausakwa torob !na gei kha:di thi ≠a:kwa thikwa ≠noa. ikje !hami!na, |kü:di thi gaokwa thikwa surugub !na !kxo:e. ikje gōab |kwa !hamme.*

Translation :

[85?] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in [224] the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dzuli*, *Matiti* and *Kheis*.

[??] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

534 descriptions in Wikar and Wuras give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

533 535 Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. " They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me ; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Gesicquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small ; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words ; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished ; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of caresses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly ; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-kaross, upon which she seems " (feigns) " to threaten him."

534 411 According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. " Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron " harpoons " ; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron " harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok 133 bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeeste Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man. 222 423 628

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Waluis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, */ā·ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (/ā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.] 252 412

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness. 262

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dōdi·b (also called !no/bo·s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Waluis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *≠goa/g(a)a·ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realized that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth. 251 262 [415]

1: Schultze--22A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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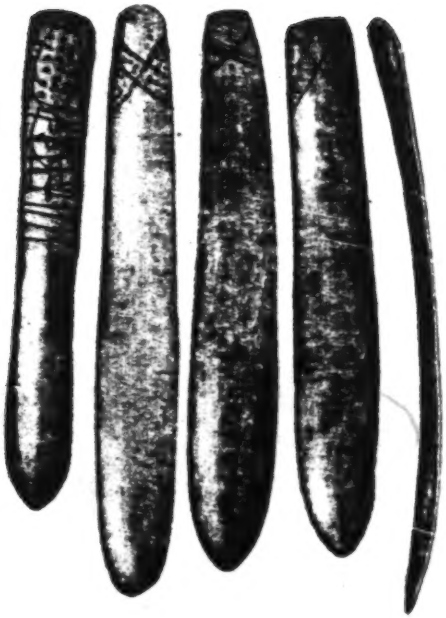

Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars,
about 1/2 natural size.

252 262 415 137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[324 171] The cup for mashing ʰhaĭ-os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ-ab (-arm) comes [412] from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call tsaǂma-b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. 137 252 262 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, ʰsoʔrobe-tsaǂma-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /noǂma-s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a-nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaũ/s) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [222] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Aizoa capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped lamellae, are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa-ʔmab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

1: Schultze--238 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

●412
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[p.200]

Pestle for nara seeds, 1/3 natural size.

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Cyperus, reed for a mat hut.

Bone needle for sewing mats.
a) side view; b) full view.
2/3 natural size.

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called *ǂgoa/asiⁿ/s, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *ǂkhoe-khoesiⁿ/s, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[A] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gⁿ/s, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

> "The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.
>
> In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂgⁿanu-b and *ǂgⁿanu-s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

A [i.e., p. 130 of this translation.--Rudyk]

412
324

[247]

Stone mill for hand use. 1/4 natural size.

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nõ/ti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kxõ-/uis, and the flint, !nõ/hs (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaustib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !ha/i-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 119–22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

over the bosom. The body is then wrapped and sewn up in skins, whose hairy side, strewn with *buchu*, is turned inwards. The face remains free till shortly before burial, when it is covered with a bit of skin which has been set aside and which is now loosely stitched to the others.[1] Biden and Kling add that in these more degenerate days the body may sometimes be sewn up in old bags, if obtainable, and a small amount of salt is placed on its chest, "to prevent it from decomposing."[2] Burial takes place as a rule on the afternoon following the day of death. Till then the corpse is left alone lying on the ground skins in the hut, while the relatives, neighbours, and friends spend the whole night together outside the hut singing.

A suitable spot is selected in the vicinity of the kraal, where a grave is dug in the sand by means of a gemsbok horn and a roughly-made wooden shovel. The grave is about three feet broad and six deep, with a long narrow niche along one side. The body is taken out of the hut through a special opening made for the purpose at the back, and is carried to the grave by the deceased's relatives and friends. Arrived at the graveside, one of the women, according to Biden and Kling, is appointed to approach the body and ask a relative whether the deceased gave drink to others when he was alive, i.e. whether he was a good person. "Whereupon all the women reply 'da' (yes), and the deceased is praised even if there is no cause why he should be praised. All the women arise and walk towards the grave and sprinkle *buchu*-leaves on the body."[3] The body is then lowered into the grave by means of riems, and two men climb in after it to push it into the niche. According to Schultze, it is laid here flat on its back, with the grave itself on the right hand side and the head facing west.[4] Biden and Kling, and several of the older writers, state however that it is placed in a squatting position, with the head always facing east. This certainly seems to have been the posture desired in earlier times.[5]

The niche is closed in with thick bushes or with twigs and stones which cover the whole floor of the grave. Large flat stones are next placed over these in such a way that no ground can fall upon the body. The grave is then filled in, everybody present picking up handfuls of earth and sand which they throw in. Finally a mound of stones is heaped up over the covered grave, the customary explanation being that this prevents wild animals from getting at the corpse. These mounds are often raised very high. A big stone, planted upright

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 316. [2] Op. cit., 223.
[3] Op. cit., 223–4. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Biden and Kling, loc. cit.; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 65.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[177] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gànab is mixed in with it. A chopper, *!ôp*, which has been heated red hot is
[412] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man[a]—men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[302] so that they perspire (*ausẹn*). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potblack. Some informers say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[593] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained !nau, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlief and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
[784] on no account take the path through the valuable !naras plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleaned from head to foot with ≠houp
[278] or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

[a] None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [53]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [54]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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53) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

54) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35, - Analyst]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[24a]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles.

Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Magosi[25]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[26]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[27]) Freemen despise the price of servitude.

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in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 64). The verbal embroidery is all G.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the AmaXhosa as *ukumetsha*, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 113 ff.).

27) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 65).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhwedi na !o:kwa !khares thi heib thikha khau |kwa. ||kwa ka ka kje na !kũ, ina !uri ||kae kx^{9}wa ka. saob kx^{9}ai ||nãukwa na |oro ||na:s. !kharedi kx^{9}aysakwa xa takakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje dība. ||guru |uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:kwa kukje di kwa.

Translation :

The women dig for "uintjes" with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

412 539 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note :

412 This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khares* also means a " hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. " They have," he writes, " a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored ; through the weight which the kirri gathers from the round stone " the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, " A note on bored stones among the Bantu " in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255 ; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. *!Kutsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*≠noa*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 539 *!ka:b sa:kwa di |kwa. ikje !korakwa !ka:b di |kwa tama. ikje |ko:kwa |ga: kha:di |kwa |hurubekwa khama |huru ha. ikje ||kākx²ausakwa torob !na gei kha:di thi ≠a:kwa thikwa ≠noa. ikje !hami!na, |kū:di thi gaokwa thikwa surugub !na !kxo:e. ikje gōab |kwa !hamme.*

Translation :

[857] [224] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dɔuli*, *Matiti* and *Kheis*.

[111] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

[272] 276

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it *χao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da· ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ≠nuni·//ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa·/rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (≠na/o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called */ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and *tsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [136] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, *!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes a honey bag, *//kxo·rob, from the hide of an iguona, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206]

5. Eating Meals

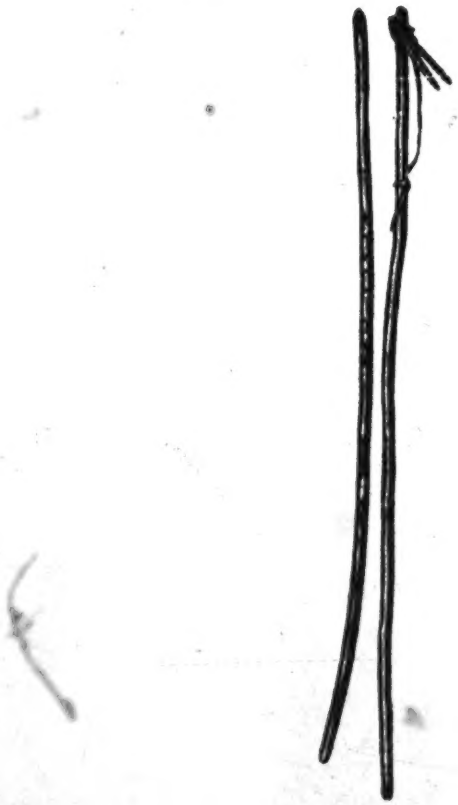
Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

The branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !ore·s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //go/a·b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture, Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two occasional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called *a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

Tsu·bugu/hu·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

222
413

[205]



Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (*/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũi) with a piece of tanning stone (*/kxoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (*basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α.) Floor skins, ≠go'a·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ≠go'a·s. ≠go'a·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ≠na·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

γ) The front apron * (!ga/e·b, 3. st.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//k‿o·rogos, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hõ/am//hoēs, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail. 28| 29| [531]

δ) The back apron (!gũ/s) of the girls (also specially called /gaũ·/bes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The bat is called se·rtsi!gũ·/bes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman. [413] ●

ε) All the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 99) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Aba Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[235] ζ) The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ a//hõ s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis). 28| 415

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin. 28| 286

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hõ/a//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.] 28|

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

000 (pot sū-s, to boil, to cook sāi). Food, especially meat, is
252 always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

325 We must also conclude that the process of melting
196 ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general
174 separation; for ǀurīb is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǀū, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gōagu), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂganugu, literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǁhoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

174 But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that
● 413 the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

492 Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *pack-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

302 It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (sā-b or buχu).

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* "Their brides on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha-ru. 201 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana-b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba-s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri-tsa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [717]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so succesful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hâ, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [242] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai·ǂadai·b) or cooled (°/ǂdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (°/kx̃aibib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [173] [229]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, °/ǂdaib. °ǂnãdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

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[Plate 7]

Butter calabash, encircled with hide.
1/5 natural size.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba-s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i-b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kx̃ao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (°!kx̃ao//nu/i-b) or fried (°/gē-be//nu/i-b). 415 234 252

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kx̃ah) of the plant is well covered (x̃a) with hairs (/ũ-/gu) it bears the name /ũ-x̃a/kx̃a-s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the °/hu-nin/hu-ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare-b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē-s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (#hũi-b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kx̃aru-s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines. "dwarfs" (probably, Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 [823] [827]

136 252 262 [223 257] [225] [415]

Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, ǂkʒuri-s (in Little Namaland: /hu-/rob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith. actual size] 1/1

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called °//uru-s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru-s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

136 222 252 262

The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called °inu/ms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva 2/3 of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called °/naori-b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, °//kxũ-ʒu-/nis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bore-hole for pushing excrement out, spear it with a thorn.

222 136

Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1/1 [see p. 16(A) - Au.] 2/3 [see p. 16(B). - Au.]

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man. 222 423 628

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, */ā·ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (/ā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.] 252 412

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness. 262

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *dōdi·b (also called !no/bo·s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, *ǂgoa/g(a)a·ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, [illegible]-yellow and mayoo when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realized that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth. 251 262 [415]

252 262 415 137

[Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[824 771] [412]

The cup for mashing "hai·os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //õ· ab (- arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call tsa/ma·b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat.

137 252 262

Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, "so·robe-tsa/ma·b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for nara seeds, 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma·s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond, called !a·nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaũ/s) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [229] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Kniphofia capensis Tha which, enclosed in wing-shaped [illegible], are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food") roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa·/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[p199]

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Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size.

Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size.

Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.

[201] Finally, the food called //kχuni·b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kχu·ǂnibe·b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is *!ga·riao!ga·ǂmi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !gaǂm is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (*ǂnu·bi!o·reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !naǂbaǂkχaǂrab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called ǂgoǂa·b and !kχo·bab) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called *//huǂms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr., called *ǂkχo·rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

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Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.

[272] 276

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (χao) it, then stuffs (//hā/) it in his pipe, they call it χao//hā/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta·bagab. Wild hemp, da·ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, ǂnuni·//ga·/rus. If their supply of toabcco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw. [415]

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !kχa/rib. 273

The wild African honey bees (called !habu·b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (ǂna/o·b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hū·/danib). His generic term for honey is dani·b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called ᵒ/ha·/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ā/b, and ᵒtsēb or tsērab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb. [134] 222 [273] [825]

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked hoe.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, ᵒ!a·rub or !a·nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnkχa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This 222 413

222 413 makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes
● [415] a honey bag, *//kxo·rob, from the hide of an iguona, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263 317 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206]

5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264 415 The branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !ore·s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //go/a·b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two occasional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called *a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264 524 Tsu·bugu/hu·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

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[p.206]

Wooden spoons, 1/5 natural size.

E. Care of the Skin

515 The care the Hottentots take of their skin cannot be judged exclusively by our standards of cleanliness, principally because water is so valuable in that land.

1. Cleanliness

[207] During the hot season of the year, when there are great accumulations of water, as in the area of the Fish River, the Hottentot bathes. It is even said that he swims excellently. (66) But he shuns

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 187).

wash water as a daily method of keeping clean.

On the other hand, fresh ox dung and cow dung take the place of water, brush, and soap, and the dry air substitutes for a towel. However extraordinary this may seem at the first glance, such a way of washing is effective. The moisture in the manure suffices to loosen the sweat that has dried on the skin, the fine plant fibers scour ever more effectively, the drier they become in the course of the rubbing and finally the flat hand brushes off the last bit as a light dust from the part of the body that has been cleaned and at the same time pleasantly rubbed.

2. Massage

302 237 In order to give their skin the necessary suppleness, the Hottentots smear themselves with fat (ghoraun(e)n or sorbos(e)n). They smear at least the face, the skin of the head, the hands and arms, but best of all, they like to smear their whole body. This is especially true of the women.

302 515 237 The containers for fat, ǂkhoi-nas or ǂgŏ//nāǂs, which are found in every hut where the inhabitants have pride in their appearance, are cut out of an oxhorn and the two openings are closed with cowhide, the bottom being firmly attached, the top moveable. The fat from

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers. 302 415 [237]

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu-ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.] [757]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nōs(e)n). The buchu, sā≠b, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste: 302 137 303

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and °≠gari-≠ga-eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called °/u-i//kxao-b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names °!na-/robeb and °!u-/risā-b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried spore container by a thread around their necks [209] and it empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust, 303 302 [415]

1; Schultze--29A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Horn fat containers, 1/4 natural size.

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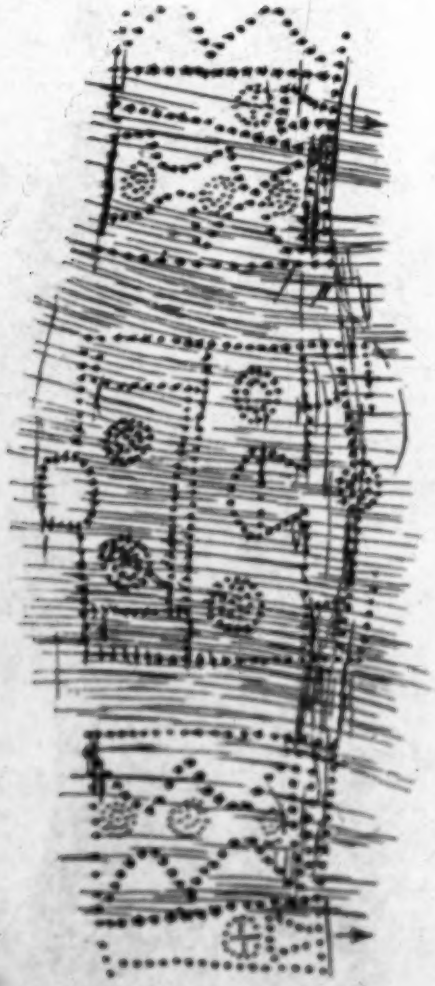

Pricked ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container, 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.

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//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

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The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [829] [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

302

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

[515 841]
[832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/is(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

[854 764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

[384]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/u·i aos-(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

[384]

1: Schultze--30A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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Buchu bones. 2/3 natural size.

mats are placed over the framework vertically to the others, usually so that they run from door to door. [Picture. Completed Mat Hut.] 342

2. The furnishings of the hut consist of nothing except the barest necessities of daily life. Two doors, only one of which is ever used, the other being kept closed, control the ventilation. The door openings, °omsamra, i.e. "hut mouths," are about 60 centimeters wide and 1 and 1/2 meters high and are opposite each other. The front one faces east. The door itself is a hard goat skin or calf skin that has been dried stiff, °!gũ/am≠goas. A thong is fastened on each side and in the middle of the upper edge. These can be fastened to the hut wall in bad weather. If the inhabitants go out, a stone is placed on the overlapping edge of the skin to close up the hut completely. Here and there someone would remember that in the olden times elephant ears were made into door skins. [Picture. Floor Plan of a Hut. a) Front Door. b) Back Door. c) Fireplace. d) "Raiser" e) Framework Poles. f) Side Rooms. g) Back Room.] [352]

[232] On the inside the levelled ground is covered with skins, except the hearth, located in the front half towards the door. [353] 354

If the family is large, a hearth is built outdoors beside the hut and protected from the wind by a semicircle of transplanted bushes. But even if the cooking is done in such a kitchen protected from the wind, //haob, there is always a hearth in the hut. The evening fire that is lighted immediately after sunset unites the family and the inevitable boarders, friends, relatives and neighbors.

The sleeping places, kxa-rogu, are right on the ground. All kinds of skins are used as mattresses and sheep skins (cf. p. 234) as covers. 513 352 The sides of the hut, !anira, i.e. the area behind the hearth to the right and left of the back room, (see below) are the best places for sleeping, and are reserved for the master and his wife and after them the older members of the family. The unmarried servants, hired man or maid-servant, usually Bergdamara people or Bushmen who look after the children and the cattle, sleep near the door.

The household utensils (cf. handicrafts) and the food supplies hang from the poles of the framework or are packed in sinew nets or in skin sacks. 415 352 On the floor in the back room, !gu-rub, i.e. of the room between the place for the fire and the back door, stands the so-called "raiser", !hã/s, made from four vertical branches with twig stubs that are used as hooks for hanging things on. (≠ã/ti).

γ) The front apron *(!ga/e·b, 3. st.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//k!o·rogos, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hõ/am//hoãs, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail. 28 29 [531]

δ) The back apron (!gũ/s) of the girls (also specially called /gaũ-/bes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The bat is called se·rtsi!gũ·/bes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman. [413]

ε)All the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 99) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Aba Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[235] ζ)The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ a/hõ s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis). 28 415

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin. 28 256

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf. 1/6 natural size. /hõ/s//hõ/s. 1/5 natural size.] 28

1: Schultze--528 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p236]

Cap made from the back skin of the Aardwolf. 1/8 natural size.

ǂnũ/a//hâ/s. 1/5 natural size.

The apron -- naturalia non sunt turpia -- 196
may occasionally drip. Schinz (50) derives

> 50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc., Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

the word from the verb "to rain" and translates it as "drip." That is not possible linguistically since "to rain" is not /a-bi but /abi-. Krönlein (57)

> 57. J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

connects the word with the designation for "to slit," obviously connecting it with the apron's slit strips. But the word used for slitting the skin for medical reasons is pronounced /a/bi- (3. n.), which is different from the word for front apron in its initial, tone level, its word-tone, and the place of its accent. [Ed. note: These terms are explained on pp. 143-151.] In my opinion this is a case of three words which are not derived from each other; there are three stems with the same arrangement of letters, each one of which is independent phonetically and in its meaning.

1/4 natural size.] A rectangular piece is cut from a depilated sheep 214
or goat skin. Then one side is slit (from the future bottom edge) into long strips about 2 millimeters wide. On the opposite end an edge about 15 centimeters wide is left, the future upper edge of the apron. The piece of skin which has thus been cut is folded three times so that the hanging strips are thick enough to cover nakedness. The upper edge is folded [238] and the strap that holds it up is drawn through. The strap tai-ab, is one centimeter wide and sewed to the apron to the right and left. It is drawn around the hips and fastened in back.

e) The economy sack, /na-ma//hâ(s), holds all the household 415
scraps which might perhaps be useful later. Here a few coffee beans may be lying about, there gourd seeds, here a strip of leather, there

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles. For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Oreotragus saltator (Layard)] skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have collected there. 415 ● 281

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, /kʇa-bis, to store tobacco. A pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the stuffing (/kʇaub) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap of hair. 415 276

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces (/kʇa-na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in moist sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the outside surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo-b, also means shoe). It is to be assumed that sandals, /kʇabu-s, were the original foot wear of the Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally wear. 294 [239 177]

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is made into a large water bag, !ga/ha-b. The left front leg of a freshly killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening. Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the 415 281

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called //hõ‖ti. [240] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/6 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [241] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro //hã/s*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

[illegible]
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Woman's shoe.
1/4 natural size.

The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (a) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. Cf. next figure.)

Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

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[p240]

Traveling knapsack made from a goat's skin.
1/6 natural size.

Small household knapsack, made from kid skin.
1/6 natural size.

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[241]

Doro //hâ/n. About 1/4 natural size.

they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. The flat surface of the leg 283
serves as a base for their work. Two bast fibres are stretched out across the leg, held between the fingers of the left hand and with the right hand rolled firmly over the skin of the leg so that each fibre twists over itself. During this rolling motion towards the knee each of the two fibres is twined individually. They are rolled back immediately which twists them together into one thread.

They solve the problem of making one long knotless string many meters in length out of hundreds of short fibres in the following way: [Picture. Twisting of Long Strings From Short Threads (plan)].

1. (See Figure I.) The end of thread a, which is to be lengthened, is spread out in a fork shape. Thread b, also spread in a fork shape, is placed on thread a so that its longer tine lies on the shorter tine of thread a and its shorter tine is on thread a's longer one. Thread b_1 is half as large as a.

2. (See Figure II.) Each fork that consists of two fibres or threads that lie loosely beside each other (until *) is twisted into one thread by rolling it towards the knee. The reverse rolling makes the twisted tines into a single piece of thread. Thread b_1 is now anchored. The free end of thread a is now forked making two tines, one longer than the other. The latter now is attached to the free end of thread b_1.

3. (See Figure III.) A double rolling motion brings the knee ends together to **, making a new piece of thread. The longer piece of thread b_2 is placed on the last little end of thread a, and the shorter side of thread b_2 is placed on the free end of thread b_1 and all these pieces are twisted together to one piece of thread to ***. [Picture. A net bag of sinews. 1/8 natural size.]

In this way all the shorter threads are twisted into one string, the strength of which leaves nothing to be desired. [Picture. Making the sinew knots in the net bag.] [Picture. Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.]

The only useful object made exclusively [544] of sinews (and 283
preferably from those of an oryx) is a large net bag, ~~Kü'i-s~~, which is 415
used in the hut as a kind of bag drawer for keeping all kinds of things. 284
When traveling it is used as a rucksack for bedding. A similar bag is 415
also knotted from narrow strips of chamois skin.

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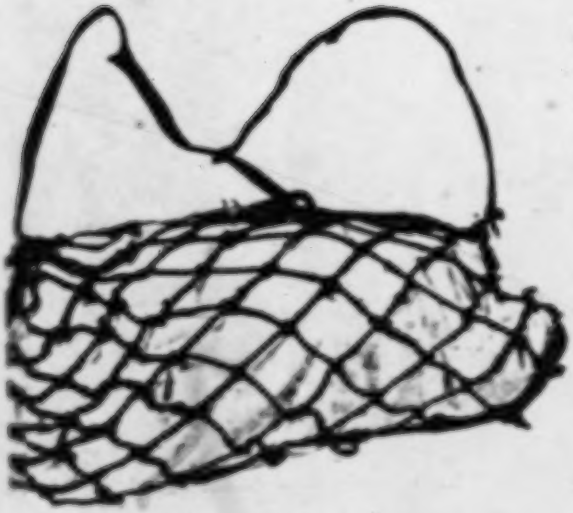
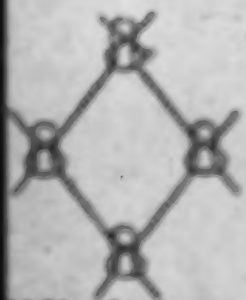
[343]



A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.

Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.



...ining the sinew ...ons in the net bag.

D. Wood Carving and Basket Weaving

Wood carving and basket weaving will be mentioned here briefly for continuity. The following wooden objects have already been mentioned: the chair (p. 181), the whisk (p. 199), the winnowing basin (p. 201), the spoon (p. 206), the mortar (p. 200), and the honey stick)p. 205). The text illustrations round out the picture of all the main types of wooden dishes and pails. [Picture. Repair of Wooden Article.] An informed Hottentot told me that the wooden vessels mentioned, which today have been supplanted chiefly by European metalware, are still made here and there, half boring them out and half scraping them out with an instrument which is called *//gare-s. The latter consists of a knife blade bent at right angles to its wooden handle. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such a tool.

Of interest is the way in which the Hottentots mend wooden dishes. Leaks and cracks in the dishes and pots are sealed with tough root fibres. To the right and left of the crack (a), holes are made in the wood and a root thread (b) is drawn through the holes across the crack, so that it bridges it on the outside. [Picture (244 and 245). Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, d, e: //hoëti, usually milk containers. b and i: the same with root mending. c and f: !ao//hoëti, milk pails, "neck bamboo." g: ǂaigaī //hoës, "foot bamboo." h: !ore-s, dish used for eating.] [246] A cross thread (c) is twisted around these bridges in the way the illustration shows. Only two parallels of the latter thread are shown. The scale is enlarged so that the method of twisting could be seen. Next to * is the end of the cross string; it is firmly fastened with several twistings. The entire repaired area is rubbed with fat. Gradually enough dust collects in the root weaving so that the hole is completely glued together.

Except for making mats, basket weaving is insignificant. Besides the nara sieves (cf. p. 199) only the fish baskets should be mentioned which the Hottentots use for catching fish in the Fish River. I did not get to see one.

E. Use of Clay, Stone and Metal

Work with the above materials has remained at the most primitive stages.

1. Formerly the Hottentots made simple urn-shaped pots by kneading and baking them out of clay and sand. The fragments found in

[Refer to diagram on p. 59 (A). — Author]

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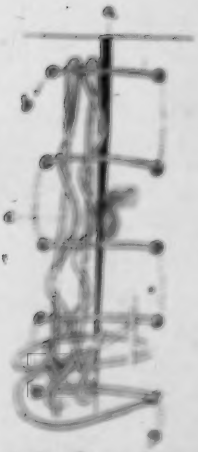
(244)

f

!ao//hoëtti, milk pails, "neck bamboo."



Repair of wooden article.

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Wooden dishes. 1/4 natural size. a, c, e: //hoeti, usually milk containers. b and i: the same with meat rounding. c and f: !ao//hoeti, milk pails. "neck bamboo." g: /khgai//hoeti, "foot bamboo." h: !oes-i, dish used for eating.

old mail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgoa/aoũ-b, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it ᵓkxoe-kxoeũ-b, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called ᵓ//gũ-s, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, ᵓ/ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone", ᵓ/uams (always feminine

> "The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.
>
> In the neighborhood of Kuiab there are two watering places next each other, ᵓkxaus-b and ᵓkxaus-s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1 [i.e., p. 110 of the translation - Ausly]]

1: Schultze--68A N-5 (1969-1909) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• 415
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[illegible]

Baked clay vessel of the old kind.
1/4 natural size.

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133
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[Between 262 and 263]

Plate XI.

A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia.

Hottentot boy in an apron.

Lochner--TSB N-S (1805-1806) 1967 FX15 Horizontal FX15
Name

*539

[should] not (tā) play together?" and put (ǂgī) the children in the rogue's sack." Then he went to the lion's kraal, got there and said to the lion:

[WS]

') /hōa gaos, a little sack made of leather in which small stolen items are concealed (cf. page 235).

"Because (xūi ao) the misbehavior of this pack of children (literally: "the manner that resembles I this child thing,") now (nē sirisa) is bringing strife between us (literally: "drags" ǂgaē, "the two of us" sakxum, "together" //ae, vb.), look (gum---o "yes"), for that reason I have (the pert. is expressed here by toa "to be finished") killed (ǂnau !an) my (ti, stem of the pron. of the 1st pers. sing., used as a poss. pron. with the omission of the gen. particle) children." So he said.

Then the lion killed (!gam) his (ē, root of the poss. pron.; with the personal suff. of the possessor it forms the full poss. pron.) children so that not (tomase, adv.) even (tī, with the personal suff. of the neut. pl., referring to /goan) a single (/guiǂ) little one (-ro dimin.) was left (!gao).

[Fig. --A member of the Lacertidae that is called /gabenau-b (3, m.) and is related to the Scapteira. 1/6 natural size.]

But the aro lizard went home (//aru, vb.) and when he climbed up (ai) a mountain ridge (!naūb) and saw (mī) a gabenaub lizard," he dumped

"This variety is reputed to be a favorite food of the aro lizard.

(tsoro) the children out (ǂui). When a noise (ǂkxuhis) arose (ǂnī "to sit, to take place") there, the lion cried: "Give (ao) me some of (ǂa) the thing, won't you (re), with (ǂa) which you (-ts, suff.) have made (ǂgaudǂgai) your children come to life." But he did not see the aro lizard again.

[504] [Text omitted]

Translation of LIV

The Lion Who Calls the Women So That He Can Be Managed

The lion pretends to be deathly ill (//ǂ//Gaen, nasr. pass.) and calls (ǂgai, nasr. pass.) the women (kxoǂn • kxoti, "people," fem.) so that

2; Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

291 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of
24 jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur
turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while
from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the
broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when
[415] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-
belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular *rear* apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron,
[604] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women
[301 418] sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the apron, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

[177] Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

[747] Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered,
[435] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold
[771] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

301 The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women
17 still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing
[418] the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *kuvko*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolbe's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin, and even to-day among the Namaas the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 283; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au ... Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 403; Burchell and Lloyd, *Bushmen Folklore*, 309; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 90.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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PLATE XIV

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TOPNAAR HUT UNDER GIRAFFE ACACIA

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

233 361 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 361 484 492 [485] The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women [222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 512 517 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else in chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos, or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat 512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the 517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[i.e., various wild herbs and roots. – Author]

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matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca* sp.) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, chapter; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, pt. 1, 1745; Tindall, *Hottentots*, *Bush Affairs*, 319-4; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91-3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, [illegible]

262 512 517 262 234 824 [115] 262 224 [221] 224

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224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 242 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.

[56] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the

[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. *Fire* was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When

[251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. *Meat broth* is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and all in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 252 262 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjes" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Boutinea hottentota* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

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making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Lashes for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

In other cases the skin of the animal is not specially treated, but is simply converted into bags of various kinds, such as knapsacks for carrying objects needed on the march, and smaller bags for *kucku* roots, herbs, tobacco and so on. An interesting bag of this kind is that used for holding milk or water. A freshly-killed goat, calf, gemsbok, or steenbok is cut open all along one side, from the left foreleg right up to the shoulder. Through this opening the whole body is shelled from the skin, head and legs having been first cut off. Then all the openings are sewn up, with the exception of that for the right foreleg, which serves as a spout for pouring the liquid in and out, and has a stone cork which can easily be tied fast. The fresh skin is turned inside out, the inner side cleaned of all particles of flesh and fat, and then it is dried. The hairs remain on the inner side of the bag.

The thread with which skin objects are sewn together is generally animal sinew, and so formerly was the bowstring. Strings of varying thickness are also made from the bark fibre of the *Acacia horrida Willd.* The branches of the tree are chopped off by the men, freed of all twigs and thorns, and rapidly passed through the hot ashes of a fire; then the bark is loosened at one end by hammering, and the whole pulled off in strips with the hands. Next the women separate the innermost white layer of fibre from the rest of the bark, and after

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letting it dry soak the mass in lukewarm milk or water, then suck it and chew it in small lumps. A length of prepared fibre is then taken and twisted between the palm of the right hand and the naked thigh, the end of the fibre being held in the left hand. This done, the process is repeated with other lengths of fibre, the lengths being joined up as occasion arises, until sufficient has been made. The resulting string is strong and even, comparing very well with the machine-made article. It is used as thread for sewing together the reed mats for the huts, as well as for making the snares required by the hunter. From it are also knotted net bags, used in the hut for holding various odds and ends, and serving on the march as a rucksack for the skin blankets. Baskets, sieves, and fish-traps woven from reed and flexible twigs are mentioned by some writers, but no description is given of their manufacture.[1]

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The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them, although as late as the early years of last century earthenware vessels made by themselves were still noted among the Naman. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it seems that in shape and manner of construction they are generally similar to those formerly found among the Cape Bushmen. The most common form is that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord can be passed in order to suspend it. Other pots of the same style are quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base is slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot. They are often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They are unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout.[2]

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Kolb states that each family among the Cape Hottentots made its own pots, modelled by hand by the women. The clay was obtained from termite heaps, cleared of sand and gravel, and kneaded together with the ants' eggs mixed in it. A lump was placed on a smooth flat stone and modelled into the shape required. Next it was carefully smoothed inside and outside by hand, and exposed to the sun for a couple of days. When perfectly dry, it was finally put in a

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 241–4.
[2] Schofield, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery in the Collection of the Albany Museum," 25–30, pl. 8; Schultze, op. cit., 246 and fig.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[303] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
177 is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
800 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

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In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[46]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[46]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[47]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarina, etc.[47]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottentots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryrkje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

[46]) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Curtado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaria, on the river St. Lucia" (D., ut sup.). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. Cambay, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

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hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namia.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[**]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[**])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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**) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

**) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 240).

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How the Hottentots treat New-born Babes.
(Notice in the background the child exposed to death in the grass, and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
[*After Kolb.*

[facing p.54]

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tied to it (called sou in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[*]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[**]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[*]) Malegarié, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa. (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 713 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[**]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 228).

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CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a colobium or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [623] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [301] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the [262 261] soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.[59])

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[59]) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the inside out look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.R.S.* 5, 50).

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CAP. XIII.

De Supellectili.

Si quis in supellectilis partes inquirat, antiqua opus est mente revolvat secula; ubi *) *Thebanum Cratem* populo rem familiarem donasse, & solitudinem delegisse, arbores plurimas & frugiferas prae uno baculo aspexisse, ac villas ornatissimas una perula mutasse comperiet. Sola quippe pera & baculus olim *Cynicae*, nunc *Hottentottieae* gestamina familiae sunt; quae olim *Diogeni* & *Antisthenl*, ea nunc *Hottentottis*, idem quod Imperatoribus paludamentum, quod Regibus diadema, quod Pontificibus galerum, quod lituus augaribus, sunt. Neque in hoc *Diogeni*, cum magno *Macedonum Rege* de regni veritate certabundo, baculoque sceptri, & saeculo solii vice gloriant, cedunt, semper sua sorte contenti. Utuntur tamen nonnunquam poculis, ex collectis in litore *conchyliis*, vel ex comestarum prius *fertudinum* (quas *Sirignes* vocitant, & in cineribus tostas edunt, ac pro tabaci frustulo peregrinis divendunt) operimentis: quibus si careant, cavata manu cum *Cynico* aquam hauriunt. Cibum quandoque rejecta in testa, aliae sub cineribus apparant, secus cruda vorantes. Attamen peculio ditiores exquisitas ex argilla ollas, coquinae destinatas, alii ex arborum truncis cibaries *alveolos* oblongos conficiunt.

*) Vide Apuleium in apol. pro se ipso. (See Apuleius, *Apologia*.) (Chap. XI. The whole passage from *Thebanum Cratem* to solii vice gloriant is taken, with slight adaptations, from this chapter of Apuleius. B.F.)

**) Cf. de la Loubère, *Description du Royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1691), vol. ii, 189: "When we offered them brandy, they picked up as receptacle the first suitable shell they saw lying on the ground, and after blowing through it used it for drinking".

***) The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the Hottentots, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it appears that the most common form was that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord was passed for purposes of suspension. Other pots of the same style were quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base was slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot.

9: Ten Rhyne D-S (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[31]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *stripoes*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[32]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[33])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 251) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

[32]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarised by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 314.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Slow the illustration will open. Copy of any kind Prohibited by law. (After 28th)

[facing p. 178]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 825 warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An H 151 additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

H 192 231 It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as maximones, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

H 262 [252] They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[1]). They live S [262] also on wild fruits and roots and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

H ● 415 321 In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

S H 262 S [272] They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it.[2])

[1]) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

* 2) [See pp 180-81 for footnote. – Ausl's F]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[17]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[18])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[17]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.'[74]) 323

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven palls or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture). 285 415

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.'[74]) Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including fish-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is. 291 301 755 782

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures. 301

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell. 293 291

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[74]) The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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618 619 593 693 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 618 619 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 917 231 618 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 592 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up, but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still proceeds to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schinz, op. cit., 277-8; Kolb, op. cit., 79-80; von François, op. cit., 258.

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beads, copper and other trinkets, and tobacco were most in demand, but gradually the skin clothing of the people was replaced by European garments, the implements and weapons made by smithing were superseded by imported metal goods, firearms and ammunition, the clay pots and wooden utensils to a large extent by the iron pots and tin mugs of the trader. In all these respects the great majority of the surviving Hottentots have adopted elements of European culture, to a more or less considerable extent. In a number of cases they have also acquired wagons and horses, and the range of their household possessions has been extended to include tables, chairs, and rough wooden beds. Their mode of life has also altered. The majority of Hottentots now live as servants in the employ of Europeans, others have taken to agriculture in a small, and on the whole insignificant, way. Even the remainder, who still lead a purely pastoral life, as a rule have very few cattle, while most of their handicrafts have suffered and some have completely disappeared. The wares of European culture are now to be seen in every Hottentot hut. Only the latter still survives relatively unmodified, save where occasionally old sacking has replaced the far more attractive reed mats.

Property and Inheritance

Property

Several writers, in discussing the economic life of the Hottentots, have applied the term "communism" in a rather loose manner to the way in which goods are used by this people.[1] The concrete facts they themselves record show that this term is inaccurate. Communism, in the sense of all men having equal, free, and unconditional access to all goods and privileges, does not exist among the Hottentots. The only thing perhaps which may rightly be spoken of as communal property is the land, for all members of the tribe enjoy equal customary rights with regard to it. But even here, we have seen, there are limitations to the unconditional exploitation of the land and its resources, and recognition is given to certain individual and family rights.

'All other forms of property—huts, live stock, weapons, utensils and other objects of common use—are privately owned. This is emphasized by Kohler's informant, von Burgsdorff, who says that although an apparently pure communism is observable in the life of the Naman, actually this is not found. Everybody has his own property, which he seeks to increase and improve, and, preferably

[1] E.g. von François, *Nama und Damara*, 222.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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●421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.[1] And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [426] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[2] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[3]

577 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to 574 the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[4] A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[5] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, [685] and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 349.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 136–7; Schultze, op. cit., 318; Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein der Naman," 273; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.

[3] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Kohler, op. cit., 351–2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 135; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 40; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305; von François, op. cit., 222; Schultze, op. cit., 318; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 77.

[5] An extremely interesting statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the //Hobesen :—

"Agreement dated 9th January, 1893:

"The agreement which I make with Francois Daniel Vlocis and with anyone who hires a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £12 per annum.

"2. If he follows his own customs on the farm and if he is unfriendly to the poor people and does not give them a bite when they come to him then I charge him £24 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is not hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasture, be they white, red, or black, then I charge him £36 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W. Afri. Sci. Soc.*, ii (1926–7), 57–8.)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soregus*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *magus*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Naman] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make mates,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'magu' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a mate, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her undress, and with these he departed with true native sang froid, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly patched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 318–19; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," 62a.
[2] Op. cit., 40–1.

[see cat. 116, p. 243.—Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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ceremonially initiated between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots.

Somewhat akin to the *soregus*, from the economic point of view, is the *//nuri //gab*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism.

It is hardly necessary to stress any further the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his *oms*, soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the right to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2]

1 "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 682–3.
2 "The Nama," 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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421 These statements imply that a distinction must be made between usufruct on the one hand and rights of disposal on the other. There is no doubt that individuals may have the exclusive usufruct of certain objects. This is evident from Vedder's statement about live stock, and almost certainly applies also to objects of personal use, such as clothing and weapons. It is clear also, from facts previously noted, that property such as live stock may be acquired by individuals through their own efforts, as well as by inheritance. We thus get the situation that individuals can acquire objects and have the sole right to use them, but apparently cannot dispose of them freely. The customs of *soregus* and *//nuri //gab* are difficult to reconcile with this latter condition, and so too is the fact, which Wandres himself mentions, that an individual can during his lifetime specify how his possessions are to be distributed after his death. But, assuming that there is some measure of truth in the statement that family control is exercised, the question that must be answered is whether this control implies a complete negation of individual ownership. The Hottentot conception of ownership has unfortunately nowhere been clearly defined, and in an argument which is essentially one of native conceptions it is obviously dangerous to apply European legal concepts. But there seems no good reason why the usufruct enjoyed by an individual should not be regarded as a form of ownership, since these rights appear to be vested exclusively in him. The control of the family over the disposal of these objects can equally well be regarded as designed to guard against their reckless dispersal, and hence its own impoverishment, and in no way interferes with the actual rights of possession enjoyed by the individual.

In this connection it may be noted that Wandres mentions also that the chief has as little property as any other man, but has at the same time the rights of a guardian over the property of the individual families. It is his duty to see that his subjects do not dissipate or otherwise squander the family properties making up the wealth of the tribe.[1] In what way he does this Wandres does not specify, and the statement is not confirmed by other observers.

Inheritance

428 The customary rules of inheritance, by which a dead man's goods are distributed among his heirs, also indicate the existence of individual property rights. Unfortunately not even a single concrete example of

[1] Op. cit., 685.

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
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It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

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The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩǀ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (ᵉ-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (ᵉmaĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ãǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585

B. The Tribal Community

The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

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In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297, 518; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wandres, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 75.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684] punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

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[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) *omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) *!ga-/marib- (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or -ha-bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leav-, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)*/kau-bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called */a-mi-ai-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na-ranin from the gourd fruit !na-rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222 [342] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [627] 222 423 628

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man.

[198] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, °/ā·ros (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (/ā - to be sharp, -ro, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars, about 1/2 natural size.]

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness.

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, °dõdi·b (also called !no/bo·s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, °gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [199] Such a nara cake, °ǂgoa/g(a)a·ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realized that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth.

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/hau /aoti*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 34, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

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Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the 423 Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes, such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartboois. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their 619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products 166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Snow, *Native Races*, 238 sqq.; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandsche Tijd*, vols. i and ii *passim*.

[2] "Social Organisation of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 155.

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tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 3146), 70, 73–6; Hoernlé, op. cit., 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naoaon /Haoa
/Gaise /khai hoa te te
aibe oaoa

My ancestors' territory
Run nicely to meet me
I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hei /Nun* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Hottentots", 319–20.

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775 769 to encroachment upon the territory of another. There is unfortunately no other record of such usages to be observed when visiting a strange place, or linking up the occupation of land with supernatural agencies. Whether similar usages did exist among the Cape Hottentots, but have escaped observation, or whether in the case of the Naman, and especially of the Orlams, European ideas had completely overshadowed them in practice, cannot now be determined. Certainly the great freedom with which the Hottentots appear to have wandered from place to place, from their own territory into that of another tribe, does not argue in favour of any pronounced dread of the ghosts haunting such places, nor does the undoubted fact that disputes over the possession of land were frequent.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[2] Wandres, op. cit., 673–6; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76. [3] Wandres, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting —the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305–6; cf. Frisch, op. cit., 362.
[2] Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 368–9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 92–8; Frisch, op. cit., 323–4; Stow, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Theal, *History of Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
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occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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101 connection. They mean the big group of *//Khauan*, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the *//Khauan*. The derivation of the name *//Khauan* I do not know. The Topnaars, or the *≠Aunin*, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the *!Gumin* of which I do not know the meaning.

621 All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, 423 these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Orlams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[4] the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

175 A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the 621 Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gami nu Khois.[5] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gami ≠Nun*, or *!Gami ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gami ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[4] p. 155.

[5] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 261. The author spells the name "Caminouquois."

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying " yes " but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal " separation-period " sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684] punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[588] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423 ●
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643]
by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

B. The Tribal Community

178 The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

423 The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among [721] themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national [619] power.

422 Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

426 Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aũs ga ~~#areya~~ ota nĩ ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

425 In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous [574] to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *tàras* or *gei taras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost anything 604 at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//núri //gab* or *//núri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even to-day carefully observe damong the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *kharu*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relative. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22–3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 315–16; Schultze, op. cit., 303.

[2] "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 99–100.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, i, 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hotentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 213; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 295–7; Vedder, "The Nama," 136.

[4] "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 70–4; *idem*, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 523–4.

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 197, 312.
[2] Wandres, op. cit., 675–6; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76. [3] Wandres, loc. cit.

Nowadays each ox and cow
231 552 [192] is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

231 425 438 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 425 463 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

234 462 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264–7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

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or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soregus*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *magus*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Naman] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make mates,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'magu' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a mate, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her undress, and with these he departed with true native sang froid, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly patched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 318–19; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 682.
[2] Op. cit., 40–2.

[See cat. 116, p. 243. —Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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425 him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or 572 dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Bushmen (*sic*) named Ougaa came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bond brother ('*opligtbroer*'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the [838 837] fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices, where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *soregus*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

[1] Op. cit., 85–6.

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ceremonially initiated between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots.

Somewhat akin to the *soregus*, from the economic point of view, is the *//nuri //gab*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism.

It is hardly necessary to stress any further the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his *oms*, soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the right to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2]

[1] "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 682–3.
[2] "The Nama," 144.

B. The Tribal Community

The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power.

Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "Iaûs ga ǂarexa ota nî ra me tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxuis*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *kuchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxuis*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *kuchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hayward in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 324). In the earlier version ("Conception of Issue," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the *inner* hut, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.[1] And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [426] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[2] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[3]

577 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to 574 the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[4] A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[5] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, [685] and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 349.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 156–7; Schinz, op. cit., 318; Wanderer, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein der Nation," 273; *Papers on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.

[3] *Papers on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Richter, op. cit., 331–2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 155; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 40; Wilms, op. cit., 134; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305; von François, op. cit., 102; Schinz, op. cit., 318; *Papers on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

[5] An extremely interesting statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the //Hebenen:—

"Agreement dated 9th January, 1893:

"The agreement which I make with Francois Daniel Visser and with anyone who hires a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £12 per annum.

"2. If he follows his own customs on the farm and if he is unfriendly to the poor people and does not give them a bite when they come to him then I charge him £24 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is not hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasture, be they white, red, or black, then I charge him £36 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Kuhn, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, ii (1926–7), 57–8.)

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (//hã̀, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hã̀n) their life long. Each is the °//hã̀·ǂsab or the °/hõ·ǂsab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao·tse in the masculine and a·χase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life.

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[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown.

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To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field.

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I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely.

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The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

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421 These statements imply that a distinction must be made between usufruct on the one hand and rights of disposal on the other. There is no doubt that individuals may have the exclusive usufruct of certain objects. This is evident from Vedder's statement about live stock, and almost certainly applies also to objects of personal use, such as clothing and weapons. It is clear also, from facts previously noted, that property such as live stock may be acquired by individuals through their own efforts, as well as by inheritance. We thus get the situation that individuals can acquire objects and have the sole right to use them, but apparently cannot dispose of them freely. The customs of *soregus* and *//nuri //gab* are difficult to reconcile with this latter condition, and so too is the fact, which Wandres himself mentions, that an individual can during his lifetime specify how his possessions are to be distributed after his death. But, assuming that there is some measure of truth in the statement that family control is exercised, the question that must be answered is whether this control implies a complete negation of individual ownership. The Hottentot conception of ownership has unfortunately nowhere been clearly defined, and in an argument which is essentially one of native conceptions it is obviously dangerous to apply European legal concepts. But there seems no good reason why the usufruct enjoyed by an individual should not be regarded as a form of ownership, since these rights appear to be vested exclusively in him. The control of the family over the disposal of these objects can equally well be regarded as designed to guard against their reckless dispersal, and hence its own impoverishment, and in no way interferes with the actual rights of possession enjoyed by the individual.

In this connection it may be noted that Wandres mentions also that the chief has as little property as any other man, but has at the same time the rights of a guardian over the property of the individual families. It is his duty to see that his subjects do not dissipate or otherwise squander the family properties making up the wealth of the tribe.[1] In what way he does this Wandres does not specify, and the statement is not confirmed by other observers.

Inheritance

428 The customary rules of inheritance, by which a dead man's goods are distributed among his heirs, also indicate the existence of individual property rights. Unfortunately not even a single concrete example of

[1] Op. cit., 683.

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nheritance has been recorded. It is difficult therefore to determine accurately what goods are distributed in this way, and consequently what goods may be regarded as individual possessions. The live stock obviously form the major part of the estate, but mention is also made of "the rest of the property" and of "inanimate objects", which, however, are not specified. The old writers on the Cape Hottentots state quite definitely that the hut of a dead person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp was moved. In such cases, therefore, the hut, together with its furnishings, could not have been inherited. Nowadays this practice is no longer observed, so that these objects fall into the category of inheritable possessions. There does not appear to be any destruction or burial of a man's goods with him at death, a custom noted among the Bushmen, so that there are no goods of which it can definitely be said that they are *not* inherited. Concrete information on this point is greatly desirable.

There is some discrepancy between the different accounts of the general laws of inheritance. Among the Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, only males could inherit property; failing sons, the nearest male relative of the dead man was the heir, never a daughter. Normally the whole estate, and by this is meant primarily the live stock, passed into the possession of the eldest son, who now became the head of the family. The younger brothers remained dependent upon his goodwill, unless, indeed, their father during his lifetime had given them a few head of cattle for themselves, and thus enabled them to become independent. Otherwise they were expected to stay with the heir and help him to manage and keep together, if possible even to increase, the wealth he had inherited. He might, if he wished, give each of them some cattle, but he was not bound to do so, or else he could allow them to enter the service of Europeans, and thus be freed of his immediate control. The heir also had to support his mother and the other wives of his father, while his sisters were placed under his exclusive control and might not marry without his permission.[1]

Among the Naman also, according to most writers, the eldest son is the principal heir. He becomes the head of the family, and has the duty of supporting his mother as long as she lives, if she does not marry again. He also controls the marriages of his sisters. Any gifts made during courtship come to him; in return he is obliged to provide the marriage feast, but he is compensated for this by the

[1] Op. cit., 141–2; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 335.

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428 temporary service rendered him by the newly-married husband. He also inherits a greater portion of his father's estate than do the other children. In particular he acquires all the live stock, with the exception of those animals previously allocated by the father during his lifetime to other sons and daughters. These animals with their increase pass at the division of the estate into the full possession of the children for whom they had been set aside. The rest of the property—presumably the material objects—is divided equally between all the children, under the supervision of the chief. The widow, however, retains all the objects brought by her into the marriage (this would, therefore, include the hut), as well as everything, including cattle, given her by her husband during his lifetime. Here, it will be noticed, all the children, both sons and daughters, participate to some extent in the inheritance, and the concept of individual possession is fully illustrated in both the distribution of the goods and the retention by the widow and minor heirs of property acquired by them from the dead man during his lifetime.[1]

Wandres, and following him Vedder, specifies more minutely, and also somewhat differently, the Nama laws of inheritance. If a man dies his wife and all his children, sons and daughters, are heirs in equal portions. The estate may not be divided as long as the widow is alive, unless she wishes to return to her own people. The inheritance is then distributed by the chief, and the widow receives her portion, together with that of the youngest child, whom she takes with her. If the wife dies before the husband, her property is inherited by him and the children, i.e. it remains in the family. When both the parents are dead, the estate is divided up by the chief, who is compensated for his task, which is often by no means a sinecure. The estate is divided equally amongst the children, sons and daughters alike, the eldest son being regarded as the trustee, under the supervision of the father's eldest living brother. Children born to a woman [848] before marriage normally pass into the possession of their real father, and therefore do not inherit from the man she subsequently marries. The illegitimate children of a man, on the other hand, are entitled to the same share of his estate as his other children. Children born to a woman in adultery can also inherit from her husband, if he pardons her and adopts them.

429 If the children are still minors, their nearest male relative or the grandparents on either side act as their guardians and as the trustees

[1] Schinz, op. cit., 100; von François, op. cit., 216–17; Kohler, op. cit., 344, 347.

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of the stock. The rights of the guardian cannot be interfered with by the chief or the tribal council, but as he is always closely watched by the other relatives he cannot easily appropriate anything in an illegal manner. When a childless couple die, the estate goes to their parents, those of the husband having first claim. When the parents are also dead, the chief divides the estate among the more remote relatives of the deceased, the following order of preference being observed: husband's eldest sister's children, husband's brothers, husband's sisters, wife's sisters, husband's brother's children, children of the husband's remaining sisters, wife's sisters' children. The brothers of the dead wife, Wandres remarks, do not inherit, since, according to the ideas of the Naman, they belong to another family. A portion of the estate is also claimed by the chief, in return for his supervision.

These traditional laws of inheritance can only be departed from if a man during his lifetime stipulates that after his death certain of his goods are to be given to his *sore*-companion, friends, more remote relatives, etc. This voluntary testament, *gus*, must be made orally before witnesses, and is usually abided by conscientiously, although the chief has to see that the nearer relatives do not suffer by it.[1]

It is doubtful to what extent this formulation of the laws of inheritance can be relied upon. It is certainly far more elaborate than that given by any other writer, and should therefore probably be regarded as more accurate. But the statement that all children inherit in equal shares does seem at variance with the honoured position of the oldest brother among the Naman, and the other writers, as we have seen, all state that the eldest son is the principal heir. The information about oral wills, again, also stands in need of confirmation. Here the lack of definite case-histories of inheritance once more makes itself felt, as concrete examples would have enabled one to clear up the discrepancies in the different statements of the laws of inheritance. The general trend of the information is to show that a man's eldest son is the principal heir, and that the other children inherit to only a minor degree. Apparently both men and women can acquire property in this way, and the possessions inherited are held individually.

[1] Wandres, op. cit., 683–5; Vedder, op. cit., 145.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643]
by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Very little jealousy is found among the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [46]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [47]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [48]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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428 temporary service rendered him by the newly-married husband. He also inherits a greater portion of his father's estate than do the other children. In particular he acquires all the live stock, with the exception of those animals previously allocated by the father during his lifetime to other sons and daughters. These animals with their increase pass at the division of the estate into the full possession of the children for whom they had been set aside. The rest of the property—presumably the material objects—is divided equally between all the children, under the supervision of the chief. The widow, however, retains all the objects brought by her into the marriage (this would, therefore, include the hut), as well as everything, including cattle, given her by her husband during his lifetime. Here, it will be noticed, all the children, both sons and daughters, participate to some extent in the inheritance, and the concept of individual possession is fully illustrated in both the distribution of the goods and the retention by the widow and minor heirs of property acquired by them from the dead man during his lifetime.[1]

Wandres, and following him Vedder, specifies more minutely, and also somewhat differently, the Nama laws of inheritance. If a man dies his wife and all his children, sons and daughters, are heirs in equal portions. The estate may not be divided as long as the widow is alive, unless she wishes to return to her own people. The inheritance is then distributed by the chief, and the widow receives her portion, together with that of the youngest child, whom she takes with her. If the wife dies before the husband, her property is inherited by him and the children, i.e. it remains in the family. When both the parents are dead, the estate is divided up by the chief, who is compensated for his task, which is often by no means a sinecure. The estate is divided equally amongst the children, sons and daughters alike, the eldest son being regarded as the trustee, under the supervision of the father's eldest living brother. Children born to a woman [848] before marriage normally pass into the possession of their real father, and therefore do not inherit from the man she subsequently marries. The illegitimate children of a man, on the other hand, are entitled to the same share of his estate as his other children. Children born to a woman in adultery can also inherit from her husband, if he pardons her and adopts them.

429 If the children are still minors, their nearest male relative or the grandparents on either side act as their guardians and as the trustees

[1] Schinz, op. cit., 100; von François, op. cit., 216–17; Kohler, op. cit., 344, 347.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

f the stock. The rights of the guardian cannot be interfered with 429
y the chief or the tribal council, but as he is always closely watched
y the other relatives he cannot easily appropriate anything in an
legal manner. When a childless couple die, the estate goes to their 428
arents, those of the husband having first claim. When the parents
re also dead, the chief divides the estate among the more remote
elatives of the deceased, the following order of preference being
bserved: husband's eldest sister's children, husband's brothers,
usband's sisters, wife's sisters, husband's brother's children, children
f the husband's remaining sisters, wife's sisters' children. The
rothers of the dead wife, Wandres remarks, do not inherit, since,
ccording to the ideas of the Naman, they belong to another family.
A portion of the estate is also claimed by the chief, in return for his
upervision.

These traditional laws of inheritance can only be departed from
f a man during his lifetime stipulates that after his death certain
f his goods are to be given to his *sore*-companion, friends, more
emote relatives, etc. This voluntary testament, *gus*, must be made
rally before witnesses, and is usually abided by conscientiously,
lthough the chief has to see that the nearer relatives do not suffer
y it.[1]

It is doubtful to what extent this formulation of the laws of
nheritance can be relied upon. It is certainly far more elaborate than
hat given by any other writer, and should therefore probably be
egarded as more accurate. But the statement that all children inherit
n equal shares does seem at variance with the honoured position of
he oldest brother among the Naman, and the other writers, as we
ave seen, all state that the eldest son is the principal heir. The
nformation about oral wills, again, also stands in need of confirmation.
Here the lack of definite case-histories of inheritance once more makes
itself felt, as concrete examples would have enabled one to clear up
he discrepancies in the different statements of the laws of inheritance.
The general trend of the information is to show that a man's eldest
on is the principal heir, and that the other children inherit to only
minor degree. Apparently both men and women can acquire property [562]
n this way, and the possessions inherited are held individually.

[1] Wandres, op. cit., 683–5; Vedder, op. cit., 145.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As [643]
has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/ã/gu hã kʇoēra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/ʔās. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂsamago/mas. The term kʇā/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kʇā/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 524). In the earlier version ("Conception of Issue," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the */nau* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂaxais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with !naop and /qunaab ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂaxais. She takes her /túros ǂnus ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (ǂkurǂn). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is /túros ǂnus /a /nara ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂaxais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǂaxais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abǂ tarís must accompany the ǂaxais in all these rites, but often her friends go

[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 396.

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women. 262 562

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions. 181 [431]

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[34]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of 159

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly moulded by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle". 159

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note: Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Mein*, she ceased to be a */ho:ɔ* and became an *oxnais*, until her marriage when she became a *tâ²ao* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sâb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khois* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) */kaep;* (ii) */ui sâb*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) */karrê*, "veld biesies," roots only; (iv) */ku !kâb;* (v) */gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the */kunabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*/gâi kaw*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *gâuâi* and dancing. The *abe gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ho:ɔa gomab*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:ɔa gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei /kaab karib !aa Iis hje !khaab ka²ai !nae ka. ihje !kaab kaa ka²omina !go ka²ai. //aa: //kar, ka²omina /karakaa xu dia ka. ihje /karakaa /kâb xu dia, ihje tarakhoudi /garib !aa /kâkaa di /kaa /kaa.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsûi|goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (|hamab, trade, |hamagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-|khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the |Amas tribe), and of the |Khomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-|hous opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the |*Kâ̂aseti* (|Khunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or |goweya the Zebras, *a* Orionis χ*aesi*, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarob*, from *taro*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (|gari-b, |gob, |i-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or |gaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-|gamteb, Lion-killer, |Otsitamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu|ôb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

881 river, among the Gei |Khauas at |Nuis, and among the |Ōgeis, on the banks of the |Kham river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

843 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, geitaras), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 431 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repeatedly and apologize, until he hears the word "|ûtago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me!" He laughed, and thought that I was in fun. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not forgiven him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower-garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-beer (ǂkharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ǂNaiχab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will certainly return home, and they say, "ǁGaunabi ge dahe hã," we are overpowered by ǁGauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ǁõ ge ni," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (huri-ǂoab) is blowing,

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ǂgũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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axes, adzes and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of dagga, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Naman further north bartered cattle with the OvaHerero for iron beads and weapons, and with the Bergdama for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere is any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Naman themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organization of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalized Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Roos and Marais, op. cit., 53; Wikar, op. cit., 121.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 97; Van Reenen, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* II, 147; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 396–7.
[3] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[4] Schultze, op. cit., 325 sqq.; Walker, *History of S. Africa*, 38, 40, 43 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *ba*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

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TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[82]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

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The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[82a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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[82]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckxz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[82a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 23).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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224 mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralize him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

224 264 Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony; [372] no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with potblack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

224 [437] Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] "Berigt aan den Heer van Plettenberg," 109–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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To what extent specialization enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialized activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognized practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowob*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wandres's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119–20.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264–7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

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There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119–20.

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841.

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish, weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /ui!kǂôb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha· bes.

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available.

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1]

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross-lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

[1] [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). —Analyst]

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, °//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones °ga·rab. Ankle rings, °!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253]

Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

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Riebeeck realized that the opening of the natural resources of the country was only possible with the assistance of the natives and systematized the relations of the yellow and white races.

For understanding the time of the first close contact between the Dutch and the Hottentots the diary of van Riebeeck is a most valuable document because it describes not only the facts but also in the short daily phases of development which are precisely noted, he documents the motives and aims of the people involved. Here not only the historian but also a person who watches the meeting of two extremely different human races with psychological interest comes to account. We must be content here with merely a few hints. In the first stage a mutually friendly and obliging 437 manner reigned and peaceful trade was concluded on both sides. Copper and tobacco and also spirits were the best articles for barter. Three 648 pounds of hammered copper and one third of a pound of tobacco was the price of a cow, a pound of flat copper and some tobacco for a sheep, one quarter of a pound of copper wire and some tobacco for a lamb. Game, sometimes elephant teeth and young ostriches were traded cheaply.

In the second stage a decline in the desire for copper brought on a price increase on the part of the Hottentots. After they had enough copper, the Hottentots no longer wanted to sell their cattle, from which they lived. But freshly slaughtered meat was a necessity for satisfactory provisions for the travelers to India and since provisions were the only purpose of the white settlement in South Africa, ownership of cattle was just as much a question of life for the Dutch on the Cape as it was for [327] the Hottentots. And so the first discord appeared and with it the old distrust -- not without reason -- on both sides. The Hottentot could not resist the temptation to take possession of his sold cattle again and stole. What he sells from now on is of inferior quality. He gives the white men hope that the next ones will be better and in the end deceives them.

On the other hand the Dutchman, incensed by this behavior of the Hottentots, have their own crooked designs. He waits for the proper 648 moment to further his own interests brutally and conceals his plans till then. Just as peeviously in England using criminals as an avantgarde against the Hottentots was justified with the reason that it was "a very merciful deed for these criminals and a way to lead them to God since they were given time for penance and for praying for forgiveness of their sins etc.," in the same way the Dutch-Indian Trading Company received the following recommendation from the officers (July 26, 1649) concerning the erection of a fort on the Cape: not only was it good business but by converting heathen "many souls would be brought to God -- certainly the very best deed for the glorification of the Highest One and for the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Namas the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 283; Ackermann, *Voyage of Exploration to ... Cape de Bonne Esperance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 349; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 92.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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325 177 326 439 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, but hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into beads for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, go to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *kaoka* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 77.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 248–51.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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To what extent specialization enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialized activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognized practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowoé*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wandres's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Anglo Paguana*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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axes, adzes and barbed spears, and beautiful skin karosses, which they exchanged for cattle. The regular price for a good milch cow, for example, was eight spears, an axe, an adze, a bag of tobacco, and a bag of dagga, while for a bull or an ox the same objects, but only five spears, were given.[1] Similarly the Naman further north bartered cattle with the OvaHerero for iron beads and weapons, and with the Bergdama for copper rings and beads,[2] while in more recent times they exchanged blankets, knives, tobacco, coffee, etc., with the Namib Bushmen for ostrich feathers, ostrich eggs, horns, and skins.[3] Nowhere is any mention made, however, of regular traders among the Naman themselves.

From the time of their first contact with the Europeans trading relations between the two peoples were also developed. The ships calling at Table Bay were ever in need of fresh meat, and this they obtained from the Hottentots in the form of cattle and sheep, giving them in return chiefly copper, iron, and tobacco, but also alcohol and other objects. In the early years of the Dutch settlement, e.g. a cow could be obtained for 3 lb. of copper plate and some tobacco, a sheep for 1 lb. of copper plate and tobacco, and a lamb for ½ lb. of copper wire and tobacco. In time indiscriminate barter for copper, trinkets and tobacco had so impoverished the local groups of Hottentots that there was little cattle to be had, and as a supply of meat was absolutely necessary to the settlement, especially for the ships calling at the Bay, exploring parties were regularly sent inland to barter with the more distant tribes. In the long run, in spite of abortive cattle raids on European farmers, the herds of the Hottentots steadily decreased, and this, together with other factors, completely broke down the tribal organization of those groups which had not saved themselves by withdrawing into the interior. It was only by entering into the service of the whites that these detribalized Hottentots were able to secure a livelihood.[4]

The general effects of contact with the Europeans on the material culture of the Hottentots may rapidly be glanced at. First there was the substitution of European goods for native products. The white man brought with him new articles of various kinds, many of which appealed to the Hottentot. At first personal ornaments, such as

[1] Rees and Marais, op. cit., 17; Wikar, op. cit., 121.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 97; Van Reenen, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* II, 147; Burrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 396-7.
[3] Tromb, "Beschrijving der Namaqua," 166.
[4] Schapera, op. cit., 325 seqq.; Walton, *History of S. Africa*, 58, 60, 63 and *passim*; Hodgson, "The Hottentots in S. Africa," *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1838, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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439 609 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment [721] would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

609 574 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Onsib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 574 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 18th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1916, p. 191.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, 751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [439] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
[682] by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.

761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called " the
782 little heart-tree " is endangered by death until he has atoned for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.

Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply called " Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways. The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl, get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoyable negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.[44]) They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,[45]) are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.[46]) There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.[47]) The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

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great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottentots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

47) In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661); there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujárat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

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The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

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Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[53]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

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The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[55]).

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was known of them in 1662 is summarised by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 492). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

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[54]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters desp., iii, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[44]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[45])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[44]) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[45]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 294).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beschrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74]

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root *dacha*.[1]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, 291.)

74) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 291).

1) [The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, col. 116. — Ed.]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *ba*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English. 192 191

TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[82]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco. 435 439

The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[82a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool. 231 556 [439]

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[82]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597. I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckxz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[82a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 23).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 51 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:—

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Essequaes*.*) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, though inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting.

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*) The Hessequas (see above, p. 39) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 135.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35] See above, p. 111.

[36] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37] In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

for this except as a gift, and black and cheaper stuff, which they think better; also of glass and bronze beads; and, in addition, a few jars of brandy, for most of the natives are great drinkers. For these goods they get in exchange oxen, cows, and sheep, sometimes panther skins, etc. At first the traders display a big portion of tobacco, generally about two spans long, for the ox or sheep that is to be exchanged, always adding a little bit (this they call *kortom*), otherwise the natives do not think themselves bound to keep the contract. The natives also often demand a tot of brandy. Then the portion of tobacco must be gradually reduced to at most one quarter.

On their first arrival, especially to the powerful Essequas —the Governor sends his men to them only once a year, so that by means of the long delay they may be the more eager for their tobacco, etc., and on these occasions they come a long distance to meet our traders, bringing with them a prime wether (they call it *etom schaep*) — a portion of the tobacco must be given as a present, for which their return is the gift of the wether. On an occasion like this as many as 100 or 200 oxen, in addition to sheep, may be acquired by our men. But care must be taken not to let them see the supply of merchandise; otherwise our men would be in instant peril of death. They were taught this lesson by the brother of the King of the Essequas, who, if the old king himself had not prevented it, would have killed them all for the sake of plunder.[39]) A son of the old king is at present on the throne, and rivals his father in his love for us. None of them will ever exchange a white ox or cow, which they look upon as an invaluable leader of the herd.[40]) This observance they perhaps adopted from the Egyptians, who worshipped Isis in the likeness of a white cow, and who inhabit the same quarter of the globe as they do. Their first prayer is that the Great Chief (for they pray to God) should send them a white ox.

The usual halts which these disciples of Mercury make on their journeys from the Fort are: (1) de Ruyterwacht, beyond which none of our people owns a farm; (2) de Kuylen, hence to the first river in Hottentots Holland, which is the limit of the control of the Noble Company; (3) across the lofty mountain in the same; (4) to Kaffenhuis

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[39]) I have been unable to find any official account of this incident.

[40]) No other contemporary writer, as far as I am aware, mentions this special reverence for white cattle, nor is it found confirmed in the works of later authorities.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 224 252

they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, whet, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.[13]) Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his tooth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

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It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with sods to the level of the ground. The corn is then left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.[14])

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(Godde-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 66). The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

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11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Legheyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks,"[4] the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[5] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokae, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[6]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantee*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[7] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Koreas

[4] See Historical Texts.

[5] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[6] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsuiǁgoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (ǁamab, trade, ǁamaga, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-ǁkhara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǂAmas tribe), and of the ǂKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-ǂhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǂKhâsi (ǂKhunusi) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreχa the Zebras, *a* Orionis χoma, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) and, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarob*, from *tare*, to *hate*, to *persecute*; thus war means the persecutor. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǁgari-b, ǁgob, ǂ-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǁgaiseb cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǁgamieb, Lion-killer, ǂOraitamab, The One who cannot die, Aogudǁib, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

S: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [295]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 168
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle-farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [554]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 442
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Berghama and even Herero

441 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never
[165] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

228 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk
[329] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness: they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed. 136 231

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil. 135 137

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle. 134 000

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake. 132 241

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and 461 463 177

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jurares: drapetas, errones fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque spe praemii reducunt. Bajuli, corbulones, gerulí, angari, hemerodromi fidissimi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pampiniatores, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii sedulí: silvestrem agrum extricant, elapidatumque pastino, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, manumque buri sine laramento admovent, sementem faciunt, terram rastris insectantur, deoccant, lirant cratiuntque: irpicibus dirunciunt, eruncantque ex agro, vinea hortoque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hedera convolvulisque redimito, quo aestuantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diceresque te bacchantium agmen videre, per omnia Afris nostris simillimum, nisi quod illi[s] dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu falculam altera culmos tenentes messores, areatores, evannatoresque acriter desudant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerariae indiligentes: patinas omniaque vasa coquinaria eluere, sordesque everrere et sarrire, facesque ex agris undecunque colligere, focum accendere, coquulae apprimè norunt, Batavis parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Davorum opera, acrius coloni nostri licet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! nimia felicitate (ut assolet) torpescentes, tanquam Sulmacidis spoliis, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur multi.

Non ingratum tibi, nec aha re fore arbitror si narravero me vidisse Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabata a quodam Belga analecta dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pipans gallina pullos convocat, suos conclamans populares, eis capturam tanquam in diribitorio dilargitur, vix bucellam sibi servans, haeque bonorum communione promiscue gaudent omnes, ita ut tubulus nicotiani accensus ab ore ad os omnium accurrentium perambulat, donec in fumum et cineres tabacum conversum sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigandae terrae crebri fontes, rivuli, amnesque limpidissimi salubertimique non desiderantur, quorum incredibilis pellucidítas et dulcedo saepius sitim mihi adeo aut provocavit aut auxit, ut dixisses me sub Jerubbaalis signis novissimae lustrationis militare.

**) An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (cf., e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

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deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy charr. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.[**])

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Salmacis, won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be *à propos*, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.[**]) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.[**])

[**]) See above, p. 61.
[**]) Judges, 7, 6-8.

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (*/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũũ) with a piece of tanning stone (*/kxoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (*basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ǂgo'a-n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo'a-s. ǂgo'a-b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna-mti, made from sheep, jackal, Otocyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an, 864 [601] Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sic!). In other cases I heard the mother with the sneezing child "!o(man kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (ᵉ·an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (ᵉnaǂam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ǂ/bes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

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also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the */gan* or servants.

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The huts themselves (*oms*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

[462]

[492]

The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, *op. cit.*, 108–9; Vedder, *Native Races*, 108–10; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 308–9.

233 361 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 361 484 492 [415] The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fat on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women [222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 512 517 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else in chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos, or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat 512 517 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

½ [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

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the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *soboa*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 122–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nowadays each ox and cow
231 552 [192] is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

231 425 438 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 425 463 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his *own nourishment* and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

234 462 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264-7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 677-8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78-9; Tindall, *Grass Namaqualand*, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being strictly prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 157-8; Kolb, op. cit., 73-80; von Francois, op. cit., 158.

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114 by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

594 The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

291 Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic
294 animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays,
[177] except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other
[462] purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn
[412] together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–12.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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325 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little
177 Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, but
326 hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into beads
439 for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 55.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 448–51.

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They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so coolly that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

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CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[77]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[78]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[79]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[77]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hotnotskruyd* (Hottentots Sg) or *aster Sg* (= *Mesembryanthemum edule*).

[78]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 307) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern Beutel rauchen Buck, in welchem unten ein Löchlein, welchen sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Buck, leder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, bis Butter wird, als denn lassen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich nachzudenken, voll Haar ist, das einen davon erkelt; Essen aber erkelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, weran wir einen Ekel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1831, 68). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to run out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fairly shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 207).

[79]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 57).

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572 357 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

463 465 These family servants, /gun, are to be distinguished from the /gaiun, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children are free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

[357]

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Nowadays origin of name cow

is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the Ova-Herero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 464-7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 477-8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, ii. 9; Theal, *Ethnography*, 40.

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To what extent specialization enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialized activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognized practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowab*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wanderer's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Anglo Papuans*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119-20.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
303 In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of
177 serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Namas are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are
326 used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
177 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
600 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

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The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in kine and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed. 136 231

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil. 135 137

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle. 134 000

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake. 132 241

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Thessalian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and 461 463 177

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000 Juvare: drapetas, erumnas fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque ope praesidii reducunt. Bajuli, carbonides, gerulí, angari, hemerodromi Belendi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pamphilaones, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii seduli: silvestrem agrum extirpant, stapidatamque partim, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, mancupoque buri sine lassamento admovent, semenique faciunt, terram rastris bumeriantur, devocant, lirant crallantque: irpicibus dirumpunt, eruncantque ex agro, vinea hortoque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hodera convolvulumque redimito, quo sertorantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diuvenque te hercharitium agmen videre, per omnia Africa nostris similimum, nisi quod IIII(s) dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu fistulam altera culmos lenentes mensores, aratores, evanatoresque acriter deosculant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerariae indiligentes: pultibus conciaque vam coquinaria olusve, aerdeoque everrere et aerrire, faenumque ex agris undecunque colligere, focum accendere, coquinae apprimè norunt, Balaeris parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Deorum opera, aerius colonî nostri licet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! omnia felicitate (si sanciet) torpescentes, tanquam Salmacidis spolia, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur molli.

Num ingratum tibi, nec alis re fore arbitror si narravero mei vitâque Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabela à quodam Belga annuntia dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pipata gallina pullos convocat, suos cantilenamque populares, ab captorum tanquam in diribitorio diargitur, vix tuorum alibi servans. Nempe benorum communione promiscue gaudent omnes, ita ut tubulus sterilanti severus ab ore ad os omnium occurrentium perambulet, donec in fumum et cinerem laborem convertunt sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigentibus terrae cruribi fontes, rivuli, amnesque liquidissimi salubertatisque non desiderantur, quorum harundinibus pallentibus et dulcedo succina dilui mihi adeo est provocativi est suavi, ut diutissime sim mihi adeo est provocativi est suavi, ut diutissime sim sub Jerubbaalis signis certaminae lustrationis militare.

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461 463 177 [*] An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (cf. e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

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deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, postboys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy charwomen. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.[1])

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, short fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spells of Calypso, even without toil or sweat.

It will not have you, I think, and it will be a pregnant, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.[2]) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so ennobled or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.[3])

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[1]) See above, p. 45.
[2]) Judges, 7, 44.

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592 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West
357 Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

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● 465 /guisun, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never
• [165] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

294 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
747 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

228 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk
[827] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
242 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

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[*]) See above, p. 45.
[*]) Judges, 7, 4-6.

291 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of
24 jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur
turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while
from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the
broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when
[465] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-
belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron,
[209] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women
[304 sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated
918] ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

[171] Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

• [141] Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered,
[238] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold
[171] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women
291 still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing
24 the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,
[918]

HUNTING AND FISHING

fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood; generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Namas of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the fat used to burned in footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy matter for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and disappear. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quickly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 100-1; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, I, 58-61; Barrow, *Travels in* [illegible]; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, I, 67.
[2] Galton, op. cit., 22. Schultze, op. cit., 100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

224 stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

224, 221 Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal sinews or catgut. They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

[48]

Special Observances

224 As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Naman, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute unalloyed to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

221, 312 More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected with hunting by pursuit, and reflecting the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 290–1; Kolb, op. cit., 128; Wikar, op. cit., 122.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 129–30; Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, 69–70; Thunberg, "South-West Africa," 25.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

One morning in June 1650, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower rib, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.[18]

The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and dominion.[19] To this our men replied:

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and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves as permanently as if we intended never to leave again; but take permanent possession of the Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent, that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (Leibbrandt, II, 186.)

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

De hals is van tamelijke lengte, met smalle schouderen en langachtige armen, doch voor na de handen heel zoger en dun. De handen zijn van goeden maaksel; de vingeren lang, daer sy nagelen laten aenwassen als arents-klauwen, sy hen voor een cieraedt gecht.

Hyrna hen alien is de huik dun en rang, met uitstekende billen, ter oorsake het lichaem, van gewaet ontbloot of in 't kit gewaet gekleet, niet in evenwicht of prangingo gebouden wort. Zy zijn frai en frisch van benen, doch veiten dun van kuiten, maer hebben, inzonderheit het vroo-volk, meer fraie en kleine voeten. Zijn vlugh te voet, en zoo sterk, dat eenigen ossen stier, in vollen loop, gemakkelijk konnen tegen houden, en doen stil staen. Degeelt boven grooten met een groote mannelijkheit.

Het vroo-volk is klein van stal, inzonderheit onder de *Kochoquas of Saldanhars*, en worden daer eenigen zoo besnaden van trosi gevonden, (waer toe niet weinigh helpt, dat sy gene maenten, onchte kinder-pukken onderworpen zijn,) als met een penneel zoude konnen afgetrokken worden, behalve dat sy wat platachtigh van neuse vallen. Den vallen boven maie, verrin de grivoude, groot van bosem, ook zeer groot, dat sy de borsten, die sy los en bloot hebben *Hangen*, den kinderen van achteren over de schouderen, daer sy die gemeenlijk op dragen, in den mont konnen te zuigen geven; doch de zogtrivoude wederom niet. Het schijnt als of haer de voetzoge los is, alzoo haer op eenmige plaetsen wat uithangt.

Al de *Kaffers of Hottentots*, is een volk, benevt van alle wetenschap, en letteren; zeer plomp, en in verstant meer den beesten als menschen gelijk; hoewel eenigen, door het gedadigh verkeeren met d'onsen, de vruchten van hunnen menschelijken aerdt alreede doen te voorschijn komen; gelijk eenmigen ook aen 't Fort de Dullenbo tale beginnen te begrijpen.

[Bod] (1) I have been unable to find any evidence in confirmation of this statement.

● 411 (2) The cattleness of the Hottentots is mentioned by most of the early observers as being particularly noteworthy, and the ease with which they generally managed to ride their wild creatures is often commented upon. Pitherb, however, remarks with justice that their scanty clothing and their familiarity with the country thereby gave them a considerable advantage over the fully-dressed Dutch with their heavy horses, and adds that in his experience he found nothing to confirm the idea that the Hottentots were exceptionally fine-footed (*Des Hoffmanns Reis-Togt*, &c.).

142 (3) An exaggeration. There is nothing unusual in the shape of the genital organs of the male Hottentots.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [1]). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [2]). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [3]).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kinhoyuas or Saldanhers. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there [4]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [5]).

All the Kaffirs or Sonnonkvis are people bereft of all silence and discretion, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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[1]) Among the Sonnonkvis a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, while going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a kaross passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 388).

[2]) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 40 mm. beyond the labia pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten*, 18).

[3]) Dapper's statement that the Hottentots have unusually large male organs is not borne out by the measurements of Peter Kolb, Sparrman, Lichtenstein, Barrow, Burchell, Thunberg, Le Vaillant, Schultze, Fritsch, Pechuel-Loesche, Schapera, and others.

[4]) Dapper's description of the breasts of Hottentot women is confirmed by Kolb, Sparrman, Lichtenstein, Barrow, Burchell, Thunberg, Le Vaillant, Schultze, Fritsch, Pechuel-Loesche, Schapera, and others.

[5]) Dapper's statement that the lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out, is confirmed by Kolb, Sparrman, Lichtenstein, Barrow, Burchell, Thunberg, Le Vaillant, Schultze, Fritsch, Pechuel-Loesche, Schapera, and others.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Cape Hottentot

HOTTENTOTS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[*]

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hessas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[†]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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[*] Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the kraals, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 207).

[†] [The author is probably correct: cf. note 63, p. 90, col. 1. — Trans.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[1]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *strigora*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[2]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[3])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 113.) Civilisation (see below, p. 311) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

[1]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are enumerated by Schapera, op. cit., 114.

[See 10: Grapevine Bowl, Khoi Khoi, p. 251. — Ann'l Ed.]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

tled to it (called aro in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[1]. The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[2], but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[1] Schapera, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 713 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[2] Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachcombing Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 724).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of oxen and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so coolly that neither head, nor feet, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[51] Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 696 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me
782 that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[52] Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no
● [582] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under
291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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[51] Probably the Berg R.

[52] A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, op cit., 383 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Negro FX17

and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[266]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles.

Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Maguel[267]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[268]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[269]) Freemen despise the price of servitude.

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[266]) Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., III, 64). The verbal embroidery is all G.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the Amo-Xhosa as ukumetsha, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Amo-Xosa*, 113 f.).

[267]) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 65).

14:Haim L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hamaman FX13

instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would ask, ǂGorisob hã? Is he alone?

ǂGam, *two*, I derive from the root ǂka, ǂkha, ǂga, or ǂgu, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with*, "*added*," "*contributed*," in connection with.

ǂNona, *three*, comes from ǂna-na-a or ǂna-ma-a, the *root*, the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger*, it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three*, because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the *symbol* of the abstract number *three*.

Haqa, *four*, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gore*, *five*, which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *goreb*, for palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, "*Goreb* ǂna ta ni tani" (I will carry it in the palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. 'Goreb is also the Euphorbia candelabra, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the number *gore* and the *gore*-tree have derived the name from goreb (also korab), the open hand. It is also certain that the number *gore* and the tree *kore* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gore*-tree has served from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Korexas in the North-western Cape Colony; a ǂKora told me that he was born at Korexas in the Free State;

shoulder opening, and bite or shot wounds. The skin of the right front leg serves as a mouth for filling and emptying and has a stone closure which can be easily untied. The freshly removed skin is turned inside out, the fleshy side is cleaned of all bits of meat and fat and then dried. The hair is left on and covers the inside of the sack. [Picture. Woman's Shoe. 1/4 Natural Size.] [Picture. The stone closure of the mouth of the skin water bag. The mouth is bent around and a stone (x) is put in the bend and the mouth is fastened to itself below the stone. The little stars indicate the beginning and end of the tying thread (on the right knotted around a little piece of wood. cf. next figure.]

Water stays fresher and cooler in sacks made of animal stomachs which the coast Hottentots, for example, make from the stomach of the Antarctic fur seal. [Picture. Permanent closure of an opening by means of a piece of wood and string. Holes are pierced in a circle around the area which is to be closed. A small stick of wood is stuck through these holes (direction indicated by arrows). To make the wood firm, a thread is tied in the manner illustrated.

4. Mixed Treatment

a) The skin of a goat, calf, oryx calf, steinbok, springbok, klipspringer, or a duikerbok are used for the knapsacks called /hẫti. [340] The animal's head is cut off and then a cut is made in a curve along the hindquarters and across the perineum. The skin is loosened with the fist and pulled off the body inside out. They first let the skin become rotten in the way described before. [Picture. Traveling Knapsack Made From a Goat's Skin. 1/8 Natural Size.] After depilation and it is dry, it is tanned as described in paragraph 1. In the finished sack the former hairy side is on the inside and the bottom of the sack is the former head end of the animal. [Picture. Small Household Knapsack, Made from Kid Skin. 1/8 Natural Size.]

The larger knapsacks are used for keeping all the things needed when traveling on foot, thus corresponding to our rucksacks. Smaller sacks serve as little purses. The women use them for their buchu herbs, the men (sometimes also the women) use them for pipe tobacco, and for tinder and flint. [341] Because of the last two items, the bags the men use are called doro /hẫi*

*The tinder box which is sold to the Hottentots by the white men is designated by the same

Schaden--Sdg N-5 (1963-1969) 1967 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

28/
965
•98

Traveling knapsack made from a goat's skin.
1/6 natural size.

Small household knapsack, made from kid skin.
1/6 natural size.

they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. The flat surface of the leg 283
serves as a base for their work. Two bast fibres are stretched out across the leg, held between the fingers of the left hand and with the right hand rolled firmly over the skin of the leg so that each fibre twists over itself. During this rolling motion towards the knee each of the two fibres is twisted individually. They are rolled back immediately which twists them together into one thread.

They solve the problem of making one long knotless string many meters in length out of hundreds of short fibres in the following way: [Picture. Twisting of Long Strings From Short Threads (plan)].

1. (See Figure I.) The end of thread a, which is to be lengthened, is spread out in a fork shape. Thread b, also spread in a fork shape, is placed on thread a so that its longer tine lies on the shorter tine of thread a and its shorter tine is on thread a's longer one. Thread b_1 is half as large as a.

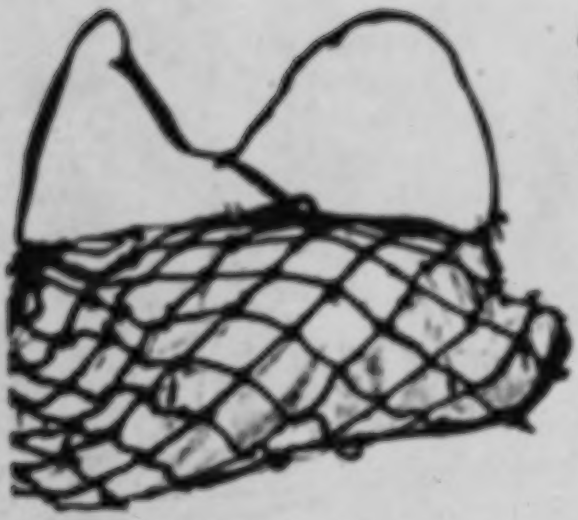
2. (See Figure II.) Each fork that consists of two fibres or threads that lie loosely beside each other (until *) is twisted into one thread by rolling it towards the knee. The reverse rolling makes the twisted tines into a single piece of thread. Thread b_1 is now anchored. The free end of thread a is now forked making two tines, one longer than the other. The latter now is attached to the free end of thread b_1.

3. (See Figure III.) A double rolling motion brings the loose ends together to **, making a new piece of thread. The longer piece of thread b_2 is placed on the last little end of thread a, and the shorter side of thread b_2 is placed on the free end of thread b_1 and all these pieces are twined together to one piece of thread to ***. [Picture. A net bag of sinews. 1/6 natural size.]

In this way all the shorter threads are twisted into one string, the strength of which leaves nothing to be desired. [Picture. Making the sinew knots in the net bag.] [Picture. Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.]

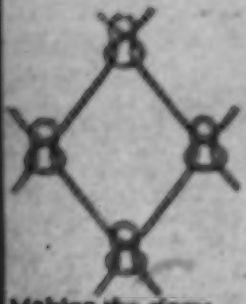
The only useful object made exclusively [244] of sinews (and 283
preferably from those of an oryx) is a large net bag, ~~Netz~~, which is 415
used in the hut as a kind of bag drawer for keeping all kinds of things. 284
When traveling it is used as a rucksack for bedding. A similar bag is 484
also knotted from narrow strips of chamois skin.

[943]



A net bag of sinew. 1/6 natural size.

Joining the net stitches at one of the two ends of the bag. 2/3 natural size.



Making the sinew knots in the net bag.

1: Schultze--65 N-S (1903-1908) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Boer

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (*Weide*, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [354] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle.

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

233 361 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 361 119 492 [95] The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women [222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

162 512 517 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else in chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos, or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat 512 517 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

4 [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
7X13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 13 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

6: Hoernlé E-S (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

ordinary duties of Xûi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the Xûi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The Xûi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the Xûi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been ||kûisi, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all Xûi methods. This is the //A !naip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any Xûi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little Xûi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: "A. //ne te gye nesi go khen, o te gye hui te damate, gare i o, Thi //gome tan ni ko ||gû tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

* *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, VIth Letter, p. 62.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Cape Hottentot

CLOTHING OF THE MEN.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or sealskin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Heunaquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape; their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down.

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned.

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-strips, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The genitals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild bush cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

CLOTHING OF THE WOMEN.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Hanis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.*) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odoriferous and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.**)

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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*) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stuck tusschen Goud en Koper gelyk ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

**) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 254).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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to trade with the Namas, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei ||Khauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and camps, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they knew our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 26th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die Namen Reisebuches über D.S.W.A.," 1906, p. 191.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognised the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoop to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognised and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 9146), 70, 75–6; Hesmiid, op. cit., 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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for this except as a gift, and black and cheaper stuff, which they think better; also of glass and bronze beads; and, in addition, a few jars of brandy, for most of the natives are great drinkers. For these goods they get in exchange oxen, cows, and sheep, sometimes panther skins, etc. At first the traders display a big portion of tobacco, generally about two spans long, for the ox or sheep that is to be exchanged, always adding a little bit (this they call *kortom*), otherwise the natives do not think themselves bound to keep the contract. The natives also often demand a tot of brandy. Then the portion of tobacco must be gradually reduced to at most one quarter.

On their first arrival, especially to the powerful Essequas —the Governor sends his men to them only once a year, so that by means of the long delay they may be the more eager for their tobacco, etc., and on these occasions they come a long distance to meet our traders, bringing with them a prime wether (they call it *etom schaep*) — a portion of the tobacco must be given as a present, for which their return is the gift of the wether. On an occasion like this as many as 100 or 200 oxen, in addition to sheep, may be acquired by our men. But care must be taken not to let them see the supply of merchandise; otherwise our men would be in instant peril of death. They were taught this lesson by the brother of the King of the Essequas, who, if the old king himself had not prevented it, would have killed them all for the sake of plunder.[55]) A son of the old king is at present on the throne, and rivals his father in his love for us. None of them will ever exchange a white ox or cow, which they look upon as an invaluable leader of the herd.[56]) This observance they perhaps adopted from the Egyptians, who worshipped Isis in the likeness of a white cow, and who inhabit the same quarter of the globe as they do. Their first prayer is that the Great Chief (for they pray to God) should send them a white ox.

The usual halts which these disciples of Mercury make on their journeys from the Fort are: (1) de Ruyterwacht, beyond which none of our people owns a farm; (2) de Kuylen, hence to the first river in Hottentots Holland, which is the limit of the control of the Noble Company; (3) across the lofty mountain in the same; (4) to Kaffenhuis

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[55]) I have been unable to find any official account of this incident.

[56]) No other contemporary writer, as far as I am aware, mentions this special reverence for white cattle, nor is it found confirmed in the works of later authorities.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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arborem. 9. ad [n]) casas anserinas. 10 ad [o]) flumen latum. 11. ad paradisum, locum propter amoenitatem ita appellatum: ubi ex argillaceae terrae, aquas inquinantis, copia magna boni laticis inopia est. 12. Ultimo denique ad [p]) concharum sinum, qui CXXXVI. circiter leucis a *Propugnaculo* distat.

CAP. XIX.

De modo saltandi.

Tripudiis, quae miris gesticulationibus exercent, summopere gaudere videntur: cum, si vel minimus in illis religionis sensus sit, illam saltationis ritu maxime peragant. Quamprimum enim luna exsurgit, undique concurrunt. Mares prono corpore pedibus fortiter pulsant humum, unisono, sed vel remissione vel intentione, ejulatu boantes, vultu semper aeque gravi; ubi feminae circumsedentes inaribus plaudunt canentes. Quod si forte in nostratium aedibus *speculum* offendant, ridiculo gargalismo animum titillant, propria cum *Narcissa* delectati forma, mimicis gestibus in effusos dissolvuntur saltus, ut saepe defessi prosternantur; sicuti saepius ab *Hottentotto* juvene, in nostro hospitio famulante, conspexi.

CAP. XX.

De Religione.

Barbara licet & plane brutalis haec *natio*, ut inter eas [q]) gentes, quae legem etiamsi non habent, naturae quae legis sunt, faciunt, recenseri non possit exlex. Attamen *summi* cujusdam *Entis* vel leviculam cognitionem habere videntur, saepe de *supremo* quodam *Capitaneo* memorans:

n) de ganse krallen.
o) breede revier.
p) Moesel-baey.
q) Roman. cap. 2.

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* I take this to be a mistake for Kafferkuils rivier. Mossop (V.R.S. 12, Appendix C) identifies Caffer Kuils rivier (doubtfully) with Palmiet Rivier in the Caledon district, which suits this passage. Mossop's notes to his translation of Schrijver's journey to the East (*op. cit.*) give the best information available on this whole itinerary. (B.F.)

[q]) Most of the early writers on the Hottentots state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking. None of them, however, declare explicitly that the Hottentots worshipped the moon, except for Kolb, who says that they looked on the Moon as their visible

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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River;* (5) to Knoflochs Krallen; (6) to Botter River; (7) to Rivier Sonder Eynde; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragen's Boom; (9) Ganse Krallen; (10) Brede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charm, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 136 *leucae* distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they most show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, loudly chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fixed expression of seriousness on their faces; the women sit round in a circle clapping and singing.[1])

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is numbered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

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God, which they called Gounja, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Roos and Marais, in 1763, also record an invocation to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in association with the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the Moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 373-6.

All skins which are to be cut into straps are prepared in this way. 281
An entire ox or oryx skin is cut into one long strip starting at the edge 283
and going in an increasingly narrow spiral (//hari·, vb.). Further preparation varies depending on whether the straps are for packs or for oxen.

[236] a) The pack strap, !ga/e!haũ/b, must be flat, so that it lies 281
properly on the beast of burden and does not chafe by rolling. There- 492
fore, in contrast to the ox straps, it is not twisted. [Picture. Net Bag Knotted from Skin Strips. 1/7 Natural Size.] Because the irregular outer contour of the skin, the raw strap is cracked in many places and has corners that splay outwards. It takes a whole day to snip away the irregularities and stretch the twisted parts smooth. The finished strap is about 2 1/2 centimeters wide. The scraps are made into hobbles [Spannfesseln] or nose straps for the oxen that are ridden.

b) For making ox straps (forehead straps for tying up oxen), the spiral strips that are cut wet from the stinking skin are hung up on an overhanging branch of a strong tree as shown in the illustration and weighted down. A piece of wood the size of a man's leg and bent like a knee is fastened with straps to a large heavy stone. The turning stick is placed between the wood and the stone. The man goes round and round like a donkey around a tread mill, until the long strips of skin that hang down loosely next each other are shortened to a firmly twisted rope. [Picture. Twisting the Ox Straps]. Then the man pulls out the stick, lets the overwound rope unwind and then twists it again in the opposite direction. From time to time the [237] rope is rubbed with fat. This work is continued for 4 to 5 days and by then the strap is round, firm and pliant. It is then divided up into individual ox straps. Whether this method of preparing leather was original with the Hottentots or whether they borrowed it, seems to be uncertain. I saw [111] Boers as well as Bechuans (in Kanya) preparing leather ox straps in the same way.

c) Straps for sewing shoes (!ã·gu) are made preferably from the 281
skins of the steinbok, whips, sa/migu, are woven from goat leather, 283
probably following the example of the Boers. The kudu bull supplies 492
the best material for the whip end. The genuine sjambok, !na/ba·b is cut from hippopotamus skin.

d) Women and girls make their front apron (here specially called 294
/a·bib) in the following way. [Picture. Apron Front of the Girls. 1/4 natural size.] A red-brown [illegible] is cut from a [illegible] skin.

"One has tried to connect the word /a·bib, n. e.g. 196
a woman's front apron with various word stems.

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (khabu-, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle.

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must

1: Schultze--71A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[261]

A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long Zweep, the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.
[i.e., whip. – Analyst]

may pass, he finds the place where the wild animal lies dead. 224

Stalking supplies him with an unsurpassed knowledge of the way of life of the game. Although it might not seem to us to be sportsman like, still to the native hunter, to whom each bullet is of great value in the wilderness, it seems the safest to creep up on an oryx and wait quietly until it goes into the bushes after grazing to sleep away the hot noon hours. The Hottentot then follows it noiselessly and shoots the sleeping animal from close up.

Dogs are indispensible for hunting predatory animals.

Protected by the herd of cattle, the herder approaches the steinbok which is innocently grazing with the goats and the sheep and kills it with a precise stone throw (ǂno/a·s), or he corners klipspringer with his dog. The dog also performs good services in hunting oryx. Under certain conditions the dog stops it so well that the Hottentot can kill it with the assagai, his "throwing knife," //haĩ/gõab. One especially smart dog had the habit [290] of biting the cornered gemsbok in the nostrils, so that the animal could not move from the spot. The dog finally fell victim to a dying gemsbok, which it had carelessly approached, with a short motion of the neck sideways and back, the animal that was already shot down plunged a horn into its body.

b) The chase on horseback, !ha/e·s, seems to have been undertaken [492] early by the Hottentot, if the information of a native hunter, who told me that elephants were hunted in this way, is based on truth. The elephant supposedly was the pursuer, since one rider after another let the elephant chase him until the animal was so exhausted that it could be overcome.

The eland is supposed to be easy to chase.

Pursuing the ostrich on horseback is more successful than stalking [492] which is difficult even for the native because the bird is very far-sighted. [223]

A single oryx is a beautiful sight in itself, similar to a grazing stag. But no comparison with the game and landscape of our homeland, will suffice when one has had the good luck (as I did in May, 1904, south of Kubub) to see about 250 of these wonderful animals standing together, suspecting no danger, their heads deep in the grass, so sharply lighted by the evening sun that the movements of each animal could be clearly followed. Then suddenly they become aware of the riders. The uneasiness of the nearest ones spreads to the whole herd and in a few seconds the whole herd is off at a gallop and soon only a great yellow cloud of dust reveals the direction of the fleeing animals. Then one must dismount quickly and be very calm for a sure shot.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Buchmen FX10

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the *!gan* or servants.

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The huts themselves (*omi*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

[462]

[492]

The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, op. cit., 106–8; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 118–20; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306–7.

233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried
484 meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
492 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
[415] bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
512 and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members
517 of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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together with the pounded testicles of the new oxen.[1] A similar feast was noted among the Cape Hottentots by Jan Hartogh in 1707.[2]

The young oxen are trained to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen are used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with the few household utensils, which are bound securely on them with "riems" (long thongs of raw hide). The riding-oxen are guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit. Instead of a saddle a sheepskin is thrown over the back of the animal and fastened by a thong drawn tight round the body. No stirrups are used, but both men and women ride the animals with ease, being accustomed to do so from childhood. "One can travel comfortably and securely in this way for a great distance and over rugged mountains," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "provided one is not in too much of a hurry." Kolb relates also that special oxen were taught to guard and keep the sheep together while they were grazing; such an ox, he says, is strictly obedient to the voice of its master, and flies round the pasture ground to bring back within proper limits those of the flock that are straying off! No stranger is allowed to come within range of the pasture ground; the ox drives off the intruder and gives the robber a rude reception. The Hottentot oxen, he continues, are even taught to combat in a body, like a regiment of elephants, against the enemies of the nation. This statement, at least, is confirmed by other observers, but one cannot resist doubting if oxen were ever really used as sheep-dogs. Nowadays, at any rate, they are generally employed for the far more prosaic task of drawing wagons, and have been almost entirely superseded by the horse for riding.[3]

The goats and the sheep, like the calves, are herded by day in the veld, and kept at night in the kraal. Single goats or small flocks need no care, and easily accustom themselves to returning of their own accord at night. Bigger flocks are put under the care of a herd-boy, who guards them from danger and theft, and sees to it that they do not spread too widely over the veld. He also has to collect them during the midday heat under some trees or a rock, where they may rest in the shade. The lambs while still small remain continuously in a special kraal, and are allowed to go to their mothers only before the

[1] Op. cit., 262.
[2] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, ii, 9.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 253–4; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 24; Kolb, op. cit., 82–3; cf. Barros, *Da Asia*, quoted in Colvin, *Romance of S. Africa*, 20; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 323; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 237–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

231 description can be relied upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be connected, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snouts, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

[177 492] From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

Hunting and Fishing

Weapons and Methods

262 As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 90; Schultze, op. cit., 268.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 267; Ridsdale, op. cit., 84.

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [295]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [439] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593 in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868 themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231 nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231 A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262 only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231 cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492 oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461 and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357 weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74])

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root *dacha*.[1/1]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, 201.)

[74]) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 207).

[1/1 The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, col. 116. — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so coslly that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 88, 74).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *das*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */haimakuu*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *ǂkhûb*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

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According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Mosslekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Masow*, the great chief of the *kai !kwama*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of *!Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieshab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are my //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kai !kwama*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kai !kwama* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/kai !garib*) and the Hart's River (*ǂKaab*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kai !kwama* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*nida geida khaukua*), trapped them in pits (*uragukua*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ka-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

800 (pot sũ-s, to boil, to cook sãi). Food, especially meat, is
252 always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

325 We must also conclude that the process of melting
196 ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general
174 separation; for ǂurib is the word for *iron* or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǂã, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gõagu), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂganugu, literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǂhoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

174 But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that
413 the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

492 Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *pack-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

302 It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (sã-b or buχu),

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* "Their brides on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.

1: Schultze--648 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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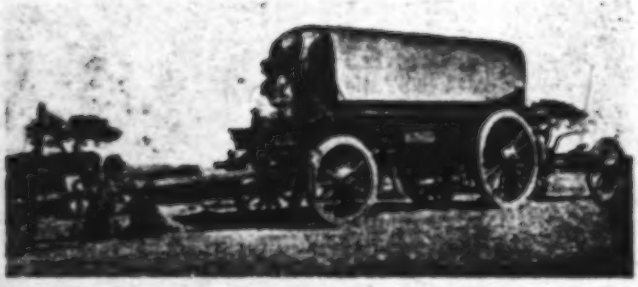

South African ox wagon.

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (thabu-, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle.

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must

1; Schultze--71A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

492
493

A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long Zweep[1], the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.

[1] [i.e., whip. – Analyst]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74]

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root *dacha*.[1]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, 291.)

74) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 207).

1 [The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, cat. 116. — Ed.]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */haimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *ǂ≠hûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

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The *hei !horana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khaokwa*), trapped them in pits (*suruguhwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ka-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

specimens of their sex, and *Meis's* younger, very much younger sister, *Iis* were of great use in reviving the sometimes failing memories of their menfolk, in giving full details of the */habab* ceremony and in playing the musical instruments peculiar to their sex.

The younger generations included */Gobo ≠:xa* (Piet Kraal, 52), *Tsi:ta*, the son of *Teteb*; */Kutsi*, a man of mixed Griqua and Kora descent, the son-in-law of old *Tabab*; his wife, *Oreas* and *Ebis* her sister; */gasibe*, the twenty-two year-old daughter of *Iis*, and *Kwakwalis*, */Kutsi* and Piet Kraal have a large family of young sons and daughters.

Both *Tsi:ta* and */Kutsi* work for very small wages in town. The old men, so the Magistrate of Bloemhof informed me, have small pensions. They seem very poor. In fact, it is a wonder to me how they live, in the location, when they have to pay small rentals to the Village Management Committee for the site on which their mud brick little "pandokkies" stand. They seem to feel unhappy in that restricted space. For a number of years they tried hard to regain possession of the Saltpan. *Teteb* showed me a mass of correspondence in which Hermanus Links, their late chief, engaged with a Kimberley lawyer for that purpose. Even a petition was sent to the Governor at the Cape. But in vain.

The older women seemed fairly busy with their household duties, cooking the scant family meal in modern iron pots, which have replaced the old clay *su:di*, on the smoky wood fires outside. They no longer have to milk the cows as their ancestors did when they came home in the evening; nor do the old men, as in the days of their youth, spend their time in hunting and seeking new pastures for their cattle and sheep. Unable to adapt themselves to the new ways of life, and too old to work, they seem to lead an aimless life, reminding one of Tennyson's Lotus Eaters,

> "Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil. . . .
> "Oh! rest, ye brother mariners, ye will not wander more."
>
> • • • • •

I searched the district for more Korana. There is a very small number living at Christiana. I motored to Schweizer Reneke—the old Mamusa,—where I discovered a very old man, *Xras*, who had almost forgotten his language, his son and wife and a small family; and another very old man, *Sele:ki*, who told me about the battle between David Massow and the Dutch in 1885. They vaguely said that there might be a few stray Korana working on the farms in the neighbourhood. At Wolmaranstad which I visited this last May, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas S.

233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down
484 their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
492 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
[415] bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
● 512 and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members
517 of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 184–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 200–12.

mats are placed over the framework vertically to the others, usually so 342
that they run from door to door. [Picture. Completed Mat Hut.]

2. The furnishings of the hut consist of nothing except the barest [352]
necessities of daily life. Two doors, only one of which is ever used, the other being kept closed, control the ventilation. The door openings, ǂomsamra, i.e. "hut mouths," are about 60 centimeters wide and 1 and 1/2 meters high and are opposite each other. The front one faces east. The door itself is a hard goat skin or calf skin that has been dried stiff, ǃgūǂamǂgoas. A thong is fastened on each side and in the middle of the upper edge. These can be fastened to the hut wall in bad weather. If the inhabitants go out, a stone is placed on the overlapping edge of the skin to close up the hut completely. Here and there someone would remember that in the olden times elephant ears were made into door skins. [Picture. Floor Plan of a Hut. a) Front Door. b) Back Door. c) Fireplace. d) "Raiser" e) Framework Poles. f) Side Rooms. g) Back Room.]

[232] On the inside the levelled ground is covered with skins, ex- [352]
cept the hearth, located in the front half towards the door. 354

If the family is large, a hearth is built outdoors beside the hut and protected from the wind by a semicircle of transplanted bushes. But even if the cooking is done in such a kitchen protected from the wind, //haob, there is always a hearth in the hut. The evening fire that is lighted immediately after sunset unites the family and the inevitable boarders, friends, relatives and neighbors.

The sleeping places, kŋa·rogu, are right on the ground. All kinds 513
of skins are used as mattresses and sheep skins (cf. p. 234) as covers. 352
The sides of the hut, ǃanira, i.e. the area behind the hearth to the right and left of the back room, (see below) are the best places for sleeping, and are reserved for the master and his wife and after them the older members of the family. The unmarried servants, hired man or maid-servant, usually Bergdamara people or Bushmen who look after the children and the cattle, sleep near the door.

The household utensils (cf. handicrafts) and the food supplies hang 415
from the poles of the framework or are packed in sinew nets or in skin 352
sacks. On the floor in the back room, ǃgu·rub, i.e. of the room between the place for the fire and the back door, stands the so-called "raiser", ǃhã̄ǂs, made from four vertical branches with twig stubs that are used as hooks for hanging things on. (ǂã̄ǂti).

539

she squeezed (//kxʟ) the udder of the cow and the cow made a leap (uri, vb.). Then she says: "Grandmother" (ti //naos), the cow is not used to me (iũ

"The respectful form of address for the wife and accomplice of the python; the snake is thought of as a male being.

"not to know") and went to the hut. Then fat (//nuib) was given (mã) to them, and they rubbed themselves" (sobosen). But Gatsinghamabes [524]

513

"The Hottentots, when they wish to sleep especially well, rub themselves with grease in the evening. The massage accompanying this has indeed a soporific effect. The little girl wishes to remain awake and therefore refuses the service.

does not (toma) want (ǂgao. hã expresses here the persistence of the little girl) to rub herself. Then it got dark (!kxʟaẽ, vb.). Now she took out (ũ ǂui) a little (-ro, dimin.) cutting iron (ǂnamib, "a sharpened piece of tin") and sharpened (sau /am) pieces of wood (haite euphonious for -ti). Then the woman asked (te): "Why (taeẽ abbreviated from tareẽ) are you (-s) sharpening pieces of wood?" But the girl says: "Tomorrow (//ari) I (-ta, suff.) want (nĩ) to break off (ora) gunu onions" (*ǂgũunna, neuter

*An edible species of Babiana (Iridaceae).

plural) with (ũ) hard (garo) stalks (haiti)."

And when they slept (//om), she went to the hut of the grasshopper (ǂnãi aus) and asked at (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) what (mã) time (//aẽb) the [python] would come out (!kxʟaiẽ, particle of indirect discourse). Then the grasshopper said: "At midnight [Fig. --Methone andersoni Stal. ♀ (Oedipopide) from Kubub. Natural size.] (tsũxʟub gaib) probably (ga, potential), if (o) a cool (gara) breeze (ǂoab "wind," -ro dimin.) is blowing (!gom), he comes." Thereupon Gatsinghamabes went to lie down, lit (kxʟau) a fire (/aẽsa) in order to heat up (*//kxʟõa//kxʟõa) the earth all around, and a broom (//kxʟoros) and the pieces of wood and a hard (garosa) bedskin (ǂgoas) -- all of this (tsĩ "and," -na neut. pl.)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
591 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage
the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wanders, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[75] 301 302 S 576 521

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast. H 291 H 262

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[76] There is a gleam of sense in their words. S H 773

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground; after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net. H 264 513

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the 000

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs." S 576 521

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, 585
a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *auri* or magician of the camp now goes to the men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

[791 514]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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881 885 in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The [192] word *kasaive*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is [783] examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

881 514 The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or caul, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59-60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 40.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blast") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beiträge zur Sitte der Herero," 103–4, 94.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntis der Hottentotten," 8.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44–7.
[4] From a casual remark by Hahn ("Tsuni-||Goam," 12) it is the magician (*gui*) and not the boy's father who performs the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vergelegen der Gantze Hoffnung*, 128–9.

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The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the oldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *kucha*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 269.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away. S 595

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[36]) The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population. S 562 593 853 S [842 145]

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, the moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.[37]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness. [The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[38])] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen. H 821 771 753 841 H 514 576 H [755]

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37) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Naman use the terms *sores* for the sun, and *//kaub* for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *roub*.)

38) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

E. Care of the Skin

515 The care the Hottentots take of their skin cannot be judged exclusively by our standards of cleanliness, principally because water is so valuable in that land.

1. Cleanliness

[207] During the hot season of the year, when there are great accumulations of water, as in the area of the Fish River, the Hottentot bathes. It is even said that he swims excellently. (66) But he shuns

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

wash water as a daily method of keeping clean.

On the other hand, fresh ox dung and cow dung take the place of water, brush, and soap, and the dry air substitutes for a towel. However extraordinary this may seem at the first glance, such a way of washing is effective. The moisture in the manure suffices to loosen the sweat that has dried on the skin, the fine plant fibers scour ever more effectively, the drier they become in the course of the rubbing and finally the flat hand brushes off the last bit as a light dust from the part of the body that has been cleaned and at the same time pleasantly rubbed.

2. Massage

302 237 In order to give their skin the necessary suppleness, the Hottentots smear themselves with fat (ǂkoːaus(e)n or soǀbos(e)n). They smear at least the face, the skin of the head, the hands and arms, but best of all, they like to smear their whole body. This is especially true of the women.

302 415 237 The containers for fat, *ǂkxĩ·nas or *!gõ//nãːs, which are found in every hut where the inhabitants have pride in their appearance, are cut out of an oxhorn and the two openings are closed with cowhide, the bottom being firmly attached, the top moveable. The fat from

302 303 415

//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

302 415 237

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [829] [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

302

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder. [515] [841] [832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/is(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves. [854] [764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in. [386]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," */u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly. [386]

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 881
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around
her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and
serve honey beer to the guests.

[296] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl ex-
changed her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been aban-
doned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where
it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 881
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota 751
rubbed with buchu power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl
menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called
*/na·ra‡kxa/ra·. (‡kxa/ra·b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle strok-
of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the
effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as
gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 881
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the
Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and
rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of
the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleaned, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 881
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/'m‡ui (//a/'m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure. ‡u·i = to go out)
is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriagea-
ble age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is con-
sidered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is
called oasses (not oa‡ais (57)).

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-
Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple
with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop,
and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this
liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that
can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning
of puberty is called *//gu·rurubeb.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au ... Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 43.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [84] 843

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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mysteries! Behold the strenuous champions of Divine Truth! On the last day at the last judgment they shall be burned in the middle ditch of the amphitheatre by these barbarians. "This is the final spark of the woe to come."

They are beyond belief patient of heat, cold, fasting, and every kind of toil, but utterly impatient of injury, and prone to vengeance. Wherefore if a louse or a gnat sting them they put it into their mouth for no other reason than that by the law of retaliation they may chop, grind, and crush it with their teeth, and spit it out. Nothing pleases them more, they openly boast, than to return evil for evil, nor can they easily be at rest till they have satisfied their minds by the torture of their enemies. They are offensive to look at, savage in their dress, wild in their mode of life, but warlike and unaccustomed to slavery. They are as swift as the wind, often outstripping horses in fleetness of foot and Cretans in swimming.

H 142 [515]

In whiteness of soul they are superior to many of our countrymen, and in whiteness of body they are equal to some, and, in my judgment, would perhaps be so to all, if they cared for cleanliness. But as things are, what with fat and the scorching heat of the sun and the sharp pigment they put on their faces, they have grown dark and are of a swarthy brown colour. They have lively bright eyes, and the whites of their eyes and their teeth are fairer than snow. The pupils of the eyes are of a shade between brown and yellow. They have small feet and feminine hands; they are lightly built, and almost all snub-nosed. Those who live near our Cape are of middle height; but the inhabitants of the remote parts of this region are shaggy fellows, with taller and sturdier frames, and with frizzy hair.[2] Among them has been seen a king, Longurio, twelve foot high, with hair all over his body thicker than a water spaniel's.[3] To these latter the shortness of our countrymen is a matter of contempt. Sometimes they are bald in front; sometimes they wear beard and moustache and shave their heads. The women have large breasts. With the rarest exceptions I never saw one among them that was marked from birth, fat, hunch-backed, squinting, or that had varicose veins, a swollen paunch, flat feet or spindle-shanks, or one that went bow-legged or knock-kneed or had misshapen limbs of any kind, nor did I ever see one blind of an eye nor halt in his speech, nor

S [42]

H 142 732

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. 142
The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has 171
the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The [516]
tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular development, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its [291]
movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)] 1/1

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and 142
by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

1/1 [See p. 88. — Analyst]

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs. 142

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII). 142 145

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matrons. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place. 142 [832]

B. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of deportment, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hõ!//goa *. 516 516

* I could not find the word *!hõ! listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !ho!- to be bent, as from !hõ! - to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning . . . [Picture. Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "sa arii kxoma !hõ! //gũga (e)ĩts" i.e. "Your

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ! //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ! ǂkʸaraga ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ! //goabats gye nĩ ʃũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question.

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kʸoma gai //goaga (e)ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ! //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (ǂnũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement.

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women.

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the

seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blessing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gabu aib gye /gĭrib ǒaba, sores gye ti ǒasa," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [157
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows 171]
great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

word stem doro- which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari). 196 372 [m]

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.] 281

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa-ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu-rib, not sinew thread, //aba-b, is used. 283

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips. [824]

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro-b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /a/b, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. [56]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[33]); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[34]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori*; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 215-18, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the sermonising reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'tabelj' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) *Three weeks later* the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

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γ) Four beginnings are possible. You can move:
from a^7 to b^6 and b^5
or from a^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from b^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from a^9 to b^8 and b^7.

δ) Moving the tokens. Only during the first move is one permitted to take tokens from the middle of one row and place them in the other row. After that one must move without skipping a hole and only counter-clockwise. Moving from one row to another occurs only around the right hand corner of the playing field (see arrow).

Moving consists in the following. The player picks up the tokens from one of his holes and divides them singly in the following holes. If the player ends his move in a hole containing more than one token, he must pick these up. They are taken out and moved forward. If, however, he ends with only one token in the last hole, the opposing team plays. If two or more tokens end up in the last hole that is used, and if at the same time the opponent has one or more tokens in the corresponding hole (of the same number) in row b, then one does not take the tokens from the hole where one ended but robs his opponent of all his tokens, which [315] lie in the row with this hole (i.e. all the tokens which are in the holes with the same numbers of the opponent's a and b rows).

One moves the stolen tokens according to the rules that obtain for moving them in one's own holes. The number of tokens in a hole can increase at will.

The winner is the team who succeeds in taking away all the opponent's tokens in the way indicated.

c) As an imaginative game, an amusement of the children and the women should be mentioned which consists in making certain rhythmic noises. The toy is called ǂa-bubu-s. A rectangular, flat little piece of wood is pierced in two places and a leather string is pulled through the holes. By swinging the two leather strings are so twisted that the piece of wood is set by rhythmically tightening and loosening the strings in a lively whirling motion as the string twists and unwists. Depending on the rhythm used they imitate the sound of a trotting horse, then a galloping one, then one running away. By blowing on the whirling wood they make the fleeing horse snort. A thin piece of wood serves the same purpose, the name of which, //ha-buhaib (from ha-bu = the running away of a shy animal) is evident from what has been said before. A little stick or a stalk of a certain kind of grass is placed between the lips and moved up and down with a finger, so that its humming imitates the rushing hoofbeats of a horse that has gone wild.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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233 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence
361 as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle
361 or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried
484 meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which
592 are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen
[485] bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women
[222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds
512 and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members
517 of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else in chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat
512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the
517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 189–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 305–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 109–22.

11. To the description of the somatic peculiarities of the Nama may be added a description of the psychic characteristics. The Nama is above all an emotional being. It is not difficult to rouse him to transports of joy and he who is able to rouse his joyous instincts has won his heart. In this state the Nama is willing, kind and hospitable; he will share his last crumb with his visitor and reveals clearly that he is indeed capable of noble sentiments. In this state, too, he is susceptible to religious impressions and the indiscrimination with which he surrenders to his emotions makes him an easy victim and a ready follower of visionaries. It need scarcely be added that dreams, visions, supernatural voices, etc., are fruitful seed in minds of such psychological structure. 152

12. On the other hand, when under the influence of disagreeable passions the Nama presents an altogether different and almost unrecognisable aspect. He is then sulky, unapproachable, impudent, faithless, unmerciful and cruel.

13. Both in his good and bad moods he is impelled by the desire to play the great man, to earn as much as possible with the least exertion. Yet he consumes his earnings in the most uneconomical manner and loves to preen himself in the grandest of attire. 156

14. Contrary to the descriptions of the older historians, the Nama is nowise slow of thought. He knows how to use his senses and he is able to translate for his use with great rapidity of thought, whatever his eye, ear and sense of smell have communicated to him. As far as rapidity of thought and imagination are concerned, the Nama takes the first place in South West, leaving the Hereros, Berg Damaras and Ovambos, even the so-called Bastards, far behind. He is musical, but the beauties of nature make no impression whatever on him. He is a great teller of tales and listens to tales with great attention, but for the past history of his people he has little interest, preferring a foreign language to his mother-tongue. 153 517

15. Will power, which gives character its type and reliability is but slightly developed in any of them. Principles count for little and a Nama will never fall back on a principle to explain his actions. It may be taken as an axiom that when the Nama acts under the influence of his agreeable instincts, the good qualities of his nature become evident in a surprisingly beautiful manner; but when he acts on his disagreeable impulses he can no longer be trusted and is capable of quite unsuspectedly evil actions. 152

H. Schinz, with whose judgment of the Nama I agree, writes of them: "They have their virtues and vices like every other people, but in order to judge them, we must descend from the pedestal of civilisation, often so artificial, and place ourselves in their past, their environment and 181

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on "Namaland and Kalahari"; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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533 517 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 517 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 643 645 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 693 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the [643] passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[691] 692 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

seat, their legs slightly bent and half spread out in front of them. 516
The upper trunk is bent slightly forward, the back curved, the outstretched arms rest with their elbow joints on the knees or are crossed on top of each other under the knees. I can still see them today, as I did so often then, sitting around the evening fire, their hands spread out over the warming logs as if blessing something, their heads leaning back to let the smoke pass by. The winter mornings are quite cold. Then they turn towards the early morning sun in a remarkable position: they spread their legs as far as they can so that even the flat under parts of the legs will receive full sunshine and no limb will cast a shadow on another.

If they are in a good mood, they praise the beneficence of the rising sun in their own pictorial language. Half singing and half declaiming they repeat many times: "gabu aib gye /gĭrib ǒaba, sores gye ti ǒasa," i.e. the cloud shadow is the son of a jackal (scornfully), the sun is my daughter."

C. Expression of Emotions

The male Hottentot imposes a certain reserve on himself either 201
from cleverness or from consideration. In the female sex, where this [157
reserve usually disappears, a comparison with the Herero woman shows 171]
great differences. The facial expression of a Herero woman is masked by a brown, earthy, fatty salve, with which the face as well as the rest of the body, the leather clothing and the three-pointed cap is rubbed. Such a woman, when she is listening to the conversation of those sitting around and is leaning motionless against the clay hut, seems to be made from the same dark clay which suddenly comes to life when the whites of her eyes and teeth light up at a word that concerns her.

A Hottentot woman is never this quiet; if the conversation is solely 201
concerned with objects which take up her attention more than usually, 521 ●
she gesticulates vivaciously. If passion is the chief concern (even if it is only alive in her memory), then scarcely any part of her body is still: the upper part of her body is now bent forward, now sideways, her arms wave back and forth in front of the listener's face. Sometimes she points with ridiculous clarity to the wall of the hut to indicate the distant setting of the tale, sometimes the index finger of her [183] right hand will be balanced in the hollow of the left to aid in the explanation.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [841 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

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The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

set off in full flight. And then sometimes one sees them jump straight up into the air in the middle of the speediest gallop, leaping over the bushes like a kangaroo. The back is bent, the head outstretched and the broadly unfolded flabellum, a bundle of long snow-white erect hair, shines out. 136

The lamb of the springbok is called //gu·nib by the hunter. The old ram who has been pushed out of the herd is called */gu·riseb or */gurimãb, i.e. "he who stands alone." [825]

13. The steinbok, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), called !a·ris, is a small (the size of a fawn) reddish-brown antelope that usually grazes alone. The male is armed with straight, thin, smooth, black, pointed spearlike horns that rise straight up. There is often a striking black spot on the bridge of the nose, that extends halfway up to the eyes. Sometimes one hears a Hottentot, who wishes to make fun of someone's dirty nose, say: "!aris kǂoma ǂnũ ǂguisa ũ," i.e. "you, with a nose black as that of a steinbok." [522]

[277] 14. The klipspringer (see illustration p. 278) Oreotragus saltator (Layard) (Cape D. klipbok), called //kǂaĩ·is or //kǂaĩ·sis, could be called the chamois of South Africa. It lives in small herds exclusively in clefted mountain country. With certainty and grace it climbs over the cleft rocks. Without taking a running start, only bending the hind knees slightly, he jumps nearly straight up into the air the height of his own body to ascend the steep steps of the weathered gneiss and granite hills. He knows how to judge distances so accurately and so to judge the amount of strength needed, that even after a bold leap he can land with extraordinary certainty on an edge scarcely a handsbreadth wide. The hoofs of the little animal do not extend flat towards the front in a pointed triangle, like those of other antelopes, but are shaped like powerful cylinders that go up at a slant. The animal stands on the outermost tips of these hoofs as though on cothurni. [Picture. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.) Steinbok ♀]

The skin of the klipspringer is also remarkable. Thick bristly hairs form a soft, elastic cover, which rustles peculiarly when a hand runs over it. The tips of most of the hairs are colored a light yellowish and are set off sharply from the exposed dark parts of the shafts of the hair. The skin, that from a distance seems to be uniformly greyish-brown, proves on closer inspection to be brilliantly variegated. The male has horns like those of the steinbok.

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

[533 825] [280] The tail is insignificant: "!naēsi gye ǂkχaris ǂaresa ī" "it has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 825 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard, Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture. Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest?] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called !hurdu·/garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (ǂkχã = to refuse) to be noticed (ǂhau) (-he pass. ending, -sa adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it ǂhau·/hesagyeǂkχã·b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is ǂhũiseb.

136 [522] 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipard), called !a·rub, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "!arub kχoma gaχu !gãba ũ," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis caffra Desm., (Cape D. graauwkat), called /hõ/a·b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him *ǂnũ/xõgũ-sõatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 263).

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: *//kxa-nsab was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from *//kxan, to forego evacuating the bowels); *//go-resǂnõa-tso/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; *!ho/nxõs, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; *ǂkxõre-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; *//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called *a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name *a-mikxoma/gu-ita-raseb, i.e. as one "who has many (/gui) wives (tara.s) just as an ostrich (ami.s) has hens."

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," *!ao-xab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (*//ga/bu-b) over its snout and so he is called *//gabu-xaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Bachydactylus species, *!na-nigyemũ/s, another one, because of his stamping gait *!nõ-/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man !a-batoma!nao-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (!a-ba) on the wagon to load it" (!na/o).

They called another !a-osa/ã-batana-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana-s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

every step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ã̃ i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" °!nĕ/b by the men; by the women: °/ã·saχã̃·b, because his penis (χã̃b) was new (/ãsa) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person (°//kχõ·aseb), the person with a pot belly (°//ã̃·etab), the person with red hair (°/a·batana·b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a stone or a beetle was called the "junk collector," °na·boreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named °!u·/rila·ogorab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called °≠nũ·sore≠gã̃·/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (≠nũ) there even when the sun (sore) goes down" (≠gã̃/).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 857 524

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd.

[309] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered Eragrostis stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 857 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 857 524

Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, 538
in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a peo- 128
ple of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the [522] stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is 538
possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are 128
mentioned here in advance once and for all: 193

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kǂa	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-ǀ	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-ǂe		-na

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proximi, mediae sunt staturae, qui vero abdita regionis inhabitant, villosi, procerioris robustiorisque corporis, et cirrati sunt: visusque inter eos Longurio duodecempeda regulus, toto corpore hirsutus, cane aquatrio pilosior, brevitasque illis nostratium contemptui est: subinde recalvastri, et nonnunquam barbam cum mystace alunt, caputque rasitant: mulieres mammosae. Insignitum aut obesum, gibbosum, paetum, varicem, ventricosum, pansam, loripedem, valgum, anuem (sic), compernem, aut distortis membris inter ipsos non vidi, praeter unum alterumve, luscum, exomphalum, atypum, nasutilumque, et si quis claudicat, aut manu, bracchio, oculo aliove membro mutilus, id hosti, ferae, aut casui imputet, non matri, quae minus, quam alibi mulieres, animi commotionibus affectionibusque obnoxia, salubri corpore, et justa membrorum eurythmiâ, robustisque artibus conspicuos liberos parit, quos sola decrepita aetas dissolvit.

Nostrates procul hinc profecti, mercaturam facturi, in gentem, cui non cornea fibra est,* quae nostris tum forte comptis rasisque, aut imberbibus, merces suas distrahendas explicantibus indicantibusque, joculari convicio exprobrat, maritos suos vocarent, si secum pacisci vellent, cum in(s)titricibus sibi nullum negotium. Talia Barbari!

Auditu sunt solerti, naribus acutis, visuque, ut dixi, acerrimo, adeo ut melli insidiaturi, apiculam stupenda indagine, volantem ad favum usque in alta rupe, cava arbore aut crypta absconditum, oculis sequantur deregantque: sicubi, interveniente dumeto, sylva, fluvio aliove obstaculo remoraque, apicula aciem oculorum insequentis effugit, cursum indagator sistens, faciem soli occiduo obvertit, advolantemque praecedentis tramite apiculam omni cura investigat, quâ duce in praedam petitam incidat.

Porro observavi Afros nostros aviculae cujusdam cantu, volatuque mellis amicissimae, ad alveare perduci; ferturque alias aviculas, locis leonibus ferisque insessis occinere; alias

* The phrase is from Persius, Sat. I. 47.

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[4]) I have been unable to find any official record of this incident.

[5]) Hahn, 200 years later, gives an interesting corroboration of this statement. "When a bee passes a Bushman or Namaqua in

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![4])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[5]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey[6]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 of 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1896, Min. Proc. p. xvi).

[5]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator* spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

man had married a very young girl, and her friends sung:

The geiris (first wife) is dismissed, his only great thought is the ǃaris (second wife); or, as we should say, "Age does not prevent a man making a fool of himself."

Other songs again are of a very simple character: "Don't, please, kill my antelope, my darling antelope; my antelope is so poor; my antelope is an orphan,"—and are simply an instance of the thrift of poetical productiveness. Or they are of a comical nature, sympathizing with a patient who suffers from gripes:

Poor young ǁKharis got into a fright,
She is suffering from gripes,
And bites the ground like the hyena which ate poison
The people run to see the fun!
They all were very much frightened!
And still they say—oh, it is nothing!

This reminds one very much of the style of Heinrich Heine; and even more of the way of the Middle-High-German poet, Nithart. I saw this play, "The Gripes," performed, and honestly confess that I laughed until the tears came. Helmerding could here have found his match in caricaturing people.

Every larger kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-ǂgun-aob*, the leader. He teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes, and if a boy should remain out of class, he is sure to get the whip severely. Also the girls, if they are too lazy and do not pay attention enough, receive now and then the whip, but then generally on the kaross, merely to make a noise and to frighten them. The reed-music sounds exactly like the playing on a harmonium. It is very pleasant indeed to hear it at a distance. Boys who perform well, are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called *ǂkho-ǂkha, to touch the body*, which means, "to praise a person in a song."

Such was the culture of the Khoikhoi before they migrated from the grave of ǁGurikhoisib, and such was it

[Picture. A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer States.] 233

17. °!nâ/kx̃ao: any general coloring, but with white on the buttocks, also for goats.

18. °!huni· //gani-: yellow and white checked; also for goats.

19. °!nâ//aß: any general color, only white in the groin.

b) only valid for goats.

20. °/nũ/ǂũra: spotted black.

[Picture. Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.]

21. °/a· baǂũ· ra: spotted red.

22. °!goa/!ao: with a blackish-brown band around the neck.

23. °/hai/ga·-e: white behind the ears.

24. °!kx̃ani gã/: with a light-colored stripe on the back like an eland antelope.

[267] 25. //aru·: (used by old Hottentots) speckled black and white.

c) Valid only for sheep:

26. °/u/niam·: black marking around the mouth (the black coloring on the mouth of the white sheep is as striking as the black jaws on a colorless insect larva (/u ni·s).

27. °/nũ!- or /a·ba-χõ·b: with black or reddish-horn cheeks.

28. °/a·rib, also called °b(i)risinã·ǂas by children when teasing, is what a sheep or goat with naturally stubby ears is called.

[Picture. Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tall white)]

A favorite hobby of the Hottentots is collecting (/gõ, vb.) animals colored the same. To this end they trade cattle, sheep and goats. The Hottentot marks his cattle by definite cuts or notches, piercing or lopping the ears. 233 523

4. The Horse

The horse lives free in the fields as the cattle do and is easily caught at the watering places. Sometimes, especially in the broad plains of the Kalahari, the horse begins to turn wild and flees as soon as it sees a man coming from afar. If the tamer horses (easy to catch when alone) become accustomed to the leadership of such a shy animal, the owner is in a critical situation. In one case shooting the unapproachable horse was the only way of getting possession of the others. 231

222 413 [409] makes a forked hook, which takes hold of the honeycomb when the stick is withdrawn from the bee hole. Finally, the Hottentot makes a honey bag, °//kʰo·nob, from the hide of an iguana, in which he collects honey. [Picture. Honey stick, 1/5 natural size.]

4. Salt

263 347 Salt exists in Namaland in the coastal desert in sufficient amounts for household use. (Cf. Plate IX, below.) The women collect the salty earth in pails, fill them up with water, leave the liquid till it is clear and then pour it off into a flat dish and leave it in the sun to evaporate.

[206] 5. Eating Meals

264 Eating meals is not associated with any special time. Only breakfast, as the first meal of the day, has a name, so·bos. When at the hut the time and place of a meal is determined by the arrival of the cattle, when traveling by the division of the marches into treks, and on the hunt by a lucky shot.

264 415 The branches of Mesembrianthemum Marlothii Pax (cf. page 85) are often used in the field for dishes and plates, but other bushes are also used. In permanent households the wooden !oes-s serve as eating dishes. A large wooden spoon, //gq/a-b is used to serve the food from it to those sitting around. [Picture. Wooden Spoons, 1/5 natural size.] There are no specific eating habits. Only two occasional customs, which are observed here and there when people are in a good mood, came to my attention. 264 If the hunt for bulbs has been successful, then everyone sitting in a circle around the full pot enjoys a childish pleasure called °a·m//ga·ro. It is not an improvised jest but a custom well known to the people. One after another, each may help himself as long as he succeeds in catching the bulbs which he must throw into the air in his mouth. Even old people participate in this game.

264 ● 529 Tsu·bugu/tsu·ru is a game which the children play. They cut up a piece of meat given to them in common into small pieces, place the pieces one after another on a stone, and as soon as the hand of the person who places the meat there is withdrawn, the others quickly try to seize it. The piece belongs to the quickest.

every step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ā i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" °!nē/b by the men; by the women: °/ā-ǂnã̄-b, because his penis (zāb) was new (/āsa) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person (°//kxō-aseb), the person with a pot belly (°//ā-eeab), the person with red hair (°/a-batana-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a stone or a beetle was called the "junk collector," °na-boreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named °!u-/ri!a-ogorab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called °ǂnũ-sore-ǂnã̄-/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (ǂnũ) there even when the sun (so-ras) goes down" (ǂnã̄/).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 857 524

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd.

[309] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered Eragrostis stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 857 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 857 527

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 529

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 857 526

Outwardly, the //ais game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is clasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are therefore called go/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.] 857 526

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give it nuances of color as well as hardness. 857 526 323 532

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I.][1] The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [steatopygia]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

1 [Figures refer to p. 112B. — Analyst]

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[p. 310(a)]

Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.

1: Schultze--1128 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

857
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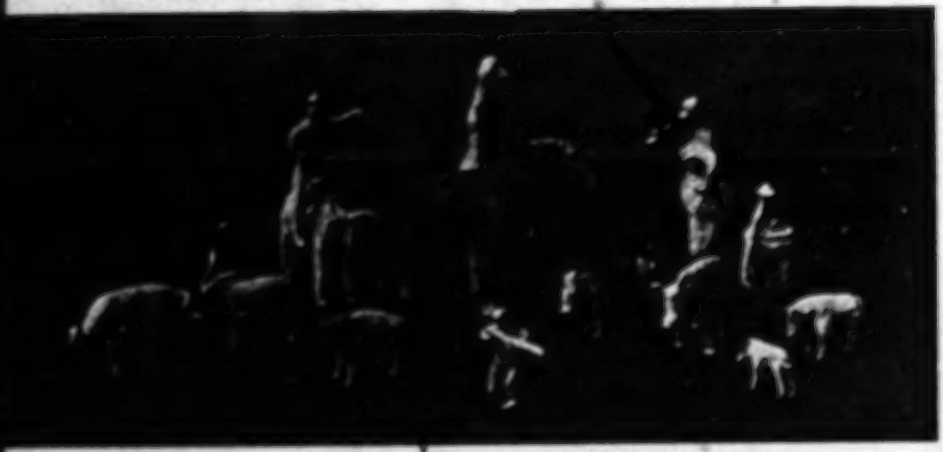
532
323

[p. 311]



I.

The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.

II

1: Schultze--112C N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

857
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III

An ox wagon. The old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide reeks the way.

[p. 312]

526 [525]

[313] Betting games are played by boys with throwing sticks in two ways. A stick as long as an arm, called //a·rab, best cut from the wood of a Rhus species or a Grewia, is seized by the thick end (about one centimeter in diameter) and thrown down flat on the ground with such violence that it bounces up and shoots forward like an arrow.

The game with the somewhat shorter */ɨgtauʔs sticks is related. They are seized near the pointed end and, after a running start as in the previous game, thrown towards a bush in such a way that the twigs (the smooth Cyperus bushes are especially adapted for this) stop it in its flight. The stick flies in a wide or narrow arc with the heavy end towards the front over distances greater than I could span with a stone.

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The children practice their finger skills with little juggling games. For example, they hold three pebbles in each hand while squatting on the ground and throw two symmetrically in front of them, dropping both hands at the same time, -- as everyone believes, one from each hand. Then they open their hands and laughing show you three pebbles in one hand and one in the other. It requires no little skill to throw two pebbles from a hand which just a second ago was tightly closed in such a way that one falls down below the hand and the other falls sideways in front of the other hand. [Picture. /ɨgtauʔs- and //a·rab throwing sticks.]

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They compete in skills in another way by making twisting paths in the sand and trying to run the paths as quickly as possible without making a misstep. During the game they call on a buzzard-like bird with the words: "hisaruse, //gama daose, hisabese, //gama daose," i.e. "Hisarus, the waterway, Hisabes etc." (Why they call on this particular bird, whether it shows the way to water as the flight of the doves does, is not clear.)

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The hole game, called //hūʔs is widespread in South Africa and played with equal pleasure by Hottentot children and adults. I watched the natives play it with special interest since it demands thinking and is played with passion. Without reference [314] to the way this common game is played in other parts of South Africa, I will reveal here briefly the observations I have made among the Hottentots about this game.

α) The game is played by two sides (I and II) that sit opposite each other, with any number of players. The team mates can all discuss each move but one person carries it out. [Picture of the plan of the game.] ½

β) The playing field consists of four rows of holes, each row having sixteen to twenty-two holes, dug out of the sand by hand, called //hūʔti, which are divided evenly between the two sides. In the first row (a) of each side each hole is filled with two tokens, in the second row (b) only the right half of each team's row. Small stones, often goat manure, are used as tokens.

½ [For picture, see Foreign text, cat. 116, p. 314. - Analyst]

γ) Four beginnings are possible. You can move: 524
from a^7 to b^6 and b^5
or from a^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from b^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from a^9 to b^8 and b^7.

δ) Moving the tokens. Only during the first move is one permitted to take tokens from the middle of one row and place them in the other row. After that one must move without skipping a hole and only counter-clockwise. Moving from one row to another occurs only around the right hand corner of the playing field (see arrow).

Moving consists in the following. The player picks up the tokens from one of his holes and divides them singly in the following holes. If the player ends his move in a hole containing more than one token, he must pick these up. They are taken out and moved forward. If, however, he ends with only one token in the last hole, the opposing team plays. If two or more tokens end up in the last hole that is used, and if at the same time the opponent has one or more tokens in the corresponding hole (of the same number) in row b, then one does not take the tokens from the hole where one ended but robs his opponent of all his tokens, which [315] lie in the row with this hole (i.e. all the tokens which are in the holes with the same numbers of the opponent's a and b rows).

One moves the stolen tokens according to the rules that obtain for moving them in one's own holes. The number of tokens in a hole can increase at will.

The winner is the team who succeeds in taking away all the opponent's tokens in the way indicated.

c) As an imaginative game, an amusement of the children and the women should be mentioned which consists in making certain rhythmic noises. The toy is called χa·bubu·s. A rectangular, flat little piece of wood is pierced in two places and a leather string is pulled through the holes. By swinging the two leather strings are so twisted that the piece of wood is set by rhythmically tightening and loosening the strings in a lively whirling motion as the string twists and untwists. Depending on the rhythm used they imitate the sound of a trotting horse, then a galloping one, then one running away. By blowing on the whirling wood they make the fleeing horse snort. A thin piece of wood serves the same purpose, the name of which, //ha·buhaib (from ha·bu = the running away of a shy animal) is evident from what has been said before. A little stick or a stalk of a certain kind of grass is placed between the lips and moved up and down with a finger, so that its humming imitates the rushing hoofbeats of a horse that has gone wild. 857 [517] 524

x539

of the subj. -b) completely (toa "to end"), and he caught a little one. But they scratched (/kχau) his body (/kχãb). Then he stopped (/ũ) and fled (!kχoe-nĩ) to (ai, postpositive, !aba "to climb up") a mountain (!homs). And all (hã, see footnote, page 424) the leopards and all the lions came to look for (oã) their young, and each one (literally: "which?" mã: "all" hoaẽ, neuter singular) took (ũ) his (//(e)ĩr) child (õa) and went.

So they did (hĩ). Since that day the leopard and the lion are at home (hãsa, substantivized hã "to remain") in every land.

3) Riddles, /urogu

•524

Along with folk tales riddles form a good part of the evening entertainment of the Hottentots; they are posed by the old and young of both sexes.

The simplest riddles refer to the immediate surroundings of the audience (I-V): any object that is visible to all -- an article of clothing, a tree, a rock, an implement, etc. -- is defined according to shape or color or according to its relation to man and given as a riddle. (VI-XIII)

Other riddles have as their object not immediate sensory impressions but sense recollections, and hence they make more demands on the imagination than the above-mentioned ones.

Riddles like those given in Numbers XIV-XXV appeal to the capacity of combining more or less abstract concepts.

From a linguistic point of view the personal suffices are noteworthy: by means of these the entire interrogative sentence of the riddle is substantivized. Generally the suffixes of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. (-ẽ or -ĩ) or pl. (-na or -n) are used for this purpose. They are added to one or more words which, as a result of their meaning or their position in the sentence, [540] are stressed in some way. This characteristic might be correctly but clumsily expressed in translation by introducing every question with the words: "What is it that . . . etc.?"

In other cases the interrogative sentence of the riddle receives the personal suffix that, in gender and number, fits the substantive expected in the answer.

If the answer is expressed by a verb, then it is substantivized by means of the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. fem. (-s or -ss).

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I have heard the Hottentots pose the following riddles:

[Translator's note: In the case of each riddle the Hottentot text will be tacitly omitted without indication.]

I

What (tarẽ), so it is said (goma), is this: On the edge (am !gã̃) of a red (/aba) valley furrow (!garib is the slope of the dry wadi bottom toward the trench in which the water runs) stand (mã̃) white (!uri) things? (-na, personal suff. of the neut. pl.). -- The teeth.

II

On (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj) a black (ǂnũ) mountain (!homs) stand (mã̃) black sheep (gũte = gũti, fem. pl.)? -- Head lice.

III

On (ai, with the personal suff. of the subj.) something round (!gubu) stands (mã̃) grass (/gã̃na, neut. pl.), and people (kxoẽna) pick (tsuru) the grass? -- The head [that is being clipped].

IV

What is (-he, pass. ending) counted (!gõa) and not (toma) counted to a finish (toa "to finish")? -- Grains of sand (!hũb, "soil").

[541] V

What do you see (mũ), although (ǂabe) it may (ga, potential) be dark (!kxaẽ), it may be far (!nũ) and it may be near (/gũ). (tsĩna, neut. pl. summarizing all the cases once again). -- Fire.

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VI

What is black (ǂnũ) checked (/hõ)? -- The zebra (goreb) and the porcupine (!noab), one (/guib) of (di) the two (tsĩkχa).

VII

What is marked (//gani) yellow (!huni) brown? -- The kudu.

VIII

What is a little (-ro, dimin.) pale (/hai), and when (o) you (-ts, suff.) see (mũ, ga particle of the potential) it from (χu) afar (!nũse, adv., -ba, demon. particle of place) red? (/aba) -- The gemsbok.

IX

What is spotted?-- the skunk.

X

What is red (/aba) with a white (!uri) belly? (!nãba, °-ĩ adj. ending) -- The steinbok.

XI

[822] What is blue (ǂhoa) with a crooked (!hoa) belly? (!nãba, °-ĩ adj. ending) -- The coffee bean. [Older Hottentots have still not adopted the 'f', sound but the younger ones quite generally say koffi. The color designation is peculiar.]

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XII

What has (ũ "to take," hã̃ "to remain") a big (gaí) light (!nãba)? -- The mirror, because it is blinding if one plays with it in the sun. Mirror = the thing (χũs, fem.) in which one (-n, personal suff. of the neut. pl.) views (gõ) one's face.

XIII

What is this: a round (!gubu) thing (χũĕ, neut. sing.), and next to it (//nãba) sits (ǂnõa) a round thing, and in (!na) the thing there (//nã) sits a box (dorosa). Then again (//kχaba) comes something black (ǂnũ), then comes something that looks (ĩ) like (kχoma) grass (/gãĩ, neut. sing.), then comes a round thing, and when (o) the thing falls (//nãĩ, ga, particle of the potential) on (aí) a person (kχoĕĩ), this person will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) become alive (ǂgau) again? -- The bullet (/urib is metal in general) [in the cartridge].

The parts enumerated in the question are, in the same sequence as above, and with the customary designation in parentheses, the following: a) the metal back surface of the cartridge (kχaoaib "the seat"), mentioned twice in order to complicate the solution; b) the priming (ǂais "metal bead"); c) the powder (χurub "coal"); d) the wad (!abis is the nest of a species of Aegithalus, built of a fleecy plant substance); e) the bullet.

[543] XIV

What do you (-ts, suffix) make full (//ã̃//ã̃, vb.) and then let (gaí) go hungry (!ã̃) again (//kχaba)? -- The gun (!abu "to pop, to puff"), [which is loaded and then, after the shot, put aside empty.]

XV

What is this: when (o) you (-ts, suff.) see (mũ, ga particle of the potential) it, it seems (ĩ, vb., kχoma "like") to be very (tsĩ) easy (//ause "for nothing," that is "without effort") to catch (ǃkχõ), and yet (χabe) you will never (tite, particle of the fut. negative, tã̃ + toma "not," tsĕ "day") catch it? -- The shadow.

524

XVI

Who does not (toma) help (kχam) him who (-ba, personal suff.) walks along (garu) without her (/guri "alone")? -- The sun: [it points out snakes and poisonous creatures on the traveler's way, but at night he must rely upon himself.

XVII

What is this: when (tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle with the personal suff. -ts "you," masc.) you have gone away (!gũng) without (ose, adv.) it (//(e)ĩr), your way is not (toma) pleasant (!gaĩse)? -- Fire [making equipment] [the tinder box].

XVIII

What is made (dĩ, pass.) by (χa) man (kχoẽĩ, neut. sing.) although (χabe) it also (//kχadi) comes (/kxĩ) by itself (aitsoma)? [544] -- Water. [Digging wells almost always is called "making water" even by the whites in South Africa. That which "comes by itself," is rain.]

XIX

What (tareẽ) makes a long (!nũ "far") way (daoba) short? (/gũ "to be close"; doubled: "to make near") -- the horse, [because it is fast].

XX

What makes a short way long? The trek oxen, the riding oxen, [because they are slow].

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XXI

What does not (toma, with personal suff.) catch up (sao "to follow," //are "to come together") with itself (-gu) although (ǂabe) one hastens along (!kʊoē) behind (!gon) the other (-gu, reciprocal particle, with the suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl. -n in !gongun)? -- Wagon wheels (/nūb, masc.: "leg," -s, fem.: "wheel").

XXII

What is very small (ǂkʊ̃ari, -ro dimin.) and yet (*!anaga) brings (hā "to come," ũ "with") only (/gui "single," neut. pl.) things (ǂũn) that are bigger (!nā "to tower over, to excel")? -- Money.

XXIII

What is troublesome (tsũ) to (-sa, gerundive ending) do (dĩ), but (*!anaga) pleasant (!gaĩ) to sit (ǂnũ) in front of (*!ã, postpositive)? -- Work (sĩsen, vb.) and its pay (marĩē "money," hõ "to receive").

[Plate XVII -- An old Bondelzwart Hottentot man; an old Topnaar Hottentot woman.]

[545]

XXIV

What is this: When (o, with the personal suffix of the subj. in the apodosis, -tsa "you") it has gone (bē) away, you have heart pangs (tsũ, vb., /gaoba "heart"); then you forget (/uru) it, but (ǂabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) when you think of it (ǂnĩ), you get heart pangs? -- A deceased person (//õ "to die," ǂu "to leave," he pass. ending, -s the personal suff. which substantivizes the infinitive).

●524

XXV

What is this: when (o) you (-tsa, personal suff.) see (mũ) it from (ǂu) afar (!nũ, -se adverbial ending, -ba demon. particle), it is blue (ǂhoa), and white (!uri) things (ǂũn, neut. pl.) are (hã) on it (ai, with pass. ending and personal suff.), but when you (-ts) have come (hã) up close (/gũ), it is transparent (!anu "clean, clear")? -- The sea.

E) Concluding Remarks

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The Hottentots' Relation to Invading Culture

How does it happen that a people like the Hottentots, which has given clear evidence of an intelligence that has long been recognized and that is outstanding among the aborigines of South Africa, melts away like wax on a hot plate before the invasion of culture? The process of this dissolution up to the present date has been recorded in descriptions of peace and war (75, 73, 82)*. Here we are interested solely in the principle of the matter.

*75. C. V. François. Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi. Berlin, 1899.

73. H. V. François. Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

82. K. Schwabe. Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Berlin, 1899.

The first contact of a Hottentot tribe with culture took place in a generally friendly manner; all travelers of the past praise the hospitality of the people and the protection which the chieftains gave them against the attacks of individuals. The Hottentot expected and, at first, also found his advantage: the trader brought him clothes and blankets, so that he himself now no longer needed to tan them laboriously from hides and to sew them with sinew thread; the trader brought him household implements which spared him the necessity of making pottery [546] and carving wood. In

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !harib* (honey beer)

danisa u: ≠he:i.

||nāib ina !hûe, ina |kû |kûe, ina ||karae, ina thamsa !kaib ab u:ɤ. ina danis |kxoa ≠gobe.

ina |hamsa ||gamm ha ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx²aie. ina |kû |kûe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *||nāib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels.*" II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " dregs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *kaap* or " haarwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tobab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *||nāib* was described by *Tobab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *||ha:ɤ*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, " To make a hole " and *//hu:n* is thus properly " a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, " hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims : " *ham !kumiŋ !na ha?* " " In which hand is it ? " If the opponent guesses correctly, he says : *!kaugu.* " You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous " Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aremŋ //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works :

(i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note : The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels.* Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *ĕ* and

[312] Betting games are played by boys with throwing sticks in two ways. A stick as long as an arm, called //a-rab, best cut from the wood of a Rhus species or a Grewia, is seized by the thick end (about one centimeter in diameter) and thrown down flat on the ground with such violence that it bounces up and shoots forward like an arrow. 526 [525]

The game with the somewhat shorter °/kgau°i sticks is related. They are seized near the pointed end and, after a running start as in the previous game, thrown towards a bush in such a way that the twigs (the smooth Cyperus bushes are especially adapted for this) stop it in its flight. The stick flies in a wide or narrow arc with the heavy end towards the front over distances greater than I could span with a stone.

The children practice their finger skills with little juggling games. For 524
example, they hold three pebbles in each hand while squatting on the ground and throw two symmetrically in front of them, dropping both hands at the same time, -- as everyone believes, one from each hand. Then they open their hands and laughing show you three pebbles in one hand and one in the other. It requires no little skill to throw two pebbles from a hand which just a second ago was tightly closed in such a way that one falls down below the hand and the other falls sideways in front of the other hand. [Picture, /kgau°i- and //a-rab throwing sticks.]

They compete in skills in another way by making twisting paths in the 526
sand and trying to run the paths as quickly as possible without making a misstep. During the game they call on a buzzard-like bird with the words: "hisarun, //gama daoe, hisabeb, //gama daoe," i.e. "Hisarun, the waterway, Hisabes etc." (Why they call on this particular bird, whether it shows the way to water as the flight of the doves does, is not clear.)

The hole game, called //hui°i is widespread in South Africa and played 529
with equal pleasure by Hottentot children and adults. I watched the natives play it with special interest since it demands thinking and is played with passion. Without reference [314] to the way this common game is played in other parts of South Africa, I will reveal here briefly the observations I have made among the Hottentots about this game.

α) The game is played by two sides (I and II) that sit opposite each other, with any number of players. The team mates can all discuss each move but one person carries it out. [Picture of the plan of the game.] ½

β) The playing field consists of four rows of holes, each row having sixteen to twenty-two holes, dug out of the sand by hand, called //hui-°i, which are divided evenly between the two sides. In the first row (a) of each side each hole is filled with two tokens, in the second row (b) only the right half of each team's row. Small stones, often goat manure, are used as tokens.

½ [for picture, see Foreign text, col 18, p. 314. -Analyst]

very step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ã i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" "!oā/b by the men; by the women: "/ã-sa!ã-b, because his penis (!ãb) was new (/kas) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person ("//kxõ-aseb), the person with a pot belly ("//ã-etab), the person with red hair ("/a-batana-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a stone or a beetle was called the "junk collector," "na-boreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named "!u-/ri!a-ogorab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called "/nũ-sore/ga-/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (/nũ) there even when the sun (so-re) goes down" (/ga-/).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 857

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd. 524

[30ff] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered !nagromis stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 857 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 857 524

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in 857
the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in 529
imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults.

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular 857
one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not 561
always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth.

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising 836
that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown 857
childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play.

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent 857
feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one 526
of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs.

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is chased between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are therefore called gu/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.] 857 526

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give it nuances of color as well as hardness. 857 529 323 532

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I.]* The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [steatopygia]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

*[Figures refer to p. 128. — Analyst]

[315] Betting games are played by boys with throwing sticks in two ways. A stick as long as an arm, called //a-rab, best cut from the wood of a Rhus species or a Grewia, is seized by the thick end (about one centimeter in diameter) and thrown down flat on the ground with such violence that it bounces up and shoots forward like an arrow. 526 [525]

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They compete in skills in another way by making twisting paths in the sand and trying to run the paths as quickly as possible without making a misstep. During the game they call on a buzzard-like bird with the words: "hisarus, //gams daoe, hisabes, //gams daoe," i.e. "Hisarus, the waterway, Hisabes etc." (Why they call on this particular bird, whether it shows the way to water as the flight of the doves does, is not clear.) 526

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½ [for picture, see Georgi text, col 18, p. 319. - Pamela]

1: Schultze--113A N-8 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

526

Ixaqu/b- and //a-rab,
throwing sticks.

[p. 213]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.[37]) They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.[38]) With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.[39]) But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

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[37]) Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hottentotvygs* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (= *Mesembrianthemum edule*).

[38]) A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 347) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauchen Sack, in welchem unten ein *Löchlein*, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, jeder bey einem Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, bis Butter wird, als denn lassen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfliessen, thun die Butter herum, welche dann, wie leichtlich nachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 48). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 237).

[39]) This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 97).

805

5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," ǂkʸa·ᵑm!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The ᵒ/u·iab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with out forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight ᵒtsũ·ǂub!gã·ᵑb, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

53 ●

We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organized in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

533
534

Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 315) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kʸãᵑb, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

1: Schultze--22A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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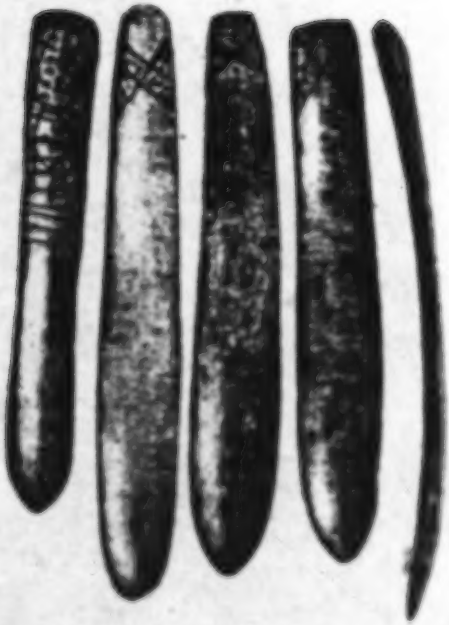
412
●531



Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaars,
about 1/2 natural size.

1: Schultze--24A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

415
531

[201]

Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.

1: Schultze--29A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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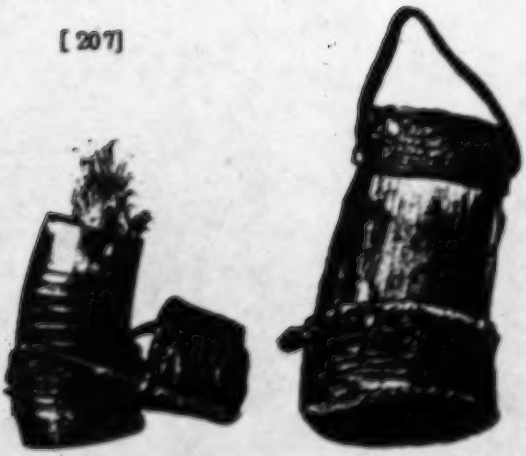
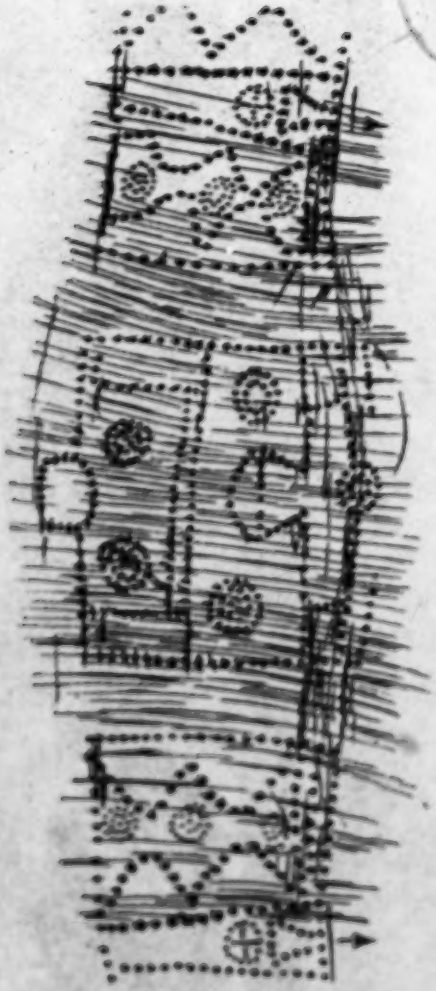


Horn fat containers, 1/4 natural size.

302
415
● 5X



Pricked ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.

γ) The front apron * (ǀgaǂe·b, 3. st.) of the boys is a skin flap, which is cut from any soft skin. Goat, rock-rabbit and jackal skins are used most frequently. (See Plate XI.) The skin is fastened to a strong belt, *//kǂo·rogos, which goes half way around the body and often has a zigzag ornament. The name of this ornament, */hõǂam//hoēs, expresses the fact that a similar black and white pattern is burned into the lip of the wooden milk pail. 28/ 291 [531]

δ) The back apron (ǀgũ·ǂs) of the girls (also specially called /gaũ·ǂbes as a female article of clothing) is always made of sheepskin, preferably from a brown and white or a black and white checked one. The hairs are taken out with a chisel-like instrument except for a narrow edge and wide corners. The bright edge of the fur contrasts well with the reddish-brown leather. The back apron covers the seat and legs to the knees. The bat is called se·ɾtsiǀgũ·ǂbes after this piece of clothing because the flying skin of the hanging animal looks like the back apron on a woman. [413]

ε) All the fur caps, /gabati, which I saw were made from the back skin of the aardwolf. The back comb of the animal forms a comb of long bristles the length of the cap. (See Namib- Bushmen, p. 99) [Plate X. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in an Apron. A Topnaar Hottentot Woman with a Child in Aba Skin. A Hottentot Woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.]

[235] ζ) The so-called "rogue's sack," /hõ aǂhõ s, should be mentioned. It bears this name because it is used for keeping little objects stolen or withheld from someone. The one pictured here is made from the skin of the "dwarf" (Cynictis). 28/ 415

η) A net bag is knotted from strips of chamois skin. 28/ 286

2. Letting the Skin Rot, /õ/õ

The fresh skin is crumpled up firmly and, wrapped in a tanned skin, set out in the sun. During the night it is placed by the fire to hasten decomposition. They also bury oxskins knee deep in the floor of the hut next to the hearth. After 3 to 4 days the skin stinks and the hairs can be easily pulled out. The skin is rolled up after depilation and a man places both his feet on it and works on it from above and below and sideways with his feet until it is soft and nearly dry. Then the fleshy side is rubbed with fat. [Pictures. Cap made from the back skin of the aardwolf, 1/6 natural size. /hõ/a/hõ/s, 1/5 natural size.] 28/

was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /uiǂkǂôb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call ǂha-bes. 324 276

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available. 325 301 [139]

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, ǂganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1] 325 301 57

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

1 [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). -Ausland]

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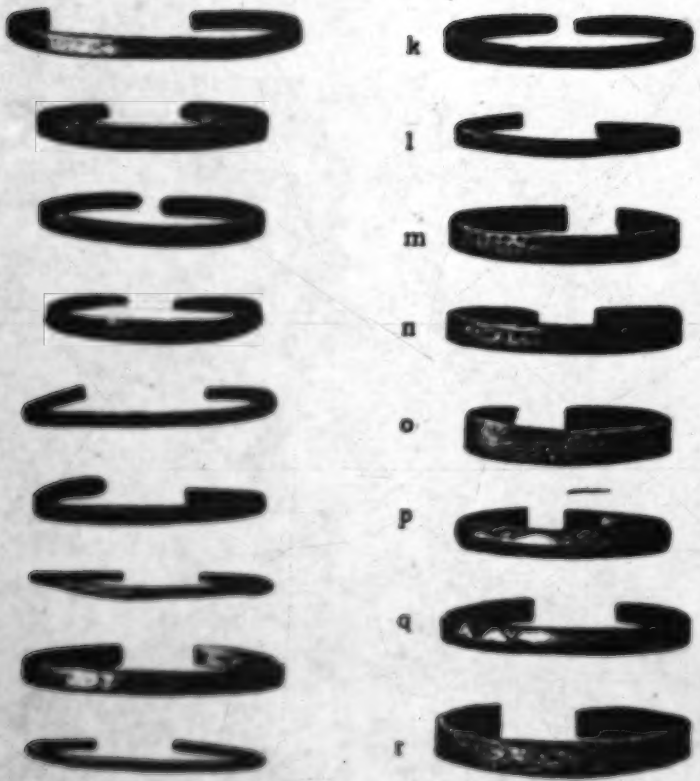

Bracelets. 4/5 natural size.

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to prehistoric ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i. 301 325 531

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (l). The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251] A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, !gamti, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are 301 304

1: Schultze--63A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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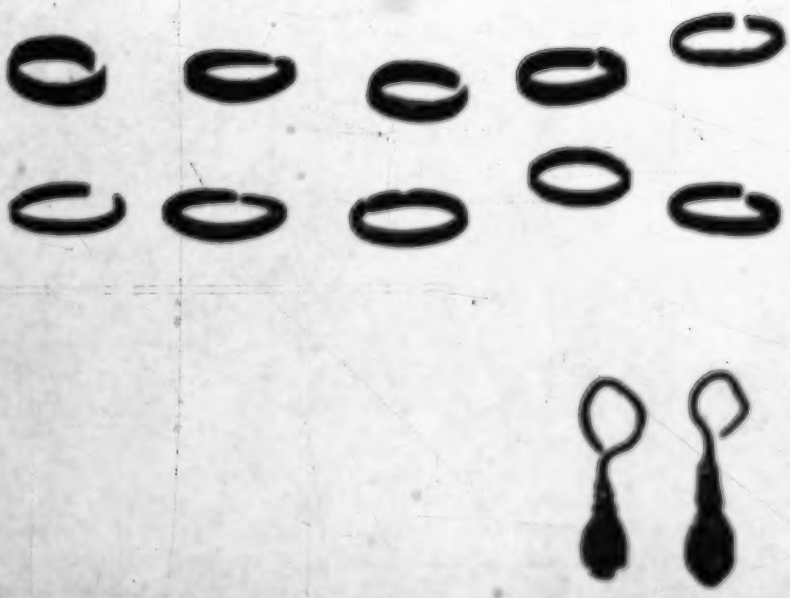

Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.

CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Decorative and Plastic Art

532 Judged by the standard of the Bushmen, the Hottentots are distinctly poor in artistic productions. Painting and engraving on rock, one of the outstanding features in the culture of the former, does not
531 appear ever to have been practised by the latter. Their decorative art at the present time is confined mainly to scratching or incising simple rows of dots or lines of crude chevron, zigzag or fishbone pattern on the outer surface of their metal armbands and rings. Occasionally also simple triangular designs are burned round the mouth of their wooden vessels, or scratched on the stems of their serpentine pipes; while the clay pots they formerly made are sometimes found decorated round the neck with rows of dots or short, broad lines, apparently produced by incising.[1] No other form of decorative art is known to occur.

532 The rudiments of a plastic art may be noticed among the young
667 boys, who often *model toys out of clay*, which they burn in the fire to obtain shades of colour as well as hardness. These toys consist in figures of human beings, cattle, game and other animals, sometimes also in group compositions such as a team of oxen pulling a wagon. Schultze describes and figures some of them, which are skilfully modelled and by no means devoid of artistic appeal, in some cases even showing a lively sense of caricature, as in representations of Europeans.[2] But the talent here shown is not carried over into later life, and no modelling or carving of any description analogous to this is done by adults.

Music and Dancing

533 If the Hottentots are deficient in the plastic arts, their musical
535 talent at least is highly developed. The joy in imitative representation, in the fancy-free expression of pressed-up impressions, lives in both young and old. Their delight and talent in mimicry is shown in

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 449-51; Schinz-Eland, "Hottentots and Bushmen Pottery," *passim* and pl. ii.

[2] Op. cit., 510-12; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 370.

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are therefore called gu/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.] 857 526

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give it nuances of color as well as hardness. 857 524 323 532

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I.][1] The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [meerschaum(?)]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

1 [figures refer to p. 128. — Ed.]

1: Schultze--1128 N-S (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p. 301]

I.

The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.

II

1: Schubkow--SIRC M-5 (1909-1910) 1907 FX13 Hankowan FX13
Hanna

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An ox wagon. The old man with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide walks the way.

[p.39-9]

CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

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[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 449-51; Schinz, "Hottentots and Bushmen, Persons," [illegible] and pl. 2.

[2] Op. cit., 510-12; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 331.

S: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

533 517 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 517 3. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 643 645 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 643 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the passing of a sentence in the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[643] 642 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

●[533 925] [286] The tail is insignificant: "!naĕni gye ǂkʔaris ǂarasa ǃ" "it has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 825 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard, Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture. Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called !hurdu·/garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (ǂkʔā a to refuse) to be noticed (ǂkaun) (-he pass. ending, -se adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it ǂhau-/hoaxgyeǂkʔā-b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is ǂhūnub.

136 [522] 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipaard), called !a·nb, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "!arub kxoma gye !gūba ŋ," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis caffra Desm., (Cape D. grauwkat), called /hūŋ/a·b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

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5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," ǂkʰʌ̃a·/m!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The ᵐ/u·ǂab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with our forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight ᵐtã·ǂkub!gõ·/ʰ, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

53.

We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organised in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

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Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 313) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kʰʌ̃a/ʰ, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

and the lower end is propped against a skin-covered bowl that serves as a sounding board. It is held in place with the right foot which is inserted between the bow and the string. The player uses her right hand to strike the string with a wooden stick -- if the women sitting beside her do not do this -- and with her left hand she plucks like a violin player. They also use their chins in plucking, in that they rest their heads, halfway back, for a moment against the upper end of the string. Generally several of the women sitting around beat in time upon the string with wooden sticks. 533 534

I myself saw no other string instrument beside the bow among the Hottentots. I encountered the gora with the quill (66) only among the

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten, Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

Bechuana. To be sure, Hottentots spoke of a guitar-like instrument that they make in imitation of European models; they call it ramgyib or !gū-/tsib (from !gūb • "to cover," and in this case: to span the sounding board with a skin. See also the footnote to Folk tale XLV.). [Plate XV. A Topnaar Hottentot]

[371] The main characteristic of the action which is supposed to be depicted in the musical pantomime lies musically in the rhythm. In hunting scenes it expresses the various gaits of the horse and the wild animals: the tracking of the hartebeest, the first chase at a gallop, the flight of the shot animal and its defeat -- all of this is reproduced by the rhythm of the wooden sticks. The spurring of the hunting horse, the death blow and the death rattle of the dying animal is expressed with gestures and inarticulated sounds. The monotonous intervals that are plucked on the string are only accompaniment. 533 535

Similarly portrayed are the rolling of a wagon, the yoking of the oxen, the unhitching of a lame or feeble animal, the snapping of the whip, and so forth.

They are very fond of imitating the practices of wild animals. I saw a woman imitate a baboon with great animation and devotion to her role: how it picks up insects from the ground, how it bends over the waterhole to drink, jealously wards off the thirsty animals pressing after him, how it casually runs, how it becomes frightened upon scenting danger and flees when surprised.

In all these entertainments the music remains in the background 533 ●
even though the strings and wooden sticks are constantly in action. 535

2. The Reed-dance Song

The tones become melodies only in the song of the reed dance. 533
Here the ancient musical instruments of the Hottentots, the reed 534
pipes, ǂâ-ti, come into their own. [Fig. Reed Pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/8 natural size.] The pipes, as their name indicates, are generally cut from reeds; but in dry stretches where there is no reed growth they are made from the roots of Acacia horrida Willd. . The root segment that is cut in the shape of a rod is either debarked completely by tearing off the bark (a), or it is slit lengthwise and the bark is peeled from the wood. The root that has been slit lengthwise is then firmly wrapped with a piece of bark in a spiral as though with a bond (c). The pipe produced in this way is closed at one end and filled up with milk so that it will not dry. The pipes are tuned by adjusting the firm grass plug which closes the pipe end. After use, the pipe is again filled with milk.

[378] A complete reed pipe orchestra comprises at least nine musicians, each one with his own specially tuned reed or reed passage. Just as we distinguish the first and the second violin, the Hottentot distinguishes the first through the ninth reed pipe; only he does not count them, but names them individually. He makes the following distinctions: [Figure -- Reed pipe scale.]

1. ǂkxa-ri-ǂâ-ti, that is "the little reeds," all tuned the same, with four to six placed side by side in each hand.

2. ǂnona-ge, the triplets, or collectively called ǂnona-b, the two, tuned the same and held in one hand.

3. ǂnani-ge, the sextuplets, or called collectively ǂnani-b, the "nine," held in one hand and tuned the same.

4. ǂ//hõ-ǂ kub, or ǂ//hõ-ǂ kuiǂa, accordingly as the blower holds only one or two in his hand.

5. ai-ǂâ, "who (-g) cries (ǂ, here with the meaning: "to make a lamenting noise") in advance (ai)." Only one man in the whole orchestra has this pipe whereas with the further exception of number 6 all other reed voices can be filled doubly or triply. This reed gives the note by which all the other reeds are tuned. Among the others the first to tune in is

6. the reed pipe, which is called ǂgãʔs, that is "who cries after-wards (ǂgãʔs, 'back')." After this the other pipes tune up: 533 534

7. ǂgoʔma "the cow."

8. ǂa-mb, finally

9. ǂhoaʔ-b, the reed with the lowest note.

The tuning rod, ǂ//xka-ehaib, with which the gum or beat plug [377] inside the pipe is adjusted or "chased back" (//xkaʔ) as it were in order to adjust the pitch completes the instrumental equipment.

The reeds are held between the thumb and the other four extended fingers in such a way that the ends which are blown lie on a level with the upper horizontal edge of the index finger. A complete reed scale or phrase comprises about two octaves. Only in one case did I have the opportunity to check the pitch of the individual reeds in a complete scale that had just been tuned up. The results yielded the distribution of tones that are represented in the preceding figure.

The music of each reed piper consists of individually enunciated tones that harmonize with one or several rhythmically identical tones of the other pipers. These reed tones give the beat for the dancers and singers who carry the melody. Many reed songs have no text. (Whether they never had one or whether it has simply been forgotten cannot be determined.) In the simplest case the subject is indicated by gestures and the melody is sung with a very few sounds.

The dance steps of the men are a sort of low hopping executed simultaneously with both legs, the knees slightly bent and the feet placed one in front of the other. In this manner the dancer slowly and jerkily moves forward, bent over, the head bowed to his breast and his lips on the pipe. The women chassé forwards with small and often extremely delicate steps, with the rear slightly protruding, undulating their hips, gently clapping their hands together before their faces, and singing in a loud voice, sometimes with an expression of great excitement. The number of dancers is not fixed. 533 535

The Hottentots' pleasure in the dance is typified by a little story in which they make fun of themselves: at a watering place they had ambushed several Bergdamaras. When the Kaffirs saw that they were in a trap, they began to execute a dance. Dancing, they retreated farther and farther, and, when the watching Hottentots finally recalled their murder plans, had escaped.

Every reed-dance song has a special theme. Thus, for example, in the following example the arrival of the jackal at the water hole is discussed. As the malevolent ponderous animal slowly wanders to

the water hole, grazing alone in the pasture after the rutting time, muttering to himself, moving his head from side to side -- this is the way the Hottentot pictures him, accompanied by the reed tones (or by an accordion or a harmonica), he sings with a few simple sounds for the dance of the grazing bull: 533 535

[378] The Song of the Grazing Bull

[Translator's note: four musical bars omitted.]

The following reed dance song accompanies a lively pantomimic imitation of shoeing horses and is therefore called the song of horse shoeing, Khoaigeis.

The man who represents the horse has a thong in his mouth and by means of this he is held fast, as though on a rein, by a man standing before him. To another man, standing behind him, he extends a foot to be shoed. A fourth plays the part of the bellows: he lies flat on his stomach, extends his lower legs into the air and lets them be moved alternately backward and forward from the knee, in time with the music, by a fifth man who stands behind him. Before him stands the smith with a stone in his hand as a hammer and waits for the iron to get hot. All the others, including the reed blowers, dance around this group in a circle and sing a wordless but rhythmically, unmistakable imitation of the blows of the hammer: [Translator's note: six bars of music omitted.]

In other dance songs, in place of the pantomime, we find that the situation which is being sung about is indicated by a cue word. Thus, one Hottentot, who occasionally crept into the cattle kraal of a neighboring village at night in order to milk goat's milk into his mouth, expressed in a song his joy about the fact that he had never been caught. He sang its single words, N(e)ridaise, N(e)ridaise, "you goat milk, you goat milk" to a melody that was just as unpretentious but that his friends liked to request for the dance: [Translator's note: six bars of music have been omitted.]

[379] On the same low level there is a song for which the following event is the basis. The singer had beaten his own guard with a sjambok because the guard had let a valuable animal run away on the trip. The punishment was so severe that the mistreated man lodged a complaint against his master with Captain Paul Frederik in Bethanie. The latter sent one of his men on horse after the guilty man and had him seized. The only words, which recur like a refrain in the otherwise unarticulated song, refer to the color of the above-mentioned horse, which had a white stripe on its forehead and white feet and therefore had the Boer

name WITYOKI. The circle of friends knew, when they heard this word, what the song was all about. The melody goes: 533 535

Song of The White-footed Horse
[Translator's note: eleven bars of music omitted.]

Whereas the previously-mentioned dance melodies lack a complete text, in the following song it is at least loosely attached as a point of reference. In the brothers' war for the rule over the Bethanie Hottentots, Paul Frederik had occupied the most important water spots of the territory and Cornelius, caught in a tight spot, finally had to ask his brother for water. The text* of the song that concerns this war between

* In all the following texts and their explanations, with few exceptions (for example where it is a question of newly mentioned words), I have neglected to add the signs for the musical modifications of the Nama sounds (see p. 342 ff.). In the detailed analysis of the subsequently following folk tale texts the purely phonetic consideration is dispensable for the comprehension of the plot and hence makes it possible to save much space in printing. A theoretical reason for a simplified orthography of the text has been mentioned above (p. 343).

brothers, a program for the music as it were, goes:

"Ti !gõse, //nẫ gîse !gaĩ ũse //gami ãse !"
!aberi ũse //gai ũse //gami ã
"//gutsa tse."
"My brother, be good, be a friend and let me drink some water!"
"Put down your weapons and then drink water."
"I will not put them down."

[380] The relevant dance melody goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

In the song of Kaukaumib text and melody are just as loosely connected as in this war song. Kaukaumib is a watering place in Namib, located on the southernmost of the three routes which can be taken by ox-cart traffic between Angra Pequena and the hinterland. The road by way of Kaukaumib is the most difficult, and the carts often remain stuck in the sand for days. A Hottentot with the nickname ǂnau-kas (ǂnaũ-kâs),

that is "he who plays for his own dance," selected as a text the simple words: !Gaokya-oaetse, hã-ta ge-are "Kaukausib, let me get out!" The constantly repeated melody to this text goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

The text is more closely connected to the melody in the Hyena Song. This song portrays the hyena as it creeps around the cattle kraal at night and is discovered. The pantomimic presentation of this theme with its reed music, its song and dance, is very amusing: the men group themselves in a semi-circle, and opposite them the girls do likewise. The circle formed in this way with its two opposite openings (where the men's row meets the girls' row) represents a cattle kraal and the girls represent the cattle. To the accompaniment of the singing and the sounds of the reed music of all the people standing in the circle, one of the men steps out of the row and, with deeply bent knees, creeps into the kraal, moving past the row of girls with the gestures of a blood-thirsty hyena. After a while three other men step out of the row and pretend to ride up to the same opening of the kraal where the hyena had entered. With gestures and poses they tie up their horses, discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them until they suddenly notice the animal. Then they hurry back to the horses and take up pursuit. Meanwhile the hyena has left the kraal, but is caught outside it and killed. During this pantomime, to the rhythm [381] of the reed pipers, the following words are sung incessantly as a warning to the cattle-hungry predatory animal: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of Hottentot text omitted.]

"Hyena (the nickname will be discussed later), this (i.e., the cattle of this kraal) is man's property!"

3. Songs Without Dance and Pantomime

At an early date I became acquainted with the Hottentot's pleasure in music by itself (dissociated from dance and pantomime). It was on the evening of a hard working day for our Hottentots; since early morning they had been dragging spars for the construction of sea signals to the top of the steep coastal cliffs, and now, long after the evening meal was past, they were still squatting around their fire. In the tents of the white men it had already become quiet and even the Cameroon sailors were asleep in their sailcloth berths. Then, from the miserable

brush stockade of the Hottentot camp into which the cold winter sky shines starry clear, there resounds pure and serious a many-voiced song. A young fellow is standing erect amidst the ragged sitting older figures and, unconcerned about the smoke of the flickering fire that irritates his eyes, leads the chorus with a loud voice. An older man repeated the text in a short rapid sentence to the singers; it was a Dutch chorale that had been translated by a missionary into their language. For a long time I listened to the song of the "degenerate mob" until they crept shivering under their covers, closely pressed together, their naked feet extended close to the glowing ashes.

In their own songs the text does not always have a set word sequence and in choral singing the singers often improvise their own motifs, which they repeat again and again, with slight variations and after variably long or short pauses, until the text has come to an end. In doing so, however, they know how to weave their motif into the voice texture of the others without dissonance.

Most songs (perhaps all of them) have a definite event at their basis. Thus, years ago, a white carrier [502] unyoked his team at the house of the brother of old /K-ria and went to bed. A group of Hottentots, as is common, appeared in order to beg and to trade. In doing so they stole some of the provisions of the sleeping trader. The Wilroi Hottentot, who intervened to protect the white man's property, was shot down by the white man in an outburst of rage under the mistaken assumption that he was the inciter of the theft. The fate of the slain man lives on in family tradition and the women sing: "!Uri !oudaxu, /hai daxu ai go !gabi dxaxu, gai ‡gû dîsi, /aoba dîsi! tariß kxa ai ai kxuî /aoba !oraxu!"

"You white cloth (probably a reference to the hat veil or the scarf of the traveler), you who have ridden out on a wicked (literally "pale-colored, worthless") path, you have done a misdeed (intransitive preterite participle, literally "you have done a great thing"), you have spilled blood! Alas, who shall avenge the blood of that man? (literally "answer for").

After a short prelude on the bow the voices begin with the following motif:

[Translator's note: eight bars of music omitted.]

A love song of the simplest conceivable sort goes: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of text omitted.]

The lamenting text says: "I will never get you!"

In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (‡Hae)," are straightforward. But not [383] ‡Ûs is intended, but ‡Ûs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment 535

Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ‡nâ-‡ao ‡na-ǂhe ··· ‡a-ǂhe ‡na-ǂhe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words ‡nâ-‡ao- and ‡a-ǂhe-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, ‡na-ǂhe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin 538 825

Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

!ge-oxen, !ôba /'Ku-hi te, ǂ-te tsaŏ-ba !na-a !ŏ-, te-nabe ǂa-i si !" "You filthy beast (!gaub is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (/'Kubi) me (te) the ax (!ôba); let (ǂ) me (-te) chop up (!nao-ŏ) the calf (tsaŏba)." "I will split (ǂaŏi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), ŏ-ŏ-ao, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly put it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nanu//'Kam gaise, ai gye ŏaŏse si ǂaiba te ŏba !" "You old Hottentot (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[866] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the "//'Kaobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two lines of music omitted.] "han - ab //nao - se, ǂab tsoni //gat se." "Hey, you, Hamib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.")

A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four lines of music omitted.] "//nao - ba, //nao - ba o /aru ai ǂat - ta." "Nashorn-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

The children try to enchant the chameleon with the words: "!no-mas !no-mela, a-ma !nu-rubas ǂ-ab !" "Humpy old hunchback, child of grandmother (ǂamas) Nurubas!"

The baboon is honored by an especially exhaustive address. In a deep wadi near the Orange River we heard the apes calling on the surrounding cliffs. To the first one that became visible one of my Hottentots called the following greeting which is widespread among the people*:

*Cf. Bleek's translations of animal songs from the manuscripts of the Grey Library in Capetown.

"ǂnerí-tse, hí-retse!
/hu-mi /ha-rutse,
//a-retse, //a-re /xuá-hei̯tse,
!na-ohe gye //ga-re //(c)ǂ /na-re(c)e !
ǂnabu- !nani-b ai gye mâ-tse
/nabu- a-mai̯tse !
tsoa-be gye ǂgai̯-i !"

"For heaven's sake!" You are gleaming with fat!"

"Actually something like: "Good God!" from heere, the Dutch designation for "lord" with the Hottentot vocative ending of the masc. sing.

"The blades of the /hu-ǂmi/haru-i rush (see p. 229) glimm like fat; a hide that glitters like this is supposed to be the ornament of the young baboon. The opposite address which I also heard goes: "/no-re /(c)ko-oiberse"; /(c)ko-oibeb is an edible underground bulb with a pale exterior.

"Old Lefty"! You are loaded down, you are loaded down with

"The use of the left hand is considered a sign of dexterity.

1: Schultze--187 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13 Nama

your own flesh"! Hey you, standing up there on the dove's cliff"* 533 ● 531*

*As a characteristic of the dragging, forward-jerking movement of the baboon.

**The steep declivity of the Table Mountain is a favorite resort of the wild doves (see p. 304).

"you dove-mouthed fellow!* You who drag your anus behind you!"

*In ridicule of the baboon's long snout which, in the eyes of the Hottentots, sticks out like a beak.

2. Folk Tales of the Hottentots

*ǂâe-gam-//aŏ-ǃgûĭ-Xîna. 538

Just as they call the horizon of the open sea the "back of the water," *//gamiǃgûĭ, likewise they call the remote past, which is as far away as that horizon, the "back of time," */aŏǃgûĭ. In those days there were still no people, but sun and moon inhabited the earth,* and fire was alive; all animals had manlike forms and felt and acted like people. Within the frame of this general conception the Hottentots' imagination reduces all his observations of the animal world and the experiences of his own life to folk tales, which have endured for generations without being written down. In the evening they squat in a circle around the fire of the hut or of the camp in the field, and each person gets a turn to tell his story. Probably it was from no feeling of superstition but simply from the very mood of those happy hours that the precept of allowing these legendary figures to come to life only around the evening fire developed. Anybody who talks about them in the day time might well conjure up the things (ǂâ-ne) of the past (aîbe-gam)"

*I was not able to determine the etymology of the word *gam. It is used before aîbe and ǃgûĭe, "formerly," in the sense of a demonstrative particle.

and thereby bring about irremediable confusion. Only after sundown

CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Decorative and Plastic Art

532 Judged by the standard of the Bushmen, the Hottentots are distinctly poor in artistic productions. Painting and engraving on rock, one of the outstanding features in the culture of the former, does not appear ever to have been practised by the latter. Their decorative art
531 at the present time is confined mainly to scratching or incising simple rows of dots or lines of crude chevrons, zigzag or fishbone patterns on the outer surface of their metal armlets and rings. Occasionally also simple triangular designs are burned round the mouth of their wooden vessels, or scratched on the stems of their serpentine pipes; while the clay pots they formerly made are sometimes found decorated round the neck with rows of dots or short, broad lines, apparently produced by incising.[1] No other form of decorative art is known to occur.

532 The rudiments of a plastic art may be noticed among the young
§97 boys, who often model toys out of clay, which they learn in the fire to obtain shades of colour as well as hardness. These toys consist in figures of human beings, cattle, game and other animals, sometimes also in group compositions such as a team of oxen pulling a wagon. Schultze describes and figures some of them, which are skilfully modelled and by no means devoid of artistic appeal, in some cases even showing a lively sense of caricature, as in representations of Europeans.[2] But the talent here shown is not carried over into later life, and no modelling or carving of any description analogous to this is done by adults.

Music and Dancing

533 If the Hottentots are deficient in the plastic arts, their musical
536 talent at least is highly developed. The joy in imitative representation, in the fancy-free expression of mood-up impressions, lives in both young and old. Their delight and talent in mimicry is shown in

[1] Schultze, *Khoikhoi und Buschmänner*, 249-50; Schinz-Lund, "Hottentots and Bushmen Pottery," passim and pl. 2.

[2] Op. cit., 310-11; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 350.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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percussion, their musical sense in the use of musical instruments and in song, and their finer artistic feeling in the dance. Only in a few exceptional cases do we find these different art forms practised in isolation; as a rule, just like the emotions underlying them, they are intimately combined in the same performance. 533 ● 535

The musical instruments of the Hottentots[1] include some of those found among the Bushmen, such as the /gaura, the /gubo, the ramgoti ("ramkie") and the "rommelpot". Of these the /gaura is specially important from the ethnological point of view. As previously mentioned, it is a form of musical bow having the peculiarity of being sounded by means of a piece of quill connecting one end of the chord with the end of the bow-stave. Though various forms of the musical bow, including the /gubo, are found widely spread over Africa, the /gaura is a specialised type somewhat sharply separated from the others. Its occurrence is confined mainly to the Hottentots and the Southern Bushmen, so that it constitutes a common culture trait of some significance. It is now also found among some of the Southern Bantu, but has almost certainly been taken over by them from either the Bushmen or the Hottentots. 534 171

Schultze describes in addition the ordinary musical bow, *kwal*, which he found among the Namas.[2] The stave is made from a thin piece of acacia wood, and the chord from the back-sinew of the gnu, or, better still, from sheep-gut. The women are the performers. They sit on the ground, with the upper end of the bow resting on the left shoulder, while the lower end, propped up against a skin-covered bowl serving as a sounding-board, is held there by means of the foot, inserted between the stave and the chord. The performer picks at the chord with a small stick held in the right hand, while with the left hand she holds the bow like the hand of a violin. Usually several of the women sitting round beat in time on the chord with their sticks. 534

From the musical point of view the chief characteristic of the dance represented in the musical percussion performed with this instrument lies in rhythm. In hunting scenes this expresses the different types of movement of horses and game. The tracking of the hartebeest, the slow galloping pursuit, the flight of the wounded animal and its overthrow, all this is indicated in the time beaten with 533

[1] Kolb, *Voyage de Cape Hoffnung*, 1719; Lichtenstein, *Travels in the Cape of Good Hope*, 1803; Fritsch, *Eingeborene Süd-Afrikas*, p. 408; Schultze, *Aus Namaland*, pp. 464; see Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 1908; Schultze, op. cit., 574.

[2] Op. cit., 574-5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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533 the stick. The conjuring of the pursuing horse, the fatal thrust, and the death rattle of the dying animal are punctuated with gestures and inarticulate sounds; the successive monotones beaten on the chord to varying speeds only serve as accompaniment. Similarly the progress of a wagon is indicated, with such incidents as the in-spanning of the oxen and the falling out of a lame animal, while the habits of wild animals are imitated with special delight.

In all these performances the music itself is relatively unimportant, even though the bow is throughout being sounded with the stick. It is only in the reed dance songs that the notes are first arranged into melodies. The reed pipes, *lani*, are among the oldest known musical instruments of the Hottentots.[1] They are usually cut, as their name indicates, from reed; but where, as in barren tracts, no reed can be got, they are made from the hollow bark of acacia roots. They range in length from about six inches to a foot. Their barrels are like those of European flutes, but the holes on both sides meet one another and are larger than in the flute. One end of the pipe is closed with a grass cork, which is slid up and down by means of a thin bit of stick to vary the pitch of the instrument. These pipes are always used to accompany dances and songs.

533 Every large kraal has its bandmaster, *ai-/gun-aob*, who teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes. "Boys who perform well," says Hahn, "are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called */khe-/khe, to touch the body*, which means, 'to praise a person in a song.'"[2] A full Hottentot orchestra has at least nine performers, each with a pipe or set of pipes tuned to a different note from those of the others. The music of each performer consists in a series of rhythmical blasts all on one note, which harmonize with those of others in the same rhythm. These notes provide the time for the dancers and singers, who lead the melody.[3]

533 Many of the songs accompanied by reed music are without words; the theme is indicated simply by actions, and the melody "trolled" aloud, i.e. sung without articulate words.[4] Others have a fixed verbal text. Hahn distinguishes two kinds of the latter, sacred and profane. "The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations and songs of praise in honour of Tsu//goab, Heitsiebib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs, and the performance with dancing is called */gaib*, while the general profane songs are called *//nai-tsamati*, and to perform

[1] The fullest descriptions are given by Schultze, op. cit., 373–7; von François, op. cit., 218.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 29. [3] Schultze, op. cit., 376, 377. [4] Ibid., 377.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is */aka xuire*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it."[1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gois*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui ||Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */nau* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances[4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 27-8.
[2] Ibid., 38-60, *passim*.
[3] Ibid., 28; *cf.* Wikar, "Beitrag aus van Plettenberg," 127.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 31-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schultze, op. cit., 377.

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535 Many of the profane dances have special themes. Some of them are purely pantomimic. One such dance, described by Schultze,[1] may serve to illustrate the wealth of imitative action with which they are enacted. The theme is that of a hyena slinking round a sheep kraal at night and being discovered. The pantomimic representation of this theme, with its reed music, its song and its dance, is extremely delightful. The men line up in a semicircle, as do also the women opposite them. The circle formed in this way, with its two opposing entrances where the line of men approaches that of the women, represents a sheep kraal, and the women the sheep. Amid the singing and the notes of the reed music of all those standing in the circle, one of the men leaves the line, and in a crouching posture, with sharply-bent knees, slinks into the interior of the "kraal" and along the line of women, with all the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men from the line make as if riding for the same opening through which the hyena has entered. In bearing and gesture they mimic the tying-up of their horses, then discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them, until suddenly they notice the animal. They hasten back to their horses and take up the pursuit. The hyena meanwhile has made for the open, but is overtaken outside the "kraal" and killed. During the whole of this 533 535 performance the women uninterruptedly sing at the "hyena" the words: *tHi-re-se, kxuin xûn gye, !go-be-se, kxuin xûn gye*, "Hyena, this (the sheep in the kraal) is the property of men!"

Other dances and their songs depict scenes of hunting or battle. Wikar describes one mimicking a rhinoceros hunt;[2] Hahn another in which a hero dies bravely in battle and is left a prey to the vultures, until his friends, having defeated the enemy, return and collect his bones into a grave, at the same time singing a very doleful burial song.[3] Another dance of this type, seen often by von François in Windhoek, is based on the historical incident of the "murder" of Jan Jonker by Hendrik Witbooi. The men group themselves in two parties, one with white hatbands, the other with red. The latter, representing Jonker's people, dance first, as if believing themselves safe, and the women dance round them. Then to the same melody and time the Witboois dance up out of the darkness towards the camp of the Jonkers. Suddenly they are noticed by the latter, the women spring aside and begin, standing still and clapping their

[1] Op. cit., 380–1; others are described on pp. 377–80
[2] Op. cit., 127–8. [3] Op. cit., 228–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range themselves against the Witboois and in a crouching posture continue playing on their reed pipes. The Witbooi also form into line, and send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-haired men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witbooi, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after impelling them all returns to his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witbooi dance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, with its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting illustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile imagination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even although they have not the grand masquerade dances performed by the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but singing without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of the songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; others are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known as *guras*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of extemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, and not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals will often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter or longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. But they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously, into the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often church hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are often replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical sense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal recreation in its exercise.

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, uncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and privations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 361–3. [2] *Op. cit.*, 107, 28–9.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 147

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 147 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [175]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

533 517 musical enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 517 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in colored chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 643 645 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 643 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[643] [641] 692 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Gorinhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he (he wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[27]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of timorousness, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [22] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of ha, ho, ho, ha, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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[27]) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

Namaquas.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[41]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 26, 1661, and returned on March 18. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 48-63.

[42]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Soweth Afqui: F317

OBD Mirstumque saepius cum Calone, quomodo haruspex haruspicem absque ritu intueri possit: stupendaque res quod viri, animo virtuque valiti, manu strenui, et ferocis in curru, nec venam publicam habentes, impune sibi ab impubis his nebulonibus, superbia, insolentia, ignorantia, arrogantiaque elatis, imponi patiantur: qui in leonem alludve animal (mirabili metamorphosi si Ille placet!) sese vestipelles transfigurare, tempestatem, pluviam, grandinem, ventos, tonitrua fulguraque subito ciere, siderum motus observare, futuraque praedicere, veraque se vaticinari, divinitus asire, turpi venditatione jactitant. Et ne nostrates horum insidiis injuriisque obnoxii forent, inter ipsos unanimi consensu convenerat, ut de veneno regali regererent, Europaeis tantum planè ignota esse: qua arte barbiti dulci laquelaque vafre eludentes obviamque eunies, tuti in Magnis vixere, nec quotidie cum Orco rationem penendam habuere.

Validis viribus incurvare tarulum, aequè intendere chordam, eademque semper oberrare, adhaec gracili modulari avenâ, calamoque agresti ludere, terrestres maritimosque inflare tubulos solendi maros cisalpini gnavitur solunt: sed eorum femineae cantilenam patriumque carmen semper ferme idem sylvestri musâ, alliâque voce cantando, eorum cibos superinductum ei intextum, faucis lorique obviorum palmis pulsare, lisque alternis vicibus plaudere, conventu Europaeorum auribus ingrato, tympanistriae decussatis cruribus humi sedentes, mox oculis in coelum et lunam versus subiatis, mox iisdem in terram et cibum lacte plenam defixis, apprime suo ritu et incondito ingeminato clamore ululatuque, et musicè aetatem agere, norunt.

Interiora regionis Aethiopiae confinia frequentibus mulliaque habitantur pagis, quorum amoenitate indigenae detinentur, et advenae omnium rerum copia, terraeque uberiate allicuntur. Quo A° 1686 navis Slavenisae naufragi se recipientes, tanta comitate, fide et benevolentiâ a

H 533 534

S 574 609

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[1]) On the musical instruments and entertainments of the Hottentots, so sketchily referred to by O., cf. Schapera, op. cit., 406 ff.; and among contemporary writers, Dapper (p. 77 above), Schreyer, op. cit., chap. xvi; and Kolb, 327 ff.

[2]) On the wreck of the "Slavenisae" (Feb. 14, 1686), see above p. 168. As already mentioned, the accounts given by the survivors

10: Grevenbrook F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FN7

I have often wondered with Cato how soothsayer can look at soothsayer without laughing; and it is an amazing thing that men, strong in mind and body, active with their hands, dangerous fellows, and of no common quality, should tamely allow themselves to be imposed on by these sorry rascals, swollen with overweening pride and ignorant arrogance. For these shameless braggarts give out that they are wizards and can transform themselves into a lion or any other animal (a wonderful metamorphosis indeed); that they can in a moment summon storm, rain, hail, winds, thunder and lightning; and that they have supernatural knowledge and can foretell the future and prophesy truth. Our countrymen, in order to avoid entanglement in their wicked plots, had come to a unanimous agreement among themselves that if questioned about poison they would reply that Europeans are absolutely ignorant of such things. By this trick they cunningly escaped and countered the wiles and snares of the witch-doctors, and lived safely among the Magoni without the necessity of taking the next world into their daily calculations.

The male musicians among these on the hither side of the mountains show great ingenuity in bending a stick with their great strength, stretching a string upon it, and fumbling continually upon the same; and they are skilled to breathe an air upon the cuten flute, sport upon the rustic reed, or make the music of such pipes as land or sea affords. Their women with uncouth art and in a strange voice sing a native lay or descant that rarely varies, beating the while with their palms upon a skin stretched tightly over a pot and fastened with bands and thongs, or else clapping their hands together. The harmony is not pleasing to European ears, as these women sit cross-legged with their tom-toms on the ground, now raising their eyes towards heaven and the moon, now gazing upon the earth or upon a pot full of milk, while they exercise their native skill in the rude and incessant shouting and wailing which constitutes their manner of musical entertainment.[1])

In the interior of the country bordering on Ethiopia are many populous districts, the charm of which detains the native inhabitants, while strangers are allured by the abundance of all things and the richness of the soil. Thither in the year 1686 the shipwrecked crew of the Stavenisse betook themselves,[2]) and were received with such courtesy, good faith, and kindness by the natives,

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on reaching the Cape were transcribed for the official records by O. himself, and it is sufficiently evident from his text to what an extent he drew upon them.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana.

539 descriptions in Wikar and Warne give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

533 536 Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. van Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me; they also had them made for the flute dance a song about me, the chinoonwa dance which I have already described among the Gonaiquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of carnaval, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-kaross, upon which she moves "(feigns)" to threaten him."

539 411 According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons"; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok 133 bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hantbessie River, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

13: Kirby R.-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana.

" Vaalthaalbe of Boytjesrivier." The Harrebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 25½, Lat. 29½. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Koranas* (MSS. 1850), states on p. 533
280 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p. 287*), " The Aas (the reed 535
play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone " (sic). " They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) " the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves."

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving 534
the native and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *pih* and describes it as " a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *pi'ib* and the reed-dance *pi'ib-i/ab-b*, and further states, " They " (the Koranas) " have no drum," (sic.) " but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute."

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been 533
completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded 177
their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the 747
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Pniellberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Koranas. " During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lays " (printer's error for *gave*, v. infra) " and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This views, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the " songs of Zion " had no very lasting effect upon the Koranas will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook 534
to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, 824
river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either 115
distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This

13: Kirby R.-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana.

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them "boys") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daab when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a rope from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being "whipped" with wet reeds, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of sewskin was often used.

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow): only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *daro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called */khoni's /hannab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows.

(1) *qhâo:qhâo:n*
(2) */nannis*
(3) *gaiqhâo:n*
(4) */nanna*

The meaning of the third of these names is "the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of "tonic," since from it the

13: Kirby R-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

539 others are named. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *gu-ab*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*marching round*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ise ||ise*) and shaking their buttocks (*Ikare khoedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*kaka karare p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*||kare ka*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 784 787 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Korannas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Korannas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

13: Kirby R.-S (1931-1932) 1932
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the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the usual scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that there was either misunderstood or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Snow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man constitutes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of tuning them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has evidently arisen through relatively recent European contact. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kkoe*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved. The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gubus*, and it consists of a slender stick of seasoned *kaipdoe*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind is in open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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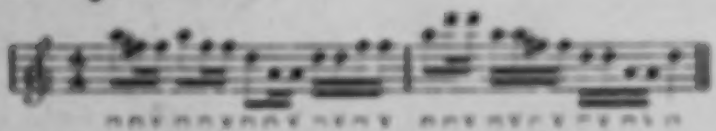
533 left hand supports the stick by grasping it at a convenient point, but no pressure must be brought to bear upon it, since the tightening or slackening of the bow would cause the pitch of the string to vary, and this is not desired by the Kenya. With the right forefinger the player plucks the string, the principal sounds being executed with a downward action, and the subsidiary ones with an upward action. I have indicated these in the examples quoted by means of the signs used by violinists for downward and upward bowing, ⊓ and ∨ respectively. The string, of course, produces but one sound when plucked, although implicit in it are the overtones known as the "harmonic series." These the Hottentot has recognised, and has discovered or learned that some of them may be isolated and reinforced by the variable cavity of the mouth. The following examples will show the nature of the performance: they were played by Tabah, who is seen performing on the instrument in Plate VII. It will be understood that the prime tone of the string is present throughout, although it is not the main sound; it serves as a kind of drone to the bugle-like tune played on the harmonics. This instrument is best executed in quiet places, when its sweet tones can be clearly heard.

Ex. 1. ♩=120.



534 (b) A second development from the hunting-bow is played exclusively by the women. It retains the original name of *Mo'o*. Like the *Igubee* it is made from a branch of *Amjindee*, about three-quarters of an inch to one inch thick and about thirty-eight inches long. The bark should be removed, and the wood allowed to season, although in the example made for me the bark was left on and the wood dried by fire. A stout string of twisted sinew is prepared, and is secured by a slipknot in a groove made at one end of the stick. This end is then placed on the ground and the stick forced into a semicircular form, when the other end of the string is secured to the tip of the stick just as in the case of the *Igubee*. A thin piece of seasoned wood or reed about fourteen inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter serves as a beater, for this 533 instrument is normally sounded by striking. The player, having tuned the instrument (to suit her voice), seats herself upon the ground, and takes the bow in her hands. The lower end, where the string is knotted, 185 she places upon a bag of skin (*Ilkeb*) or a dish of willow wood, which acts as a resonator. (Gotia, who played for me, and who appears on Plate XI, used a cut-gallon paraffin tin as a tribal/tribe/and is placed to her right.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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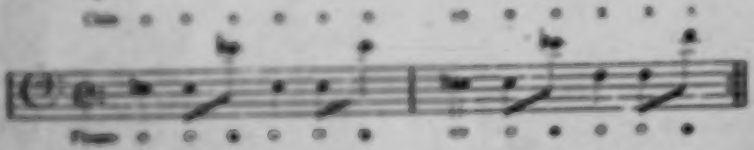
Korana

VI, until a one-gallon parafin tin or a substitute) and is placed to her right. The right foot holds this end of the bow in position, while the upper end rests against the left shoulder. Taking the beater between the first finger and thumb of her right hand, she strikes the string with a clean staccato action, comparable to that used in side-drum playing, and a ringing tone is produced. This is the fundamental tone of the string. By lightly touching the middle point of the string with the second phalange of the forefinger of her left hand, and at the same time striking the string, the first harmonic, one octave above the fundamental, is produced. Again, by pressing upon the string with the chin at the appropriate spot, a second fundamental, a tone higher than the original one, is obtained, and by touching the string at the new middle point, the octave of this second fundamental is heard. These are the principal sounds elicited from this instrument by the Korana women, although I observed, in one instance, a woman touching the string at the "node" required to produce the second harmonic of the string. But this may have been accidental, although the Bushmen women, who also play this type of instrument, actually use it and also a higher partial. Example 2 shows the typical use of the instrument. The symbols above the stave show the chin technique, ○ meaning that the chin is clear of the string, and ● that it is pressed on to the string; the symbols below the stave show the fingering, ○ meaning that the fundamental is being sounded, and ● the first harmonic.

Ex. 2. ♩=108.



Such a musical picture as this serves as an *ostinato* accompaniment for a song, the melody of which is to a certain extent controlled by the instrument. The vocal music sung to the accompaniment of the *khaːs* differs considerably from the simpler acrophic lyrics that are characteristic of these people, and of which I quote six examples below. In the *khaːs* songs the voice is both rhythmically and melodically very free, being much nearer to speech than in the more formal tunes. In point of fact, the specimens which I heard sung by Gonis were almost more speech than song; and I am inclined to suggest that their actual speech-tones of the language directed the course of the melody. Phonograms of Korana speech (not song) which I made of Taleb were musically so clear-cut

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

533 that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *Ama* accompaniment were recorded at Pniel by Meinhof in February 1928, and transcribed by Heinitz in his *Strukture-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *Ama*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed records associated with their corresponding syllables.

533 114 Further, Heinitz' description of the *Ama* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects; for he suggests that the string is "stopped" by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gorin showed me a method of playing this instrument pizzicato. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the "nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style "playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *Ama*.

533 114 In my paper of July 1931, entitled "The Mystery of the Grand Gum-gum," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

534 (c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *gorus*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *gorus*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *Igubu*. By applying the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain 533

13: Kirby R-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Koreas. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mohokoh, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Koreas remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mohokoh, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mohokoh is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Seleki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Koreas, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called */gara-ke/*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Gora*," p. 173). Among the Koreas it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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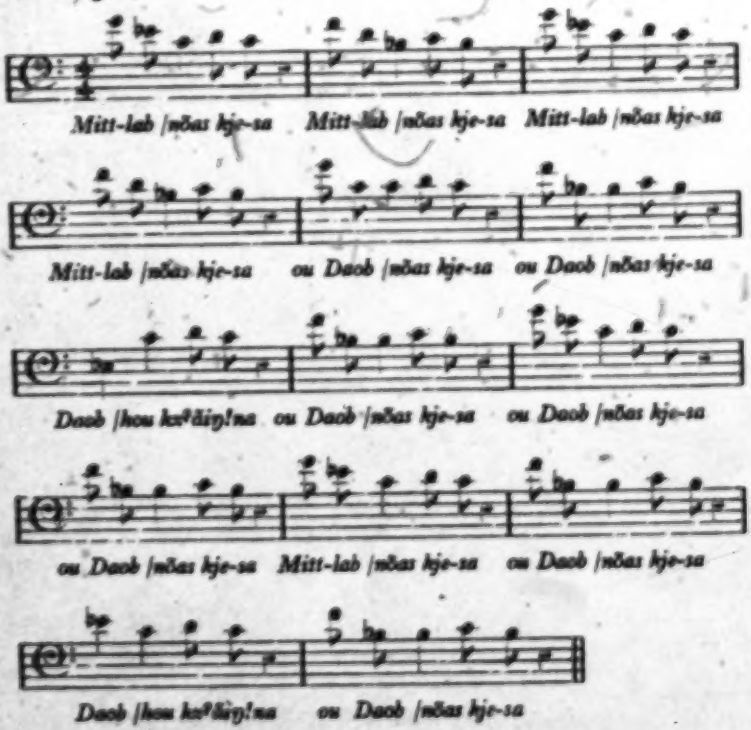
533 126 115 edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

533 539 Ex. 3. *Mittlab /nõãs kjesa*

♩=132.



This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mittlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Mittlab ! It is his cow !
Old Daob ! It is his cow !
Daob ! You have a beard all over your face !

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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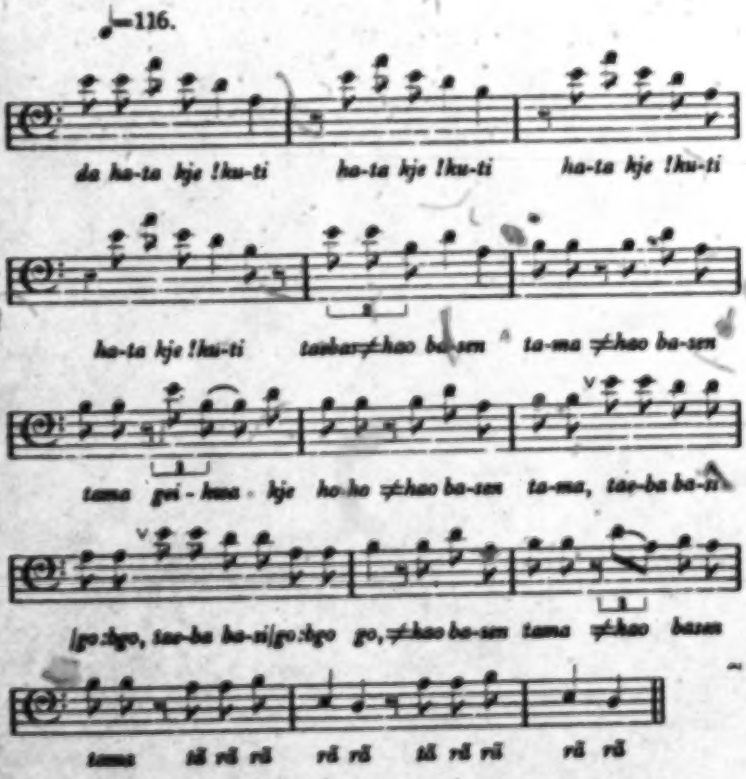
The rivals have each claimed the animal, but Daob, the more astute of the two, has gone off with it, whereupon Mittlab calls him an old baboon. The song is in dialogue form, and it is interesting to note how one form of the melodic phrase is used almost always to indicate Mittlab, and a different one for Daob. The formation of the melody upon the two triads, which was unmistakeable, is also significant.

Ex. 4. *da hata kje !huti*



This is the beginning of a song called */gausta* (a man's name). Translated, the words mean,

Where shall we find Kuti? (brother of */gausta*)
Why don't you smack the boy yourself?
The old people have got hold of him.
Why has the boy got the better of you?

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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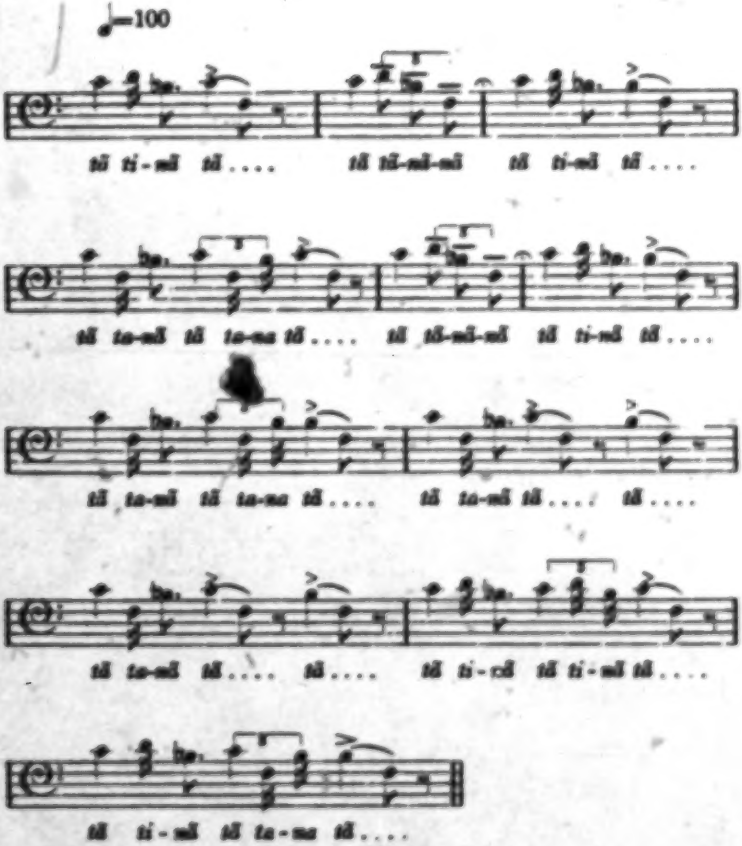
Ex. 5. ǂǂ ti-nǂ ǂǂ



The syllables of this song are meaningless; they are merely syllables comparable to the tra-la-la of English song. The position of this and the following three songs is curious. Old Daob was asked to sing the sounds of the reed-flutes. This must have been, to him, an unusual request. However, when he realised that we wished to hear the sound of the first flute, ǂ:ko:ǂ:ko:, he began to sing this melody, which I made him repeat, and which I recorded. The notation represents adequately what Daob sang; the curious hurrying in the fourth, seventh, tenth and eleventh bars is characteristic. The bar-lines have been introduced to indicate the phrasing.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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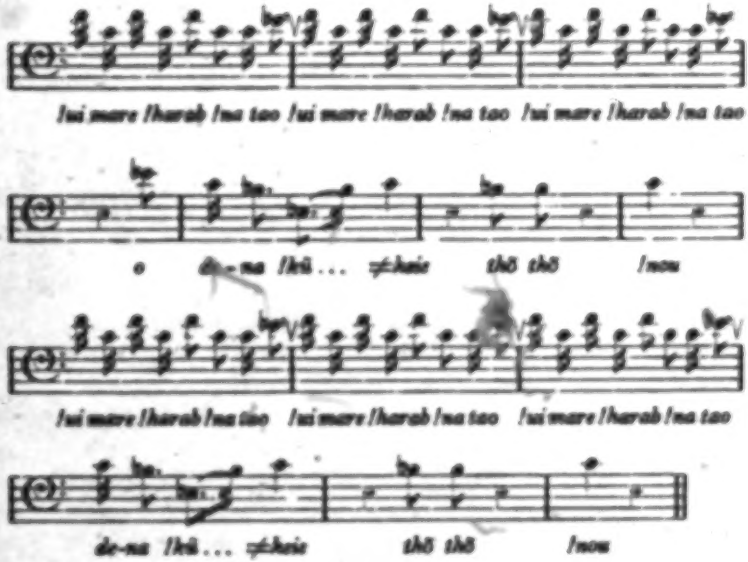
Ex. 6. */ui mare /harab/na tao*

♩=86.



This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the second flute, */nanni*. Translated, the words mean

> When the cows are in the kraal in the evening,
> They come inside *
> (*The meaning of the remainder of the words is not clear.)

This, said Daob, was the beginning of a war-song. I am not absolutely certain that the words should be fitted to the melody exactly as shown. Daob's singing in this instance was rather faint, and the phonogram suffered accordingly.

Ex. 7. *tirĩ tirĩ tirĩ*

♩=120.

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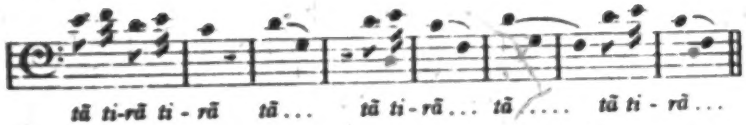
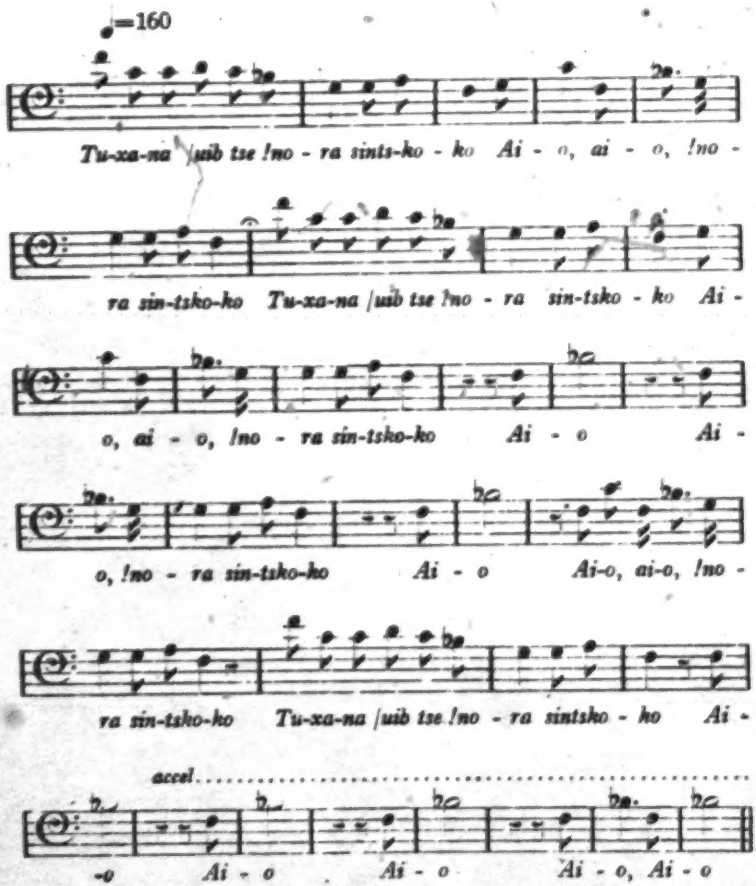


This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the third flute, *geiy≠a:s*. The syllables mean nothing.

Ex. 8. *Tuxana /uib tse !nora sintskoko*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the fourth pipe *tuxana*. Translated, the words mean

> Tuxana, have you rolled down the stone ?
> Have you rolled down the stone ?
> Ai-o, Ai-o !

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I was unable to discover from the Korana the actual connection between these songs and the flutes, particularly as I could not obtain the tuning of the flutes themselves. This I hope to do later, and meantime would suggest that there is a possibility that these tunes served as a series of mnemonics whereby the skilled musicians of the Korana people might tune their reed-flutes ; for the nature of the Korana instruments is such that no permanent pitch standards could be maintained, unless their whole musical system were based upon the harmonic series, apparent to them in all their stringed instruments.

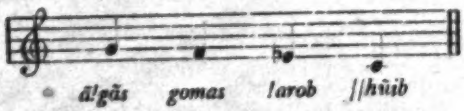
But an examination of the four tunes associated by Daob with the reed-flutes yields the following significant information. In Tune III, *tā ti-nā tā*, the note which is heard most frequently is B flat, and it is also consistently emphasised ; in Tune IV, *!ui mare !harab !na tao*, the note C is similarly prominent ; while in Tune V, *ti-ra ti-ra ti-ra*, the outstanding note is D. Again, in Tune VI, *Tuxana, |uib tse !nora sintskoko*, the note most frequently sounded is G. Assuming that these notes represent the sounds of the four principal reed-flutes, we arrive at the following fragmentary scale,

Ex. 9.

geiŋ≠a:s !namis ≠ko≠hos tuxana

of which the first note *geiŋ≠a:s* is sounded by the flute of the leading musician. A comparison of this scale with the Nama reed-flute scale quoted by Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 375 e. seq.) shows that a similar sequence of notes is present, although it does not begin with the principal reed-flute, *aidi*, but with the next lowest flute,

Ex. 10.



ā!gās gomas !arob ||hûib

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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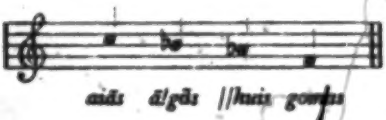
533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */aua gowab sān* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

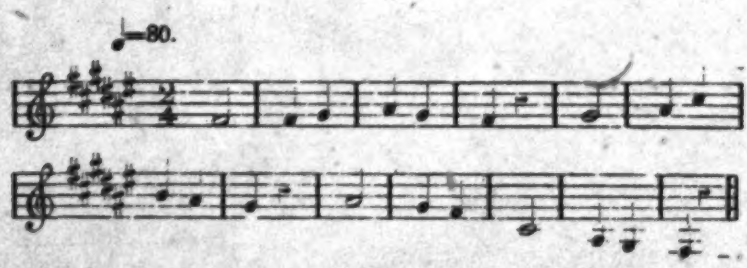
Ex. 11.



As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken, and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

533 177 539 [115] In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotis and Keis. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12. *hada //nāu*



13: Kirby R45 (1931-1932) 1932
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The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

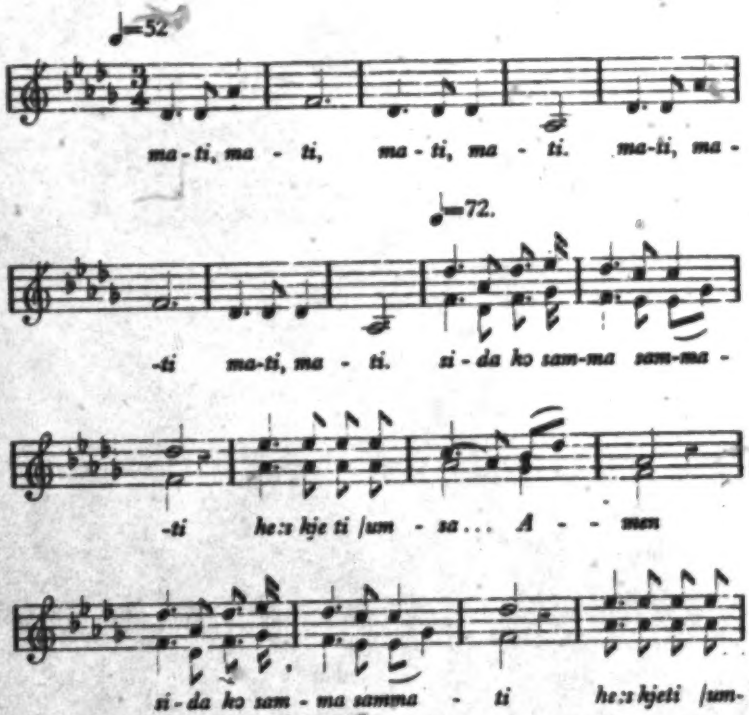
hade //nũu he: buruxa mis,

which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the " songs of Zion ; " for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris. [115]

Ex. 13. *mati, mati*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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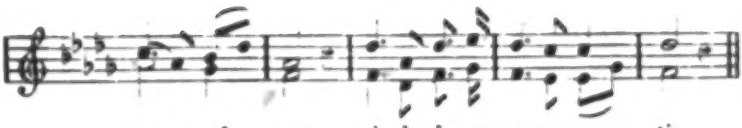

The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called */kurise ≠nae* and low sounds */eri doma ≠nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is */guise ≠nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called */kɔ: ≠nae kxʔona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called */ham domkwa ;* but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called */aŋ≠nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

ebony-tree has been called after the green colour of the bile, and also whether the rainbow, *tsawirub*, received its name from *tsabab*. ǃUri is a derivative from the original ǃū, and certainly has with ǃ*ubus*, egg, the root ǃu in common; consequently ǃuri means egg-coloured, and the egg *par excellence*, the ostrich egg, is white. The same root for white and egg we had in the ǃAi Bushman language. ǃAm, green, means originally *springing up*, or *shooting forth*, like in German *ausschlagend*, used for the fresh green leaves; ǃa, to hit, ǂnou-ǃa, and ǂnou-ǃan, to beat —to hit, German, *treffen*; ǁnau-ǃa and ǁnau-ǃan to hear —to hit, *i.e.*, to understand; mū-ǃa and mū-ǃan, to see or to look—to hit, *i.e.*, to observe, to perceive, to acknowledge. ǃAva, red, is nothing else but ǃaua, blood-coloured, from ǃau, to bleed, or ǃau-b, blood. ǃHuni is yellow, that is, the colour of clay or ground, from ǃhu-b, ground, earth, clay. ǂGama, brown, is the colour of ǂgāb, originally ǂgamab, the colour of a *vley*; the vley is a water-pond, which is dry in the winter, and then the bottom shows a brown colour. ǃKhan, grey, is the colour of the ǃkhani, Bos elaphus. ǃNai-ǂu is the colour of the ǃnaib, giraffe and also of the zebra. ǃGaru is dotted like a leopard, hence this animal is called ǃgarub. The other name of ǃgarub, leopard, however, is more significant; he is also called χoasaūb, the mark—scratcher, from χoa to scratch, and saū to mark, to imprint.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adding some remarks on Khoikhoi poetry, and on the so-called "*Reed-dance*," ǂāb, to which in the following chapters repeatedly reference will be made.

The Khoikhoi have two kinds of poetry, sacred and profane. The sacred hymns, as well as the profane songs, are sung accompanied by the so-called Reed-music or Reed-dancers. The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations, and songs of praise in honour of Tsuǁgoab, ǂkeitsiebib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

533 and the performance with dancing is called *|geib* while the general profane songs are called *||hai-tsanati*, and to perform them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba χaire*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition, is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it. In such a case the performances have much in common with the mediæval German "Singspiel." We can also compare them with our modern operas. If an illustrious stranger visits a place, he is often welcomed with a reed-dance while entering the place. Thus the first Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, who came to the ||Heisiqua Hottentots in the Calodon district, was received with a reed-dance. The Dutch Governor van der Stell, on his journey to the Copper Mountains, the present Copper mines, was honoured in the same way. Hop, a burgher of Stellenbosch, who in Governor Ryk van Tulbagh's time went on an expedition to Great Namaqualand, received the congratulations of the ||Habobes at the foot of the ||Kharas mountain in a grand reed-dance performance. Alexander received the same honours from his Namaqua host, the famous Jonker Afrikaner |Haramūb; and up to this time the traveller, if he only understand how to fraternize with them, will gladly be admitted to witness their simple merry-making.

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533 If chiefs have become unpopular by some whimsical or despotic orders, very soon the tongue of the women—of whom a Khoikhoi proverb says "that they cannot be as long quiet as it takes sweet milk to get sour"—will lecture him in a sarcastic reed-song. Once I saw a chief sitting by, when the young girls sung into his face, telling him "that he was a hungry hyena and a roguish jackal; that he was the brown vulture who is not only satisfied with tearing the flesh from the bones, but also feasted on the intestines." On another occasion, a very old

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

man had married a very young girl, and her friends sung:

The geiris (first wife) is dismissed, his only great thought is the ǃaris (second wife); or, as we should say, "Age does not prevent a man making a fool of himself."

Other songs again are of a very simple character: "Don't, please, kill my antelope, my darling antelope; my antelope is so poor; my antelope is an orphan,"—and are simply an instance of the thrift of poetical productiveness. Or they are of a comical nature, sympathizing with a patient who suffers from gripes:

Poor young ǁKharis got into a fright,
She is suffering from gripes,
And bites the ground like the hyena which ate poison
The people run to see the fun!
They all were very much frightened!
And still they say—oh, it is nothing!

This reminds one very much of the style of Heinrich Heine; and even more of the way of the Middle-High-German poet, Nithart. I saw this play, "The Gripes," performed, and honestly confess that I laughed until the tears came. Helmerding could here have found his match in caricaturing people.

Every larger kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-ǂgun-aob*, the leader. He teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes, and if a boy should remain out of class, he is sure to get the whip severely. Also the girls, if they are too lazy and do not pay attention enough, receive now and then the whip, but then generally on the kaross, merely to make a noise and to frighten them. The reed-music sounds exactly like the playing on a harmonium. It is very pleasant indeed to hear it at a distance. Boys who perform well, are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called *ǂkho-ǂkha, to touch the body*, which means, "to praise a person in a song."

Such was the culture of the Khoikhoi before they migrated from the grave of ǂGurikhoisib, and such was it

773 amongst the Namaquas, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-||goab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-||goab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-||goab, Tsûi-||goab, and Tsuni-||goab in Namaqua; and Tsū-||goam, Tsûi-||goam, Tsûi-||khoab and Tsûi-||goab amongst the !Kora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-||goab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
533 the !Gami-ǂnus in the ||Kharas Mountains, amongst the ||Habobes or so-called Veltschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ||Kharas, and by the Gei-||Khous, ||O-geis, and the ǂAunis of the !Khomab Mountains
[821 East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
535] Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a !gei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following :—

533 [a] *Tsûi-||goatse !*
539 Thou, oh Tsûi-||goa !
Abo-ǂtse !
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father !
Sida ǂtse !
Thou our Father !
!Nanuba !arire !
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud !
Ẽn [a] *χuna ûire !*
Let please live (our) flocks !
Ẽda sida ûire !
Let us (also) live please !
ǂKhabuta gum goroẽ !
I am so very weak indeed !
||Gâs χoo !
From thirst !

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

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ǃAs χao !
From hunger !
Ẽta ǂ χurina amre !
That I may eat field fruits !
Sats gum χave sida ǁtsao ?
Art thou then not our Father ?
Abo ǁtsao !
The father of the fathers !
Tsûi-ǁgoatse !
Thou Tsûi-ǁgoa !
Ẽda sida gangantsire !
That we may praise thee !
Ẽda sida ǁkhava ǃkhaitsire !
That we may give thee in return (that is, that we may bless thee).
Abo-ǁtse !
Thou father of the fathers !
Sida ǃKhutse !
Thou our Lord !
Tûsi-ǁgoatse !
Thou, oh, Tsûi-ǁgoa !

If a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, 535 and the lightnings disperse the darkness, they also assemble for a ǂgei, and, while dancing, sing the following :—

ǃGurub di ǃGeis.
The Hymn of the Thunder.

ǃNanumatse !
Son of the Thundercloud !
ǃGari-khoi, ǃGurutse !
Thou brave, loud-speaking ǃGuru !
ǂOûse gobare !
Talk softly please !
ǃHaviẽ ǂam u-hã-tamãõ !
For I have no guilt !
ǃUbatere !

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

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539 Leave me alone! (Forgive me!)
‡Gûtago χuige!
For I have become quite weak—*i.e.*, I am quite stunned, I am quite perplexed.
ǀGurutse!
Thou, oh ǀGuru!
ǀNanus ǂatse!
Son of the Thundercloud!

[535] Another song-dance I saw performed in the following manner:—There was a *solo*, sung by a person who played the part of the lightning; the other part being represented by the inhabitants of a kraal, of whom a member was supposed to have been killed by the lightning.

ǀNabas di ǀgeis.
The dance-song of the Lightning.

Chorus: *ǀAibe ǁnuris ǀnanuse!*
Thou Thundercloud's daughter, daughter-in-law of the Fire.
Ti ǀgâba go ǀgamse!
Thou who hast killed my brother!
ǀGaises gum âb ǀna ǁgoeo!
Therefore thou liest now so nicely in a hole!

Solo: *ǀGâise ta go sa ǀgâba a ǀgam.*
(Yes), indeed I have killed thy brother so well!

Chorus: *ǀGâises gum âb ǀna ǁgoeo.*
(Well) therefore thou liest (now) in a hole.
" *‡Gorob khemi go ǀusense.*
Thou who hast painted thy body red, like ‡Goro!
" *Som-ǀauba ‡naba tamase!*
Thou who dost not drop the "menses."
" *‡Eiχa|kha|nabiseb aose!*
Thou wife of the Copper-bodied man!

773 An old ǁHabobe-Nama, by the name of ‡Kχarab, who had great-grand-children, and told me that he had big grown-up children when the Mission Station, Warmbad,

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

between Tsūi‖goab and ‖Gaunab, or ǂEiχa‖kha‖nabiseb and the lion, we see the lightnings—*i.e.*, the *dice* of Tsūi-‖goab thrown to the earth. And this phenomenon in Nature, the lightnings dropping to the earth, have afterwards given rise to the story of ǀGurikhoisib or ǂEiχa-‖kha‖nabiseb playing at dice with the lion. In our legend the thunderstorm is expressly mentioned.

[a] *Vientjes*, the Colonial Dutch expression for the various kinds of eatable *bulbs*. It means onions.

[b] ǃKhubitsaos—lat. 23° 29′, long. 16° 28′. I have been to the spot. It lies on the southern slopes of the ǀKhoma Mountains of the highlands of North Namaqualand. There is a pond of about fifty yards in length and fifteen in breadth. On the banks of the pond grow mimosa bushes; and on the south corner, about five yards from the water, is a very old mimosa tree. I had a man of the Gei‖khau tribe with me, by the name of Doūsanīab. It was quite interesting to see how he pointed the spot where the lion lay, where ǀGurikhoisib kneeled and cooled his face with water, where the dogs made the first attack on the lion, &c. The good fellow got quite excited and warm when he saw that I took a great interest in the matter; the more so when he afterwards saw me taking observations in order to fix the place on my map. In ǃKhubitsaos, or, as it also is pronounced, ǃGubi-tsoas, we have again the root ǃgu, *to cover*. In the third chapter the meaning of ǃgurub will be found, according to this root, to signify the coverer (Sanscr. Vritra).

[c] *Gares* is an extemporized love song; Khoikhoi mothers, or nurses, are in the habit, while washing or anointing a child, suddenly to extemporize a song of praise, and this way of praising is called *gare*.

[d] *Took the calabash with sour milk.*—Calabash, from *calebasse*, Sp. *calabaza*, Sicilian *cara vazza*, Portg. *calabaça* and *cabaça*, from the Arab *garah*, a kind of gourd, and *aibas*, f. *aibasah*, dry, so that it signifies a *dry gourd* scooped

1: Schultze--135A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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[p. 358]

Hottentots' war pipe.

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5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," ǂkʸa·ᵑm!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The ᵑ/u·iab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with out forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight ᵑtsũ·ǂubigã·ᵑb, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

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We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organized in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

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Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 315) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kʸãᵑb, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

1: Schultze--174A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.

[p. 374]

and the lower end is propped against a skin-covered bowl that serves as a sounding board. It is held in place with the right foot which is inserted between the bow and the string. The player uses her right hand to strike the string with a wooden stick -- if the women sitting beside her do not do this -- and with her left hand she plucks like a violin player. They also use their chins in plucking, in that they rest their heads, halfway back, for a moment against the upper end of the string. Generally several of the women sitting around beat in time upon the string with wooden sticks. 533 534

I myself saw no other string instrument beside the bow among the Hottentots. I encountered the gora with the quill (66) only among the

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südatrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

Bechuans. To be sure, Hottentots spoke of a guitar-like instrument that they make in imitation of European models; they call it ramgyib or !gũ-/tsib (from !gũ^{n} = "to cover," and in this case: to span the sounding board with a skin. See also the footnote to Folk tale XLV.). [Plate XV. A Topnaar Hottentot.]

[375] The main characteristic of the action which is supposed to be depicted in the musical pantomime lies musically in the rhythm. In hunting scenes it expresses the various gaits of the horse and the wild animals: the tracking of the hartebeest, the first chase at a gallop, the flight of the shot animal and its defeat -- all of this is reproduced by the rhythm of the wooden sticks. The spurring of the hunting horse, the death blow and the death rattle of the dying animal is expressed with gestures and inarticulated sounds. The monotonous intervals that are plucked on the string are only accompaniment. 533 535

Similarly portrayed are the rolling of a wagon, the yoking of the oxen, the unhitching of a lame or feeble animal, the snapping of the whip, and so forth.

They are very fond of imitating the practices of wild animals. I saw a woman imitate a baboon with great animation and devotion to her rôle: how it picks up insects from the ground, how it bends over the waterhole to drink, jealously wards off the thirsty animals pressing after him, how it casually trots, how it becomes frightened upon scenting danger and flees when surprised.

In all these entertainments the music remains in the background even though the strings and wooden sticks are constantly in action. 533 535

2. The Reed-dance Song

The tones become melodies only in the song of the reed dance. 533 534 Here the ancient musical instruments of the Hottentots, the reed pipes, ǂẫ·ti, come into their own. [Fig. Reed Pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.] The pipes, as their name indicates, are generally cut from reeds; but in dry stretches where there is no reed growth they are made from the roots of Acacia horrida Willd. . The root segment that is cut in the shape of a rod is either debarked completely by tearing off the bark (a), or it is slit lengthwise and the bark is peeled from the wood. The root that has been slit lengthwise is then firmly wrapped with a piece of bark in a spiral as though with a band (c). The pipe produced in this way is closed at one end and filled up with milk so that it will not dry. The pipes are tuned by adjusting the firm grass plug which closes the pipe end. After use, the pipe is again filled with milk.

[376] A complete reed pipe orchestra comprises at least nine musicians, each one with his own specially tuned reed or reed passage. Just as we distinguish the first and the second violin, the Hottentot distinguishes the first through the ninth reed pipe; only he does not count them, but names them individually. He makes the following distinctions: [Figure -- Reed pipe scale.]

1. ǂkxa·riǂẫ·ti, that is "the little reeds," all tuned the same, with four to six placed side by side in each hand.

2. ǃnona·gu, the triplets, or collectively called ǃnona·b, the trey, tuned the same and held in one hand.

3. ǃnani·gu, the sextuplets, or called collectively ǃnani·b, the "sixer," held in one hand and tuned the same.

4. //hũ·ǀirob, or //hũ·ǀirokxa, accordingly as the blower holds only one or two in his hand.

5. ai·ãs, "who (-s) cries (ã, here with the meaning: "to make a lamenting noise") in advance (ai)." Only one man in the whole orchestra has this pipe whereas with the further exception of number 6 all other reed voices can be filled doubly or triply. This reed gives the note by which all the other reeds are tuned. Among the others the first to tune in is

1: Schultze--176A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Reed pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.

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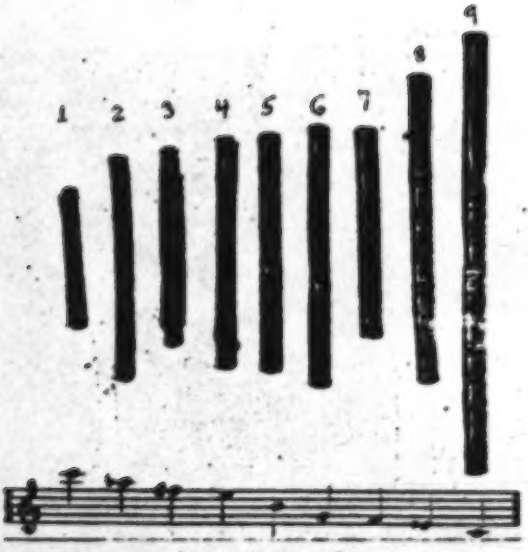

Reed pipe scale.

[p. 376]

6. the reed pipe, which is called ǎ!gā́s, that is "who cries afterwards (!gā́s, 'back')." After this the other pipes tune up: 533 534

7. ǂgo/ma·s "the cow."

8. !a·rob, finally

9. ǂ//hū/i·b, the reed with the lowest note.

The tuning rod, ǂ//kχa·ehaib, with which the grass or bast plug [377] inside the pipe is adjusted or "chased back" (//kχaē) as it were in order to adjust the pitch completes the instrumental equipment.

The reeds are held between the thumb and the other four extended fingers in such a way that the ends which are blown lie on a level with the upper horizontal edge of the index finger. A complete reed scale or phrase comprises about two octaves. Only in one case did I have the opportunity to check the pitch of the individual reeds in a complete scale that had just been tuned up. The results yielded the distribution of tones that are represented in the preceding figure.

The music of each reed piper consists of individually enunciated tones that harmonize with one or several rhythmically identical tones of the other pipers. These reed tones give the beat for the dancers and singers who carry the melody. Many reed songs have no text. (Whether they never had one or whether it has simply been forgotten cannot be determined.) In the simplest case the subject is indicated by gestures and the melody is sung with a very few sounds.

The dance steps of the men are a sort of low hopping executed simultaneously with both legs, the knees slightly bent and the feet placed one in front of the other. In this manner the dancer slowly and jerkily moves forward, bent over, the head bowed to his breast and his lips on the pipe. The women chassé forwards with small and often extremely delicate steps, with the rear slightly protruding, undulating their hips, gently clapping their hands together before their faces, and singing in a loud voice, sometimes with an expression of great excitement. The number of dancers is not fixed. 533 535

The Hottentots' pleasure in the dance is typified by a little story in which they make fun of themselves: at a watering place they had ambushed several Bergdamaras. When the Kaffirs saw that they were in a trap, they began to execute a dance. Dancing, they retreated farther and farther, and, when the watching Hottentots finally recalled their murder plans, had escaped.

Every reed-dance song has a special theme. Thus, for example, in the following example the arrival of the bull at the water hole is illustrated. As the malevolent ponderous animal slowly wanders to

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"to happen," –ba objectifying particle) to you exactly (/gui "single") the same way (//nāti)."

[Text omitted]

Translation of LXV

The Jackal Who Slaughters the Cow and is Ambushed by the Leopard

The jackal (/gĭrib) had slaughtered (≠ĕ̄he)* the cow (gomasa) of the

*The ǂa after /gĭrib can be omitted and the predicate still remains pass. From this it is apparent that we are dealing here, in ≠ĕ̄he, with the narr. pass. and that the ǂa here is not the postpositive prep., but a demon.

people (kxoĭn). But the leopard (/garuba) [488] lay in wait* for him (bi).

*am is the postpositive "for," an interesting old form for ã̄ (see Hahn (78), p. 61). //goē = "to lie." "To lie for something" = to lie in wait for or to ambush.

And while (hĭ̃a) he is being ambushed (true pass.), he comes (/ŋxi) with (/kxa) a stringed instrument (ramgyib)*, and while he is coming (!goaxa,

●[534]

*Although this musical instrument, according to the information I received from one Hottentot, is plucked with the finger, in the following passage the word ≠nau "to strike" is used. That is an indication that the instrument was adopted only after the old term for the striking of the musical bow had already acquired the general meaning "to make stringed music" (cf. "Music Pantomimes," p. 374). Quite analogous is the use of the word doro (see "Fire Making Equipment").

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Naman: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Naman, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., ii, 42; Hahn, op. cit., 39–40 (quoting Pfeltschau and Vogel).
[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie*, part v, 158 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38).
[3] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 50–1.
[4] "Rapport aan den Heere van Tulbagh," 56. [5] Olpp, op. cit., 25.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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pantomime, their musical sense in the use of musical instruments and in song, and their finer artistic feeling in the dance. Only in a few exceptional cases do we find these different art forms practised in isolation; as a rule, just like the emotions underlying them, they are intimately combined in the same performance.

The musical instruments of the Hottentots[1] include some of those found among the Bushmen, such as the */goura*, the */gubo*, the *ramgyib* (" ramakie ") and the " rommelpot ". Of these the */goura* is specially important from the ethnological point of view. As previously mentioned, it is a form of musical bow having the peculiarity of being sounded by means of a piece of quill connecting one end of the chord with the end of the bow-stave. Though various forms of the musical bow, including the */gubo*, are found widely spread over Africa, the */goura* is a specialized type somewhat sharply separated from the others. Its occurrence is confined mainly to the Hottentots and the Southern Bushmen, so that it constitutes a common culture trait of some significance. It is now also found among some of the Southern Bantu, but has almost certainly been taken over by them from either the Bushmen or the Hottentots.

Schultze describes in addition the ordinary musical bow, *kxab*, which he noted among the Naman.[2] The stave is made from a thin piece of acacia wood, and the chord from the back-sinew of the goat, or, better still, from sheep-gut. The women are the performers. They sit on the ground, with the upper end of the bow resting on the left shoulder, while the lower end, propped up against a skin-covered bowl serving as a sounding-board, is held there by means of the foot, inserted between the stave and the chord. The performer picks at the chord with a small stick held in the right hand, while with the left-hand she holds the bow like the head of a violin. Usually several of the women sitting round beat in time on the chord with their sticks.

From the musical point of view the chief characteristic of the theme represented in the musical pantomime performed with this instrument lies in rhythm. In hunting scenes this expresses the different types of movement of horses and game. The tracking of the hartebeest, the first galloping pursuit, the flight of the wounded animal and its overthrow, all this is indicated in the time beaten with

[1] Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 122–3; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 229; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 326–7; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 95–6; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 228; Schultze, op. cit., 374.
[2] Op. cit., 374–5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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533 the stick. The onspurring of the pursuing horse, the fatal thrust, and the death rattle of the dying animal are punctuated with gestures and inarticulate sounds; the successive monotones beaten on the chord to varying speeds only serve as accompaniment. Similarly the progress of a wagon is indicated, with such incidents as the in-spanning of the oxen and the falling out of a lame animal, while the habits of wild animals are imitated with special delight.

In all these performances the music itself is relatively unimportant, even though the bow is throughout being sounded with the stick. It is only in the reed dance songs that the notes are first arranged into melodies. The reed pipes, *!ati*, are among the oldest known 534 musical instruments of the Hottentots.[1] They are usually cut, as their name indicates, from reed; but where, as in barren tracts, no reed can be got, they are made from the hollow bark of acacia roots. They range in length from about six inches to a foot. Their barrels are like those of European flutes, but the holes on both sides meet one another and are larger than in the flute. One end of the pipe is closed with a grass cork, which is slid up and down by means of a thin bit of stick to vary the pitch of the instrument. These pipes are always used to accompany dances and songs.

533 868 Every large kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-!gun-aob*, who teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes. "Boys who perform well," says Hahn, "are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called */kho-/kha, to touch the body*, which means, 'to praise a person in a song.'"[2] A full Hottentot orchestra has at least nine performers, each with a pipe or set of pipes tuned to a different note from those of the others. The music of each performer consists in a series of rhythmical blasts all on one note, which harmonize with those of others in the same rhythm. These notes provide the time for the dancers and singers, who lead the melody.[3]

533 Many of the songs accompanied by reed music are without words; the theme is indicated simply by actions, and the melody "trolled" aloud, i.e. sung without articulate words.[4] Others have a fixed verbal text. Hahn distinguishes two kinds of the latter, sacred and profane. "The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations and songs of praise in honour of Tsu//goab, Heitsieibib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs, and the performance with dancing is called */geib*, while the general profane songs are called *//nai-tsanati*, and to perform

[1] The fullest descriptions are given by Schultze, op. cit., 375–7; von François, op. cit., 228.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 29. [3] Schultze, op. cit., 376, 377. [4] Ibid., 377.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guasp, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluities-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 43-9).

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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tot dat de wint het vel van boven neder heeft gewait; en als dan menen zy ydelijk dat de kracht van de wint op dat vel is gestuit.

Het schijnt evenwel dat zy eenigh waengeloof aen d'opkomende nieuwe mane zouden hebben: want wanneer die begint gezien te worden, zullen zy gemeenlijk met hele troepen t'haerwaerts keren, en den gehelen nacht met groot gejuich, zoo met dansen, springen, zingen en kloppen in de handen, als prevelen binnen 's monts, overbrengen.

Zy hebben dan ook een pot, met een velleken stijf overtrokken, van fatsoen gelijk hier te lande de vastel-avont rommelpotten, daer geduurig met de eene hant op geslagen wort. Daer is by hen noch een ander speeltuig in gebruik, met een snaer, op de wijze van een boog, met een gespleten penneschaft aen het een einde, daer zy dan mede op blazen, en klank geeft zonder strijkstok, doch geen hart geluit, niet tegenstaende zy sterk genoech met hunnen adem uitblazen en weder van gelijken ophalen: desgelijx ziet man by wijle vrouwen en kinderen voor opgerechte stenen knielende neerbuigen. Dan hebbende gene kerken, nochte houden de minste vergaderingen.

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[84]) This custom is discussed more fully below, p. 128.

[85]) The musical bow to which Dapper refers is the famous *!goura*, an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies* v, 89-109, illus. The "rommelpot" is the instrument known to the modern Korana.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

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high in the breese, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

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They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[86]).

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They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[86]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[87]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

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as */khais*, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185.

[87]) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1656 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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HOTTENTOT DANCES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(1. Gom-Gom; 2. Rommelpot.) [After Kolb

[facing p 132]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [53]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [54]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[53]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

[54]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 35. – Analyst]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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OOD Miratusque saepius cum Catone, quomodo haruspex haruspicem absque risu intueri possit: stupendaque res quod viri, animo viriumque validi, manu strenui, et fenum in cornu, nec venam publicam habentes, impunè sibi ab improbis his nebulonibus, superbia, insolentia, ignorantia, arrogantiaque elatis, imponi patiantur: qui in leonem aliudve animal (mirabili metamorphosi si Diis placet!) sese versipelles transfigurare, tempestatem, pluviam, grandinem, ventos, tonitrua fulguraque subito ciere, siderum motus observare, futuraque praedicere, veraque se vaticinari, divinitus scire, turpi venditatione jactitant. Et ne nostrates horum insidiis injuriisque obnoxii forent, inter ipsos unanimi consensu convenerat, ut de veneno rogati regererent, Europaeis toxica planè ignota esse: qua arte harioli dolis laqueisque vafre eludentes obviamque euntes, tuti in Magosis vixere, nec quotidie cum Orco rationem ponendam habuere.

Validis viribus incurvare baculum, eique intendere chordam, eademque semper oberrare, adhaec gracili modulare avenâ, calamoque agresti ludere, terrestres maritimosque inflare tubulos auloedi mares cisalpini gnaviter sciunt: sed eorum feminae cantilenam patriumque carmen semper ferme idem sylvestri musâ, aliâque voce cantando, corium ollae superinductum et intentum, fasciis lorisque obvinctum palmis pulsare, iisque alternis vicibus plaudere, concentu Europaeorum auribus ingrato, tympanistriae decussatis cruribus humi sedentes, mox oculis in coelum et lunam versus sublatis, mox iisdem in terram et ollam lacte plenam defixis, apprime suo ritu et incondito ingeminato clamore ululatuque, et musicè aetatem agere, norunt.

Interiora regionis Aethiopiae confinia frequentibus multisque habitantur pagis, quorum amoenitate indigenae detinentur, et advenae omnium rerum copia, terraeque ubertate alliciuntur. Quo A° 1686 navis Stavenisse naufragi se recipientes, tanta comitate, fide et benevolentiâ a

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[42]) On the musical instruments and entertainments of the Hottentots, so sketchily referred to by G., cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 400 ff; and among contemporary writers, Dapper (p. 77 above), Schreyer, *op. cit.*, chap. xvi; and Kolb, 527 ff.

[43]) On the wreck of the "Stavenisse" (Feb. 16, 1686), see above p. 166. As already mentioned, the accounts given by the survivors

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South Nguni FN7

I have often wondered with Cato how soothsayer can look at soothsayer without laughing; and it is an amazing thing that men, strong in mind and body, active with their hands, dangerous fellows, and of no common quality, should tamely allow themselves to be imposed on by these sorry rascals, swollen with overweening pride and ignorant arrogance. For these shameless braggarts give out that they are wizards and can transform themselves into a lion or any other animal (a wonderful metamorphosis indeed); that they can in a moment summon storm, rain, hail, winds, thunder and lightning; and that they have supernatural knowledge and can foretell the future and prophesy truth. Our countrymen, in order to avoid entanglement in their wicked plots, had come to a unanimous agreement among themselves that if questioned about poison they would reply that Europeans are absolutely ignorant of such things. By this trick they cunningly escaped and countered the wiles and snares of the witch-doctors, and lived safely among the Magosi without the necessity of taking the next world into their daily calculations.

The male musicians among those on the hither side of the mountains shew great ingenuity in bending a stick with their great strength, stretching a string upon it, and fumbling continually upon the same; and they are skilled to breathe an air upon the oaten flute, sport upon the rustic reed, or wake the music of such pipes as land or sea affords. Their women with uncouth art and in a strange voice sing a native lay or descant that rarely varies, beating the while with their palms upon a skin stretched tightly over a pot and fastened with bands and thongs, or else clapping their hands together. The harmony is not pleasing to European ears, as these women sit cross-legged with their tom-toms on the ground, now raising their eyes towards heaven and the moon, now gazing upon the earth or upon a pot full of milk, while they exercise their native skill in the rude and incessant shouting and wailing which constitutes their manner of musical entertainment.[42])

In the interior of the country bordering on Ethiopia are many populous districts, the charm of which detains the native inhabitants, while strangers are allured by the abundance of all things and the richness of the soil. Thither in the year 1686 the shipwrecked crew of the Stavenisse betook themselves,[43]) and were received with such courtesy, good faith, and kindness by the natives,

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on reaching the Cape were transcribed for the official records by G. himself, and it is sufficiently evident from his text to what an extent he drew upon them.

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THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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114 Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

126 534 Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the "Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

● 534 A drum, named */khais*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called *//hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

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534 which was used to contain milk. This jar is, of course, the well-known *kambu* of the early writers. A goatskin was procured, and all the hair was removed. While wet and soft, this skin was stretched over the mouth of the *//hoes*, secured in position by a piece of *riem*, and allowed to dry. The performer seated herself upon the ground, placed the */khais* on the earth before her, and struck it with the flat palm of her right hand. It was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs which were sung during certain dances. I was unable to ascertain whether any attempt was made to tune the instrument to a particular note, as has been suggested by Burchell in the case of the "water-drum" which he saw played by Bushmen; but it is quite conceivable that such tuning may have been practised by the Korana, when one considers their use of stringed instruments. The usual method of adjusting the pitch of drums employed by Natives of South Africa is to wet the drum skin and then place the instrument in the sun or before a fire until the tension appears to the player to be satisfactory.

There can be no doubt that the */khais* of the Korana is the drum for long associated with the Hottentots, being depicted and described again and again by travellers, and wrongly named by the Dutch Colonists *rommelpot*. It would appear that the early Hollanders, seeing the Hottentots with a drum made from a pot covered with skin, rechristened the instrument with the name given by people of their own nation to a kind of drum made from similar materials by the children in the south of Holland, and used by them at Christmas time. A full account of this instrument, together with the melody and words of the song which was sung to its accompaniment, will be found in the third and fourth volumes of the catalogue of the Instrumental Museum of the Brussels Conservatoire. But the true *rommelpot* was a *friction* drum, the sound being produced by rubbing the moistened fingers up and down a reed one end of which was secured to the centre of the drum skin. This method of sound production on a drum was, so far as I have been able to discover, unknown to the Korana, as also was the name *rommelpot*.

534 535 Arbousset's description of this drum of the Korana women is worth recalling here (I quote from the English translation by John Crombie Brown, London, 1852, page 54) "Consuming a great part of the day in smoking, and leaving their children covered with vermin, and their houses in a state of the most disgusting filth, like the men they reserve all their activity and vigour for the *sukeis* or *pot-dance*. When the moon enters her first quarter, all the kraal assemble on some favourite elevation; then they dance to the sound of the tang-tang, all the night long; and sometimes for eight nights in succession. In this amusement the

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Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baros (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles*, vol. 4, p. 3) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stripped of its hair."

2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named *//arep !ai*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *ǂa:ǂi* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen.

A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885.

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *ǂa:ǂi*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wurst, 1858, Shaw, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the

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descriptions in Wikar and Wurm give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Genicquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of circuses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-karees, upon which she seems" (feigns) "to threaten him."

According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons"; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok horn, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeeste Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

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"Vaderlandse of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29½. 133

Wurm, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies*, *Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in time. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂâs* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂ'â-s* and the reed-dance *ǂ'â-s/aŋ-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lore" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

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534 824 115 type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about 15½ 534 115 inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No "ictus" could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds,

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but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them "boys") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being "whipped" with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used.

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called */khon!a !kausob*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows.

(1) *=ko.=ko:*
(2) *!nanis*
(3) *geip=a:*
(4) *nanna*

The meaning of the third of these names is "the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of "tonic," since from it the

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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *≠a:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina≠na:e ≠nammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*!hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kua:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

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the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

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These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

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3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:s*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *besjebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

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533 left hand supports the stick by grasping it at a convenient point, but no pressure must be brought to bear upon it, since the tightening or slackening of the bow would cause the pitch of the string to vary, and this is not desired by the Korana. With the right forefinger the player plucks the string, the principal sounds being executed with a downward action, and the subsidiary ones with an upward action. I have indicated these in the examples quoted by means of the signs used by violinists for downward and upward bowing, ⊓ and ∨ respectively. The string, of coûrse, produces but one sound when plucked, although implicit in it are the overtones known as the "harmonic series." These the Hottentot has recognised, and has discovered or learned that some of them may be isolated and reinforced by the variable cavity of the mouth. The following examples will show the nature of the performance : they were played by Tabab, who is seen performing on the instrument in Plate VII. It will be understood that the prime tone of the string is present throughout, although it is not the main sound ; it serves as a kind of drone to the bugle-like tune played on the harmonics. This instrument is best sounded in quiet places, when its sweet tones can be clearly heard.

Ex. 1. ♩=120.

534 (b) A second development from the hunting-bow is played exclusively by the women. It retains the original name of *kha:x*. Like the *!gabus* it is made from a branch of *besjesbos*, about three-quarters of an inch to one inch thick and about thirty-eight inches long. The bark should be removed, and the wood allowed to season, although in the example made for me the bark was left on and the wood dried by fire. A stout string of twisted sinew is prepared, and is secured by a slipknot in a groove made at one end of the stock. This end is then placed on the ground and the stick forced into a semicircular form, when the other end of the string is secured to the tip of the stick just as in the case of the *!gabus*. A thin piece of seasoned wood or reed about fourteen inches long and an eighth of an inch in diameter serves as a beater, for this 533 instrument is normally sounded by striking. The player, having tuned the instrument (to suit her voice), seats herself upon the ground, and takes the bow in her hands. The lower end, where the string is knotted, [115] she places upon a bag of skin (*//ho:b*) or a dish of willow wood, which acts as a resonator, (Gotis, who played for me, and who appears on Plate VI, used a one-gallon paraffin tin as a substitute) and is placed to her right.

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533 that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *kha:s* 533 accompaniment were recorded at Pneil by Meinhof in February 1928, and 114 transcribed by Heinitz in his *Struktur-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *kha:s*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed sounds associated with their corresponding syllables.

Further, Heinitz' description of the *kha:s* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects ; for he suggests that the string is " stopped " by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a 533 plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gotis showed me a method of playing this instrument *pizzicato*. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the " nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style " playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *kha:s*.

533 In my paper of July 1931, entitled " The Mystery of the Grand 114 Gom-gom," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one ; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

● 534 (c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *goras*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *goras*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the 533 other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *!gabus*. By applying the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain

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harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Selcki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

533 [114] [115]

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

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(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

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The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

533 126 115

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

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[End] PLATE V.

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Matiti plugging a Flute

Matiti blowing a Flute.

Method of blowing the *Reed-Flute.*

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[End] PLATE VI.

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Gotis playing the *Kha:s*.

Sele:ki playing the *Goras*.

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[End] PLATE VII.

115
142
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Tabab playing the *!Gabus*.

Korana boy with a Bull-Roarer.

and the lower end is propped against a skin-covered bowl that serves as a sounding board. It is held in place with the right foot which is inserted between the bow and the string. The player uses her right hand to strike the string with a wooden stick -- if the women sitting beside her do not do this -- and with her left hand she plucks like a violin player. They also use their chins in plucking, in that they rest their heads, halfway back, for a moment against the upper end of the string. Generally several of the women sitting around beat in time upon the string with wooden sticks. 533 534

I myself saw no other string instrument beside the bow among the Hottentots. I encountered the gora with the quill (66) only among the

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südatrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

Bechuans. To be sure, Hottentots spoke of a guitar-like instrument that they make in imitation of European models; they call it ramgyib or !gũ·ǂtsib (from !gũ = "to cover," and in this case: to span the sounding board with a skin. See also the footnote to Folk tale XLV.). [Plate XV. A Topnaar Hottentot.]

[375] The main characteristic of the action which is supposed to be depicted in the musical pantomime lies musically in the rhythm. In hunting scenes it expresses the various gaits of the horse and the wild animals: the tracking of the hartebeest, the first chase at a gallop, the flight of the shot animal and its defeat -- all of this is reproduced by the rhythm of the wooden sticks. The spurring of the hunting horse, the death blow and the death rattle of the dying animal is expressed with gestures and inarticulated sounds. The monotonous intervals that are plucked on the string are only accompaniment. 533 535

Similarly portrayed are the rolling of a wagon, the yoking of the oxen, the unhitching of a lame or feeble animal, the snapping of the whip, and so forth.

They are very fond of imitating the practices of wild animals. I saw a woman imitate a baboon with great animation and devotion to her rôle: how it picks up insects from the ground, how it bends over the waterhole to drink, jealously wards off the thirsty animals pressing after him, how it casually trots, how it becomes frightened upon scenting danger and flees when surprised.

In all these entertainments the music remains in the background even though the strings and wooden sticks are constantly in action. 533 535

2. The Reed-dance Song

The tones become melodies only in the song of the reed dance. 533 534 Here the ancient musical instruments of the Hottentots, the reed pipes, ǂâ·ti, come into their own. [Fig. Reed Pipes made of root bark with a tuning rod (b). 1/6 natural size.] The pipes, as their name indicates, are generally cut from reeds; but in dry stretches where there is no reed growth they are made from the roots of Acacia horrida Willd. . The root segment that is cut in the shape of a rod is either debarked completely by tearing off the bark (a), or it is slit lengthwise and the bark is peeled from the wood. The root that has been slit lengthwise is then firmly wrapped with a piece of bark in a spiral as though with a band (c). The pipe produced in this way is closed at one end and filled up with milk so that it will not dry. The pipes are tuned by adjusting the firm grass plug which closes the pipe end. After use, the pipe is again filled with milk.

[376] A complete reed pipe orchestra comprises at least nine musicians, each one with his own specially tuned reed or reed passage. Just as we distinguish the first and the second violin, the Hottentot distinguishes the first through the ninth reed pipe; only he does not count them, but names them individually. He makes the following distinctions: [Figure -- Reed pipe scale.]

1. ǂkʒa·riǂâ·ti, that is "the little reeds," all tuned the same, with four to six placed side by side in each hand.

2. ǃnona·gu, the triplets, or collectively called ǃnona·b, the trey, tuned the same and held in one hand.

3. ǃnani·gu, the sextuplets, or called collectively ǃnani·b, the "sixer," held in one hand and tuned the same.

4. ǂ//hũ·ǀirob, or //hũ·ǀirokʒa, accordingly as the blower holds only one or two in his hand.

5. ai·ās, "who (-s) cries (ā, here with the meaning: "to make a lamenting noise") in advance (ai)." Only one man in the whole orchestra has this pipe whereas with the further exception of number 6 all other reed voices can be filled doubly or triply. This reed gives the note by which all the other reeds are tuned. Among the others the first to tune in is

6. the reed pipe, which is called ǃã!gã́ŕs, that is "who cries afterwards (!gã́ŕs, 'back')." After this the other pipes tune up: 533 534

7. ˢgoǂma·s "the cow."

8. !a·rob, finally

9. ˢ//hũǂi·b, the reed with the lowest note.

The tuning rod, ˢ//kχa·ehaib, with which the grass or bast plug [377] inside the pipe is adjusted or "chased back" (//kχaē) as it were in order to adjust the pitch completes the instrumental equipment.

The reeds are held between the thumb and the other four extended fingers in such a way that the ends which are blown lie on a level with the upper horizontal edge of the index finger. A complete reed scale or phrase comprises about two octaves. Only in one case did I have the opportunity to check the pitch of the individual reeds in a complete scale that had just been tuned up. The results yielded the distribution of tones that are represented in the preceding figure.

The music of each reed piper consists of individually enunciated tones that harmonize with one or several rhythmically identical tones of the other pipers. These reed tones give the beat for the dancers and singers who carry the melody. Many reed songs have no text. (Whether they never had one or whether it has simply been forgotten cannot be determined.) In the simplest case the subject is indicated by gestures and the melody is sung with a very few sounds.

The dance steps of the men are a sort of low hopping executed simultaneously with both legs, the knees slightly bent and the feet placed one in front of the other. In this manner the dancer slowly and jerkily moves forward, bent over, the head bowed to his breast and his lips on the pipe. The women chassé forwards with small and often extremely delicate steps, with the rear slightly protruding, undulating their hips, gently clapping their hands together before their faces, and singing in a loud voice, sometimes with an expression of great excitement. The number of dancers is not fixed. 533 535

The Hottentots' pleasure in the dance is typified by a little story in which they make fun of themselves: at a watering place they had ambushed several Bergdamaras. When the Kaffirs saw that they were in a trap, they began to execute a dance. Dancing, they retreated farther and farther, and, when the watching Hottentots finally recalled their murder plans, had escaped.

Every reed-dance song has a special theme. Thus, for example, in the following example the arrival of the bull at the water hole is illustrated. As the malevolent ponderous animal slowly wanders to

the water hole, grazing alone in the pasture after the rutting time, muttering to himself, moving his head from side to side -- this is the way the Hottentot pictures him, accompanied by the reed tones (or by an accordion or a harmonica), he sings with a few simple sounds for the dance of the grazing bull: 533 535

[378] The Song of the Grazing Bull

[Translator's note: four musical bars omitted.]

The following reed dance song accompanies a lively pantomimic imitation of shoeing horses and is therefore called the song of horse shoeing, ǂnauǂais.

The man who represents the horse has a thong in his mouth and by means of this he is held fast, as though on a rein, by a man standing before him. To another man, standing behind him, he extends a foot to be shoed. A fourth plays the part of the bellows: he lies flat on his stomach, extends his lower legs into the air and lets them be moved alternately backward and forward from the knee, in time with the music, by a fifth man who stands behind him. Before him stands the smith with a stone in his hand as a hammer and waits for the iron to get hot. All the others, including the reed blowers, dance around this group in a circle and sing a wordless but rhythmically, unmistakable imitation of the blows of the hammer: [Translator's note: six bars of music omitted.]

In other dance songs, in place of the pantomime, we find that the situation which is being sung about is indicated by a cue word. Thus, one Hottentot, who occasionally crept into the cattle kraal of a neighboring village at night in order to milk goat's milk into his mouth, expressed in a song his joy about the fact that he had never been caught. He sang its single words, B(e)ridaise, b(e)ridaise, "you goat milk, you goat milk" to a melody that was just as unpretentious but that his friends liked to request for the dance: [Translator's note: six bars of music have been omitted.]

[379] On the same low level there is a song for which the following event is the basis. The singer had beaten his oxen guard with a sjambok because the guard had let a valuable animal run away on the trip. The punishment was so severe that the mistreated man lodged a complaint against his master with Captain Paul Frederik in Bethanie. The latter sent one of his men on horse after the guilty man and had him seized. The only words, which recur like a refrain in the otherwise unarticulated song, refer to the color of the above-mentioned horse, which had a white stripe on its forehead and white feet and therefore had the Boer

name witvoet. The circle of friends knew, when they heard this word, what the song was all about. The melody goes: 533 535

Song of The White-footed Horse

[Translator's note: eleven bars of music omitted.]

Whereas the previously-mentioned dance melodies lack a complete text, in the following song it is at least loosely attached as a point of reference. In the brothers' war for the rule over the Bethanie Hottentots, Paul Frederik had occupied the most important water spots of the territory and Cornelius, caught in a tight spot, finally had to ask his brother for water. The text* of the song that concerns this war between

* In all the following texts and their explanations, with few exceptions (for example where it is a question of newly mentioned words), I have neglected to add the signs for the musical modifications of the Nama sounds (see p. 342 ff.). In the detailed analysis of the subsequently following folk tale texts the purely phonetic consideration is dispensable for the comprehension of the plot and hence makes it possible to save much space in printing. A theoretical reason for a simplified orthography of the text has been mentioned above (p. 363).

brothers, a program for the music as it were, goes:

"Ti !gãtse. //nāti gōse !gaĩ ẽta //gami āre !"
!abuti ãtsa //gui ẽts //gami ã
"/guita tite."
"My brother, be good, be a friend and let me drink some water!"
"Put down your weapons and then drink water."
"I will not put them down."

[380] The relevant dance melody goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

In the Song of Kaukaumib text and melody are just as loosely connected as in this war song. Kaukaumib is a watering place in Namib, located on the southernmost of the three routes which can be taken by oxcart traffic between Angra Pequena and the hinterland. The road by way of Kaukaumib is the most difficult, and the carts often remain stuck in the sand for days. A Hottentot with the nickname °/nau·bas (e)n/nã·/b,

that is "he who plays for his own dance," selected as a text the simple 533
words: !Gaokxa-osetse, hã-ta ǂo-are "Kaukaussib, let me get out!" 535
The constantly repeated melody to this text goes: [Translator's note: five bars of music omitted.]

The text is more closely connected to the melody in the Hyena Song. This song portrays the hyena as it creeps around the cattle kraal at night and is discovered. The pantomimic presentation of this theme with its reed music, its song and dance, is very amusing: the men group themselves in a semi-circle, and opposite them the girls do likewise. The circle formed in this way with its two opposite openings (where the men's row meets the girls' row) represents a cattle kraal and the girls represent the cattle. To the accompaniment of the singing and the sounds of the reed music of all the people standing in the circle, one of the men steps out of the row and, with deeply bent knees, creeps into the kraal, moving past the row of girls with the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men step out of the row and pretend to ride up to the same opening of the kraal where the hyena had entered. With gestures and poses they tie up their horses, discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them until they suddenly notice the animal. Then they hurry back to the horses and take up pursuit. Meanwhile the hyena has left the kraal, but is caught outside it and killed. During this pantomime, to the rhythm [381] of the reed pipers, the following words are sung incessantly as a warning to the cattle-hungry predatory animal: [Translator's note: four bars of music and one line of Hottentot text omitted.]

"Hyena (the nickname will be discussed later), this (i.e., the cattle of this kraal) is man's property!"

3. Songs Without Dance and Pantomime

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At an early date I became acquainted with the Hottentot's pleasure in music by itself (dissociated from dance and pantomime). It was on the evening of a hard working day for our Hottentots; since early morning they had been dragging spars for the construction of sea signals to the top of the steep coastal cliffs, and now, long after the evening meal was past, they were still squatting around their fire. In the tents of the white men it had already become quiet and even the Cameroon sailors were asleep in their sailcloth berths. Then, from the miserable

In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (ǂôse)," are straightforward. But not [383] ǂôs is intended, but ǂûs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment

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Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ʼtsũ.ǁu tsa.ǂbe --- da.ǂba tsa.ǂbe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words tsũ.ǁa- and da.ǂba-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, tsa.ǂbe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin

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Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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881 574 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ǂap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ǂap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tsaxa* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[841] [843] [535] 881 783

First, during the day, the *aba tsaxa* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axus ǂaiǂaib*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tsaxa* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-kaross slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-kaross* (lit. breeches-kaross) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tsaxa*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxeis* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *ducku* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tarda*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *ducku* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *aba tarda* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nau*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tarda*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tarda* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Riskarvold*, 173; Alexander, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Naman: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Naman, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wikar, "Reize van Pieterszberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., ii, 40; Hahn, op. cit., 39–40 (quoting Pfeilschmidt and Vogel).
[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, part v, 158 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38).
[3] *Vergelijkende der Gouw Hottentots*, 32–3.
[4] "Rapport van den Heere van Tulbagh," 56. [5] Olpp, op. cit., 25.

CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Decorative and Plastic Art

532 Judged by the standard of the Bushmen, the Hottentots are distinctly poor in artistic productions. Painting and engraving on rock, one of the outstanding features in the culture of the former, does not appear ever to have been practised by the latter. Their decorative art 531 at the present time is confined mainly to scratching or incising simple rows of dots or lines of crude chevron, zigzag or fishbone pattern on the outer surface of their metal armbands and rings. Occasionally also simple triangular designs are burned round the mouth of their wooden vessels, or scratched on the stems of their serpentine pipes; while the clay pots they formerly made are sometimes found decorated round the neck with rows of dots or short, broad lines, apparently produced by incising.[1] No other form of decorative art is known to occur.

532 857 The rudiments of a plastic art may be noticed among the young boys, who often model toys out of clay, which they burn in the fire to obtain shades of colour as well as hardness. These toys consist in figures of human beings, cattle, game and other animals, sometimes also in group compositions such as a team of oxen pulling a wagon. Schultze describes and figures some of them, which are skilfully modelled and by no means devoid of artistic appeal, in some cases even showing a lively sense of caricature, as in representations of Europeans.[2] But the talent here shown is not carried over into later life, and no modelling or carving of any description analogous to this is done by adults.

Music and Dancing

533 ●536 If the Hottentots are deficient in the plastic arts, their musical talent at least is highly developed. The joy in imitative representation, in the fancy-free expression of stored-up impressions, lives in both young and old. Their delight and talent in mimicry is shown in

[1] Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 249–51; Schötensack, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery," passim and pl. ii.

[2] Op. cit., 310–12; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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antomime, their musical sense in the use of musical instruments and 533
n song, and their finer artistic feeling in the dance. Only in a few 535
xceptional cases do we find these different art forms practised in
solation; as a rule, just like the emotions underlying them, they are
ntimately combined in the same performance.

The musical instruments of the Hottentots [1] include some of those 534
ound among the Bushmen, such as the */goura*, the */gubo*, the *ramgyib* 171
" ramakie ") and the " rommelpot ". Of these the */goura* is specially
mportant from the ethnological point of view. As previously
nentioned, it is a form of musical bow having the peculiarity of being
ounded by means of a piece of quill connecting one end of the chord
with the end of the bow-stave. Though various forms of the musical
ow, including the */gubo*, are found widely spread over Africa, the
goura is a specialized type somewhat sharply separated from the others.
ts occurrence is confined mainly to the Hottentots and the Southern
Bushmen, so that it constitutes a common culture trait of some
ignificance. It is now also found among some of the Southern Bantu,
ut has almost certainly been taken over by them from either the
Bushmen or the Hottentots.

Schultze describes in addition the ordinary musical bow, *kxab*, 534
which he noted among the Naman.[2] The stave is made from a thin
iece of acacia wood, and the chord from the back-sinew of the goat,
r, better still, from sheep-gut. The women are the performers.
They sit on the ground, with the upper end of the bow resting on the
eft shoulder, while the lower end, propped up against a skin-covered
owl serving as a sounding-board, is held there by means of the foot,
nserted between the stave and the chord. The performer picks at
he chord with a small stick held in the right hand, while with the
eft hand she holds the bow like the head of a violin. Usually several
f the women sitting round beat in time on the chord with their
ticks.

From the musical point of view the chief characteristic of the 533
heme represented in the musical pantomime performed with this
nstrument lies in rhythm. In hunting scenes this expresses the
ifferent types of movement of horses and game. The tracking of the
artebeest, the first galloping pursuit, the flight of the wounded
nimal and its overthrow, all this is indicated in the time beaten with

[1] Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 122–3; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, 229; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 326–7; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 93–6; Le Vaillant, *Travels into Africa*, 228; Schultze, op. cit., 374.
[2] Op. cit., 374–5.

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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba xaire*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it." [1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gein*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui* //*Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which *!Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */nau* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances [4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 27-8. [2] Ibid., 58-60, *passim*.
[3] Ibid., 28; cf. Wikar, "Beright aan van Plettenberg," 127.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 31-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schultze, op. cit., 377.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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535 Many of the profane dances have special themes. Some of them are purely pantomimic. One such dance, described by Schultze,[1] may serve to illustrate the wealth of imitative action with which they are enacted. The theme is that of a hyena slinking round a sheep kraal at night and being discovered. The pantomimic representation of this theme, with its reed music, its song and its dance, is extremely delightful. The men line up in a semicircle, as do also the women opposite them. The circle formed in this way, with its two opposing entrances where the line of men approaches that of the women, represents a sheep kraal, and the women the sheep. Amid the singing and the notes of the reed music of all those standing in the circle, one of the men leaves the line, and in a crouching posture, with sharply-bent knees, slinks into the interior of the "kraal" and along the line of women, with all the gestures of a bloodthirsty hyena. After a while three other men from the line make as if riding for the same opening through which the hyena has entered. In bearing and gesture they mimic the tying-up of their horses, then discover the tracks of the hyena and follow them, until suddenly they notice the animal. They hasten back to their horses and take up the pursuit. The hyena meanwhile has made for the open, but is overtaken outside the "kraal" and killed. During the whole of this performance the women uninterruptedly sing at the "hyena" the words: *ǂHĭ-ra-se, kxoĭn xũn gye, ǂgo-be-se, kxoĭn xũn gye*, "Hyena, this (the sheep in the kraal) is the property of men!"

533 535

Other dances and their songs depict scenes of hunting or battle. Wikar describes one mimicking a rhinoceros hunt,[2] Hahn another in which a hero dies bravely in battle and is left a prey to the vultures, until his friends, having defeated the enemy, return and collect his bones into a grave, at the same time singing a very doleful burial song.[3] Another dance of this type, seen often by von François in Windhoek, is based on the historical incident of the "murder" of Jan Jonker by Hendrik Witbooi. The men group themselves in two parties, one with white hatbands, the other with red. The latter, representing Jonker's people, dance first, as if believing themselves safe, and the women dance round them. Then to the same melody and time the Witboois dance up out of the darkness towards the camp of the Jonkers. Suddenly they are noticed by the latter, the women spring aside and begin, standing still and clapping their

[1] Op. cit., 380–1; others are described on pp. 377–80
[2] Op. cit., 127–8. [3] Op. cit., 228–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range themselves against the Witboois and in a crouching posture continue playing on their reed pipes. The Witboois also form into line, and send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-hatted men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witboois, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after inspecting them all returns to his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witboois dance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, with its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting illustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile imagination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even although they have not the grand masquerade dances performed by the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but singing without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of the songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; others are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known as *gares*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of extemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, and not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals will often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter or longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. But they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously, into the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often church hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are often replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical sense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal recreation in its exercise.

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, uncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and privations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 321–3. [2] Op. cit., 107, 28–9.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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845] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the abá tarás takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the kharú óms, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is !nau and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must !karesin for the
[784] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the kharú óms. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

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535 As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

881 First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the !nau fire, and is cleaned[32] with moist cow dung (*ǂhoup*) and !naop from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the ǂxo /urip.[33] The abá tarás smears the ǂhoup all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, ǂhoup and /urip, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the abá tarás. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the kharú óms. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the abá tarás and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the abá tarás takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from
[372] another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use tinder boxes nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[34] The fire thus lit is now no longer !nau. *Neseeki ómas ko ǂau*[35], *orike tari uai ni ǂaxo* ("now the

[32] *//Aus ǂkáisen*, "the cleaning before going out".

[33] Literally "boy dirt".

[34] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, p. 77.

[35] *ǂAu*, "free" or "right", e. g., *ǂau ǂaro* "the right path".

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǒaχaís, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with ǃnaop and /quaaob ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǒaχaís. She takes her ǃkíros ǂnus ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (ǂkarǂn). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is ǃúros ǂnus /a /naru ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǒaχaís in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǒaχaís throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abá taris must accompany the ǒaχaís in all these rites, but often her friends go

[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 206.

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-

782 535 178 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conjointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [844] [843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch [64] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this [145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are 758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin 764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep, 177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[27]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho,* for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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27) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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HOTTENTOT DANCES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(1. Gom-Gom; 2. Rommelpot.) [After Kolb

[facing p 132]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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arborem. 9. ad n) *casas anserinas*. 10 ad o) *flumen latum*. 11. ad *paradisum*, locum propter amoenitatem ita appellatum: ubi ex argillaceae terrae, aquas inquinantis, copia magna boni laticis inopia est. 12. Ultimo denique ad p) *concharum s.num*, qui CXXXVI. circiter leucis a *Propugnaculo* distat.

CAP. XIX.

De modo saltandi.

Tripudiis, quae miris gesticulationibus exercent, summopere gaudere videntur: cum, si vel minimus in illis relligionis sensus sit, illam saltationis ritu maxime peragant. Quamprimum enim luna exsurgit, undique concurrunt. Mares prono corpore pedibus fortiter pulsant humum, unisono, sed vel remissione vel intentione, ejulatu boantes, vultu semper aeque gravi; ubi feminae circumsedentes maribus plaudunt canentes. Quod si forte in nostratium aedibus *speculum* offendant, ridiculo gargalismo animum titillant, propria cum *Narcissa* delectati forma, mimicis gestibus in effusos dissolvuntur saltus, ut saepe defessi prosternantur; sicuti saepius ab *Hottentotto* juvene, in nostro hospitio famulante, conspexi.

CAP. XX.

De Relligione.

Barbara licet & plane brutalis haec *natio*, ut inter eas q) gentes, quae legem etiamsi non habent, naturae quae legis sunt, faciunt, recenseri non possit exlex. Attamen *summi* cujusdam *Entis* vel leviculam cognitionem habere videntur, saepe de *supremo* quodam *Capitane* memorans:

n) de ganse krallen.
o) brede rivier.
p) Mossel-baey.
q) Roman. cap. 2.

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*I take this to be a mistake for Kafferkuils rivier. Mossop (V.R.S. 12, Appendix C) identifies Caffer Kuils rivier (doubtfully) with Palmiet Rivier in the Caledon district, which suits this passage. Mossop's notes to his translation of Schrijver's journey to the East (*op. cit.*) give the best information available on this whole itinerary. (B.F.)

41) Most of the early writers on the Hottentots state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking. None of them, however, declare explicitly that the Hottentots worshipped the moon, except for Kolb, who says that they looked on the Moon as their visible

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River;* (5) to Knoflochs Krallen; (6) to Botter River; (7) to Rivier Sonder Eynde; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragen's Boom; (9) Ganse Krallen; (10) Brede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charm, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 136 *leucae* distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they most show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, lustily chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fixed expression of seriousness on their faces; the women sit round in a circle clapping and singing.[41])

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is numbered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

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God, which they called *Gounja*, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Roos and Marais, in 1763, also record an invocation to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in association with the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the Moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 375-8.

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534 which was used to contain milk. This jar is, of course, the well-known *bambus* of the early writers. A goatskin was procured, and all the hair was removed. While wet and soft, this skin was stretched over the mouth of the *//hoes*, secured in position by a piece of *riem*, and allowed to dry. The performer seated herself upon the ground, placed the */khais* on the earth before her, and struck it with the flat palm of her right hand. It was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs which were sung during certain dances. I was unable to ascertain whether any attempt was made to tune the instrument to a particular note, as has been suggested by Burchell in the case of the " water-drum " which he saw played by Bushmen ; but it is quite conceivable that such tuning may have been practised by the Korana, when one considers their use of stringed instruments. The usual method of adjusting the pitch of drums employed by Natives of South Africa is to wet the drum skin and then place the instrument in the sun or before a fire until the tension appears to the player to be satisfactory.

There can be no doubt that the */khais* of the Korana is the drum for long associated with the Hottentots, being depicted and described again and again by travellers, and wrongly named by the Dutch Colonists *rommelpot*. It would appear that the early Hollanders, seeing the Hottentots with a drum made from a pot covered with skin, rechristened the instrument with the name given by people of their own nation to a kind of drum made from similar materials by the children in the south of Holland, and used by them at Christmas time. A full account of this instrument, together with the melody and words of the song which was sung to its accompaniment, will be found in the third and fourth volumes of the catalogue of the Instrumental Museum of the Brussels Conservatoire. But the true *rommelpot* was a *friction* drum, the sound being produced by rubbing the moistened fingers up and down a reed one end of which was secured to the centre of the drum skin. This method of sound production on a drum was, so far as I have been able to discover, unknown to the Korana, as also was the name *rommelpot*.

534 Arbousset's description of this drum of the Korana women is worth
535 recalling here (I quote from the English translation by John Crombie Brown, London, 1852, page 54) " Consuming a great part of the day in smoking, and leaving their children covered with vermin, and their houses in a state of the most disgusting filth, like the men they reserve all their activity and vigour for the *rukeis* or *pot-dance*. When the moon enters her first quarter, all the kraal assemble on some favourite elevation; then they dance to the sound of the tang-tang, all the night long, and sometimes for eight nights in succession. In this amusement the

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Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles*, vol. 4, p. 3) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair." 534 535

2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named *//arep !as*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *ǂa:xi* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen. 534

A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885. 534 726 202 [115]

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *ǂa:xi*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the 534

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descriptions in Wikar and Wurm give a fair account of the nature of the ensemble, Stow's description is entirely erroneous. This is the more to be regretted since Stow's famous work *The Native Races of South Africa* is much more accessible and widely read than the writings of the other travellers.

Hendrik Jakob Wikar, in his Report to Baron J. von Plettenberg on his journey to the Orange River, 1778-9, described the Korana reed-dance as follows. "They now entertained us with dances and flutes, and on my second trip I understood that they had talked to the other people about their advantage in having seen me; they also had then made for the flute dance a song about me, the rhinoceros dance which I have already described among the Gonaquas, and which I had found to be not unpleasant to see, by the side of the flute dance. To this last sometimes also belongs the mourning song of a woman, whose husband has been slain in war. The song has the following content. She sees herself as a widow with her children, bereft of the care of her husband and their father, and herself pledged to hunt the game which her husband formerly provided. She hopes that she may live long, so that her son will be old enough to fill his father's place and hunt the game for her. For that dance each of the men is provided with a flute, and they form themselves into a circle. Some have large flutes, others small; one man stands with his flute in the middle of the circle. He first begins the dance, and the song, with words; whereupon those standing in the circle begin likewise to dance round and round and at the same time to blow upon their flutes. The tone of the large flute is never introduced into the song unless it fits in with it. The large flute is especially heard when the song is finished; so they dance very curiously, stamping their feet in time. The women dance round the circle one after another, clapping their hands, and here also happens something which reminds one of carousses, for, as they dance round and round, one or two men slink out of the circle. Thereupon they clasp each other tightly; he who has come out of the circle dances beside a woman, and draws gently upon the strings of her fore-karos, upon which she seems" (feigns) "to threaten him."

According to Wikar, the reed-flutes were made from river-reed, from which arrows were also made. "Their arrows," he said, with which they shoot wild animals are generally iron "harpoons"; and they also use on the tip of the reed-arrow a sharp-pointed white stone in place of the iron "harpoon," because the stone often breaks into pieces in the body of the wild animal. The other arrows are made of sharp gemsbok bone, etc., which is stuck inside the flute-reed." In his description of the Hartebeests Rivier, Wikar points out that it is thickly overgrown with

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"Vaderlandsche of Suytjesrivier." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29½. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Koranas* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 293 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *gib* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *gi'ib* and the reed-dance *gi'ib-i/ai-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plettberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Koranas. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lays" (printer's error for *gara*, v. *infra*) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1835. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matini, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

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but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them "boys") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music. 534 115

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being "whipped" with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used. 534

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow): only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *daro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called */khun'a /hunuh*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana. 533 562 868 535

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows. 534

(1) *[illegible]*
(2) *[illegible]*
(3) *[illegible]*
(4) *[illegible]*

The meaning of the third of these names is "the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of "tonic," since from it the

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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The ǂ!a:di, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*inaǂ!na:r ǂ!naumm*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ine //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*//hare khuodi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*kuka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kara:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Korannas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Korannas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

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the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved. The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gubu*; and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *henjebu*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

533 and the performance with dancing is called *ǂgeib* while the general profane songs are called *||nai-tsanati*, and to perform them on a reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba χatra*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition, is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it. In such a case the performances have much in common with the mediæval German "Singspiel." We can also compare them with our modern operas. If an illustrious stranger visits a place, he is often welcomed with a reed-dance while entering the place. Thus the first Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, who came to the ||Heisiqua Hottentots in the Calodon district, was received with a reed-dance. The Dutch Governor van der Stell, on his journey to the Copper Mountains, the present Copper mines, was honoured in the same way. Hop, a burgher of Stellenbosch, who in Governor Ryk van Tulbagh's time went on an expedition to Great Namaqualand, received the congratulations of the ||Habobes at the foot of the ||Kharas mountain in a grand reed-dance performance. Alexander received the same honours from his Namaqua host, the famous Jonker Afrikaner ǂHaramûb; and up to this time the traveller, if he only understand how to fraternize with them, will gladly be admitted to witness their simple merry-making.

533 535

533 If chiefs have become unpopular by some whimsical or despotic orders, very soon the tongue of the women—of whom a Khaikhoi proverb says "that they cannot be as long quiet as it takes sweet milk to get sour"—will lecture him in a sarcastic reed-song. Once I saw a chief sitting by, when the young girls sung into his face, telling him "that he was a hungry hyena and a roguish jackal; that he was the brown vulture who is not only satisfied with tearing the flesh from the bones, but also feasted on the intestines." On another occasion, a very old

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773 amongst the Namaquas, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-||goab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-||goab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-||goab, Tsûi-||goab, and Tsuni-||goab in Namaqua; and Tsû-||goam, Tsûi-||goam, Tsûi-||khoab and Tsûi-||goab amongst the ǃKora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-||goab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
533 the ǃGami-ǂnus in the ||Kharas Mountains, amongst the ||Haboobes or so-called Veltschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ||Kharas, and by the Gei-||Khous, ||O-geis, and the ǂAunis of the ǃKhomab Mountains
[521 East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
539 Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a ǃgei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

533 "*Tsûi-||goatse!*
539 Thou, oh Tsûi-||goa!
Abo-ûtse!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida ûtse!
Thou our Father!
ǃNanuba ǃarire!
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud!
Ẽn ǁχuna ûire!
Let please live (our) flocks!
Ẽda sida ûire!
Let us (also) live please!
ǂKhainta gum goroẽ!
I am so very weak indeed!
||Gâs χoo!
From thirst!

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

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!As χao !
From hunger !
Ẽta ≡ χurina amre !
That I may eat field fruits !
Sats gum χave sida ǂtsao ?
Art thou then not our Father ?
Abo ǂtsao !
The father of the fathers !
Tsûi-!|goatse !
Thou Tsûi-!|goa !
Ẽda sida gangantsire !
That we may praise thee !
Ẽda sida !|khava !khaitsire !
That we may give thee in return (that is, that we may bless thee).
Abo-ǂtse !
Thou father of the fathers !
Sida !Khutse !
Thou our Lord !
Tûsi-!|goatse !
Thou, oh, Tsûi-!|goa !

If a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness, they also assemble for a !gei, and, while dancing, sing the following :— [521 535]

!Gurub di !Geis.

The Hymn of the Thunder.

!Nanumatse !
Son of the Thundercloud !
!Gari-khoi, !Gurutse !
Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru !
‡Oûse gobare !
Talk softly please !
!Haviĕ t'am u-hā-tamāŏ !
For I have no guilt !
!Ũvatere !

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

533 Leave me alone! (Forgive me!)
539 *‡Gûtago χuige!*
For I have become quite weak—*i.e.*, I am quite stunned, I am quite perplexed.
!Gurutse!
Thou, oh !Guru!
!Nanus ôatse!
Son of the Thundercloud!

[535] Another song-dance I saw performed in the following manner:—There was a *solo*, sung by a person who played the part of the lightning; the other part being represented by the inhabitants of a kraal, of whom a member was supposed to have been killed by the lightning.

!Nabas di !geis.
The dance-song of the Lightning.

Chorus: *!Aibe !|nuris !nanuse!*
Thou Thundercloud's daughter, daughter-in-law of the Fire.
Ti !gâba go !gamse!
Thou who hast killed my brother!
!Gaises gum âb !na !goeo!
Therefore thou liest now so nicely in a hole!

Solo: *!Gâise ta go sa !gâba a !gam.*
(Yes), indeed, I have killed thy brother so well!

Chorus: *!Gaises gum âb !na !|goeô.*
(Well) therefore thou liest (now) in a hole.
* *‡Gorob khemi go !usense.*
Thou who hast painted thy body red, like ‡Goro!
* *Som-!auba ‡naba tamase!*
Thou who dost not drop the "menses."
* *‡Ei χa!kha!|nabiseb aose!*
Thou wife of the Copper-bodied man!

773 An old !|Habobe-Nama, by the name of ‡Kχarab, who had great-grand-children, and told me that he had big grown-up children when the Mission Station, Warmbad,

In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (χöse)," are straightforward. But not [383] χõs is intended, but χũs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment 535

Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ǃtsũ.χu tsa.ǂbe --- da.ǂba tsa.ǂbe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words tsũ.χa- and da.ǂba-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, tsaǂbe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin 538 825

Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

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to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening, and dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

*Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (Stictoenas phaeonotus Gray, ≠nabu·s), probbably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: "/Hai kχoētse·, /hai /huru·, !gaba //kχūb gom !kχaī χūba o!" "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, *!hurīē.b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a Calandrella cinerea (Gm.) or a Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.), has a zig-zagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zig-zag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words Om·dīre!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially [821] when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the !kχu·ririseb bird (which seems to belong to a species of Pycnonotus): "/Gu·rub ≠kχa·rib, /gu·ri //goē·, hū·diros /gu·ri //goē·!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hudiros lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the Corvus capensis Licht., *//hō·rab, which is derived from //hō.ra, "to scratch around the ground

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "ǁu·rigye go /a·os gye, hõ.gye go ǂhã̃·eĩ gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (ǁuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hõ) a springbok (ǂhãeĩ, neut. sing.)."

[224]

*The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra·b (3, st.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hõ.rab, //hõ·rab, /kǁĩ·ẽ·kǁ(u)m ǁau·sa !kǁã !ã·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," !kǁã, and "separate, !ã .) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra·b, go/ra·b, kǁi· ẽ·kǁ(u)m !ha·nsa !kǁã· !ã·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (ǂna/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclurus namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words *:" !hau·s !ga·rrase, !hau·s

*Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

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> Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

!ga·rrrase, !ōba /kχu·bi te, ĩ·ta tsaũ.ba !na·n !ã·, ta·naba ǂhũ.i si !" "You filthy beast (!garab is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (/kχubi) me (te) the ax (!ōba); let (ĩ) me (-ta) chop up (!nan!ã) the calf (tsaũba)." "I will split (ǂhũi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), tĩ·tĩ·ses, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nuru//kχum gaitse, nẽ gye tĩtĩses si χaiba ra ãba !" "You old Nurukum (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the *//kχaobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib //nao - se, ǂãb t(u)mi //goe re." "Hey, you, Hansib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.")

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A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - ba, //nao - ba o /aru ai ǂnũ - re." "Naobas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

your own flesh*! Hey you, standing up there on the dove's cliff** 533 539x

*As a characteristic of the dragging, forward-jerking movement of the baboon.

**The steep declivity of the Table Mountains is a favorite resort of the wild doves (see p. 384).

"you dove-mouthed fellow!* You who drag your anus behind you!"

*In ridicule of the baboon's long snout which, in the eyes of the Hottentots, sticks out like a beak.

2. Folk Tales of the Hottentots

*Aibe-gam-//aē-!gã́s-χūna. 538

Just as they call the horizon of the open sea the "back of the water," *//gami!gã́b, likewise they call the remote past, which is as far away as that horizon, the "back of time," *//aē!gã́s. In those days there were still no people, but sun and moon inhabited the earth, and fire was alive; all animals had manlike forms and felt and acted like people. Within the frame of this general conception the Hottentots' imagination reduces all his observations of the animal world and the experiences of his own life to folk tales, which have endured for generations without being written down. In the evening they squat in a circle around the fire of the hut or of the camp in the field, and each person gets a turn to tell his story. Probably it was from no feeling of superstition but simply from the very mood of those happy hours that the precept of allowing these legendary figures to come to life only around the evening fire developed. Anybody who talks about them in the day time might well conjure up the things (χū·na) of the past (aibe-gam)*

*I was not able to determine the etymology of the word *gam. It is used before aibe and ǂgūro, "formerly," in the sense of a demon. particle.

and thereby bring about irremediable confusion. Only after sundown

1: Schultze--188 N-5 (1903-1995) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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does one hear the command !ho·are, "tell a story!"

Although the travelers of the eighteenth century already recognized the Hottentots' love of folk tales, until now only four stories were known in the language of the Hottentots themselves; they were published by Theophilus Hahn (78) according to notes made by

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

G. Kroenlein and the Bastard J. de Bries. The rest that has been published on this subject is made up of translations and plot synopses in European languages. George Grey, the governor of the Cape Colony, had the curator of his library, W. H. J. Bleek, send a circular to the missionaries of South Africa with the request to send him everything that might be considered the beginnings of a literature of the [388] natives. Bleek published the results--unfortunately only translations-- although among the 40 stories of his collection 24 had already been copied down in the original by Kroenlein (unfortunately never published). A direct comparison of Bleek's translations with Kroenlein's original text is possible only in the story of the moon myth by means of Th. Hahn's publication of the original. In place of the title, which literally should be "The Moon and the Louse and the Hare," Bleek puts "The Origin of Death," and he suppresses the indecent louse (which also defiles the following text) by speaking instead only of a "little animal." One would pass over such minor details if one prudery did not lead to another and, finally, if it did not produce a result which is absolutely incongruous with the Hottentot's manner of expressing himself. How must a censorship which is so touchy about minor things proceed when the people really reveals itself without a figleaf? Since I am not acquainted with Kroenlein's manuscript, I must keep simply to a comparison of the style and content of my texts with those of Bleek. The translator considered it necessary to make "omissions and changes without which the fables would have appeared too naked in European eyes in order to make these Hottentot fables accessible to a larger public," and he believes that he is not violating the spirit of the fables in doing so. The texts that are published here give the answer: their form of expression reveals the bluntness of a primitive people in which none of the senses is neglected; here, where everything has a sanctuary and no part of the body is objectionable. And specifically little psychological traits in which are to be found the

driving motives for the judgments and actions of the folk tale figures are often bound to the most vivid and forceful expressions. The crude figure of speech of the old female elephant (Folk tale LVIII) characterizes in a word the rough conception of family life that the young wife (in the figure of a fly) wants to escape. The lion's address to the animals (Folk tale LVII) and his unreasonable demands are a striking illustration of the absurdity of an undignified and only apparent authority.

In judging the intellectual level of the people the form of presentation seems to me to count just as much as the content, especially in the beginning stages of an unwritten literature. It will be seen that the Hottentot never anticipates and depicts a character or a situation in his story in advance with an abstract adjective that reveals everything. Never did one of the Hottentots who told me their stories speak [389] of "a simple old hyena," as Bleek does, and never does an animal act "out of malice," etc. Rather, the Hottentot develops a situation, lets us eavesdrop on the conversations of the animals and lets them act before our eyes so that they themselves may show what their feelings are.

It is not astonishing that animals play a main role in the stories of a pastoral and hunting people. But one may not speak of "fables" simply because of this fact. The moral teachings that people have sought and believed to find in the animal legends of the Hottentots by analogy with superficially related indigenous works of art is in the majority of cases nothing more than the expression of an non-contemplative emotion, and by no means a moralizing one: thus we find hatred toward the oppressor and not praise of brotherly love (Folk tale LIX); ridicule of the presumptuousness of a weakling and not praise of self-knowledge and modesty (Folk tale LVII); malicious joy in the bad luck of an old deceiver and not abhorrence at lies (Folk tale XLII). After all, in other connections stealth and deception celebrate triumphs! Wherever more tender emotions play a part, like sibling love (Folk tale LVIII), a mother's grief (LI), the loyalty of friends (Folk tale XXVI)--here the portrayal, in its naivété, stands far above any sermonizing ulterior motive and in erotic matters the imagination with its sometimes bizarre digressions (Folk tale XLIX) leaves absolutely no place for the moralist.

Therefore when Bleek says of the animal stories of the Hottentots: "Children as well as adults who have retained their simple nature and whose taste has not been ruined by the poison of overstimulating reading will always take pleasure in the nicely expressed moral precepts

that they get in any good fable; and the more profound literary connoisseur will likewise be delighted by these first innocent flights of the awakening human phantasy. To people such as these the Hottentot fables that are offered here will surely be welcome," etc., etc, I only see three possibilities of explanation. Either the translation is wrong; or the manuscripts contain only a selection of such tales which satisfy certain prerequisites of Christian moral teaching; or the Hottentot, cunning observer of human nature that he is, edited his stories in advance in usum Delphini, knowing well to whom he was telling them. However that may be, Bleek's reports about the stories do not show me the Hottentot as I have become acquainted with him; for this reason and because I had direct access to the source I took no further consideration of them in matters of detail. [390] On the other hand the translations of the missionary J. Olpp (88, reveal throughout

88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

an understanding and fidelity that can only be produced by intimate acquaintance with the people themselves.

Of the stories that are to be related here the autochthonous origin can surely be questioned in two cases: Folk tale XLVIII, in the course of its action, recalls a Wolof legend that Boilat published and Bleek translated. In this story the jackal of the Hottentots is represented by an elephant, the snake by a hyena, the porcupine by an ox, and the stone by a pit; but the rôles of each individual are, in meaning, the same in both cases. Furthermore, the story of the little traders (XII) corresponds in numerous details to a story of the Hereros that J. Rath copied down in the original language and Bleek again translated from the manuscript. I have no way of determining which people here had priority.

As for the others, I can only reproduce faithfully what I have heard from the mouths of the Hottentots and I must let others answer the question whether or not the folk tales printed here reveal any similarities to the folk tale cycles of other peoples and, if so, which ones. The exact proof of borrowings, if this should turn out to be the case, seems to me to be no less interesting as an insight into the dark pre-history of the Hottentot race than a confirmation of the originality of the stories would be.

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Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a people of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

[522]

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

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In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are mentioned here in advance once and for all:

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kx'a	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-r	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-e		-na

538 128 193 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles, are:

i used very generally.
a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.
go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.
nĩ designates the future.
ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.
hã designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsĩ with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mĩ, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsĩ I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsĩ with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gĩrib tsĩ χami tsĩ ǂhĩras tsĩna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsĩs gye go ǂnãĩ, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsĩ gye go ǂnãhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word χa. In this case one can regard χa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gõati χa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this χa can be

dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 539 128 M3

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness 538

In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call ǂhailgā/mūǂxab, because its eyes (mūǂti) are not in its face but on the back (!gā/b) of its feet (ǂhaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called "kχoē-oren (kχoēb "man," "o-re "to run up and devour the buried prey"). The man-eating female has in addition the special name "/gaũ-/bes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears. The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-rikχoēseb,

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that "Unique Man," (66) who was the first of his kind to inhabit the earth.

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten, Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie. (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867.)

Among the Hottentots I ran into another conception of the /gu-rikǂoẽseb, that perhaps arose later: he was described to me as a hunter who lived alone in the wilderness with his wife and his dogs; in accordance with this one would simply call him a person who has settled off by himself and in short the "hermit." Accordingly the word /gu-rikǂoẽseb would then be formed in analogy to the word /gu-riseb, a designation for the springbok ram that has been expelled from the herd and lives alone.

[394] [Text omitted]

Translation of I

The Girls Who Take a Walk to the Village of the Aigamucha Woman

537[1]

Girls (/gõati "daughters) went walking (sari narr. pass.) to the (//ge) kraal of the Aigamucha woman; and when they got there (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.) one (/gui) of them ("a person," kǂoĩs, fem.) is pregnant (!goen); this one is addressed (mĩ "to say") like this by (ǂa) the Aigamucha woman: "Come (/kǂĩ), let yourself (literally: "and ẽ [imperative], I -ta, manage you -ti") be massaged!" (!guri, cf. Care of the Skin, pp. 207 and 218). And she is managed. Then her (ã, root of the poss. pron., -a personal suff. of the possessor) front apron (!gaêb) was bound together (!gai "to bind," //are "to unite") with (/kǂa) the front apron of the former (//(e)ĩs, personal pron.), and the others (expressed here only by the personal suff.) went home (//aru, vb.).

The one (nau, literally: "other") girl, however, was held back (!kǂõ "to catch," maĩ "to place") and told (gai) to lie down (//goẽ).

ran off to play and tumble about. In these extremely harmless words the lion clothes his intention of revenge.

And when it was still dark (!kx'aŏ) over (ai) the land (!hûb), the lion went away; and while he climbed (!aba, hã "to come to") up a tree (hais) that stood (mã) in(ti na) the water (//gaiti), [420] the hermit came. But the dogs, when they went to drink (ã), saw (mĩ) the shadow (somma) in the water, and each (hoaba) dog that comes down (//gõe'xa) growls (literally: "becomes angry," //a'ka) and stands.

But he (//(o)ĩ'b), the hermit, drank. Then [the lion] leaped (ui) down (//gonaxa, down), but he jumped out of the way (ŋõ), and the dogs bit [the lion] to death (nã!an).

b) The Bergdamara or the Mountain Kaffirs

The Hottentot, as we saw earlier (p. 323), has no high opinion of the Bergdamara. This is also expressed in the short folk tale in which he makes fun of the baboon-like appearance of his black servants (Folk tale XV).

There is only one characteristic that he ascribes to them without reservation: the precocious independence and fearlessness of the Bergdamara child that is celebrated in the war story in Folk tale XVI and in the lion encounters of Folk tales XVII and XVIII.

On the other hand, the Hottentot, with his strong sense of family discipline, is struck by the lack of parental authority and filial respect among the Bergdamara. Anyone who hears stories XIX and XX from the mouth of a Hottentot sees clearly that here only a satire on the degenerated family relationships is intended. Likewise the dirty joke in XXII has the same intention.

I 537 Then the Kaffir woman (expressed by the suff. -s) asked: "Hey, you (ne, demon., -tse, special form of the suff. for the 2nd pers. masc. sing.), why (tarets, with the suff. of the pers. addressed) are you still aiming after (ta, ending of the pret. participle) I (tita) have given you field onions, after all (o), and mice (neut. sing.), and have treated you so well?" And he answered: "Well (gum . . . o), I have desires (literally: "I am on the lookout" /gona, -si adj. ending) for (_a, with the personal suff. of the subj.) that which becomes flat (/hâbe, pass., -i suff. of the neut. sing.) when one sits (/nusi, adj.)."

Then she called (/gai) her daughter and said: "Take (u) this man (sobe); and (e) you (-ts, addressed to the man), don't (tã) stick (/gâ and ũ) the whole (ǂoraga = hoaraga) thing (_ũ, neut. sing.) in; she is a young (/k am) little (-no, dimin.) Kaffir girl." But he stuck the whole thing in. Then the girl cried (ũ) and the old (gai "big," with the suff. of the relative substantive because it is placed after the noun) Kaffir woman said: "I (-ta) told you (sãtsa), didn't I (gum . . . o): young is the Kaffir girl, don't go in (ao "to throw") with the whole thing!" Thus she spoke (pret. participle) and took the girl.

[431] c) From Family Life and Pastoral Life

538 539 Folk tale XXIII is in praise of married love. Folk tale XXIV, exceptional in its strictly moralizing form, gives us a view of the duties of the children in the house. Folk tale XXV is perhaps only a fragment.

The legend of the rejected boy whom in the one case (Folk tale XXVI) the bull assists and in the other case (Folk tale XXVII) the cow, and the two folk tales about the stupid fellow (XXVIII and XXIX) are taken from pastoral life.

[432] [Text omitted]

Translation of XXIII

I 53 The People Who Go in Search of Rushes

A man (kxoõ!b) had taken (!game, narr. pass.) a wife. And the man along with his brother (kxoõ !gaguk'a) and the wife, the three

537 said (in the pret. participle): "They are predicting death (/go/a, vb.) for me (tita)," and cut (!gaoxa) their throats (domi). But the younger one (ǂoxama) said: "Oh (ũ), they (-ti, personal suff.) have eaten (!ũ "to graze") themselves full (//ã); for that reason indeed (gum---o) the goats talk that way!" But while (hĩa) he spoke thus, (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the other had already (toa, narr. pass.) with the throat-cutting. Then they took (ũ) the meat (//gana) and went away (!gũng).

And they came (tĩ) to (doba) Boers. But these poured (taoro) out (xu) rice and ordered (gai) the two of them (-kxĩ, suff. in the dat.-acc.) to pick it up (ũĩ kxaĩ). But while (hĩa has the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they were picking it up, white (!uri) crows (gorate) came (/kxĩ) and helped (hui) them pick it up, and the sack (//hõa) became full (toa "to become finished"). - - - - - - - - -

Here the narrator stopped and, without any evident connection with the preceding, continued:

Then the father (ĩba) of the girl (kxoĩs) whom the snake (/aob) had taken as a wife (!game) said: "Run and (ẽ, with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) go to the kraal (//gaũs) of the snake in order to fetch (ũba) me (te, suff.) my (ti) child (õasa)."

And he got there at the time when the snake was gone (/kxaĩ) and questioned (tẽ) [the girl]. She said: "He [that is, the snake] will (nĩ) come right away (/ãse)." Then he asked her: "Where (maba, with the personal suff.) does his (//(e)ĩb, personal pron., di gen. particle) strength (/gaisa) sit (ǂãũ)?" "In (ai) the forehead (!ũs) sits (ǂnõa) his (ĩ, originally a vb.: "to belong"; now a poss. ending) strength," answered the girl.

[447] And when the snake came (hã, with the personal suff.) he transformed himself (gai, vb.) into an ant (ǂgoberu-b) and climbed (doã, "to wander," !aba "to climb up") upon his forehead and sucked (/gom) out (ǂui) his (ã, root of the poss. pron., -ba personal suff. of the possessor) strength, took (pret. participle) the girl and went home (//aru).

d) Ha!nsiaibeb Myths

538 Hai-tsiai-bens is the Hottentot name for the group of folk tales 716 about a hero of former times, to whom, just a few decades

538 ago (66), they still erected grave mounds in remote districts (cf.
77L

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, Bd. XII, 1867).

"burial customs," p. 317) in the form of stone heaps upon which a passerby placed a stone or twig in the hope that he might be rewarded by finding a good path and water.

If the hypothesis should be confirmed that the Hottentots at a later date transplanted Haitsiaibeb to the sky as the moon (78), then the

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

moon myth (Folk tale XXX) would also have to be included in this group. The text that I heard narrated deviates from the one published by Th. Hahn in that the louse that is caught by the hare in his story is missing in mine.

Attempts have been made to interpret a legendary figure that the Hottentot calls tsi//goab as an expression of an idea of God; Kroenlein (57) translates this supposed Hottentot god-concept as "the

57. J. G. Kroenlein. Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

one who is difficult (tsi/) to entreat (//goa)." According to my conviction such a derivation is linguistically inadmissible. For the first word stem, as I have convinced myself again and again, is not tsi/, but rather tsi/', as it occurs in tsu/'i-"to wound." Older authors have indeed heard and written down not tsi//goab, but tsi//goab. Since in the formation of compound words the accent that was characteristic of the single word is frequently lost in favor of the new word accent (see p. 303), it cannot be determined whether the second root of our word is //goa-"to entreat" or //go-as "knee." But according to all that is known about the meaning of tsi/', the latter interpretation is by far the more probable. I believe that in this point the missionary Kroenlein was a bad influence on the linguist Kroenlein, and on the basis of my

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own text I concur with Th. Hahn's derivation, according to which tsoaob signifies something like "wounded knee": the designation for a hero who is wounded in the knee in battle. It is quite another question whether this hero, as is suspected, is identical with the above-mentioned Haitsiaibeb.

In view of the great veneration that is paid to ancestors, it is understandable that the Hottentot swears by the name of "Wounded Knee": "tsī-ʔ//goa-ao !" [448] I have also often heard the exclamation of astonishment corresponding to our "my God!": "tsī-ʔ//goatse !"

In Folk tale XXXI there figures as an enemy of mankind a being that the Hottentots designated to me as "ǂgã̄-ʔǂgori-b because he is supposed at one time to have hurled (ǂgori-) people head over heels abruptly ("ǂgã̄ʔ, vb.) down into a pit, until the jackal stopped his actions. The monster then arises from death and boasts of his immortality. But I suspect that the text published by Bleek (in which Haitsiaibeb figures as the savior and the immortal) is the older one and I therefore heard only vague memories of the now almost forgotten group of tales about Haitsiaibeb.

In tales I heard the "Hurler" himself called only "!U-ʔriseb's father." I ran into his proper name, however, once in a figure of speech by which a Hottentot was protesting about a hard jostling: "ǂgã̄ʔǂgoribits ga goma a ǂhaǂmrihe !" "May you be knocked down by the Hurler!" (the final i in ǂgoribits is equivalent to ǁa "by, "-ts "you," ga has potential particle, goma makes the curse a sort of commission to the monster, a is a present particle, "ǂhaǂm "to knock down," -ri means as much as "against" in "to bump against," he pass. particle).

[Text omitted]

X539

Translation of XXX

The Moon and the Hare

The moon (//xxãb) went (ī, probably in the narr. pass. see p. 388; ǁa demon. particle, i auxiliary vb.); verbal particle of the

*539 (gai, narr. pass.) the people (kχoēna) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aēba) and throws (ao) them down (#nā) into (!na) the pit and sets (!kχā) them on fire (#hubi "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (ū) a person comes (/kχī), he chases (!kχoē) after (ū) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -ī) round about (//namiba, vb.) the pit and shoves (#hā) him down into (#gā "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gui tsē) the jackal came, after (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (#kχau) himself (-sen, refl. particle) with fat (//nuiba) and had made himself wet (/ā /ā); and the two of them (-kχa, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (#kχanu) and fell (//nā) down (//gona) [himself] and burned up (kχau). Then the jackal went home (//aru, vb.).

But the other dies (//ō) and comes to life again (!gī) and eats (#ū) from the Nais bush and [sings]: "Bury (//kχō) me (te, suff.), won't you (re), me, Uriseb's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gai, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nais bushes." "I (-ta, suff.), Uriseb's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

c) Animal Tales

●538 825 776 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gaũa·b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being steps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hastens with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gaũa·b can also assume animal form. [451] Such a klipspringer, jackal or

538 whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The
825 being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he
776 would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

538 The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not
825 lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the transferral of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of stupidity; with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases when it is linked with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII); in these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as in the adventure of the jackal with the Boers (XXXIX), the sly fox is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment. When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI), the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft. But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impertinently and conceitedly (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too domineering with the flamingo family (Folk tale XLII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

538 825 one (the lion) [452] (Folk tales XLIV and XLV); and even more so in cases when he is taking vengeance for injustices that he has suffered personally (XLVI); and most of all in cases when he breaks the tyranny of the strong simultaneously as an avenger and benefactor of all weak people (XLVII).

The jackal's slyness is regarded from the humorous side when, as both referee and liberator, he teaches the serpent and the porcupine a lesson (XLVIII).

The jackal appears as a Don Juan with varying luck: successfully in the salacious Folk tale XLIX and as the cheated lover in Folk tale L, where he falls in love with the sun.

Next to the jackal the lion is most sharply characterized and humanized in the tales. Everywhere hate or ridicule are showered upon him. He is hated because of his brutality, which makes him the murderer of his own children from the marriage with the ostrich (LI) and because of his violence, which makes it unpleasant even for the peaceful baboon to be his neighbor (LII). In consequence, his punishment overtakes him all the more easily, the more he considers himself superior to the others: even the little aro-lizard leads him around by the nose (LIII). And at the same time he is so lecherous that he does not hesitate to feign illness in order to rape his masseuse (LIV).

He is ridiculously conceited about his power and considers himself invincible. He has to be taught better by the ostrich (LV) and even by the little steinbok (LVI). The silver jackal pays him back so well for his arrogance that his sham authority finally loses all its glory (LVII).

The theme of the triumph of guile and skill of the weak over the crude superior strength of the stronger is constantly repeated in Hottentot tales in ever-new variations and animal portraits. One of the best tales, one that gives us deep insight into the emotional life of the Hottentots in its most varied aspects is LVIII, which deals with the fly and the elephant. Furthermore, the story telling how the "dwarf" frees himself from the tyranny of the elephant is, despite all anthropomorphization of conditions, still kept close to the animal's manner of living (LIX).

As in the preceding stories the fly and the "dwarf" in the two following tales, a bird about the size of a black-bird, called

538 825 gā·ǂtsi/ha·mabes, plays the part of the weaker party. However, it is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX); in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.; Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

136 538 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this opportunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, ǂkxaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lesson), the giraffe, !naǂb.
(3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), the rock-rabbit, !aũb.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), the eland, !kxans.
(5.) Antodorcas euchore Zimmerm., the springbok, //gũb.
Folk tale name, ǂhãeb.
6. Rhaphiceros campestris (Thumberg), the steinbok, !aris.
(7.) Ovis aries L. platyura, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gomab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, !goreb.
(10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, hãb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gaiǁgãba, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, /garub.

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13. Canus mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal, /gîrib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti !gã /haisetse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ũsgyeb.

[454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, ǂnĩras (specifically °ǂnũbe ǂnĩras), also called "my sister Pointed Run," ti !gã ǂgõbese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.

15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, !kχamab, hunters' name: °ǂgaihetoma-b (see p. 283); puzzling folk tale name: °hoagye-!gã-hãkχoĩ sõab, that is "the son (õab) of the sister (!gãs, kχois, "woman") of all (hoa) [mankind] (gye and hã, verbal particle)."

16. Felis caffra Desm., the wildcat, /hõab.

17. Mellivora ratel (Sparrm), the honey badger, /harebab.

18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), [Mierkatze], the "dwarf" /ẽb (specifically: °!uri/ẽb).

(19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.

20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, !noab.

21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 285), !õas.

22. Papio porcarius (Boddaert), the baboon, /nẽrab.

23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: hubais and hĩngatu-bus. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: batsibab.

24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, °gãtsin/hamabes.

(25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kχinas.

26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala-migob (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).

27. Gallus domesticus Bois, domestic chicken, hũnors (borrowed).

28. Corvus scapulatus Daud., white crow, gorab or !uri gorab.

29. Python sebae, python, °gai/aob. The rudiments of the rear [825] extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also °go/ma-ǂkχa-raseb, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python °!ga-ʔnigyen!gũʔb because the animal squeezes its prey to death (!gaʔni) and because his "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (!gũʔb).

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30. Psammophis notostictus, sand snake, sanugyeõ aseb.
31. Varanus spec.[1], iguana, !no^{p}na b, *//nareb in the Bergdamara dialect.

[455] 32. Agama spec. (A. atra Daud. or A. planiceps Peters). Aro lizard, !aro b.

33. A Lacertidae, related to a Scapteira, /gabestau b.
34. Pelomedusa glaeata (Schoepff), a tortoise that lives in slimy water and therefore smells bad. The general term for tortoise is //kχuri· b.
35. Batrachia anura of various species, insofar as they can be included within the general term "frog," //gũ·^{p}tsi//gũ·^{p}bes. [Fig. --Canis mesomelas Schrbr., the jackal called /gĩ·rib.]
36. Muscidae of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "fly," /gĩna·s.
37. Orthoptera of various sorts, insofar as they may be included within the general term "grasshopper," *ǂnã$_{4}$/!au^{p}s; because of their hopping movements the grasshoppers are compared to a girl who dances (ǂnã$_{4}$) and rages (*!au^{p}).

[456] 38. Orthoptera from the families of the Hetrodidae and Stenopelmatidae; to the latter belongs the type of Maxentius called /kχu·nitsi//kχu·meb, that is "glutton belly."

39. Coprophage Lamellicornier from the group Scarabaeinae, types of "dorbeetles." The dorbeetle is called χau·tsi//ga·$_{4}$mabeb because of its burrowing movements in dung; he nestles up to the dung (χaub) exactly as one lies down at night (*//ga$_{4}$ma·) close to the fire. The buzzing sound of his wings is compared in the tales to the bass of the reed pipes. In folk tales the dung beetle appears under the name ǂanagyeõgaieb.

(40.) Formicidae, ants, ǂgoberu·gu.

[1] [German "der Leguan". In English were commonly called Monitor. – Ausl/pf]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

ebony-tree has been called after the green colour of the bile, and also whether the rainbow, *tsawirub*, received its name from *tsubab*. ǃUri is a derivative from the original ǃû, and certainly has with ǃ*ubus*, egg, the root ǃu in common; consequently ǃuri means egg-coloured, and the egg *par excellence*, the ostrich egg, is white. The same root for white and egg we had in the ǃAi Bushman language. ǃAm, green, means originally *springing up*, or *shooting forth*, like in German *ausschlagend*, used for the fresh green leaves; ǃa, to hit, ǂnou-ǃa, and ǂnou-ǃan, to beat —to hit, German, *treffen*; ǁnau-ǃa and ǁnau-ǃan to hear —to hit, *i.e.*, to understand; mû-ǃa and mû-ǃan, to see or to look—to hit, *i.e.*, to observe, to perceive, to acknowledge. ǃAva, red, is nothing else but ǃaua, blood-coloured, from ǃau, to bleed, or ǃau-b, blood. ǃHuni is yellow, that is, the colour of clay or ground, from ǃhu-b, ground, earth, clay. ǂGama, brown, is the colour of ǂgâb, originally ǂgamab, the colour of a *vley*; the vley is a water-pond, which is dry in the winter, and then the bottom shows a brown colour. ǃKhan, grey, is the colour of the ǃkhani, Bos elaphus ǃNai-ǂu is the colour of the ǃnaib, giraffe and also of the zebra. ǀGaru is dotted like a leopard, hence this animal is called ǀgarub. The other name of ǀgarub, leopard, however, is more significant; he is also called χasaûb, the mark—scratcher, from χoa to scratch, and aû to mark, to imprint.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adding some remarks on Khoikhoi poetry, and on the so-called "*Reed-dance*," ǂâb, to which in the following chapters repeatedly reference will be made.

The Khoikhoi have two kinds of poetry, sacred and profane. The sacred hymns, as well as the profane songs, are sung accompanied by the so-called Reed-music or Reed-dancers. The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations, and songs of praise in honour of Tsuiǁgoab, Heitsiebib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs.

[For folklore texts, see category 116, pp. 186-187, 194-243, and 249-312 of the translation. In some instances where lengthy native texts occur they have not been reproduced in the translation. In these cases, consult the indicated pages of the foreign text, category 116 for the original native texts. --Analyst]

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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsui //goaose!	Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Aba ǂoa,	Father of our Fathers,
Xoba ǂoa!	Our Father!
//Nanoba ǂaoba,	Let stream the thunder cloud,
Ba ǂnana tiro,	Let our flocks live,
Xoba aiba tiro;	Let us also live, please;
//Khahoro gaon gaoxa	I am so very weak
//Gio nun,	From thirst,
Ao nun;	From hunger;
Ba ǂnanoa ǂnana,	Let me see field fruits,
Sore gaon nuna aiba ǂnana,	Art thou not our Father,
Aba ǂoa,	Father of our Fathers
Tsui //goaose!	Thou Tsui //Goab!
Xoba aiba gaogaoxaiba,	That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based entirely on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, 3, No. 2 (June, 1929), pp. 3–13; cf. idem, "Social Organization of the Nama," 81–2, and "Social Values of Water among the Nama," 319–26.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Ede ake //khawa /khaixire,	That we may bless thee,
Abe ise,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida /khawa,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsui //goaxa!	Thou, Tsui //Goab!

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goaxa,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can feed children."

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abeb*, father, and */khaib*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Namab*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurib*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Namab*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thihhou* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourou* (*/Gurib*).[3] The cloud */Namab* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 6. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 389; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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let rain"[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a *!gei*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

!Goreb ts /Gaes	The Hymn of the Thunder
!Nenumutsi!	Son of the Thundercloud!
!Gori-khai, !Gurutsi!	Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru!
ǂOase gubare,	Talk softly, please,
!Horeb t'ase n-kâ-aoxase;	For I have no guilt;
!Ubatsa	Let me alone! (Forgive me!)
ǂOasaga xaiga.	For I have become quite weak.
!Gurutsi!	Thou, O !Guru!
!Nenusi aose!	Son of the Thundercloud!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrou* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui //Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khaib*, i.e. *Tsui //Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui //Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tusib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narus, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129-30. [2] Ibid., 59-60. [3] Leo, 181.
[4] Op. cit., 50-1. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 105.
[6] "Redman," *!aon-khaib*, is another name used for themselves by the Namas, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *!aon-khaib*, "black men," and the Europeans or "white men" *!aon-khaib*.

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(iii) *From Matiti and Tetsh.*

ǂgarib ra ǂkhje doe o, ǂkhje ŋ!aru: !garib !kû ha o, ǂkhje hai !haraha ha:, ǂkhje !ari !kû a haa, ǂkhje ŋ!khaap !aa mâsi !haaxa, ǂkhje ||na:ha xa Taungs !aa ha:, ǂaa ||na:ha Brikwa ||gobe:, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra ||khagu |hani, ǂkhje ||na:ha Brikwa !han ||hoie, ǂkhje Tetsh ||na:ha !kamm, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra Mamuuha !haa doe, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra |aru khaxhaa |hai !garib !haa doe.

ǂkhje haku hje ha, !kandi ha:ha mâe |hai !garib !aa, ǂkhje ŋ!am ŋ!annie, Mamuuha !haa, ǂkhje Kurutani (Moolfontein) ||na:ha doe ha, ŋ!anŋap, Tetsh di ||namah, ||omhje ||na:ha.

ǂkhje na:ha ||naha ha: ha onbi, ǂkhje na:ha !haraa, ǂkhje daob ||kha ||kaha, ǂkhje na:ha |ham |ho:dlab !hamma, ǂkhje |ari khaxb Mamuuha !haa ste, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra khaxhaa ŋ!anaa |haaxe, ǂha haku ha o, ha: na:ha ha ha i a, ǂkhje na:ha ||khagu khaxhaa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamuuw and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamuuw. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (*i.e.* Moolfontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). ŋ!Uanap, the ancestor of *Tetsh*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamuuw and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Tetsh*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

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B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The *daro*, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Taboh*, December 1931.

ka!oa ǂna ka!omkàǂ ǂkarab ǂna ǂkoǂkoa. ǂna gomab ŋǂakoa. ǂnaib ŋǂnakoa ŋǂgaoa ǂna, ǂe ŋǂgaoaǂ ŋǂkkâba oa dia a.

ŋǂam nâkaǂ ta khaokoa xaoa akoiboa.

ǂe ka!a ǂnaoa ǂkae, ǂna ŋǂgr:ǂe, ǂna ae: ǂna ǂnaiboa ǂkl:e ǂnâa ǂna. ǂna " ka-a " ǂi aâ. ǂxaoa ka a, ǂka ta ŋǂgr:ǂe a, ǂka ǂnâa.

ǂap gǂaib nâa, gaoaoa/ ǂkoa.

ǂna ǂkaaib nâa:

ta:e aaoab dao ao ǂaab ǂna ka ǂnâa.

ǂka ge:ao:koa ǂkaiga ǂaioa ge:ao:b aâ a, ta:e ǂgaba ŋǂaib ao. a a:ka ǂkkâba. ǂna ǂkkâ gai khaokoa ǂgaba ŋǂaiǂ.

ǂna ao:b ǂaib ǂaaba: ka, a:ka ǂkaâba ǂkoa, ǂi ǂkâ khaob (ao: ŋǂkkâ) ka ka: ki ǂkkâba ǂna.

ǂkae ŋǂâ ao.

ǂna ao:b ta dia a, ǂkaba ǂkaaib ǂna a: ŋǂka:ŋ.

ǂka ǂkae ŋǂâ a, ǂna ǂnaba ǂo:.

ǂka ka!aoaoa xa ŋǂkkoa a, ǂna koaoa, ǂaba ŋǂgaoaoa ǂnaoa kaoiaa. ǂna ǂkao:e ka ao. ǂka ǂkao: a, ǂ ka!aoaa. ǂka ǂkao: ǂl a, ǂkaba ǂkaaib ǂna a: ŋǂka:ŋ.

Translation:

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is poured for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Sticks are struck together in their ear and they say " ka-a." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an assegai (knife), together with a kiri.

Then they are given instructions :

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its feet.

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Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its feet.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instructions.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*dawe*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[17] *Note :* Matiti, the other informant added : */kâmu ha /hê o, ôje dawe daroki,* " since the white men (the English) have come, the *dawe* has ceased."

When this version was named, by getting Matiti to relate his facts, he only added : (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted : (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabak*, February 1932.

dawe ha ha o: qʰêki. ǂan ǂaiki kai khaokua ha ha ǂan gomore /kuo /hê /kuo. ǂan gaeama/ thi gʰêk thikka tsâi.

ǂan ǂkaoab tsâi:

ta-o ǂaob ǂan ha-no ao ǂkhâo aoaob khoe.
ta-o ǂkai qʰê.
ta-o ǂaob ǂan ha: ǂaiua ǂkiro tsâi o.
ta-o ǂgaba qʰêib. a o ha ǂkhâo ǂkuo.
ǂka goi khaokua ǂgaba qʰêiq.
ǂkiro ǂaob ǂan ǂgaba qʰêib o, ǂka ǂkuo, ǂan ǂkaba o: qʰêki.
ǂan ga-no di ǂaob kʰ'aoio, ǂan qʰêga-ia, ǂan ao,
ǂan ǂaihua ǂka o ǂaba ǂan. ǂaoxa ha o, ǂka qʰêga-ia kuta o, ǂaba.
ǂan aoxa haoiua ǂaba o: ǂkaokhâo. (ǂgare, ǂka aoxha ha: o, kʰ'aoxa.
ǂka ha: ǂaoxa ha o, ǂka ǂkaba o: qʰêka ti.

Translation :

He is taken into the *dawe*. Old men look after him. When they go and count the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a little stad on manger (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

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If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

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The *daro* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

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It is the first time that the full *daro* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuana and the Mootlong nations; but when a boy comes upon a state of manhood, a feast called Daroo is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the "*daro*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (1) "the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (3) the "laws" given to him.

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88/ *Tabaḃ* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *daro ǂne ǁgurihne ka tama*, " in the *daro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabaḃ*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *ǂkaːxi*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *daro*. The " laws " given by Wurm are slightly different and not so full.

197 The *daro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taaiboch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *ǁgaːn ǁkaaḃ* ceremony.

88/ 304 *ǂne ǂkʰa xamí kkʰamma ǂkʰaxa o, ǂne ǁxaaaḃ ni ǁxar, ǂne gomaxe ǂkʰar, ǁgurihne mǁai ǁkkʰ: kxʰ²ai ǁxaaaḃ.*

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabaḃ explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teaḃ* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *daro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *ǂnam* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *daro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabaḃ* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wurm (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *ǁgunisa*. He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *ǁkaḃaḃ*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

88/ 534 *ǁkaeb ta ka o, ǁkoːx di ǁkaḃaḃ, ǂne ǁkaaḃ dikar, ǂne ǁkarake mǁai ǂkʰar, ǂne ǁkoma mǁai kxʰ²am ǁǂab dikar, ǂne ǁnaa ǂkʰaa, ǂnkʰaa gaise ǁgaka*

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tama, ǂ ǁkaoxe tama, ona ŋǂkhoa: ta ŋ, ǁkoa ma kxʰam ǁaka ŋǂkhoa ta, ona gai khaoxe ǁnai.

ska ta ŋ, ska ŋǂa khoa taa ŋ, ona ǂkhab ga:b mā, ona ga:b ŋǂai, ona a:b ǂna ǂaoxakhoa, ona ŋǂgoa ǂna naka dia ǂnaki, ona gai khaoxe skhā, ona gai mā ona kaba, ona ǁkhoa di ǂkarab a:ŋ, ona ǂkarab ǁkoa ŋǂkhoaxe, ǁnaib ǁkoa ona arra, ona ara taa ta ŋ, ona ǁnaiba ŋǂkhoaxe, ona ǂnaoba ǁkaba ǁkaboe, ona skha skhoaxe.

ona ga:b ta skhā ŋ, ona ǁnaoxe koixe khoaxā ŋǂkhe, ona ǂkā:b ǁkoa, ǂkabā tai ŋǂnaoxoa ǂnaboa aoxe, ona ǂnaxā ǁka:ŋ.

ona gai khaoxe ǂna ǂnaoxe ǂkoa ǂka tai xoa ǂnāi ǂnaboa, ona xoa ǂkaoxe.

ona ǂgaoba a: ŋǂkhoe, ǂ oxai ǂkoi a ǂka; ona ka ǂnixia ŋ, ona ŋǂgoaŋ a:ŋ, ona ŋǂgoaba ka ka ǂkarae tai ŋǂgoakhoa a kxʰai ǂkarae, ona ǁna ka ǁgoaxoa kxʰam ǂna oaba, ǁkoaba kxʰai oaba, ona ka: koixe ŋǂnaoxe, ona kxʰai oaxia.

ona|| kkāba ǂkoa ǂkā, ona gai khaoxā ǁnaoe, ona ǁoa, ona ŋǂna:.

Translation:

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep.[5] The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sāb* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grindstone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick. When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to kneel on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the mat. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Note: Henceforth, explained *Ju* and *Moir*, she ceased to be a *//hoa* and became an outsider, until her marriage when she became a *tama* or wife. *Ju* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wurm (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Haeckl (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ubb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khoin* brought me some and she and *Ju* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) *//kaep*; (ii) *//oi ubb*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *//kaeb*, "veld biscuits," roots only; (iv) *//ha //ubb*; (v) *//gnaubeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the *//kaubeb* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*//ghi kam*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty cows, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *qhaiab* and dancing. The *ubo gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *kaoa //ho ma gomab*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *kaoa //ho ma gomas*.

The life history of *Ju*

gai //kaub kaeb kaa Ju hja //khaub kaⁿai kaoa ka. dija //kaub kaoa kaⁿamima !gu kaⁿai. //aa: //kaa, kaⁿamima //karukoa ca dia ka. dija //karukoa //dib ca dia, dija tarukkhaudi !gaeb kaa //dikoa di //aa //aa.

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Translation :

Ie was born at Saron (*Mouk*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See " History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ie* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tsaub* and *Khoi*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gammaih te /nawe a, /nu /kobab /nawe-/nu /khaib dibe, /nu /aibbe /nawe, /nu /kurub /aibbe, /nu /kha: //o b qʰammi na nammi, /nu //ne /ne //gaisin, /nu /nai /kurubu /kha kaʰammu, /nu /ha /ne /nawe.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Tsaub* and *Ie*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tsaub* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tsaub* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 506

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then, the informants

[See H: Kuhn, cat. 764 and plate 4. -Analyst]

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
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Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that older person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not as full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The Nama family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Haeseler (the Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some difference in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kara, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Linke Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhoesib se ke hare !khare tki kuib tkikhe khare !hare. !Hare ke ke kje se tki, hare kari !hare kxhoe ke, amb kxhai !nkhakhare se kare !hare.s. !khaesib kxhaqnakhare se tsikakhaesib dikse, gaisa khaekare tkje dikse. !gare kakare tkje ti kare, se hare kakje di hare.

Translation :

The women dig for " sinkjes " with the hand-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

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412 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note:

412 This text was given, on *Tabaé*, *Tatsé* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word */Maru* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kierri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kierri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the kierri gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekte des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. */Kasi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*qʰaua*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 *Ha:ǂ ua:hua ǂi /hua. ehje /haruhua /ha:ǂ ǂi /hua tama. ehje /ha:hua*
531 *ge: /ha:ǂi /hua /haruhehua Mama /horo ha. ehje /|hikkʰaxahua tarab*
hu gei /ha:ǂi ehi qʰa:hua thihua qʰaua. ehje /hamiʔua, /ha:ǂi ehi gaahua
thihua aaraqui hui /ka:x. ehje glab /hua /haiua.

Translation:

[105] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The
[228] young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springbuck and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants: *Dyuli*, *Matini* and *Khoe*.

[111] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

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Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke natien langs deese rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!gue !haráb* (honey beer)

damára n: ǂáb-i.

//ubáb ǂna !háb-i, ǂna [illegible] */háb-i, ǂna //harus, ǂna thamma !hanib ab n.v. ǂna damis !hana ǂgoba.*

ǂna !hamma //gammi ha ǂna ǂkamma. ǂna o !go ha²ais. ǂna !kú !háb-i.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *//ubáb* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels*." II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-aartel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " drugs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *hoop* or " haerwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabak*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *//ubáb* was described by *Tabak* as " 'n woord met rooi blaarwerkjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *!hara*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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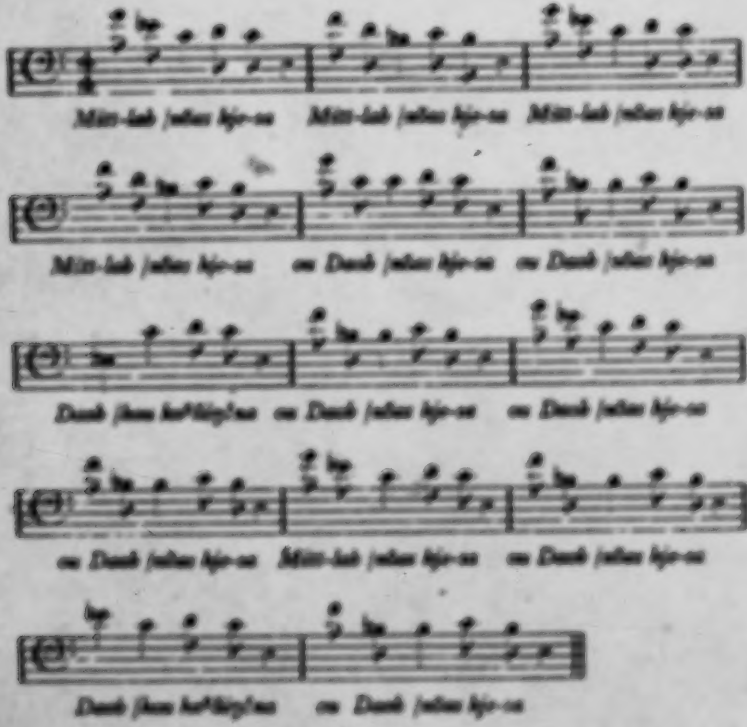
Korana

533 124 115 edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

533 539 Ex. 3. *Mintlab /oodu hjaoa*



This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mintlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mintlab! It is his cow!
Mintlab! It is his cow!
Old Daob! It is his cow!
Daob! You have a beard all over your face!

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Koyana

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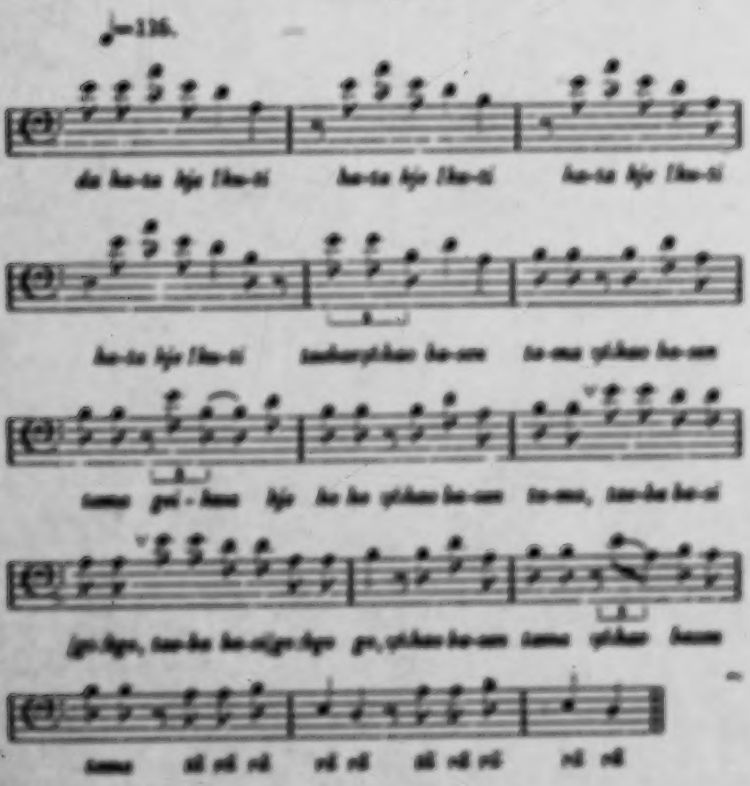
The rivals have each claimed the animal, but Daob, the more astute of the two, has gone off with it, whereupon Mittlab calls him an old baboon. The song is in dialogue form, and it is interesting to note how one form of the melodic phrase is used almost always to indicate Mittlab, and a different one for Daob. The formation of the melody upon the two triads, which was unmistakeable, is also significant.

Ex. 4. *da hatta hje !hatte*



This is the beginning of a song called *Ganuia* (a man's name). Translated, the words mean,

Where shall we find Kori ! (brother of *Ganuia*)
Why don't you search the boy yourself !
The old people have got hold of him.
Why has the boy got the better of you !

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Kotaro

198 P. S. KIRBY—

533 No. 5. el ti-ni el

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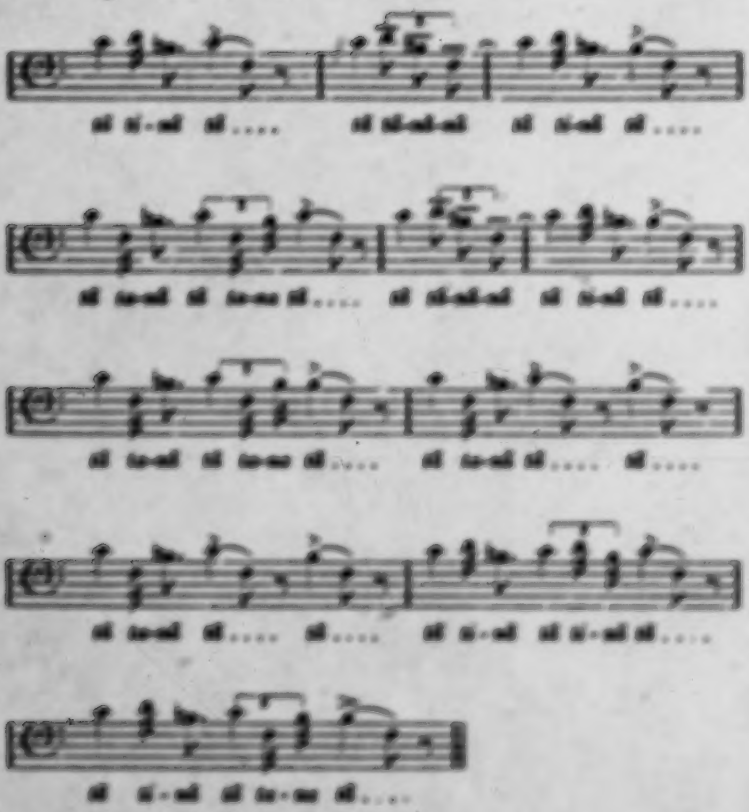
♩=100



The syllables of this song are meaningless; they do merely syllabize comparable to the tra-la-la of English song. The position of this and the following three songs is curious. Old Dash was asked to sing the sounds of the end-flutes. This must have been, to him, an unusual request. However, when he realized that we wished to hear the sound of the first flute, of the 1st kit, he began to sing this melody, which I made him repeat, and which I recorded. The notation represents adequately what Dash sang; the evening hurrying in the fourth, seventh, tenth and eleventh bars is characteristic. The bar-lines have been introduced to indicate the phrasing.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Kgrama

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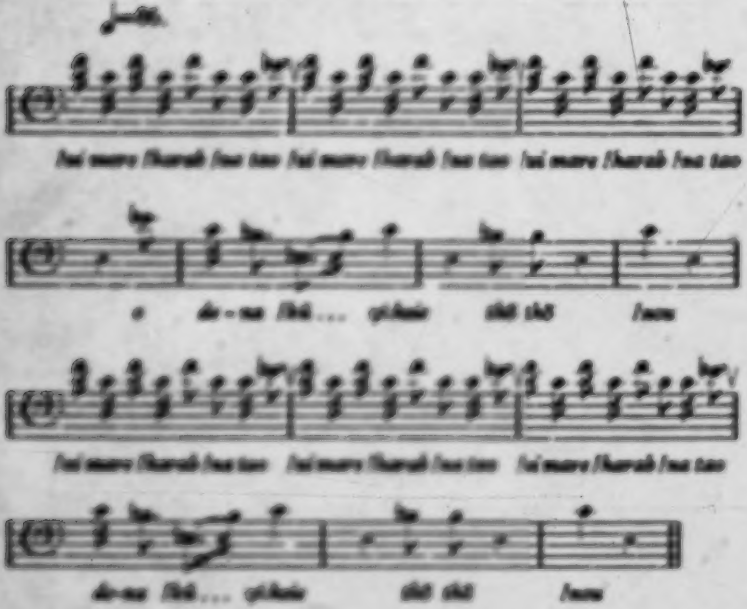
Ex. 6. *Iai mare Ikarakhoa tao*

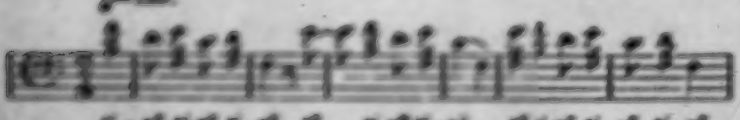


This song was sung by Dash when asked for the sound of the second flute, *hamis*. Translated, the words mean

> When the cows are in the kraal in the evening,
> They come inside *
> (*The meaning of the remainder of the words is not clear.)

This, said Dash, was the beginning of a war-song. I am not absolutely certain that the words should be fitted to the melody exactly as shown. Dash's singing in this instance was rather faint, and the phonogram suffered accordingly.

Ex. 7. *ai ai ai*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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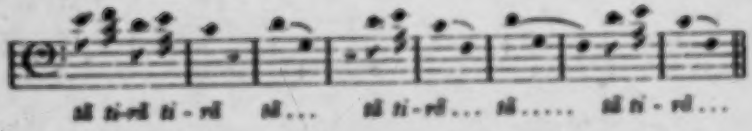
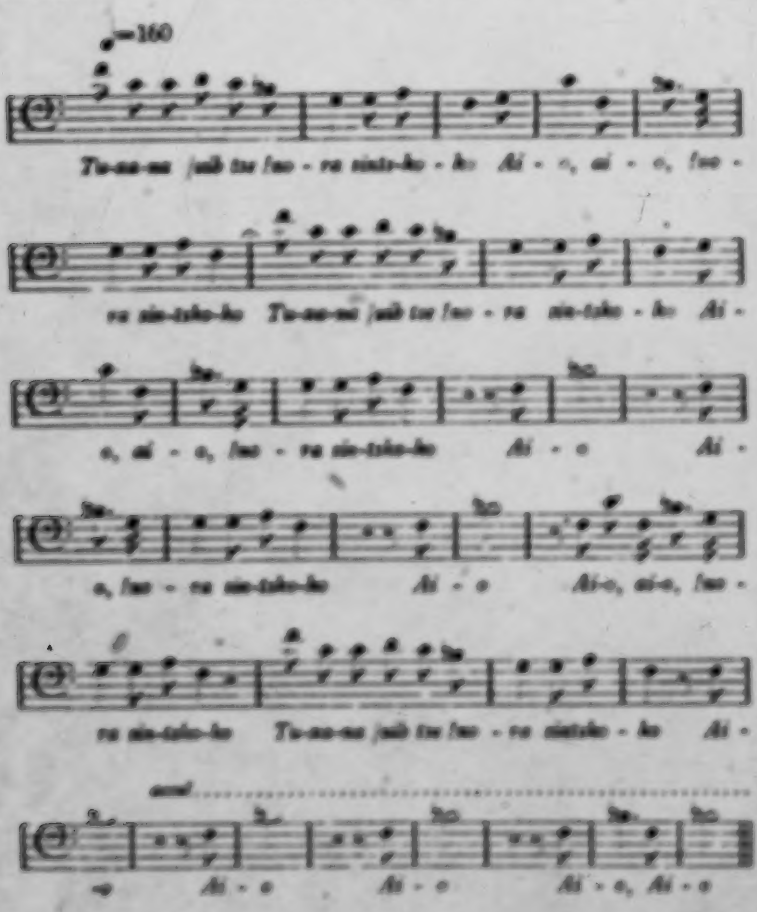


This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the third flute, *gwiyta:n*. The syllables mean nothing.

Ex. 8. *Tuuma /uā tu /uru ui:tsko*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

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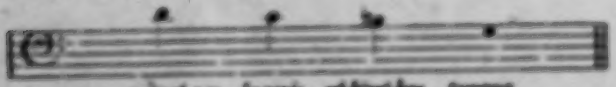
This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the fourth pipe *tsaoxa*. Translated, the words mean

> Tuxana, have you rolled down the stone?
> Have you rolled down the stone?
> Ai-o, Ai-o!

I was unable to discover from the Korana the actual connection between these songs and the flutes, particularly as I could not obtain the tuning of the flutes themselves. This I hope to do later, and meantime would suggest that there is a possibility that these tunes served as a series of mnemonics whereby the skilled musicians of the Korana people might tune their reed-flutes; for the nature of the Korana instruments is such that no permanent pitch standards could be maintained, unless their whole musical system were based upon the harmonic series, apparent to them in all their stringed instruments. 533

But an examination of the four tunes associated by Daob with the reed-flutes yields the following significant information. In Tune III, *ai ti-ai ai*, the note which is heard most frequently is B flat, and it is also consistently emphasised; in Tune IV, *hai mare /kurab /ao tao*, the note C is similarly prominent; while in Tune V, *ti-ra ti-ra ti-ra*, the outstanding note is D. Again, in Tune VI, *Tuxana, /aib tse /aoxa nietskoba*, the note most frequently sounded is G. Assuming that these notes represent the sounds of the four principal reed-flutes, we arrive at the following fragmentary scale.

Ex. 9.



gaipp'a.n /aamis qkhoip'ha tsaoxa

of which the first note *gaipp'a.n* is sounded by the flute of the leading musician. A comparison of this scale with the Nama reed-flute scale quoted by Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 375 e. seq.) shows that a similar sequence of notes is present, although it does not begin with the principal reed-flute, *aib*, but with the next lowest flute.

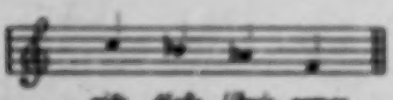
Ex. 10.

Gqoa gomas /aeab /khib

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the *Jouw gounab* ska or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.

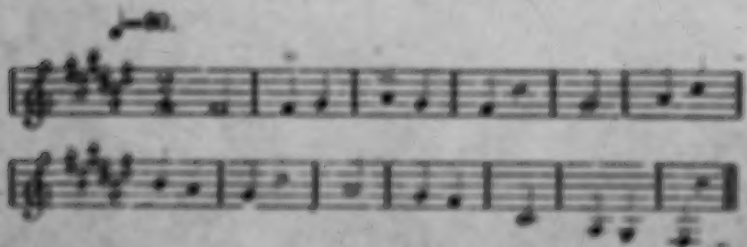


ooáh d'gûh ||hoá gomm

As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, as "musical" was the speech of certain of the Koranas, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

533 In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana 177 women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, 534 was sung by Gonie and Kois. European influence is apparent in this [115] song.

Ex. 12. *hoáh ||ooáh*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

kuda ||aba ke: hurusa mis,

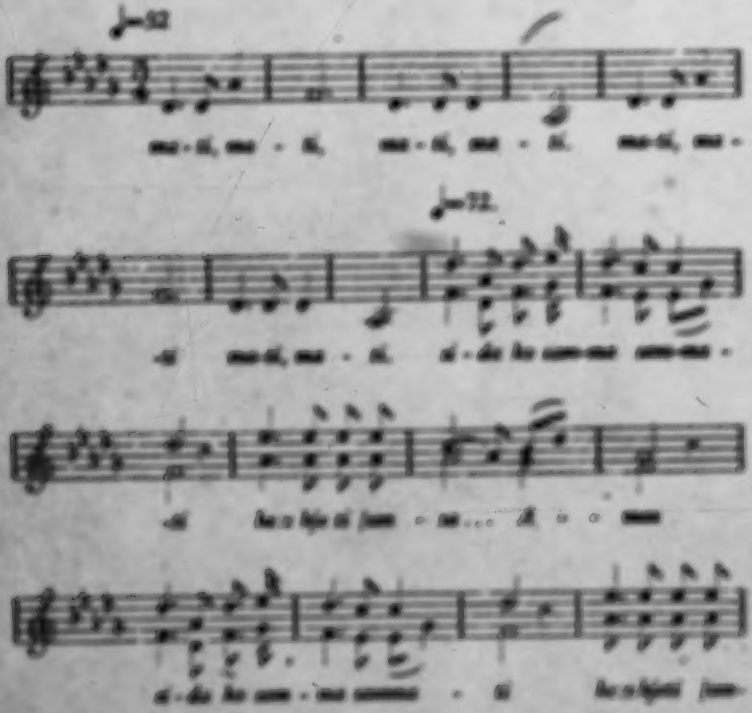
which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Dash, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Ia and Kwakwaris.

[115]

No. 13.



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Kovana

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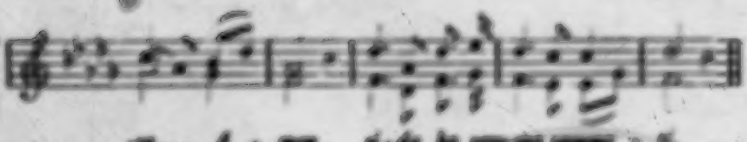

The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustean bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Koranna, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *thaetse qhaua* and low sounds *kei dama qhaua*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is *qhaua qhaua*, and a chorus of men and women is called *ha: qhaua kehwa*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the dove ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called *thaua dandaua*; but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *kaqqhaua*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Koranna.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χoma! My lioness! 542

!Gaiǂâsa ǂaets! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee!

Gomaa ke tsuni !gwi !nuat!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

!Gaǂi-ǂkhatsu! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χoma! My lioness.

Gei khoiti ǂaa! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [540]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χoma*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still taken, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (!garu-ti) and of bending poles 174
(!hana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (!hoe-ti), and wooden dishes (koreti), and wooden basins and bowls (e-χu-ti or !gabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [175]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap
(pot *ǂa-s*, to boil, to cook *ǂâi*).

14-Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

773 amongst the Namaqua, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-ǂgoab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-ǂgoab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-ǂgoab, Tsûi-ǂgoab, and Tsuni-ǂgoab in Namaqua; and Tsû-ǂgoam, Tsûi-ǂgoam, Tsûi-ǂkhoeb and Tsûi-ǂgoab amongst the ǂKora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-ǂgoab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
583 the ǂNuni-‡aun in the ǂKharas Mountains, amongst the ǂKhoiben or so-called Veldschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ǂKharas, and by the Gei-ǂKhous, ǁO-gois, and the ‡Aunin of the ǂKhomab Mountains East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
[23] 589 Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a ǂgei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

583 "*Tsûi-ǂgoaba!*
589 Thou, oh Tsûi-ǂgoa!
Aba-tsu!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida tsu!
Thou our Father!
ǂNoaba gorire!
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud:
Ba [illegible]
Let please live (our) flocks!
ǂida sida tsu!
Let us (also) live please!
‡Khaiseb gom gom!
I am so very weak indeed!
ǁGâs gu!
From thine!

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermann FX13

ǂAe ǂgu ! 533
From hunger ! 534
ǂîn "ǂgurisa ao-re !
That I may eat field fruits !
Sats gum ǂgare sida tama !
Art thou then not our Father ?
Aba tama !
The father of the fathers !
Tsûi-ǂgoatsu !
Thou Tsûi-ǂgoa !
ǂîn sida gaogaotsire !
That we may praise thee !
ǂîn sida ǂkhoen ǂkhaitsire !
That we may give thee in return (that is, that we may bless thee).
Aba-tsu !
Thou father of the fathers !
Sida ǂKhaitsu !
Thou our Lord !
Nai-ǂgoatsu !
Thou, oh, Tsûi-ǂgoa !

If a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, 535 and the lightnings disperse the darkness, they also assemble for a ǂgoi, and, while dancing, sing the following :—

ǂGurub di ǂGoa.

The Hymn of the Thunder.

ǂNamatse !
Son of the Thundercloud !
ǂGuri-khoi, ǂGurutse !
Thou brave, loud-speaking ǂGuru !
ǂOka gakare !
Talk softly please !
Hare ǂgu ao-kâ-tsuaî !
For I have no guilt !
ǂGaisen !

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Humanum FX13

533 Leave me alone! (Forgive me!)
534 ‡Gôtago xoiqe!
For I have become quite weak—i.e., I am quite stunned, I am quite perplexed.
‖Gurutu!
Thou, oh ‖Gora!
‖Nowes tatse!
Son of the Thundercloud!

[535] Another song-dance I saw performed in the following manner:—There was a solo, sung by a person who played the part of the lightning; the other part being represented by the inhabitants of a kraal, of whom a member was supposed to have been killed by the lightning.

‖Nabas di ‖gois.
The dance-song of the Lightning.

Chorus: ‖Aibe ‖hoaris ‖nowes!
Thou Thundercloud's daughter daughter-in-law of the Fire.
Ti ‖gôbe go ‖gowes!
Thou who hast killed my brother!
‖Gotaes gowe di tse ‖gowe!
Therefore thou liest now so nicely in a hole!

Solo: ‖Gôise te go se ‖gôbe a ‖gowe.
(Yes), indeed I have killed thy brother so well:

Chorus: ‖Gôbese gowe di tse ‖gowe.
(Well) therefore thou liest (now) in a hole.
"‡Gorab ‖khami go ‖nowes.
Thou who hast painted thy body red, like ‡Gora!
"*Sise-‖gobe* ‡*naibe tawose!*
Thou who dost not drop the "mawos."
"‡*Ei*χ‖*gôbetsaobeb sose!*
Thou wife of the Copper-bodied man!

773 An old ‖Hahoba-Nama, by the name of ‡Xgarib, who had great-great-children, and told me that he had big grown-up children when the Mission Station, Warmbad,

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Buskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle °ũ//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited. 604

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84). [171]

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1896).

3. Name Giving

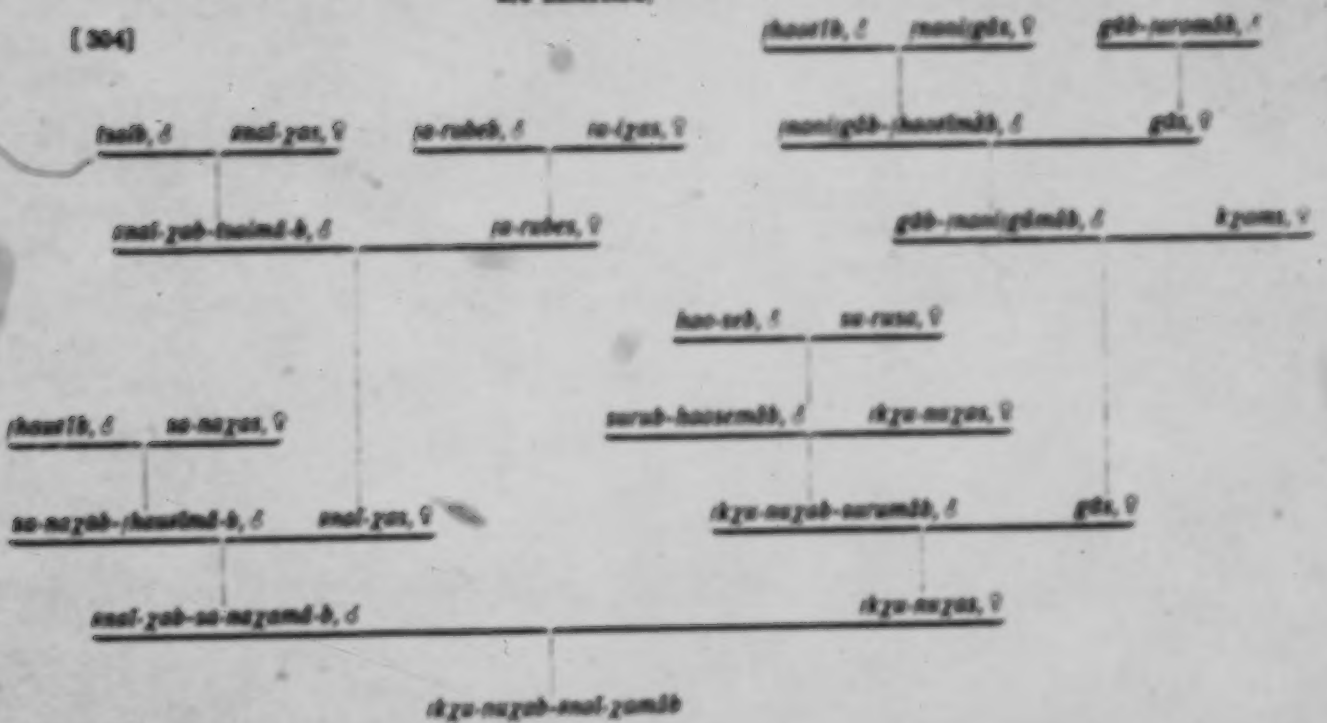
We have two chief groups of family names, /o-/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here. 551 553

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kqunibes, the son is called

Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.

[304]



//hûnîseb and the daughter gomaxis.

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The son adds a secondary name to this main name when he is grown up. The main name of the father with the insertion of the syllable -oa before the final personal suffix serves as the son's secondary name. The son of the afore-mentioned parents is thus called //hûnîseb-gomaxoasen. (There seems to be less use made of such double names by the female sex. The daughter of the parents mentioned above would have as a full name gomaxis-//hûnîsenâs.)

In order to convince myself that this method of name-giving is pursued consistently for several generations, I have traced back the names of a family as far as the memory of my authorities reached. I was assisted by the village elder of the Topnaar settlement in Rooibank behind Walvis Bay. The result proved the consistency of this rule of name-giving.

In everyday life there are consequences arising from the way names are inherited that could easily lead to confusion, except that, as we will see, a second group of names provides a remedy. The rule by which children receive their parents' names results first of all in full brothers having the same name and all full sisters having the same name. A simple consideration, using as an example, the last generation of the second family tree, results in the following: the same main name, /hûp-nuŋab, which the brothers have, will also be the name of all their cousins that are the sons of a maternal aunt, in other words all sons of /hûp-nuŋas' sisters. Different from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins who derive from the father's and mother's brothers. The cousins that stem from the father's sisters are all called sa-nuŋab.

Analogous are the relationships among the sisters of the brothers /hûp-nuŋab: the chief name, which they have, //nî-ǂas, is also the name of all their cousins that are the daughters of a paternal uncle, in other words, daughters of the father's brothers. The daughters of the father's sisters would all be called sa-nǂas. The maternal cousins, that are the daughters of an uncle (of a brother of the /hûp-nuŋas), would [306] all be called gâs. Differing from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins that stem from the mother's sisters.

Although the parental names reveal the origin of the bearer to another Hottentot sufficiently so that they suffice for identification in a foreign kraal, they still do not provide enough differentiation within the

narrow bounds of the family. The names of a second group fill this gap. We will call them,

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ii) Nicknames.

In the simplest instance, these names are a simple characterization of the person based on an identifying mark or a fact. Thus a young Namaqua girl with thin hair on her head was called ǂgâ'i, i.e. baldy, bare-headed. A young boy was called °/gu-ra//a-reb, because he was left-handed. A man who stood cold well was known by the name °ǁkhai-ts'ûmab, as "one who is not (ts'ûma) cold (ǁkhai)." Another, notorious for being unpunctual, was called °ǃaû-i //khai-b, "he who makes you wait (ǃaû-i) in vain (//khai-, to miss)." A feared cattle thief in lower Swakop territory was named for the color of his hair °/hai‖ǂb, the "dun horse." A peaceful old man who had planted near the water a tobacco bed that was always green (ǃaon) was called ǃa-ontab etc.

Certain events are the basis of two other names: °hâ-i gueb, i.e. "he who came," because this man came to this place from far away and now lives here. A boy, whose mother died shortly after he was born, received and kept the name, by which a Namaqua designates a new-born being, whether man, lamb, or calf, that is raised on the milk of a strange woman or different mother animal: °hâ-ab.

Such names can attach themselves so firmly that they become the first name of a person for all his life. It is not unlikely that such nicknames were formerly the original and only names of the Namaquas and that even today they still become main names that can be inherited and thus bring new elements into the vocabulary of personal names.

Sometimes only those closest to a person can understand the personal connection in the name of the person. Thus I have not been able to find out the references of the various nicknames of Hendrik Witbooi which I heard many times: ǃhu-ineb, °/gâ-nab and °ǂkaiu-ǂb.

Some of the nicknames are terms of endearment which are only used for a certain time and then forgotten or only used occasionally. [Pictures, Plate XIII, Topnaar Boys]. [307] Thus a Namaqua woman called her little son °ǂkxa-ri!kun-kib, i.e. "the little viel." She wished to indicate that the sight of her child made her as happy as an expanse of water does in the dry desert. Another mother had a naive pleasure in the pretty ("clean") privates of her little daughter and therefore named it ǃa-nuǂnî-s. A Namaqua child, that had Negro blood from its father's side and thus had a darker skin color, was usually called °khu-/nagyeans-s by its mother, i.e. "you who are so sweetly black."

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him *ǂkoi/ǂgaiǂoatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 263). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in naming names for his own people and for his white masters: 551 552

*//kun-naib was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from *//kun, to forego evacuating the bowels); *//go-neǂnõa-tan/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; *ǂhaiǂgaiǂa, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; *ǂkaiǂe-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; *//gaunab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called *a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name *a-mi‖komaǂgu-ita-naeb, i.e. as one "who has many (ǂgui) wives (tara-s) just as an ostrich (ami-s) has hens." [308]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," *ǂao-ǂkab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (*//gaǂnu-b) over its snout and so he is called *//gabu-ǂaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Sachydactylus species, *ǂna-nigyemãǂs, another one, because of his stamping gait *ǂnõ-ǂarib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man ǂa-batomaǂa-to-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (ǂa-ba) on the wagon to load it" (ǂnaǂa).

They called another ǂa-oa/ã-batana-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana-s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

every step, and carries it as though his neck (!aos) were "wet" (/ǂ i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" °!oǂ/b by the men; by the women: °/ǂ-uiǂ-b, because his penis (ǂâb) was new (/ǂas) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person (°//kuî-aasb), the person with a pot belly (°//ǂ-enab), the person with red hair (°/a-batsa-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a mouse or a beetle was called the "junk collector," °ua-koreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named °!u-/rila-ogorab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called °ǂnî-xoreǂnâ-/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (ǂnî) there even when the sun (xo-rei) goes down" (ǂnâ/).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 859

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd. 524

[309] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered Ruspoetia stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 857 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 857 527

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witbooi) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartboois, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Gariɓ* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gaiɓ* or big */Gariɓ*, the */Gari /Naguaun* or "next" */Gariɓ*, and the */Gari /Karib* or little */Gariɓ*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gaiɓ* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari /Naguaun*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gaiɓ tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the /Aunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Nanaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */hau /aoti*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gai khoi /oa*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gai khoi /oa* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Gariɓ* will be called */Gariɓ*, and all the daughters of a man named *//Khauab* will be called *//Khauaos*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaiɓ*, hence */Gari gaiɓ*, the second the next one, */naguaub*, hence */Gari /naguaub*, the third the dark one, *!naib*, or the light one, */kaib*, or the tall one, *gamab*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, *!aoti*, or the little one, */kaxib*, hence */Gari !kaxib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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family surname. That of the */Gori /Naguron*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Naisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Bruken. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooïs as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Names

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Grevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Grevenbroeck naively puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and there, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Namas, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gui khoi /ona*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomaxûi*, and that of the mother *//khamikes* (*-i* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khamikeb* and a daughter *gomaxûis*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khamikeb-gomaxûimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if used follows the same principle; hence *gomaxûis-//khamikemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khamikeb gaiti*, the second son */khamikeb /naguemab*, the youngest *//khamikeb tkarib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Tas Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 58–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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• 55[illegible] with the parents, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same "great name", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this "great name" derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

[853] [854] A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aibe's* it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby [842] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the [847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

846 242 [845] From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 323–4; Maxwell, *Blackwood*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 76; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 222, 259.

4: Hoerulé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

614 621 [591] the //Neigomon, and the /Gurunin are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

622 614 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the /Gavi Gain sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the /Gavi !Nagoman. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the older branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 614 551 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanaib, who is followed in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ≠Aubib, Huiaib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then Huiaib's son Hahib Abraham Swartbooi, then Hahib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son Hahib ≠ami, and now the latter's son Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 551 It is interesting to note that the /Gavi !Nagoman are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsauxan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these Tsauxan the members of which call themselves /Oa Goan, which means the younger branch of the chief's (gaob) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse. 614 551

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *!Hoe !Naiti*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartbooie, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, *Huiseb*, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Kaeie* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the *!Gaewaeie* sib there are at least four families, the Swartbooie, Gertzen, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Naigwaeo* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartbooie, the Linders. The *Ui Gaon* are the Petersens, whilst the *Goamun's* are represented to-day by the Orlam family, the *//Khou Tawaeo* by the Kido and the Brands families, the */Gari Goin* by only one family, the *N'aibis*, and the *!Noisi oin* by the Beukes family. [522]

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe. 614 621

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartbooie and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

843 they frequently encourage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 851 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 852 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 862 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[784] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [787] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little ones "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Homeotes FX13
Rare

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 573 574

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Toepot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 ● [575]

5. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of horse-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [577]

6. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [578]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "herbs" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blue-black red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [94] [95]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day: nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 536 [521]

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group S. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tamo* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*hâi*) as against Nama *dop*. 197

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentottensprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 36-42), to explain these identical words of three lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *hâpuse* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qa'nie*: "*qa'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *hompse*: "das *h* . . . am Anfang des Wortes vermisse ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in these few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names: 173 551

-â (*-p*), for the males, and *-o* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of */hatsi* and *Orose* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a number unknown by name.

14-Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Taras-dau*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or *ta* means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house. 196 542

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tis (constructed from *gautaras*), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xamǂhâs, who ruled the Cauquas (ǂKhauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xamǂhâ, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-ǂKhauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. 'All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is Xamǂhâ-b and the mother is ǂ*Ariseb*, the sons are— 422 765 551

1. ǂAriseb geib—*i.e.*, ǂArise the big one, or the eldest ǂAriseb.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

● 59 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb gûib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-mûb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one *or* the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb gûib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-mûb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagû-mû-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, when there are four; the fifth one is called ǂgaob, and if it is a daughter ǂgâon, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnûb, the dark one, ǂhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀnwah, the *red* one, ǀnubub, the short one, gǂxub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xam-ǂhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǂhâs gûis. 2. Xam ǂhas ǀnaga-mûs. 3. Xam ǂhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǀUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǀUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǀUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǀUrisi-s.

591 234 562 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

14:Stabu L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1981 FX13 Hereroot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buxu, and those sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsûîgoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (‖hamab, trade, ‖hamaxa, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buxu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (ǂNu-‖khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǀAmaxa tribe), and of the ǀKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ǂNu-‖hoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǀ*Khâsati* (ǀKhunusati) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreya the Zebras, *a* Orionis χαμί, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarob*, from *tara*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǂgari-b, ǂgob, ǂi-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǂgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǂgamteb, Lion-killer, ǂOtaǂtamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ǂb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

233 mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (ǂhau·ǁbe, vb. I heard older people say ǂhau·ǁra).

The billy goat (ǂkxa/ra b(i)rib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (baiǁ, i.e. the butting one) (57) always pasture freely with the

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

[365] The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called tsau- b(i)rigu. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail [362] fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name, 233 as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat 552 race.] I only came across two instances [265] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru·s and ǂǃõ·sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (ǂǃõ) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual 233 names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Nowadays each ox and cow
231 52 [192] is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

231 425 438 Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the OvaHerero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

231 425 463 Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

234 462 The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 264–7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 677–8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 78–9; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 42.

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Buskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle ǂû//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited. 604

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84). [171]

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

We have two chief groups of family names, /o-/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here. 551 553

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kxunibes, the son is called

Schultze--106 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
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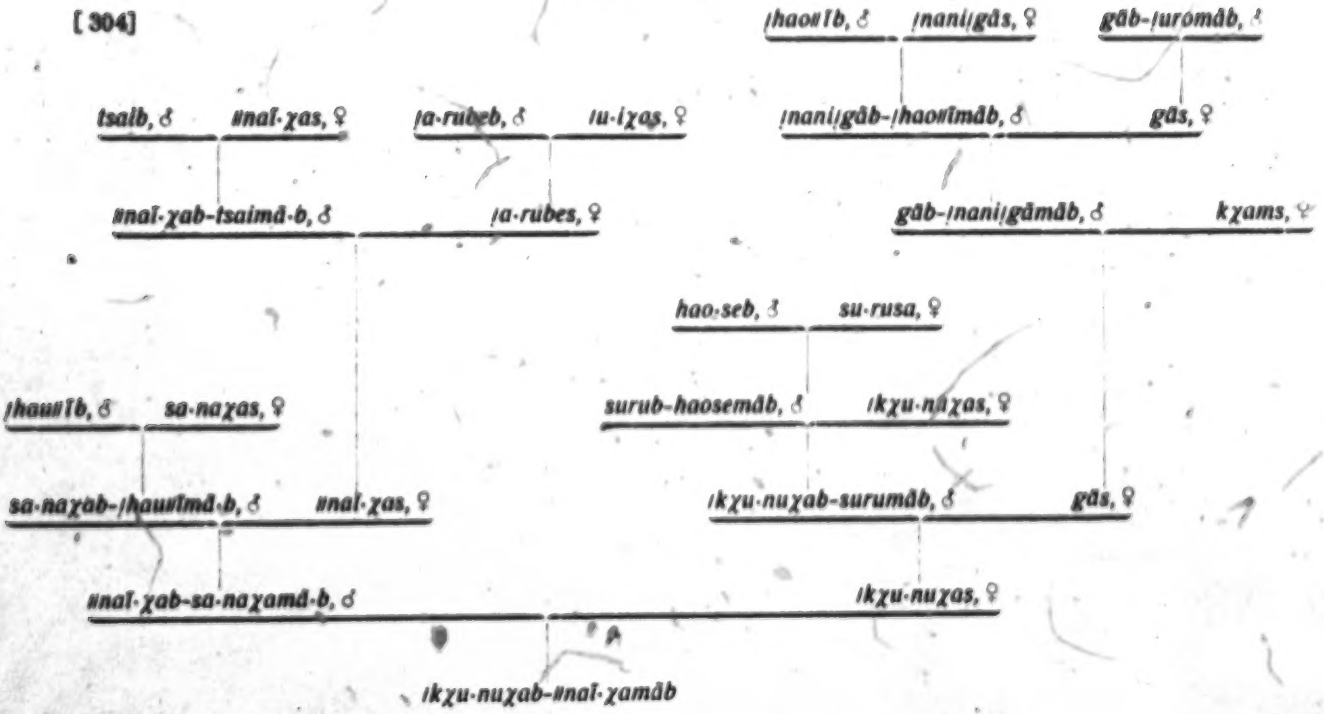
Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.

[304]



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//kχũnibeb and the daughter gomaris.

The son adds a secondary name to this main name when he is grown up. The main name of the father with the insertion of the syllable -mã̄ before the final personal suffix serves as the son's secondary name. The son of the afore-mentioned parents is thus called //kχũnibeb-gomarimã̄b. (There seems to be less use made of such double names by the female sex. The daughter of the parents mentioned above would have as a full name gomaris-//kχũnibemã̄s.)

In order to convince myself that this method of name-giving is pursued consistently for several generations, I have traced back the names of a family as far as the memory of my authorities reached. I was assisted by the village elder of the Topnaar settlement in Rooibank behind Walvis Bay. The result proved the consistency of this rule of name-giving.

In everyday life there are consequences arising from the way names are inherited that could easily lead to confusion, except that, as we will see, a second group of names provides a remedy. The rule by which children receive their parents' names results first of all in full brothers having the same name and all full sisters having the same name. A simple consideration, using as an example, the last generation of the second family tree, results in the following: the same main name, /kχu·nuχab, which the brothers have, will also be the name of all their cousins that are the sons of a maternal aunt, in other words all sons of /kχu·nuχas' sisters. Different from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins who derive from the father's and mother's brothers. The cousins that stem from the father's sisters are all called sa·naχab.

Analogous are the relationships among the sisters of the brothers /kχu·nuχab: the chief name, which they have, //nĩ·χas, is also the name of all their cousins that are the daughters of a paternal uncle, in other words, daughters of the father's brothers. The daughters of the father's sisters would all be called sa·naχas. The maternal cousins, that are the daughters of an uncle (of a brother of the /kχu·nuχas), would [306] all be called gã̄s. Differing from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins that stem from the mother's sisters.

Although the parental names reveal the origin of the bearer to another Hottentot sufficiently so that they suffice for identification in a foreign kraal, they still do not provide enough differentiation within the

narrow bounds of the family. The names of a second group fill this gap. We will call them, 551 553

b) Nicknames.

In the simplest instance, these names are a simple characterization of the person based on an identifying mark or a fact. Thus a young Hottentot girl with thin hair on her head was called ǂgã́s, i.e. baldy, bare-headed. A young boy was called °/gu·ru//a·reb, because he was left-handed. A man who stood cold well was known by the name °!kχai·t(o)mab, as "one who is not (t(o)ma) cold (!kχai)." Another, notorious for being unpunctual, was called °!aũ·ǃ//kχui·b, "he who makes you wait (!aũǃ) in vain (//kχui·, to miss)." A feared cattle thief in lower Swakop territory was named for the color of his hair °/haiǂ̃b, the "dun horse." A peaceful old man who had planted near the water a tobacco bed that was always green (!am) was called !a·mχab etc.

Certain events are the basis of two other names: °hã·/gyeb, i.e. "he who came," because this man came to this place from far away and now lives here. A boy, whose mother died shortly after he was born, received and kept the name, by which a Hottentot designates a newborn being, whether man, lamb, or calf, that is raised on the milk of a strange woman or different mother animal: °hã·sib.

Such names can attach themselves so firmly that they become the first name of a person for all his life. It is not unlikely that such nicknames were formerly the original and only names of the Hottentots and that even today they still become main names that can be inherited and thus bring new elements into the vocabulary of parental names.

Sometimes only those closest to a person can understand the personal connection in the name of the person. Thus I have not been able to find out the references of the various nicknames of Hendrik Witbooi which I heard many times: !hu·iseb, °/gã·mab and °kχabu·b.

Some of the nicknames are terms of endearment which are only used for a certain time and then forgotten or only used occasionally. [Pictures. Plate XIII. Topnaar Boys]. [307] Thus a Hottentot woman called her little son °ǂkχa-ri!kχu·bib, i.e. "the little vlei." She wished to indicate that the sight of her child made her as happy as an expanse of water does in the dry desert. Another mother had a naive pleasure in the pretty ("clean") privates of her little daughter and therefore named it !a·nuǂnũi·s. A Hottentot child, that had Negro blood from its father's side and thus had a darker skin color, was usually called °ǂnũ·/sagyeanu·s by its mother, i.e. "you who are so sweetly black."

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him °ǂnũ/xõgũ/õatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 263). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: 551 522

°//kxa·nsab was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from °//kxan, to forego evacuating the bowels); °//go·res/nõa·tso/a·b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; °!ho/mxõs, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; °!kxõre·b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; °//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called °a·ru//gui·b. The word aru· means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu·i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name °a·mikxoma/gu·ita·raseb, i.e. as one "who has many (/gui) wives (tara.s) just as an ostrich (ami.s) has hens." [585]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," °!ao·xab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (°//ga/bu·b) over its snout and so he is called °//gabu·xaa·mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Rachydactylus species, °!na·nigyemũ/s, another one, because of his stamping gait °!nõ·/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man !a·batoma!nao·b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (!a·ba) on the wagon to load it" (!na/o).

They called another !a·osa/ã·batana·s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana·s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Names

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Graevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Graevenbroeck naïvely puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and then, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Naman, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gei khoi /ons*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomarib*, and that of the mother *//khunibes* (*-b* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khunibeb* and a daughter *gomaris*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khunibeb-gomarimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if found follows the same principle; hence *gomaris-//khunibemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khunibeb geib*, the second son */khunibeb /nagamab*, the youngest *//khunibeb /karib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Ten Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 98–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

convocatos utriusque sexus propinquos et affines, tecto suo excipit, ubi quum consedere de nomine puero indendo primò uxorem suam percunctatur, eique ut plurimum assentitur, et post illum reliqui ad unum omnes, ingenioque puerperae applaudunt, suoque nomine appellatum infantem salutant, eique et parentibus felicia precati, genethliacis celebrandis diem terunt.

Notus mihi Barbarus *Gauda* dictus (quo nomine Latinis Dama venit) quia ea die qua natus, matre ejus de cibo valdè sollicitâ, pater a venatione oneratus damis domum redibat, quorum carne esurientes convivas, nebridibusque recentem natum commodè tanquam fasciis excipiebat: hinc mater occasionem arripuit, filio *Gaudae* nomen imponendi. Alia media aestate pariens, quum Sol radiis suis terram pecusque maximè urit, adeò ut illa arescat, hocque ubera lacte siccata habeat, quamobrem puerpera, dum insuper mamillas suas exsiccatas videt, misericordia tacta, filiolae *Bithathè* nomen indidit, voce compositâ ex *Bi* quod lac, et *thathè* quod penuriam significat: appellatione valde opportunâ.

Sicubi patrifamilias res pecuaria ampla est iterum per sacrificulum victima cadit, cujus adipe infans cum matre ab ariolo vaporante circumliniuntur herbâque Bochu, pari quo dixi modo persperguntur, natalitiisque datis, maritus in unam alteramque hebdomadam se foras proripit, et nisi infans mammâ disjunctus aut lacte depulsus sit, vir cum muliere sua etiam toto anno non cubat, eaque gravida secubat: interim pellicibus aut vagae veneri litans, nam Afris his plures solent esse nuptae, quae singulae suis mapalibus separatim degunt, remque familiarem maritique jussa religiosè curant, eique certatim vultu verbisque blandiuntur, qui in binoctium trinoctiumque pro cujusque venere, gratia meritisque, mox hanc mox illam complectitur,

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H 846 553

[33]) This description (together with the following paragraph) also applies to the Hottentots. It is of course by no means complete, but is correct in suggesting that the mother is secluded for some time after the birth, and that before she leaves her hut she is ceremonially cleansed (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 262 ff). There is no other record of a name-giving ceremony similar to that mentioned by G.

H 553

[34]) Wreede's Hottentot vocab. gives the word *k'goeda* = steenbok (Latin *capricornus*, not *dama*, which is given as the Latin equivalent of klipspringer = Hottentot *k'gogĕe*): Kolb's vocab. (said to be based on that of G.), gives Hot. *kăouda* = steenbok. (Molsbergen, op. cit., I, 222, 227).

S 834 545

[35]) This statement, although applicable to most primitive peoples, seems in the present instance not to refer to the Hotten-

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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water is according to the season of the year, hot in winter, cold in summer. Then the husband calls together his kith and kin of both sexes and receives them in his hut. When they are all seated the matter of a name for the child is broached. First he asks his wife; as a rule he expresses his agreement with her, and after him they all do likewise, praising the wit of the young mother. They then greet the child by his new name, pray for happiness for him and his parents, and pass the day in celebrating the birth.[33])

A certain native of my acquaintance has gotten the name of *Gauda* (in Latin *dama*, or buck)[34]) from the following circumstance. On the day on which he was born, his mother being very anxious about food, his father came home from the hunt laden with buck. The hungry guests were fed upon the flesh, the newborn babe was swaddled in the skins. Impressed by the timely relief, his mother improved the occasion by naming the boy *Gauda*. There is a tale of another woman who gave birth to a child in the middle of the summer, when the sun with its rays most scorches earth and cattle, so that the earth is parched and the udders of the cattle are empty of milk. The young mother, beholding her own dry breasts, was touched with pity, and gave to her daughter the name *Bithathe*, a word compounded of *Bi*, milk, and *Thathe*, lack. Surely a very happy choice of name.

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Any father who is well stocked with cattle again offers sacrifice on the occasion of a birth; the mother and babe are smeared in the fat of the victim, which is warmed by the priest; and they are sprinkled with bochu in the manner described. After the birthday feast the husband takes himself off for a week or two, and until the infant has been taken from the breast or weaned, he does not sleep again with his wife even if it be for a whole year.[35]) He always sleeps away from her when she is with child. In the meantime he goes with concubines, paying homage to a roving love, for these natives generally have several wives, each living separately in her own hut, looking after the household and scrupulously obedient to her husband's commands. They vie with one another in flattering him with word and look, and he embraces now one, now another, for a space of two nights or three, according to the passion,

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tota, but to be derived from the account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa. They say: "As soon as a woman is confined in childbed, her husband must stay away from the hut for 13 to 14 days, and not sleep with his wife as long as she is suckling the child, even if it be for a year. In the meantime he must console himself with his other wives" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.* iii, 64).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tawakhwedi na /o:hwa /khares thi heib thikha khau /hwa. //hwa ha ha kje na /hû, ina /uri //hae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai //nâukwa na /oro //na:s. /kharedi kx²aqukwa xa tahakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje diba. //garu /uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:hwa kuikje di hwa.

Translation :

The women dig for " uintjes " with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

family surname. That of the */Gari /Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde peerde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[2]

Campbell[1] describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[3]

[1] Op. cit., 94.
[2] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430–1.

2; Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgelinge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 554 [324] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 619 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organisation of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, II, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 [654] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-kaib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chieftainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

643 645 The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witbooi from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onder-kapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders 643 of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-con- 887 stituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Tindall (*op. cit.*, 42) and, following him, Fritsch (*op. cit.*, 364) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the eldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Times," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, 1, 19.)

[2] Vedder, *op. cit.*, 115. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gao-tas* (controlled from *gaotsas*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., 97, 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307.
[3] *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxvi-lxvii; cf. *idem*, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

2. Schapera Z-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 number of years. He also keeps a large quantity of milk at the door
554 of his hut, which he distributes to the poor and the needy. None
651 of these statements has been confirmed by later writers, with the exception of the tribute of game, which, as we have seen, is also mentioned by Wandres. Kohler's informant, on the other hand, explicitly denies that such a tribute is paid, and this would seem to be confirmed, at least as far as more recent times are concerned, by the statements of several other writers that the chief receives no tribute from his subjects. Nor does he levy any taxes, although in case of war or other extensive undertakings collections may be held or requisitions made, to which every tribesman has to contribute according
[681] to his means. The fines levied in criminal cases, however, often go to the chief, or are shared between him and the judges. He can also accept a share of the damages awarded in a civil dispute, but there is no obligation on the successful litigant to pay this. It is regarded merely as a voluntary gift for the trouble taken, and the same is probably true in those cases, mentioned by Wandres, where the chief regulates inheritances. In co-operation with his council the chief can also impose orders upon his people, which as a rule are implicitly obeyed. He can, e.g., cause certain grazing grounds to be vacated, in order that they may be rested. He has also the right to use the labour of the people for public purposes, such as mending roads, building schools, or churches, opening up water and furrows, and so on. All adult males further are liable to be called out for military duty at any time.

643 It may be added that, according to Hahn, a Hottentot chief is
554 expected "to have an open house and an open hand" and the worst that can be said of a chief is that he is *gei-//are*, i.e. "greatly left-handed or stingy." "It happens sometimes," Hahn even says, "that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal."[1] There is no instance on record, as far as can be ascertained, of such a deposal having taken place, and the statement seems contradictory to the genuine respect attached by the people to the hereditary rights of the chief. "Our chiefs are not made," they say, "they are given by God." And Eduard Lambert, when on the death of his brother Andries the German authorities wished him to act as chief of the Gei //Khauan, the rightful heir being several hundred miles away, is said to have at first declined the proposal, with the words: "One

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 17; cf. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1891, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, *op. cit.*, 216 *sqq.*, 219–20; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 *sqq.*, 96; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 55–61 *passim*.

726 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not
789 follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden
787 ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere
[821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, "we are overpowered by *//Gauna*"; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha, //o ge ni*, "war is approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot
[643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something
554 similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. "Bravery was highly admired," he says, "and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony.
[304] The priest or */gaisob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-/gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsătamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ŏb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as */Khami* and */Khams*, Battlefield; */Kho-//oa-tes*, "You cannot catch me"; */Khotoas*, the one last caught; */Kxixas*, peace; and */Huritamas*, "I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 338. [2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves) and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[53]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?). S 428

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge. H 291 H [554]

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable. H 302 H [824]

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians oetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them. H 276

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to daughters" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property alloted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72). S 428

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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11)van Riebeeck (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

12) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

13) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khuma, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 26, 1658).

14) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yea! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1661).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

sheepskin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Molquerer women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men.

Ornamentation.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, doits, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, when they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,[56]) into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away.

Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Choro,[57]) who, like his brother, has greasy skins

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[56]) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, not for decoration but in connexion with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 72).

[57]) *Sic.* Choro was the chief of the Gorachouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[68]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[69])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[68]) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[69]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 304).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *ba*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

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TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife[52]). But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

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The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again[52a]), all with coloured hair instead of wool.

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[52]) See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman* 1595-1597. *I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewyckszz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

[52a]) *Sic.* Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 23).

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CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore[21]) or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *sirigoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,[22]) while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.[23])

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 251)[1] briefly desribes their mode of manufacture.

[23]) The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarized by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 314.

[1] [See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, cnt. 116, p. 251. — Analyst]

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ/b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ/b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ/b, sa ĩ/b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is *õ!gã/'//gũ/s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation *abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as *ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called *sirõ-s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as *a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called *bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u/i·b and /u/i·s in the third person.

The wife is called *!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called χaĕ.s.

[302] /u·/iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·/igukχa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u/iaob //goĕ!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 789

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 524

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 857 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is chasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; *idem*, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*/gui //han*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 399; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 322–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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561 expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to
[576] Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The
593 children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection
588 and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall
603 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances
576 be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti //ndob* "my grandfather", or *ti //ndosa* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative
576 age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in
593 definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *ousis* in the case of the eldest sister, *siros* or *sisiros* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *aboadib* for the eldest brother, and *budirob* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father.[3]

576 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in
593 later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *skras*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *sou*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 21; Schultze, op. cit., 301. The term *ousis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *zuster*, sister; *siros* or *sisiros* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*. *Aboadib* and *budirob* are similarly derived from the Dutch *broer*, brother.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. 'Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narsa, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751

Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Top is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561

In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 128.

* *Tsuni ǁGoam*, p. 77.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khard, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or bushu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is cele- 585
brated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. [601]
folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient 177
custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship 595
between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not neces-
sary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives of-
ficially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the 593
wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the 171
Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all house- 562
hold matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to 462
refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food sup-
ply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the
fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman,
namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The
honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not pre-
vent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physi-
cal superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, ǂgõ·an, 854
Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She [601]
carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to 854
little children when they sneeze (sĩ). In other cases I heard the mother 866
wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" ("-an
seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited
first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its
helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again
on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then
outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow 855
for its use ("maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only 422
milk for itself this one cow, ǂ/bes, mornings and evenings. During the
day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his
milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows [585]
from their parents.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297, 518; Hoernlé, *Rickerveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wandres, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 71.

Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she [562] receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all over with fat, then laid on the ground, [E78] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 217–23; Schinz, op. cit., 97; von François, op. cit., 214–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 520; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

of the stock. The rights of the guardian cannot be interfered with by the chief or the tribal council, but as he is always closely watched by the other relatives he cannot easily appropriate anything in an illegal manner. When a childless couple die, the estate goes to their parents, those of the husband having first claim. When the parents are also dead, the chief divides the estate among the more remote relatives of the deceased, the following order of preference being observed: husband's eldest sister's children, husband's brothers, husband's sisters, wife's sisters, husband's brother's children, children of the husband's remaining sisters, wife's sisters' children. The brothers of the dead wife, Wandres remarks, do not inherit, since, according to the ideas of the Naman, they belong to another family. A portion of the estate is also claimed by the chief, in return for his supervision.

These traditional laws of inheritance can only be departed from if a man during his lifetime stipulates that after his death certain of his goods are to be given to his *sore*-companion, friends, more remote relatives, etc. This voluntary testament, *gus*, must be made orally before witnesses, and is usually abided by conscientiously, although the chief has to see that the nearer relatives do not suffer by it.[1]

It is doubtful to what extent this formulation of the laws of inheritance can be relied upon. It is certainly far more elaborate than that given by any other writer, and should therefore probably be regarded as more accurate. But the statement that all children inherit in equal shares does seem at variance with the honoured position of the oldest brother among the Naman, and the other writers, as we have seen, all state that the eldest son is the principal heir. The information about oral wills, again, also stands in need of confirmation. Here the lack of definite case-histories of inheritance once more makes itself felt, as concrete examples would have enabled one to clear up the discrepancies in the different statements of the laws of inheritance. The general trend of the information is to show that a man's eldest son is the principal heir, and that the other children inherit to only a minor degree. Apparently both men and women can acquire property in this way, and the possessions inherited are held individually.

[1] Wandres, op. cit., 683–5; Vedder, op. cit., 145.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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643 [554] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-heib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chieftainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

643 645 The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witboois from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders 643 887 of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-constituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Tindall (op. cit., 42) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 365) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the oldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Time," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i, 19.)

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 115. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gau-tas* (contracted from *gautaras*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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626 [171]

the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

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Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Naman, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sanction here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground !naras pips, goats' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with !naop, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the */drup*, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "*deiba /aba*", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaχais.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by !Kabes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "*Xaré dama kaure ≠aba ≠abare*", "don't get thin, get fat like the *≠aba* onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xaré dama kaure ≠aba ≠abare", and, filling the water pot, *//ho-ǂa*, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlief gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and *//ubus*[2] juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //gurǂa, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //gurǂa. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dabi and //ghnab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become !nau, and have to be dealt with similarly.

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I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

[2] A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[1] [ie. A young marriggable woman. See cat. 116, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Abstract.

753 755 757 Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step [787] was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. ● [562] There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

164 [177] After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore [846] breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which 757 retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding [824] item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[24]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[25]); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[26]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori;* the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 215-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the sermonising reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'cabaij' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) *Three weeks later* the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35] See above, p. 111.

[36] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37] In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[23]) Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 000 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me
782 that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[24]) Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no
[582] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under
291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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23) Probably the Berg R.

24) A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 383 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[24a]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles.

Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Magosi[25]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[26]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[27]) Freemen despise the price of servitude.

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in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 64). The verbal embroidery is all G.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the AmaXhosa as *ukumetsha*, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 113 ff.).

27) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 65).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them " boys ") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music. 534 115

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being " whipped " with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used 534

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called *!khon!a !hausab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana. 533 562 868 535

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows. 534

(1) *ǂkho:ǂkho:s*
(2) *!namis*
(3) *geiǂa:s*
(4) *tuxana*

The meaning of the third of these names is " the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of " tonic," since from it the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Tara-daob*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or ta means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tās (contracted from gautaras), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xam|hās, who ruled the Cauquas (|Khauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xam|ha, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-|Khauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. 'All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is *Xam|ha-b* and the mother is *‡Arises*, the sons are—

1. ‡Ariseb geib—*i.e.*, ‡Arise the big one, or the eldest ‡Arise.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

559 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagā-mā-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called ǂgaob, and if it is a daughter ǂgaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnūb, the dark one, ǀhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀawab, the red one, ǂnubub, the short one, gāχub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xam-ǀhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǀhās geis. 2. Xam ǀhas ǀnaga-mās. 3. Xam ǀhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǀUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǀUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǀUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǀUrisi-*s*.

591 234 562 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamas! My lioness! 542

!Gaibista ǂaste! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomasa ke ǂausi ǁgunî !omasi!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǂGabi-ǂkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamas! My lioness.

Gei khoits ôas! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [601]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χamas*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174
(ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap

(ǂgi ǂâ-s, to boil, to cook ǂâi).

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gou*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother, who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

233 mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (ǂhau-ǂbe, vb. I heard older people say ǂhau-ǂra).

The billy goat (ǂkxa/ra b(i)rib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (baib, i.e. the butting one) (57) always pasture freely with the

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

[365] The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called nau-b(i)rigu. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail [362] fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name, 233 as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat 552 race] I only came across two instances [265] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru-s and ǂã-sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (ǂã) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual 233 names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) °omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ams) of the hut (oms)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture. omam!gaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) °!ga-/marib- (3. st. cf. p. 352.) or ǂha-bab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)°/kʘn-bus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called °/a-miǂai-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Waluis Bay received their name !na-ranin from the gourd fruit !na-rab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222 [342] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [627] 222 423 628

either "na-ǃmata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and 101
understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then 619
he answers: "kxoē-kxoēta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature [186]
such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kxoē-kxoēta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kxoī-kxoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

648

a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. [567]
They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [841] [843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[164] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep,
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:— .

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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823 271 782 Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 125.
* *Tsuni ǁGoam*. p. 77.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Kharú, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name "soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

● 572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 3[illegible]; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

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practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gamsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gamsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*oa !huru* or simply *!huru* in the case of men, *!goe-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gui-guisen*, to make oneself stiff) is also found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wandres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 351; cf. Falk, op. cit., 211.
[2] Op. cit., 283.
[3] Loc. cit.

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and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*/gui //han*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 300; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 522–3.

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or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soregus*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *magus*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Naman] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make mates,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'magu' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a mate, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her undress, and with these he departed with true native sang froid, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly patched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 318–19; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namen," 68a.
[2] Op. cit., 40–2.

4[see cat. 116, p. 243. —Analyst]

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425 him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or 572 dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Bushmen (*sic*) named Ougaa came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bond brother ('*opligtbroer*'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the [838 fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices, 837] where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *sorequa*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

[1] Op. cit., 85–6.

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ceremonially initiated between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots.

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Somewhat akin to the *awgus*, from the economic point of view, is the *//nuri //gub*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism.

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It is hardly necessary to stress any further the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his *ons*, soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the right to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2]

1 "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 182–3.
2 "The Nama," 144.

5. The Tribal Community

The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the *nara*-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power.

Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "*Iaiis ge ǂareya oa ni re ma tsi*," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of getting some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

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the */naras* and *tsamma* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sabes*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 122–3.

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Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ǂap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ǂap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarâs* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

First, during the day, the *aba tarâs* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axu ǂaiǂ*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarâs* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-kaross slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-kaross* (lit. breeches-kaross) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarâs*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tards* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tards* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go at eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the tail of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé [illegible] account ("Social Value of Water," 324). In the earlier version ("Conception [illegible]," 70), she says that the dressing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the inner hut, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tards*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tards* and other women who, in her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxais* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *buchu* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tards*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *buchu* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *aba tards* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nau*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tards*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tards* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wikar, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Riekerwald*, 17; Alexander, loc. cit.

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti [|Naoun |Huis — My ancestors' territory
|Gaise |khai loa te re — Run nicely to meet me
aike mutse — I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile *|Hai |Nun* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Naman", 519–20.

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224 554 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the [5N] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." [276] The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, [301] and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best [634] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. [262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was [574] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128–9.

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421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.[1] And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [426] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[2] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[3]

577 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to 574 the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[4] A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[5] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a [685] man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 349.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 136–7; Schultze, op. cit., 318; Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein der Naman," 275; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.

[3] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Kohler, op. cit., 351–2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 135; Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 40; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305; von François, op. cit., 222; Schultze, op. cit., 318; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

[5] An extremely interesting statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the //Hobesen:—

"Agreement dated 9th January, 1893:

"The agreement which I make with Francois Daniel Vloeis and with anyone who hires a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £12 per annum.

"2. If he follows his own customs on the farm and if he is unfriendly to the poor people and does not give them a bite when they come to him then I charge him £24 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is not hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasture, be they white, red, or black, then I charge him £36 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W. Afri. Sci. Soc.*, ii (1926–7), 57–8.)

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or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soregus*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *magus*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Naman] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make mates,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'magu' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a mate, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her undress, and with these he departed with true native sang froid, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly patched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 318–19; Wanders, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 682.
[2] Op. cit., 40–2.

[See cat. 116, p. 243.—Analyst]

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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organizatio
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent th
signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original forn
of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts o
the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb
who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots mor
fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqu*
619 or *khoeque*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The norma
622 heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failin
a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brothe
or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at hi
accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains"
of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people
and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives
● [574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for th
"captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while th
broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some
suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the
wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women
and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record o
any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so tha
the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he
622 presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing
645 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of
all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned
by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance
arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 321–2.

695 [195] questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions. When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion is the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed. 696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is 681 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *nou-aob*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wandres describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *thigu*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men, or else he poured a little sand on to their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and bit, until one of them • [574] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of inter-marriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

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439 609 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment [721] would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

609 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary 574 Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, 485 writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality 574 to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 28th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1916, p. 191.

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might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly, according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated." Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called *//gauna //ora khoin*, i.e. people who died the *//gauna* death.[2]

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers. When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission, never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation or to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was common and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of *//Gaunab*, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them."[5]

Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites.

[1] Cf. above, p. 266.
[2] Op. cit., 86.
[3] *Vergeldinge der Guten Hoffnung*, 133.
[4] Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 24; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 358; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 428; Albrecht, "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 2643; Shaw, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 40–1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133–6 Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334.
[5] Op. cit., 86; cf. 74.

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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *ǂaba xaĩre*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it." [1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gein*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui //Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */nau* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances [4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 27-8. [2] Ibid., 58-60, *passim*.
[3] Ibid., 28; cf. Wikar, "Beschr. van Plettenberg," 127.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 31-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schultze, op. cit., 377.

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [841 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

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NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

42) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 1, 48-63.

43) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

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Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[44]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean. 752

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[45]) 757 782 [824] [574]

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[46]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below. 824 278 821

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[44]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, II, 71-9; *cf.* Schapera, 406-7, 256 ff.).

[45]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

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deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.[**])

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Salmacis, won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be à propos, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scrape in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.[***]) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.[***])

[**]) See above, p. 47.
[***]) Judges, 7, 4-6.

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs. 142

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII). 142 145

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matrons. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place. 142 [432]

8. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of department, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hõ!//gua *. 516 516

* I could not find the word "!hõ!" listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !hoi- to be best, as from !hõ!- to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning . . . [Picture. Hottentot woman of Berseba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "ua arii khoma !hõ! //gua (o)!u" i.e. "Your

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ! //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ! //garaxa ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ! //goabats gye nĩ ʃũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question.

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kgoma gai //goaga (e)Ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ! //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (/ũnais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement.

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the triangle thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women.

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," "i gûbes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga'e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "!ga'ǂhu'ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "!kũ'ǂhu'mi, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who may home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/oas, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with tí°dáb or dá. tse, and its mother with ti áis or áise: my father! my mother! The expressions dádə. b and mamə·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[201] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Naron Bushmen address their parents nao/b and nao/as. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa nao/b, thy father etc.

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561 expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to
[57½] Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The
593 children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection
588 and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall
603 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances
576 be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti ||nâob* "my grandfather", or *ti ||nâoxa* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative
576 age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency
593 for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *oasis* in the case of the eldest sister, *sirus* or *sinirus* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *abaûsi* for the eldest brother, and *huâbas* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own [illegible].[3]

576 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in
593 later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *sirus*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *aos*, in her presence. He must never

[1] Olpp, *Namaqua*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 322.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 22; Schultze, op. cit., 322. The terms used in this section are derived from the Dutch *oud*, old, and *zuster*, sister; *abaûsi* or *abaûse* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *-si*. *Abaûsi* and *huâbas* are ultimately derived from the Dutch *baas*, brother.

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576 speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must
593 ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected
195 one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti /gâs ao nu*,
576 as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk
593 into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa /gâsa xoa*, commit incest with your sister.

602 This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men
576 to whom she applies the relationship term */gâs*, brother, even if
195 they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad
582 language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says
[177] Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

602 Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//aixis*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is permissible with them, from sexuals and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

604 The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; Idem, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 88-9; von Fransois, op. cit., 200; Schinz, op. cit., 390.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

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the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

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Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was [illegible] the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

562 576 695 674 694

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136-9, 46; cf. Peacock, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Namas, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her husband, whether over or disadvantage, is taking part. The sacrifice here in the respect due to a sister by a brother.

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [753] this girl possesses special powers, such that have evil effects from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [755] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. ● 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [341 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [43]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [44]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [45]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 228).

[44]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boors, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Africa*, 24.) Cf. also Two Rhyme Below, p. 115).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*[16]), just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom[17]) — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled[18]). He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *boschou*.[19]) Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

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[16]) On this woman, see below, p. 136, n. 18.

[17]) Buchu was always ground to powder, never burned.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assagais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[1] It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the adrenalid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 184-5). Cf. also Schapera, *op. cit.*, 130 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damoh*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practice polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[21]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[22]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kouima, ostrich feather, and a woman *Nua* no mace, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (Kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

[21]) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Soc.* 5. pp. 60 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

S 595

ffection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant ound of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A isobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond eform he puts away.

S 562 593 453

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a resent of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is nstructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the east; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it hat his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, he husband gives the same commands to her as when cknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough o be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst rom a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins he cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, ogether with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[34]) The

S [842 145]

vomen lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; hey are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is n my judgment the reason for the smallness of the opulation.

H 821 771 753 841

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of ll good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, he moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. t seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men nd beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of isasters of every kind.[37]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness.

H 514 576

[The women stand up and part their legs to make water; he men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They xpress their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[35])] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a lender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest locks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or

H [755]

value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet hey themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round heir necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

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[37]) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, ee above, pp. 139, 141. (The Naman use the terms *sores* for the un, and *//kaob* for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that O. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, n stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *zoab*.)

[35]) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of O.'s MS.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamse! My lioness! 562

!Gaibista ǀaote! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539 thee?

Gomasa ke ǀausi ǁgani !omsaï!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǀGabi-ǀkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamse! My lioness.

Gei khoits ǒase! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [60] sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 562 to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 591 name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577 finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576 from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174 ⟨ǂhare-gu⟩ for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǁhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172] ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323 style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap (pot sā-s, to boil, to cook sāi).

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Tsūi-ǂgoab, the giver of all blessings, *the Father on high*, 776
All-Father, the avenger, who fought daily the battle for his people, thus was identified with the ancestor of the tribe whose name was forgotten. Hence we have the ancestor-worship growing together with the worship of the Infinite —that is, *vice versâ*, *Tsūiǂgoab*, the dawn, became the mythical ancestor of the Khoikhoi.

Each tribe afterwards ascribed to this hero such qualities as were peculiar to, and popular among, themselves. And as there are other powers in Nature which also bestow blessings on men, like the rain, the thunderstorm, the moon, the wind (especially the rain, wind, the sun, the clouds), and as these powers also have been personified, it was only quite natural that they are either identified with the Supreme Being, or that they are considered as emanations or relations of his. Therefore it is that this Being must have a wife, ǂUrisis; a son, ǂUrisib, like every human father, grandfather, and hero. Hence we find, not only among the Khoikhoi, but among all other, especially the higher, mythologies, a real Olympian genealogy.

ǂKhaob

Tsūiǂgoab is also called ǂ*Khaob*. This is the general 196
term with which a chief, a ruler, a rich man, a master, is 576
addressed. If *Tsūiǂgoab* is the father and ruler of the 776
Khoikhoi he must be rich (ǂ*Khâ*) and powerful. ǂKhūb signifies the Lord, and is derived from the root ǂ*Khâ*, to be laden with something. A pregnant woman is a ǂ*khâsi* or ǂ*khâusi tarus*—*i.e.*, a laden, a burdened woman. A rich man has always been an influential man, a ruling man; hence it is that ǂ*Khâ* has adopted the meaning to rule, to be a lord. *Tariǂnaha ra* ǂ*khâ!* (who is king there? or, who rules there?) has become identical with *Tari*o ǂ*naha ra gao-ao!* (*gao-ao-b*, king, chief).

This brings us to the next point, to show how, in the 776

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blâst") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

1 "Berigt aus den Hoven von Plettenberg," 103-4, 94.
2 "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 9.
3 "Aus dem Eigenleben der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44-9.
4 From a cursory remark by Hahn (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 22) it is the magician (pol and white lion") to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
5 *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 78.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Max Hoernlé's personal analysis of the Nama translation cited this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.[1] And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [426] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[2] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[3]

●577 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far
574 from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[4] A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[5] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a [685] man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Die Rechte der Hottentotten," 348.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 1728-9; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 318; Wuthrow, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein der Hottentotten," 273; Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 70.

[3] Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 98; Rudner, op. cit., 311-2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 1733; Thunberg, Travels, Homeward Bound, 96; Wikar, op. cit., 730; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 409; von François, op. cit., 100; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 318; Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 70.

[5] An interesting humorous statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the Hottentots:—

"Agreement closed with Jonanga, 1890:

"The agreement which I made with François Daniel Visser and with anyone who knows a farm from me is as follows:

"1. I charge him £10 per annum.

"2. If he follows the cows continuously on the farm and if he is continually on the grass people and those cows give them a kiss when they come to him then I charge him £20 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is very hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasturage, he does nothing, and, or kisch, then I charge him £30 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Rath, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W.A. Agric. Soc. Soc.*, 6 (1926-7), 57-8.)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

or camp hungry, especially if of the same tribe; he is welcome, even in the owner's absence, to help himself to whatever there is.

It is customs such as these which have given rise to the use of the term "communism" in regard to the property laws of the Hottentots. It should by now be evident, however, that underlying the undoubtedly far-reaching liberality of the people there is always a clear recognition of private property rights. The Hottentot shares his food with others because he has the right to dispose of it, not because they have an equally legitimate claim to it; and this applies still more to live stock and objects of material culture.

This point is borne out by the special reciprocal relationship, *soaqua*, to which reference has already been made.[1] This relationship, also known as *maqua*, to give one another, must be ceremonially entered upon between the two persons concerned, and implies, as we have seen, mutual obligation and assistance in all aspects of life—they may refuse each other nothing. In practice this applies especially to property, where each may demand or take from the other whatever he pleases, and may not be refused.

Tindall gives a description of this custom which illustrates rather drastically its full implications in regard to property.[2] "It is usual among them [the Namas] to carry on a kind of 'maatschappy' or partnership. Two men, living perhaps three or four hundred miles apart, 'make maties,' the understanding is that each may take from the other whatever he pleases. They profess to believe that this is a very profitable kind of arrangement, and it is difficult to persuade them of the contrary. The following instance will illustrate the extent to which this 'maqua' or 'give-each-other' system proceeds. A poor man at Nisbet Bath, had, by diligence, obtained a horse and gun, he had a good hat, a very decent suit of clothes, a warm overcoat, and his wife had a tolerably respectable wardrobe. One fine morning a man, with whom he had in an evil hour entered into partnership, turned up from the borders of Damaraland, and claimed as his right, horse, gun, hat, clothes, coat, and all his wife's apparel, except her underclothes, and with these he departed with true native easy mind, leaving the other his tattered garments and riddled hat, which had been so repeatedly punched, that it was almost impossible to discern the original stuff. The probable sequel to this affair would be that the man would return his mate's visit, who would either manage to avoid

[1] Cf. Schreiber, op. cit., p. 62-63; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," etc.
[2] Op. cit., p. [illegible]
[illegible] cont. this, p. 263.—Fondi[illegible]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Dan schoon deze land-aerds onbeslepen van herssenen, vull en rouw van leven sijn, bewijsen echter de wet der volken zoo wel ongeschonden onder hen in onderhout te sijn, als onder de gemanierste volken van Europa: want behalven sy dat in menige voorvallen hebben doen blijken, kan tot een staal, of proefstuk, daer van dienen, 't geen de Goringhaiquas of Kaepmans, die des jaers sestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh met d'onsen in twist en onvenigheit vervallen waeren, op de vraegh, wat reden sy hadden om den onsen de oulusien aen te doen, en de beesten weg te roven, tot antwoort gaven, te weten, uit gene andere inzichten sulx te geschieden, als om hun leet en ongelijk te wreken, over het wegh-nemen en benaien van hunne vallanden door d'onsen, gelijk alree vooren verhaelt is.

In milt en troubeit tegen hun naesten, schijnen sy de Neerlanders te beschamen, en ten aenziene als d'een wat heeft, dat den ander gewilligh[illegible] sal mede delen: ja, al waert noch soo klein, soo trachten sy altijts met elkandre broederlijk te parten en te delen: want het steiem geschiet somtijts onder hen, door 't eten van den wortel dacha, dien sy met water mengen, en indrinken, en daer door dronken worden, en hen dan onwetende te buiten gaen: anderen, geperst door armoede, soeken wel hier en daer wat achterom te halen, doch moeten sulx, in 't licht gekomen, dier met de huit betalen. Dan sijn onbeschaemt, en laten om een klein stukje broot of tabak, al 't gen wat sy hebben.

Daer schijnt nochtans by hen ook een vonk van hovaerdye te sijn: want alsse sy d'onsen aen het Fort van goeder hope komen, dan hangen sy hunne vuilste beenneerste en stinkendste vellen om, en hebben d'oeren en hals verçiert, met rode en kopere geie kralen, achtende sich dan wonder prachtigh gestoffeert en uitgestreken te sijn.

Daer wort onder hen, in hoe slechten en armelijken staet sy leven, evenwel een hoog-hertigheit gevonden: gemerkt d'eene magerye tegen d'andere niet wil zwichten, en voor elkandre buigen: maer sullen veel liever den oorlogh aenseggen. De geen, die de wegs bevecht, speelt niet alleen heer en meester voor die reise, maer altijts braveert hy over sijnen overwonnen vyant.

(*) See above, p. 12.

(*) Many observers have commented favourably upon the liberality and hospitality of the Hottentots. A man in possession of food, tobacco, and other objects of common use, shares, and is expected to share, them with others, and greediness in this

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described *).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner **). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root dacha, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze **).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brass-coloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 228).

**) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a custome taught them by some ill-bred Boors, our men I hope have more civility" (Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Africaes, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χoma! My lioness! 542

!Gaibiba ǂate! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomaa ke ǂnasi ǂgeni ǂomatt!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Nazere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǂGobi-tikatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χoma! My lioness.

Gei khoiba daa! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [540]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χoma*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still taken, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577 ●
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (*ǂgaru-ti*) and of bending poles 174
(*ǂgaua-gu*) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (*ǂhoa-ti*), and wooden dishes (*ǂoreti*), and wooden basins and bowls (*a-χo-ti* or *ǂgaki-ti*), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [175]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 723
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap
(*gei ǂā-s, to boil, to cook ǂai*).

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha-ra. 204 152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumb. 578 152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana-b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba-s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, kôpi-oa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [318] [317]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering, hunting, and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

1. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [101] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [242]

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 18th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 248 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b) Delivery. (//nun-s, giving birth, ina-//es, being born; one also knows the word !ui'ku-s, relief, bi/s, getting. ca-s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is stormed as a vulgar expression). I have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [114] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Pete v. S., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority.

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 837 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were 839 sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases 309 may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ǂ//nâǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaiǂâba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara ǂâba ûs," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." (ǂâ-ûs is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haiǂnûnâts," "you (-u) son (nâ) of the genitals (ǂnûs, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haiǂ) The curse ge !gîse ǂâǂ "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[811] The insult "ǂgûtsi ge hâ ǂ" "oh, you have become rigid" (ǂgûtsi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

'539

for her (ti). Whereupon [the little one]: "Mother, I have seen something (ǂǂîr); go there, won't you (-re), and see." So she says.

Then she took a thong (!hauba) and went and saw (actually: "came to see") the two of them (-kkâ, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc. in the dat.-acc.). Then she plucked (tsurî) grass (/gâba) and wrapped (//guiam) the two of them, their two dogs (arikya), everything (hoa) together (/kya) in the grass. Then she brought (double vb.: ǂî "to go," ǂî "to take") the two of them to the hut (omi), and in the hut she built (om) a separate hut (/gui "alone," hâ "to remain") and told (gai) the two of them to lie down. Then they lay down and warmed the dogs (mî "to say," -ha emphasizes the relation to the obj.): "You should (ai) not (ti) drink (ǂî) like that" (tumi)." So

"Here the narrator imitates the lapping noise of drinking dogs.

they said. But the [sister] asked the old elephant mother: "When (a) I [518] once upon a time (ǂkare) married here (oâba), was a hare (!gurs) kneed (//gusa adj., here used substantivally //goasa(b)) wether (gûb) slaughtered (ǂâba) for me" (ta, -ha see above)?" Whereupon [the old woman] said: "You

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•536]

"It is a Hottentot custom for the mother-in-law to slaughter a head of cattle when she receives the young wife who moves into her husband's kraal. The daughter-in-law then does the same. If this festive slaughter is omitted by well-situated families, then that is a breach of good form, an unfriendly gesture toward the young wife.

wife (tarasa) of my (ti) son," why (tarets, with the personal suff. of the subj.)

"The crude conception of the family life which causes the young wife so much suffering is characterized by the words of the old elephant; she does not speak of her son as the man whom she have (oaîb) but whom she conceived in copulation (ai "to complete coitus").

do you suddenly (tsâi, "one day") speak of things (ǂkhoa) that you (-s in hugas) never (hugu, "ever," tama "not") mention?" But the other replied: "I (-ta)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his g sts. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *aore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *aore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence [578] of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground
684 for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 330; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 307; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 340.

[2] Von Francois, *op. cit.*, 102, 104; Olpp, *loc. cit.*; cf. Schinz, *op. cit.*, 319; *Report on Missions of L.M.S.*, 75.

[3] Kohler, *op. cit.*, 334; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 91; Wuttke, "Ueber das Recht der Namen," 669; Vedder, "The Native," 140.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[1]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[2]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

69 [162 262] [622 291 556]

Goringhaiquas.

The Goringhaiquas[3]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[4]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Goguwa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[5]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Oainghaikamma and the other Otagguas.[6]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Goguwa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[7])

619 162 622 571 [811]

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[1]) van Riebeeck (Letters Dagr., II, 230) gives their numbers as "about 200 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[2]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[3]) van Riebeeck's journal sometimes three sons of Goguwa, viz. Oringhaikamma (elsewhere Oainghaikamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khamma, alias Jan; and Otagua, alias Peter (D. Dagh. II, 1652).

[4]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connection: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Goguwa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief ... Yes! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, as that we had daily had him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Oainghaikamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared but little for his father" (D. Dec. I. 1652).

14:Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Hnabiob is identical with ǂNaunb, the thunder-cloud—196
i.e., with Tsuiǂgoab; and in another myth he changes names with ǂGurikhoisip, the ancestor of the Khoikhoi. We shall have to recur in the third chapter to these names again.

"We shall see more particularly in the third chapter that ǂgoab the snake, and ǂgoib the rain, come from the same root ǂgu, to flow. If there is plenty of rain, the fountains will flow very strongly. In every fountain again there is said to be a snake, hence the natives say, if the snakes go much about—that is, if the fountains flow very abundantly—then it will be a good year. Tsuiǂgoab, the ancestor of men, the creator of the Khoikhoi, lives in the thunder-cloud, where he causes the cloud to ǂgu, to stream—that is, he causes the water-snake to come down. Thus the ǂKora say, that the snake and the first man originally lived together. Here I may at once add a note, which I forgot to give in the text. This remark very likely also comes from Wuras:—

"There is hardly a trace of religion to be found among the Koranas; but the old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsui-koab had made two persons, a man *Kaxiseb*, ostrich feather, and a woman, Hau an Maas, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield. From Tsuiǂgoab they expect all the good things. He lives at the other side of the blue sky, in a light sky. They also talk of a Kaxuseus, who is an evil-doer. They fear him very much." (*Vide* Burkhard, "Die Evangelische Mission," vol. ii. p. 71) Bielefeld, 1860. It should be noticed that we have here again *Yellow Copper*, which is identical with ǂNoha, or ǂNaxun, the wife of ǂHeiǂgoibisanabiob.

"The ǂHi-game is an old kind of duel amongst the 198
Khoikhoi. If a man takes offence, he challenges the

14:Hahn 1-8 (ca.1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Honemot FX13

another man by taking a handful of dust, and holding it out to his adversary. The enemy then beats the challenger on the hand, so that the dust falls to the ground, and the challenge is accepted. If the other is a coward, he will not beat the dust to the ground, and then the one who made the challenge throws the dust into his face. In duelling together two men try to kick each other, or to knock each other down by fencing with knobkirris, or to throw each other with spears, covering themselves the meanwhile with their shields. This kind of duelling was called ǂKaga.

261 * For this reason the Namaquas pretend not to eat the flesh of the hare. The fact, however, is, that they believe, by eating hare-flesh, they will become as faint-hearted as a hare. They, for instance, eat the flesh of the lion, or drink the blood of the leopard or lion, to get the courage and strength of these beasts. The same custom we find among the Malays, Polynesians, and Indians of America, and other savages who drink the blood of wild animals or slain enemies, in order to become ferocious and courageous as they are.

262 * *The lion, however, had wings.*—Ctesias, "De Rebus Indicis," speaks of griffins in the following way:—"There is also gold," he says, "in the Indian country, not found in the streams and washed, as in the river Pactolus; but there are many and great mountains, wherein dwell the griffins, *four-footed birds of the greatness of the wolf, but with legs and claws like lions*—Ctesias, "De Rebus Indicis," 12; according to Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 312, Herodotus repeatedly mentions these griffins (Γρύπες), iii. 116; iv. 13, 27, 79, 152.

* *Veldt*, or, in proper Dutch, *veld*, means the fields, the uncultivated grounds, the grazing-grounds and sheep-walks.

* ǂHi-ǃgams literally translated *is the cloud-game*, from ǂhis, an antiquated word for cloud. This ǂhis ǃgams is also called ǂhoroa, a kind of *deer*. Why is the ǂhoroa called ǂhis? Here we have again metaphor. When the battle in the clouds is fought

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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439 609 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

[721]

609 574 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 574 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] Paprbrach, entry under 28th September, 1844, published in Missions, "Die Missions-Reisen [illegible] D.S.W.A.," 1908, p. 150.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Oviana found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting —the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would muster at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," par. 4; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 380.
[2] Gutmann-Arndt, "Die drei Grossen Völker," 108; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719, I, 448; Fritsch, op. cit., 379-81; Brown, op. cit., *Nama* 68-69, *passim*; Theal, *History of Africa South of the Zambesi*, vol. I, *passim*.

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *//kʰā/s-ei(e)si, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture, Plate XII. Topnaar Hottentot Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 210).

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I knew of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race.

In marriage, !gē-nub, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization.

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the !naob of the girl, the girl the !nau of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word !nau - to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom.

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. This can then happen in two ways, openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a permanent union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians,

attached to the top end. Down the middle of the moon, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the moon are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The moon is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the moon. The branch jerks up, pulling the moon over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows. 224

Spring traps, //ne̋-aga, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [196] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-n(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture, Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-n(a)das- wood. f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-n(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps °/hâ/n-a.

Capitulum IV

Social Life

A. Family

1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, kxara-b or /ha/ha-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and serve honey beer to the guests.

[106] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrotum rubbed with buchu powder as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called °/ua-tsâ!ka/n-, (/kaa/a-) = the testicles, °/ua-n is the gentle word of the cow's udder, the call of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 307). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleansed, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. This coming forth of the girl, °/ûs'nâbi (/ûs'n is the special term for the above-described method of cleansing with manure. /n-i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /ge'es. But from that time until she is married she is called ǂaoan (see below (57)).

Cf. J. G. Kuwalein, Warnebuch der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1880.

The vanity of the girls is often employed to furthering the development of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning of puberty. A slightly serumy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called °/ûp'-nerûseb.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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family surname. That of the *|Gori |Nagunun*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the *|Naisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Booken. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the *|Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus controlling marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Namas, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Namas. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans sitted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooie as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Namas. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headmen begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wanders, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied by both Wanders and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Das Hottentotland und Kububreet*, 198, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 319.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wanders, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 689; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 146.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between distant cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wanders under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fall of the savage with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was thoroughfare. Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Transvaal Quarterly*, 173).
[5] Wanders, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Ratzel-Hirsch, *Die geschlechtlichen Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, viii (1913-6), 209-20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Marriage

582 Normally a girl is not regarded as marriageable until she has reached the age of puberty and passed through the puberty ceremonies, nor was a boy in the old days permitted to marry before he had been initiated into the ranks of the adult men (a custom now fallen into abeyance). Marriage, as we have seen, might not take place between members of the same clan, nor was a man supposed to marry a woman of the same "great name" (*gui khoi /ons*) as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded as a mother, if much older, or as a daughter, if younger, than himself. Nowadays this prohibition has ceased to be observed; and we also find that marriage with any first cousin is permitted, even with direct cousins, although on the other hand, says Mrs. Hoernlé, the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross-cousins. Marriage with the latter was formerly permitted, both with the father's sister's daughter and with the mother's brother's daughter, although in some of the Nama tribes (e.g. *//Haboben, Gei //Khauan, //Khau /Gwan*) marriage with the latter kind of cross-cousin is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the former kind. It does not seem, however, that marriage with the cross-cousins was specially enjoined. Marriage with the direct (ortho-) cousins, on the other hand, was strictly prohibited.[1]

There is no single account of Hottentot marriage customs which can be regarded as exhaustive. The following description, pieced together as it is from the more or less incomplete accounts of a number of different observers, must therefore be looked upon only as approximately correct, although the details cited are all vouched for by reliable witnesses.[2]

584 As a rule there is free choice with regard to marriage, subject, of course, to the restrictions just indicated. The initiative usually lies in the hands of the boy. When he has found a suitable girl, he seeks to obtain her formal consent. He will hand her a little stick; if she takes this, breaks it in two, and throws one of the pieces at his breast, it is a sign that she is willing to marry him. The two now enter into a state of betrothal, which imposes upon them various

[1] "Social Organisation of the Nama," 22.

[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 322; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 314; Olpp, *Among Pagans*, 26 sq.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–5; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 318–19; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 197–9; Vedder, "The Nama," 234–5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei ǂâiǂas*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ni /gâo ao ǂa*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *ao /gâos xoe*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gâi*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//nâvis*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 20-1; von François, op. cit., 212; Schultze, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vaillant, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of *//nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, I, 147, 206–7.
[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, II, 40.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1923
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not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse.

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *//Aon //Nani*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartbooie, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, Haiseb, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Kaeiɔ* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the */Gaiɔsin* sib there are at least four families, the Swartbooie, Gertzen, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Naiqua* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartbooie, the Lindeqs. The *Kha Gaon* are the Petersens, whilst the *Goanoen's* are represented to-day by the Oriam family, the *//Khaw Tsaoaon* by the Kido and the Brands families, the */Gari Gein* by only one family, the *Mantbis*, and the *//Naisi ein* by the Beukes family.

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe.

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartbooie and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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The clan loyalty was very strong. Members of a clan all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the clan was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

Membership of a clan guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow clan members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two clans from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[5] of such a vendetta among the Bondelzwarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1854 there is an account[6] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

Though the old camping order of the clan has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartboois even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi* /oes, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi* /oes of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[5] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[6] *Loc. cit.*

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámirab* or */Gámab*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámas*.

/Gaoas is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are enjoining the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Hakaoa*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 • 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [791]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons
of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must
602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most
582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is
an indication of the complete transformation of the organization
of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and
European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now
relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother
602 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they
513 ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to
avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to
speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the
hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful
terms. A sister was a *têtse*, that is, a person to be respected, not
to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister
was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could
generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was
taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*sew*) in the presence of
his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call
[513] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her pre-
sence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to
purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gri /Kois*, a great offense.
Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut
when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a
man is his *Goi Têtse*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own
582 generation whom he calls *//Nâsis*. These women are his com-
panions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech
and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been
considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that
a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of
great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with
much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had
to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the
greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

4: Hoernlé E-8 (1912-1913) 1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's *//Hâs*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nari //ae*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day. 604

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[2] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances. 607 [137] 607 587

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays. 606

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place. 582

[2] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1856, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Name

The marriage is celebrated by a great feast at the home of the girl's parents. On the day of the ceremony, the bridegroom has to present a cow to his mother-in-law, in token of the fact that she brought up his bride, and carried the latter whilst still a child in the *aba* skin on her back (hence the cow is termed *aba-gomas*). A similar presentation is made to his mother by the bride. The bridegroom and his people also have to provide the cows slaughtered for the marriage feast. Oxen may not be used for this purpose, lest the marriage prove unhappy and quarrelsome, whereas the use of female animals will make it fruitful. On the morning of the ceremony the cows are driven in festive procession by the relatives of the bridegroom to the home of the bride's parents. Here they are slaughtered. While the meat is being prepared, the bridegroom is fetched from his own home by two of his companions, who play on the reed pipes. All three dance up to the hut newly outlied for the bride near that of her parents, in which she is waiting with some young girl attendants. Arrived there, the men dance round the hut for a while. Then the bridegroom's companions place themselves before the entrance of the hut, so that he can get in only with difficulty and by the exercise of force. As soon as he gets through and the young girls have left the hut, the mat door is lowered and secured to the ground with a stone, as a sign that entrance is forbidden. The marriage, says Hahn, is then consummated, with the knowledge of the whole camp, but without arousing any special notice. The guests meanwhile sing, pipe, and dance, and this continues all through the evening and night, the festivities only being interrupted for the great communal meal in which everybody takes part. Before the appearance of the morning star, the husband returns to his old home, where he has to stay the whole day without even seeing his wife; and only after the third or fourth day is he allowed to remain permanently with her.

The ceremonies of courtship and marriage just described are those noticed among the Namas within fairly recent times, and in most details are apparently still practised by them where they have not been christianized. A much earlier account by Wikar of the marriage customs of the Little Namaqua tribes contains several features not noted above; and as he is on the whole a reliable and accurate observer his description deserves to be quoted as complementary to that just given.[1]

He states that a boy courting a girl with the intention of marriage

[1] "Reize van . . . den Heer van Plettenberg," 110-2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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does not ask her directly for her consent, but says or "seeks her" 584
in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions
are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the
fire is still burning, and carefully eyes the place where she goes to
sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead,
he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, "if not in too much
of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of
the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed
until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes
away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the
girl's bed is still in the same spot, it can regard this as a sign that
his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up
and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down
next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only
persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him,
he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind [301]
him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law,
as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word,
he exchanges kerosses with the girl, who also gives him herbs with
which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bride- 585
groom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the
bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this
position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women
of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst.
She is initiated by them on her duties as a married woman, and they
also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, "praise men who seek wives, since
to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered
by a magician ("sorcerer"), who must be a male. A special portion [711]
of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may
eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor
any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered
animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is
smeared with herbs by the women, and this she must wear round her
neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, [309]
which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day 583 •
his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow 585
and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which
is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do; while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Grevenbrouck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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South Negro FA17

KOBONAS.

The Kobonas,(*) near whose land the Chainouquas dwell, are a very dark people, with hair so long that it flows over the back and hangs on to the ground. They are real cannibals, for if they can get hold of a Hottentot or any other person they roast him alive and eat him. They also have cattle, although not so many as other tribes, and plant gourds upon which they live. According to the reports of the Cape Hottentots, they have curious objects which they know how to get from the mountains, and still other rarities. No Hollander at the Cape has ever been to this tribe, owing to its remoteness.

About seven or eight years ago, in 1688, one of the Chainouquas, named Chathantima, was near to the land of the Kobonas, from which, assisted by his companions, he stole and carried off one of their women, decorated with all sorts of beautiful objects, and took her to his village to be his own wife.

Our countrymen, stirred with curiosity to see such strange people (who, according to the tale of this abductor Chathantima, then present at the Cape, had hair on the head which, when loose or unbound, dragged behind them on the ground), requested him to summon his wife to the Fort. To this he agreed, on promise of some reward, and accordingly sent several of his people to fetch her with all that she possessed. They were to tell her that her newly-married husband had summoned her to a people named Dutchmen, who went about fully covered with clothes, and whom neither she nor any of her people had ever seen.

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houses of stone and lasma, sowing with rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wear clothes and speak another language than those nearer the Cape" (D., Oct. 31, 1697). But Harry, a fortnight later, whom van Riebeeck insisted that the Chobonas were the supreme rulers of the Hottentots, retorted angrily that his informants were "mad" (D., Nov. 14, 1697); he had seen some of them among the Chainouquas, although he had never been in their country, and describes them accurately as "black Caffres, like the Guinea and Angola slaves, dressed in calf and sheep skins, of which they have many" (D., Dec. 16, 1660). Van Riebeeck, however, haunted by the thought of their great wealth (in 1659 he speaks of them as "dwelling in towns and castles, and rich in gold and ivory"), sent out several expeditions to the north-east in search of them, "who found no Chobona and no gold, but plenty of Nama and abundance of copper" (Maingard, *op. cit.*, 488, where the official records are summarised). It was not until 1760 that the settlers first came into contact with them overland, when a party of freebooters "made a drive into the country of the Chabequas, called the Great Caffres" (Maingard, *op. cit.*, 494).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [1]. Like the Mahammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [2]. Finally, they have this peculiar custom: If a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [3]. In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc. S. Afr.* 8, 89). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fall away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *'ihâk'a-enjas*, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its occurrence. It apparently lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture, Plate XII. Tuareg Menstruous Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 310).

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the tent, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I knew of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race.

b) Marriage. *Ige-meh*, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization.

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the *'saob* of the girl, the girl the *'tase* of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word *tag* - to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom.

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways: openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians,

contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without 584 ● 852
in daily life -- to pulverise a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder over her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got one of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/ǂâ/gu hã ǂgoaba gye ũ /gu/ta," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Horsemon, who 777 834 484
still observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out under the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette re- 584
quires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally according to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom 585 431
or his parents must supply the festival ox (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, ǃgũ/ǂâs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called °uamago/mas. The term kx̃ã/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kx̃ã/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

2: Schape 1 E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Marriage

582 Normally a girl is not regarded as marriageable until she has reached the age of puberty and passed through the puberty ceremonies, nor was a boy in the old days permitted to marry before he had been initiated into the ranks of the adult men (a custom now fallen into abeyance). Marriage, as we have seen, might not take place between members of the same clan, nor was a man supposed to marry a woman of the same "great name" (*gei khoi /ois*) as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded as a mother, if much older, or as a daughter, if younger, than himself. Nowadays this prohibition has ceased to be observed; and we also find that marriage with any first cousin is permitted, even with direct cousins, although on the other hand, says Mrs. Hoernlé, the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross-cousins. Marriage with the latter was formerly permitted, both with the father's sister's daughter and with the mother's brother's daughter, although in some of the Nama tribes (e.g. *//Haboben, Gei //Khauan, //Khau /Goan*) marriage with the latter kind of cross-cousin is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the former kind. It does not seem, however, that marriage with the cross-cousins was specially enjoined. Marriage with the direct (ortho-) cousins, on the other hand, was strictly prohibited.[2]

There is no single account of Hottentot marriage customs which can be regarded as exhaustive. The following description, pieced together as it is from the more or less incomplete accounts of a number of different observers, must therefore be looked upon only as approximately correct, although the details cited are all vouched for by reliable witnesses.[3]

584 As a rule there is free choice with regard to marriage, subject, of course, to the restrictions just indicated. The initiative usually lies in the hands of the boy. When he has found a suitable girl, he seeks to obtain her formal consent. He will hand her a little stick; if she takes this, breaks it in two, and throws one of the pieces at his breast, it is a sign that she is willing to marry him. The two now enter into a state of betrothal, which imposes upon them various

[1] "Social Organisation of the Nama," 21.

[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 322; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214. Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 26 sq.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 318–19; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297–9; Vedder, "The Nama," 134–5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

mutual avoidances. They are not supposed to meet or speak to each other, and may communicate only through an intermediary. This period of betrothal may be of considerable duration, and it is often several months or even a year and more before the marriage actually takes place. In the meantime the necessary negotiations will be going on between their parents, the boy's people taking the lead. After the young couple have come to an understanding, two or three old women from the boy's family go to the mother of the girl, and ask for her consent. This by custom she is required to withhold. After some time, during which the boy will occasionally bring small gifts to his future parents-in-law, the proposal is renewed, the girl's father also being approached this time. Finally, after a more or less prolonged show of reluctance on the part of the girl's parents, their consent is at last obtained, and the day for the marriage ceremony fixed.

In connection with this custom of wooing, reference must be made here to the employment of love magic among the Naman. A man wishing to win the favour of a girl will pound up a certain charm known as *dubu* (a white substance the size of a fowl's egg, generally found in ant-heaps), and mix it with tobacco, which he then puts into a pipe. If the girl smokes this mixture, she will fall in love with the man who offered her the pipe.[1] Or he will secretly smear the mouthpiece of a pipe with some of the contents of a medicine-horn, smoke the pipe, and then pass it on to the girl whose love he wishes to arouse.[2]

On the other hand, magical means are also employed to separate lovers. Of these one of the most effective is found in the legs of the locust. A girl who is to be alienated from her lover is asked, as often happens in the normal course of daily life, to grind to powder a heap of dried *kuchu* roots—but among the roots a locust leg has been secreted. When the girl, having finished her task, rubs her *kuchu*-stained hands in her arm-pits as usual, she unwittingly rubs in the magical means which kills her love. In other cases locust legs are pushed into the interior of a bone pipe, which is then handed round as usual. If care is taken that both lovers smoke of it, the magic will prove effective. In another instance quoted by Schultze,[3] the girl's parents consulted a magician, who smeared a small stick with some of the contents of his medicine horn, broke the stick, and threw the pieces apart, at the same time uttering the words: "The two who love each other must separate."

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 90. [2] Schultze, op. cit., 319-20. [3] Op. cit., 297-8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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585 The marriage is celebrated by a great feast at the home of the
583 girl's parents. On the day of the ceremony, the bridegroom has to present a cow to his mother-in-law, in token of the fact that she brought up his bride, and carried the latter whilst still a child in the *aba* skin on her back (hence the cow is termed *aba-gomas*). A similar presentation is made to his mother by the bride. The bridegroom and his people also have to provide the cows slaughtered for the marriage feast. Oxen may not be used for this purpose, lest the marriage prove unhappy and quarrelsome, whereas the use of female animals will make it fruitful. On the morning of the ceremony the cows are driven in festive procession by the relatives of the bridegroom to the home of the bride's parents. Here they are slaughtered. While the meat is being prepared, the bridegroom is fetched from his own home by two of his companions, who play on the reed pipes. All three dance up to the hut newly erected for the bride near that of her parents, in which she is waiting with some young girl attendants. Arrived there, the men dance round the hut for a while. Then the bridegroom's companions place themselves before the entrance of the hut, so that he can get in only with difficulty and by the exercise of force. As soon as he gets through and the young girls have left the hut, the mat door is lowered and secured to the ground with a stone, as a sign that entrance is forbidden. The marriage, says Hahn, is then consummated, with the knowledge of the whole camp, but without arousing any special notice. The guests meanwhile sing, pipe, and dance, and this continues all through the evening and night, the festivities only being interrupted for the great communal meal in which everybody takes part. Before the appearance of the morning star, the husband returns to his old home, where he has to stay the whole day without even seeing his wife; and only after the third or fourth day is he allowed to remain permanently with her.

584 The ceremonies of courtship and marriage just described are
585 those noticed among the Naman within fairly recent times, and in most details are apparently still practised by them where they have not been christianized. A much earlier account by Wikar of the marriage customs of the Little Namaqua tribes contains several features not noted above; and as he is on the whole a reliable and accurate observer his description deserves to be quoted as complementary to that just given.[1]

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5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

● 584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

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try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned.

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage.

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[75]).

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces.

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[75]) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 201).

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/a/gu hã kxoēra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate." 584 832

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality. 177 836 684

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him. 584

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/≠as. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations. 585 431

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ≠amago/mas. The term kx̄ã/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kx̄ã/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩǀ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (*-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (*maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ãǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

A539

for her (si). Whereupon [the little one]: "Mother, I have seen something (χūĩr); go there, won't you (-re), and see." So she says.

Then she took a thong (!haũba) and went and saw (actually: "came to see") the two of them (-kxã, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc. in the dat.-acc.). Then she plucked (tsuru) grass (/gãba) and wrapped (//guiam) the two of them, their two dogs (arikχa), everything (hoa) together (/kχa) in the grass. Then she brought (double vb.: sĩ "to go," ũ "to take") the two of them to the hut (oms), and in the hut she built (om) a separate hut (/guri "alone," hã "to remain") and told (gai) the two of them to lie down. Then they lay down and warned the dogs (mĩ "to say," -ba emphasizes the relation to the obj.): "You should (nĩ) not (tã) drink (ã) like that* (tumi)." So

*Here the narrator imitates the lapping noise of drinking dogs.

they said. But the [sister] asked the old elephant mother: "When (o) I [518] once upon a time (χare) married here (nẽba), was a bare (!gora) kneed (//goasa adj., here used substantivally //goase[b]) wether (gũb) slaughtered (χãhe) for me* (ta, -ba see above)?" Whereupon [the old woman] said: "You

[585 578]

*It is a Hottentot custom for the mother-in-law to slaughter a head of cattle when she receives the young wife who moves into her husband's kraal. The daughter-in-law then does the same. If this festive slaughter is omitted by well-situated families, then that is a breach of good form, an unfriendly gesture toward the young wife.

wife (tarase) of my (ti) son,* why (tarexa, with the personal suff. of the subj.)

*The crude conception of the family life which causes the young wife so much suffering is characterized by the words of the old elephant; she does not speak of her son as the man whom she bore (õab) but whom she conceived in copulation (aẽ "to complete coitus").

do you suddenly (tsẽẽ, "one day") speak of things (χũna) that you (-s in hugas) never (huga, "ever," toma "not") mention?" But the other replied: "I (-ta)

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585 [583] The marriage is celebrated by a great feast at the home of the girl's parents. On the day of the ceremony, the bridegroom has to present a cow to his mother-in-law, in token of the fact that she brought up his bride, and carried the latter whilst still a child in the *aba* skin on her back (hence the cow is termed *aba-gomas*). A similar presentation is made to his mother by the bride. The bridegroom and his people also have to provide the cows slaughtered for the marriage feast. Oxen may not be used for this purpose, lest the marriage prove unhappy and quarrelsome, whereas the use of female animals will make it fruitful. On the morning of the ceremony the cows are driven in festive procession by the relatives of the bridegroom to the home of the bride's parents. Here they are slaughtered. While the meat is being prepared, the bridegroom is fetched from his own home by two of his companions, who play on the reed pipes. All three dance up to the hut newly erected for the bride near that of her parents, in which she is waiting with some young girl attendants. Arrived there, the men dance round the hut for a while. Then the bridegroom's companions place themselves before the entrance of the hut, so that he can get in only with difficulty and by the exercise of force. As soon as he gets through and the young girls have left the hut, the mat door is lowered and secured to the ground with a stone, as a sign that entrance is forbidden. The marriage, says Hahn, is then consummated, with the knowledge of the whole camp, but without arousing any special notice. The guests meanwhile sing, pipe, and dance, and this continues all through the evening and night, the festivities only being interrupted for the great communal meal in which everybody takes part. Before the appearance of the morning star, the husband returns to his old home, where he has to stay the whole day without even seeing his wife; and only after the third or fourth day is he allowed to remain permanently with her.

584 585 The ceremonies of courtship and marriage just described are those noticed among the Naman within fairly recent times, and in most details are apparently still practised by them where they have not been christianized. A much earlier account by Wikar of the marriage customs of the Little Namaqua tribes contains several features not noted above; and as he is on the whole a reliable and accurate observer his description deserves to be quoted as complementary to that just given.[1]

584 He states that a boy courting a girl with the intention of marriage

[1] "Berigt aan . . . den Hoer van Plettenberg," 100–2.

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does not ask her directly for her consent, but *oua*'s or " seeks her " in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, " if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him, he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bridegroom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, " praise men who seek wives, since to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered by a magician (" toveniaar "), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

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583 he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do;
585 while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

585 The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial
264 description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

178 In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage
531 ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information
535 about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

584 According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Namas, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, *Travels Dual*, 273.

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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *auri* or magician of the camp now goes to the men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

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585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women —but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

591 606 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

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783 might increase the peril in which the *!nau* person finds himself. Thus
784 pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut.
372 All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The *!nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a *!nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes *!nau*, but every *!nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the *!nau* person also become *!nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the *!nau* person and persons who can no longer become *!nau* may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

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[1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of *!nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the sacramental meal in which only the bride and women already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these transition rites (*ondersmaken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Graevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women eat apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Graevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

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Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[*]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

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*) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 301).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadrimestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.F.

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[48]) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

[49]) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

[50]) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 202), was at least eight days.

[51]) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Annlyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 282).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis diis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, desuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum lympham ollâ ex proximo fonte, aut torrente haustam effundit, mox mediis mapalibus sedens, gnatum corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tum demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecaneo sacrificio sibi abscindit, eosque inibi in terram defodit; ultimò hospites lautè prorsusque prolixe accipiuntur, seque liberaliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro papâ, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim assolet, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram malam duobus suis dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam trimulus Afer stipem à me petens, impetratam continuo matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam pusionis bucculam attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me coram suaviata. Hinc una alterave ovicula, et ubi sponsi opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam bos harioli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta alicui spinturnicio aut antistitae scientiâ moribusque caeteris conspectiori, veneriis tyrociniis, Junoniisque officiis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus sponsum demulceat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra constent, edocet; demum ei pedes felle caesae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecto, sub quo haec sacra peraguntur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, harusper aut Flamen nudos neogamos, verendis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, eorundemque vestes unctor

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[31]) I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the AmaXhosa: I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

[32]) The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[31]) next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[32]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

both with a powder of the bochu shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock. 585

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free foot begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in special quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.[332a]) Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest for her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time exulting with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with the bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Lucina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever. [264]

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here the drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after calling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is in childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the [844] 846

[332a]) This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ho:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sāb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */haep ;* (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !kŭb ;* (v) *!gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the *!honabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ho:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !hoab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx'ai !nae ha. ikje !koub hxa kx'omina !go kx'ai. ||na: ||kae, kx'omina /harukxa xu die ha. ikje /haruhxa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedi !garib !na /hākxa di /hou /hou.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǃGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiḷāb

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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And Wikar, as far back as 1778, described what almost seems
have been a form of wife exchange among the Little Namaqua
ibes. A married man, he says, will come at night into the hut of
nother, and lie down next to the latter's wife; whereupon the
usband gets up to make room for him, and goes to sleep in another
rt of the hut. The following night this process is reversed, but,
Wikar delightfully adds, if the wife of the man who first initiated
is ugly, the affair is soon ended ("maar is de vrouw van diegeene
e 't spel eerst begonnen heeft leelijk, dan wil 't tog niet braaf lukken
et deeze handel")! This form of intercourse is naturally of quite
different order from adultery, for although it is an encroachment upon
e husband's sexual prerogative over his wife, it takes place with his
ll agreement, and he himself obtains a reciprocal liberty. It appears
om Wikar's description that the relationship is formally agreed
on by the two husbands, for he speaks of it as being accompanied
slaughtering and rejoicing, but it is not clear if we have anything
re in the nature of the *sore* relationship.[1] In any case it is a good
ustration of the freedom of sexual life among the Hottentots.
similar instance is mentioned by Alexander: "If a Hottentot has
en out hunting and on his return finds his place occupied, he sits
wn at the door of his hut, and the paramour handing him out a bit
tobacco, the injured man contentedly smokes it till the latter chooses
retire."[2] This statement one would certainly question were it not
mpatible with the description just quoted from Wikar, who is on
e whole so accurate an observer that there is no good reason for
ecting his evidence on this particular point.

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The only ground for divorce is ill-treatment, which has to be
oved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, in whose hands the
cision lies. A wife deserting her husband is forced to return to
n, and similarly a husband abandoning his wife is requested to
urn to her. Should he refuse or neglect to do so, his property is
ken from him and handed over to her.[3]

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Marriage, in addition to establishing the household with all its
companying social, economic, and legal functions, also creates
ial observances of a special type with regard to the relatives-in-
. A man not only lives, as we have seen, with his parents-in-law
some time after his marriage, during which he has to render them

1 Op. cit., 103.
2 *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 196. Cf. also Thunberg, *Travels in ope, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42, 64–5.
3 Kohler, op. cit., 343, 354.

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [46]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [47]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [48]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 89). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765 751] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 884 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

1 [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

606 various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *sou*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence
607 of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g.
587 be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed." A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elasped since the death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

587 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special
783 remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible
784 a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as */nau*, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 23; Schultze, op. cit., 301 sq.; Kohler, op. cit., 345. The existence of the levirate among the Naman was noted as far back as 1762 by Roos and Marais, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport aan den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.)

[2] Kohler, op. cit., 340.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), 75–7.

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anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and */naop* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls.

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off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

The Conception of *!nau*

783 784

This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be *!nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," pp. 67–9. These transition rites are also referred to, under the name "andersmachen" (i.e. "alteration") by Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 55 sqq., and by Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 93–4, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

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Remarriage ceremonies. So far as I could discover there are no !nau ceremonies connected with the marriage of two people who marry for the first time. But should a widower marry a young woman, or a widow a young man, or even a widow a widower, great precautions are necessary, and the full influence of !nau can be seen at work.

Should a widower be marrying a young girl, a special animal, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat, is killed for the remarriage feast.[32] This is a special ceremony following upon the regular marriage feast.[33] The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut which has been built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor and await proceedings. The fire has become !nau now, and the two people themselves are !nau, and in an extremely precarious condition. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan !karesin for them, and see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut. Still less would any one who had not undergone the ceremony himself dare to intrude there.

The special animal which has been slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there. No portion of it must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the fire and into this the contents of the stomach and the small intestines[34] are thrown. The hole is then filled up and must not be interfered with. Any blood that may be spilled during the skinning, must also drop into the hole. Meantime the old woman[35] who is to do the operation on the couple is in attendance, and must herself be a widow who has been re-married and is now long past childbearing. Further she must not be a relative of the couple. The skin of the animal is given to this old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up in such a way as to leave the pelvic bones intact, as they are to be made use of later. Every scrap of the animal is then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots. While the meat is cooking the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife[36] and cuts both husband and wife first in front, [304] two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn blood is cupped from these cuts, mixed together, and some of the blood of the slaughtered animal is added. Next the old woman scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it in with the blood. Finally the mixture is rubbed into all the cuts and the two people are bumped together so that their blood mingles.[37] They are then considered as duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

[32] /Gâo ǂâbes ǂâs.
[33] /Gâ-ǂâs.
[34] /Hawâ, "intestinal contents".
[35] The ceremony may be performed equally well by an old man.
[36] Formerly it was always a sharp piece of quartz, //gwâs, which was used on this and similar occasions.
[37] /Ao /ûs, lit. "to throw the blood".

587 After the ceremony, the guests coming to greet the couple, give them beads or bracelets, or other similar small gifts. These presents are called *de oás*."

[784] The meat of the ǂgáo ǂhûm ǂâs is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has undergone a similar ceremony, except that pregnant women, menstruating women, and their husbands, may not come to the house where any cutting has been done, otherwise its efficacy is lost. If any unqualified person were to eat of this meat he would die. The newly married couple may eat only of the flesh, not of the pluck.

Until the wounds are healed, and the two persons can be //âm, they remain ǂnau, and may touch neither water, nor the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. She herself must eat the flesh of the //aus ("pelvis") and when the bones are quite clean and bare, she ties them together and hangs them up in the rafters of the hut above the fire, where they may get the smoke. According to some informers, they are left there as long as the hut stands; according to others, they are removed later when the fire is renewed, and thrust into the hole of some animal.

When the cuts have healed, the man and wife are cleansed by the old woman in a manner similar to that in which the young girl was cleansed,[1]A complete change of clothing must be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets. Finally the animal's tail is taken, threaded on a //oaub ("sinew") which has been saved from the animal, together with the knuckle bone (ǂnâoxáe) of a hind leg. The whole is tied round the woman's waist. It either remains there until it falls off of itself, or it is taken off after it has become black, and buried with the pubic bones in an animal's hole.

Next the couple must be reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of life. The woman is helped to milk just as the young girl was.[2]She is taken to the water in a similar way, and she must be reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire, which has not been used for cooking since the day of the ceremony. The old woman supports the bride's arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, and finally helps her to lift the pot from the fire. She then removes the fire and lights a fresh one just as was done for the ǂaxais. When the bride first goes to gather wood, the old woman goes in front of her, striking the ground as she goes with a thorny branch, "to protect the bride from being pricked with thorns." The first pieces of wood gathered must be given to the old woman. Then at last all is well.

The man has to be reintroduced to the cattle kraal as well as to cold water. The night before this ceremony some branches of the dabi "tamarisk," and the //gînab" tree are soaked in water. This water is taken next morning and with it the cattle and

" Lit. "throw in the face".

" Called the Daura Amein by the Dutch.

1 A [See cat. 116, p. 72 – Analyst]

2 A [See cat. 116, p. 74 – Analyst]

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sheep are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties *tamás ke ge*, "you are clean" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of taan." 587

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been married more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Aráib, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terrible spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Bersaba the people professed great indignation at first when they found I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze[*] has given an admirable account of the Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is */dáqna*, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *//ãs*, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though 757 753 [64]

[*] The herbs used as medicines and for medicinal purposes, as here, differ from tribe to tribe. The Aráb and the //Ghaub are used by the #Aonin.

[*] L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 311 sqq.

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thing at his maternal uncle's *!Hêis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nari //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[13] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[13] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1856, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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[76]) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 260 ff.)

[78]) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years
[388] of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage
● 591 the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Windsor, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women —but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

● 591 606 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 297, 518; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wandres, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 71.

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614 621 the //*Neigamas*, and the *!Gurusin* are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that [591] a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

622 614 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the */Gari Gein* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari !Nagaman*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 614 551 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ≠Aubib, !Huisib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then !Huisib's son !Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then !Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son !Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son !Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, !Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 551 It is interesting to note that the */Gari !Nagaman* are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsauxan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsauxan* the members of which call themselves */Oa Gaon*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (*gaob*) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

557 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagā-mā-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called ǀgaob, and if it is a daughter ǀgaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnūb, the dark one, ǀhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀawab, the red one, ǀnubub, the short one, gāχub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xaṃ-ǀhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǀhās geis. 2. Xam ǀhas ǀnagu-mās. 3. Xam ǀhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǃUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǃUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǃUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǃUrisi-s.

591 234 562 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

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Ti χamse ! My lioness ! 562

!Gaibista ǀaote ! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539 thee ?

Gomasa ke ǀausi ǁgani !omsaŭ !

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere ! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me !

ǀGabi-ǀkhatere ! Pour for me (milk) !

Ti χamse ! My lioness.

Gei khoits ōase ! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [601] sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 562 to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 591 577 name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 576 finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǀgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174 (ǀhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǁhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǀoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǀgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172] ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323 style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap (pot sū-s, to boil, to cook sāi).

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618 619 513 643 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 618 619 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 417 231 618 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 592 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up, but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 105–7.

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also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the *!gan* or servants.

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The huts themselves (*omi*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

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The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, op. cit., 106–8; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 208–10; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306–7.

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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a [353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and [354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep. 513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their 595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by [594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife. 591 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act [361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term *!gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; *idem*, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

592 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-W
357 Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on t
veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescu
performing various menial services, and in general consideri
themselves part of the family. Here and there such people s
offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or a
saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather th
as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they a
never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, althou
they generally remain attached to the same family for long perio
The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompa
their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in gene
must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domes
matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fi
and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daugh
of the house does not herself do so.

463 These family servants, *!gan*, are to be distinguished from t
465 *!gaisan*, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arrang
payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the tim
of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specifie
and usually they remain with their employer for life, although th
[357] cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children a
free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

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614 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all con-
582 sidered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong
627 measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given
621 up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartboois even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the
● 592 same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they
[595] are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *L.c.*, p.

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young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother, who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

The arrival of the young wife, tara-s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [201]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 515

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ-/ra, to the children, /gõ-an, 857 [201]
Caring for small children, aba-, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani-b (see Plate X).

"//Hũniba !kpara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (si'). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!o/man kpao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (°-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 466

[206] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (°mai-am, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, a/bes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (/hā-/, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hā-/n) their life long. Each is the *//hā-ǂsab or the */hō-ǂsab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao-tse in the masculine and a-ǂase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life.

[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown.

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field.

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely.

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

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family surname. That of the */Gari /Naguman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurunis* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; yet the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

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618 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
592 but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoeralt, *op. cit.*, 19–27, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Pinnock, *Kingdoms of Southern Africa*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 193–7.

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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 314; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297, 518; Hesselt, *Rückerveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wanderer, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 71.

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expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti //ndob* "my grandfather", or *ti //ndosa* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *ouis* in the case of the eldest sister, *siros* or *sisiros* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *abudib* for the eldest brother, and *budirob* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father.[3]

Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *tiras*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *sou*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 21; Schultze, op. cit., 301. The term *ouis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *suster*, sister; *siros* or *sisiros* are formed with the Nama demonstrative particle *ro*. *Abudib* and *budirob* are similarly derived from the Dutch *broer*, brother.

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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti !gãs ao nu*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa !gãsa xae*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gãb*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//núris*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 20–1; von François, op. cit., 212; Schultze, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[171] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gânab is mixed in with it. A chopper, *!ôp*, which has been heated red hot is
[412] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man [a]— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[302] so that they perspire (*ausən*). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potblack. Some informers say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
● [593] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained !nau, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlief and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
[784] on no account take the path through the valuable !naras plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleaned from head to foot with ǂhoup
[278] or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

[a] None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must
602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is
582 an indication of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother
602 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they
593 ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful terms. A sister was a *tàras*, that is, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*sou*) in the presence of his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call
[583] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei !Keis*, a great offense. Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a man is his *Gei Tàras*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own
582 generation whom he calls *//Nûrin*. These women are his companions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed [439]
in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556]
possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to dangers and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [841 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

Marriage.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[75]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

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[75]) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 201).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]

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mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep. To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife. Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–12.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is cele- 585
rated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. [601]
folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient 177
custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship 595
between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not neces-
sary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives of-
ficially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the 593
wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the 171
Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all house- 562
hold matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to 462
refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food sup-
ply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the
fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman,
namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The
honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not pre-
vent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physi-
cal superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ɬra, to the children, /gõ·an, 859
Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She [601]
carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Hanība !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to 854
little children when they sneeze (sĩʃ). In other cases I heard the mother 866
wish the sneezing child "!oɬman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (ᵉ-an
seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited
first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its
helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again
on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then
outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow 855
for its use (ᵉmaĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only 432
milk for itself this one cow, ǂɬbes, mornings and evenings. During the
day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his
milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows [585]
from their parents.

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him *ǂnũ/nõgũ/ŋõatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 283). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: 551 522

*//kxa-naab was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from *//kxan, to forego evacuating the bowels); *//go-res/nõa-tao/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; *ǂho/mõõs, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; *ǂkxõre-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; *//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called *a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name *a-mikxoma/gu-ita-raeb, i.e. as one "who has many (/gui) wives (tara-s) just as an ostrich (ami-s) has hens." [568]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," *ǂao-ǂkab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (*//ga/bu-b) over its snout and so he is called *//gabu-ǂkaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Rachydactylus species, *ǂna-nigyemũ/s, another one, because of his stamping gait *ǂnõ-/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man ǂa-batoma ǂnao-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (ǂa-ba) on the wagon to load it" (ǂna/o).

They called another ǂa-oa/ã-batana-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana-s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

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general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
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[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 330; Kohler, *op. cit.*, 340; Wanderer, "Khoi-Khoin," 377; von François, *op. cit.*, 102 *sq.*

[2] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schreiner, *op. cit.*, 299–302, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Die Rechte der Hottentotten," 349–51; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 114; Schultze, *Hottentot und Kaffernrecht*, 197, 318; Hoernlé, *Hottentot*, 26.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 98; Hahn, op. cit., 73; Schultze, op. cit., 199; Schinz, op. cit., 62; Wuttke, "Ueber das Familienleben . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Negro Proverbs*, 31–4; *Reports on the Natives of South West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 91 of), 75.

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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friend off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his g sts Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, thos of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the pat rna inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. Bu where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, th custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters int the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. Thi *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the
[578] children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground
684 for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 331; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 342.

[2] Von François, op. cit., 212, 214; Olpp, loc. cit.; cf. Schultze, op. cit., 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 77.

[3] Kohler, op. cit., 354; Kolb, op. cit., 71; Wuttke, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 104.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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614 582 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 627 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 621 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartbools even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 592 [595] In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *Loc. cit.*, p.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoã, his subordinate king Gonnomoã, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoã.[30]) The subordinate king Gonnomoã our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[31]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoã, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoã left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Basterds", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamana," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [46]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [47]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [48]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 292).

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (*-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (*maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ãǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended to late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887)

e young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents training their children has declined since the whites have become minant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-own, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore so felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, ho was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been reserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not rced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a eatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the ople as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is ed also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a cture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the ords refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti°dāb or dā.tse, d its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions da.b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For ese designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a ild or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ∫b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ∫b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ∫b, sa ĩ∫b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is °õ!gã∫//gũ∫s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation °abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as °ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called °irõ·s (3. sr.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as °a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called °bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u∫i·b and /u∫i·s in the third person.

The wife is called °!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called χaẽ.s.

[302] /u·∫iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·∫igukχa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u∫iaob //goẽ!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 789

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!"

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation.

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister °gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister °dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father °mĩgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father °mĩ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister °o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother °o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother °ais gais or °gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother °ai·ros or °ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the

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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
59 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

● 601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schulze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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• 601 may be expected from the fact that they have a clan organization, is of the type customarily known as "classificatory", i.e. terms of relationship are applied by a man not only to the members of his own family, but also, according to certain rules, to classes of people who stand in a definite relation to his parents; and behind this linguistic usage there is almost always a set of mutual obligations between the man and all those to whom he applies these terms.

The primary terms of relationship are naturally those of the immediate family circle. Children address their parents directly by the term *ĭi* (com. sing.), the feminine form *ĭs* or *éis* being applied to the mother, the masculine form *ĭp* or *éip* to the father. When speaking of their parents, but never in direct address, they use the term *//gún* (from *//gā*, to be fertile)—*//gúb* (masc. sing.) for the father, *//gús* (fem. sing.) for the mother. A more familiar term for father is *tatab*, and for mother *mamas*. Parents, again, speak to or of their children by the term */gõan* or *õan* (from */oa*, to bear). A son is *õab* or */gõab*, a daughter *õas* or */gõas*. Brothers and sisters use for each other the term */gān*; and here the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person or persons spoken to or of are carefully distinguished. An older brother is */gāb geib* (big brother), an older sister */gās geis*; a younger brother is */gāb ǂkami* (young brother) or */gāsab*, and a younger sister */gās ǂkams* or */gāsas*.

The application of these terms is also extended to more distant relatives. Thus *mamas* ("mother") is applied also to the mother's sisters, those older than the mother being called *mama geis*, those younger *mama ǂkams* or *mamaros* (dimin.). In the same way *tatab* ("father") is also applied to the father's brothers, again with the proper modifications for relative age. The term *mamas* is further applied to the wives of the father's brothers, and the term *tatab* to the husbands of the mother's sisters, and to the sons of the father's father's brothers. The children of all these people are called by the same term */gān* used for own brother or sister, with the proper modifications for sex and relative age. Finally, the term *õan* or */gõan* ("child") is applied by a man also to the children of his brother (i.e. to those who call him *tatab*, "father"), and similarly by a woman also to the children of her sister.

On the other hand, certain other kinds of relatives are called by new and distinctive terms not used within the immediate family circle. For all persons, male and female, of all generations above those of father and mother, one term is used, *//ndon* ("the tip of an

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601 arrow", so that it refers, as it were, to the beginning of the family). The form *//náob* (masc. sing.) is used for men—father's father, mother's father, their brothers, fathers, and father's fathers; the form *//nâos* (fem. sing.) for women—father's mother, mother's mother, their sisters, and the father's father's sisters. Conversely the children of any person called */gõan* are spoken of as *//núrin* (masc., *//núrib*; fem., *//núris*). This term is therefore the reciprocal for *//nâon*.

The father's sister is nowadays called *mugis* (from the Dutch "moekie", little mother), but the old term was *êis geis*, "big mother," or *tàras*, or *gei tàras*, "the great respected one." Her husband is now called *omeb* (from Dutch "oom", uncle), also, through courtesy, *tatab*; there does not appear to be a distinctive term for him. The father's sister, again, has no special term for her brother's children, but uses a descriptive term—*!gãb õan* (brother's child) or *tàrap õan*, with the proper modifications according to the sex of the person concerned. Occasionally, however, she will refer to her brother's son as */uip*, a term used for relatives-in-law generally.

The mother's brother is nowadays also called *omeb*, but formerly was *//náob* or *//náosab*; and his wife is now *mugis*, formerly *//nâos*. He in turn applies to his sister's children the term *//núrin*. This term, which as we have already seen is also the term for grandchildren, is further applied to cross-cousins, i.e. to the children of one's mother's brother and father's sister—the masc. form *//núrib* to the sons, the fem. form *//núris* to the daughters. Sometimes, however, a man will address the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister by the term *tarâs*, "wife,"[1] and conversely a woman will address the son of her mother's brother or her father's sister by the term *aob*, "husband."

The term *aob* is also applied by a woman, not only to her husband, but also to his brother, and to the husband of her sister; while the term *tarâs* is further applied by a man to his brother's wife, and to his wife's sisters, as well as to his own wife. The general term for relatives-in-law, however, is */uin* or */nã khoin* (from the verbs */ùi* and */na*, to become related by marriage). Thus a man applies the term */ùip* (masc.) to his wife's father, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband, while a woman applies it to her husband's father and to her brother's son. The term */ùis* (fem.), again, is applied by a man to his wife's mother and to his son's wife,

[1] This word *tarâs* is to be carefully distinguished from *tàras* used for father's sister, etc., from which it differs in pronunciation.

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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Chpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; Idem, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

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young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gon*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother, who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

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terms for cross cousins, corresponding to the special relation in which these people stand to one another.

The following are the terms arranged according to generations in a scheme devised by Professor Radcliffe-Brown, which enables one to get a very rapid insight into the general system:—

Second ascending generation. There is one term, *//Náon*, used for all persons, men and women, of all generations above those of the mother and father. The same word means the tip of an arrow, and so refers to the beginning of the family as it were. The singular masculine form, *//Náob*, is used for men, the singular feminine, *//Náos*, for women. The term *//Náob* is applied to the father's father, and the mother's father, and to the brothers of these, and also to the fathers and the fathers' fathers of all these men. The term *//Náos* is used for the father's mother, for the mother's mother, for their sisters, and for the father's father's sisters.

First ascending generation. My father is *Tatab*, and the term may be applied to my father's brothers, the older ones being distinguished as *Tata Geiṗ*, that is big father, the younger ones being distinguished as *Tata ≠Kami*, young father, or *Tatarob* which is the diminutive of Tatab. The term is further applied, with the proper modifications for older or younger, to the sons of my father's father's brothers, and to the husbands of my mother's sisters.

Other words for father are *Ĩṗ* and *Éiṗ* which can be used in direct address; *//Gũb* (from the verb *//gũ* to be fertile) which is used only in speaking of the own father and never in direct address; and *Abob*, an archaic word used nowadays only in legends or in the Christian prayers translated into Nama.

My mother is *Mamas* and so also are her sisters, older ones being *Mama Geis*, younger ones *Mama ≠Kams* or *Mamaros*. The term is used also for the wives of my father's brothers.

Mamas is the familiar term for mother. The most dignified term is *Éis*, with its distinctions *Éis Keis* and *Éiros*. Another term is *Is* which can also be used in direct address. *//Gũs* is used only in speaking of the own mother, not in direct address.

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My father's sister is nowadays called *Mugis* (or *Mugiros*, if she is young), but the older men and women deny that this is a pure Nama word. There is a Dutch word *Moeke*, meaning little mother, and it is most likely that this, together with many other terms of kinship, has been adopted by the Nama from the Dutch. My most reliable informants tell me that the old Nama way of addressing the father's sister was *Êis Geis*, that is, big mother. This woman is also called *Tàras* or *Gei Tàras*,[13] the great respected one, and great deference is, or was, due to her. The father's sister's husband is called *Omeb* nowadays, a term most certainly borrowed from the Dutch Om(uncle). It can be used in the diminutive form *Omerob* also. This man may also be addressed as *Tatab* through courtesy, but there is no distinctive term applied to him.

[604]

My mother's brother is properly *//Nâob* or *//Nâosab*, but he may be called *Omeb* nowadays. His wife is *//Nâos*, but she may be called *Mugis* now. The behavior due to this man will be described later.

Contemporary Generation. The children of my father, of my father's brothers, and of my mother's sisters, in fact, the children of all those whom I call *Tatab* and *Mamas* in their own right, are my brother, */Gāb*, and my sister, */Gās*. My older brother is */Gāb Geib*, my younger brother is */Gāb ≠Kami*. The form */Gāsab* may also be used. Nowadays, the forms *Butib*, *Butirob*, may be used from the Dutch Boetie (brother). My sister is */Gās keis*, my younger sister */Gās ≠Kams* or */Gāsas*. These terms are used by both men and women. The term *Sisis* is also in use, especially *Ousis*, from the Dutch *ou*, meaning old, and *Sussie*, meaning sister. The form *Sisiros* is formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*.

Nowadays, further, these relatives are sometimes distinguished as */Ge /Gāsab*, */ge /Gāsas* (from */ge* to have twins), that is, twin brother, twin sister, to distinguish them from the cross cousins who may be called *//Nâri /Gāsab*.

My father's sister's son is my *//Nârib*. My father's sister's daughter is my *//Nâris*. These forms are used by both men and

[13] This word, *Tàras*, is to be very carefully distinguished from another *Tarâs* which means wife.

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601 women. If I am a man, I may call my father's sister's daughter *Tarás*, that is wife, while if I am a woman I may call my father's sister's son *Aob*, husband. Nowadays, these cousins may be called *//Nâri!Gâsob*, *//Nâri !Gâsas*, but these forms are admittedly late.

My mother's brother's son is my *//Nârib*, or, like his father, my *//Nâob*. Or he may be called by a descriptive term, *//Naob* (Nôap's son). He may also be called *//Nâri !Gâsab*. A woman speaking may call him *Aob*.

My mother's brother's daughter is *//Nâris*, or *//Nâri !Gasas*, or she may be called *//Nâos*. A man speaking of her may call her *Tarás*, wife.

First descending generation. The term applied to children is *ǂan* or */Gôan* (boy *ǂab* or */Gôab*, girl *Ôas* or */Gôas*), from the verb *ǂa*, to bear. These terms are applied to his own children by a man and to the children of his brothers, older or younger; and by a woman to her own and to the children of her sisters.

A man calls his sister's children *//Nârin* (*//Nârib*, *//Nâris*), but there is no distinctive term by which a woman calls her brother's children. She uses a descriptive term, *!gâb Ôab*, *!gâb Ôas*, or *Tàrab Ôap*, *Tàrab Ôas*. Here we find the word *Tàrab* which is no longer used in reference to the brother himself but is still used in this combination. *Tàrâb* corresponds to *Tàras* and means the one who must be respected.

Second descending generation. The children of any */Gôan* are *//Nârin*. This is, then, the reciprocal term of *//Nâob* and *//Nâos*.

Relatives by marriage. A wife calls her husband *Aob*. The term is applied also by a woman to her sister's husband and her husband's brother. An old term for husband, no longer used, is *Xâib* (from the verb *Xâi*, to have sexual intercourse). A husband calls his wife *Tarás* (formerly *Xâis*). The term is applied also by a man to his brother's wife and to his wife's sisters. The general term for relatives by marriage is */Uin*, or *!Nâ Khoin*, from the verbs */ûi* and *!nâ* to become related by marriage. Thus, it is applied in the masculine form, */ûip*, to the wife's father, the wife's brother, the sister's husband, the daughter's husband by a man; by a woman it is applied to the husband's father and the brother's

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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámirab* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

/Ouras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Haboben*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

601 602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organise themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[*] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[*] Drawn up in 1838. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

000 suorum enaem timere coeperunt. Redeamus a diverticulo in viam.

Hic mihi silentio praetereundum non videtur, quod Afris nostris communi fratis sororisve nomine, more Israëlitarum indigitetur patruelis et consobrina, aliaque quarto consanguinitatis gradu se invicem contingentes.

Nullae illis artes, nulla opificia, nulli mercenarii, quique suorum apparatuum elaborator et artifex, nulli illis liberi, nullae litterae, omnia illis plus quam Cimmeriis immersa ignorantiarum tenebris: attamen cum Nicolao Almeida Lusitano Mosambiquae oriundo, et Britannica nave, cui Johannes et Maria nomen, huc delato, multus sermo mihi fuit, qui inter alia non spernendae indaginis retulit, prope sinum del Agoa Aethiopiam versus, se lapidibus maximae molis, in tropaei modum constructis inscriptos vidisse characteres, nulli Europaeo comiti notos: credendi autem temeritate reus non videbor, hinc conjecturam capiens, an non illic tot locis quaesitum Salomonis Ophir detegere liceat: eoque magis quod idem Nicolaus ad omnia stupenti asseveraverit, se inibi auri facti radiaque tantam vim vidisse, ut Americani Atahalibae opes horum divitiis collatae longe inferiores censeantur, seque una die bovem mactatum et in frusta dissectum Aethiopibus vendidisse, et viginti imo triginta auri libras informis, infecti et crimie obtisi (quasi ophirini) traxisse.

Hic ex castello Regis Lusitaniae *Sapoma* dicto, aliisque in regione *Symboo*, proficiscens, duodecim dierum justo itinere, in ejus metropolim *Mambosi* pervenit, ubi Praepotentis Regis *Sanpacatto* aula: qui tres ex centum et amplius concubinis, praepetum notarum sustulit filios. Lusitanorum loquentes, legentes et scribentes exacte satis

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S H 601

[46]) This must be the earliest mention of the fact that both Hottentots and AmaXhosa possess what anthropologists term "classificatory" systems of kinship nomenclature, whereby a man applies certain terms of relationship not only to members of his own family, but also, according to definite rules, to more remote relatives. Among the modern Namaqua, the term !gûs, used for brothers and sisters, is also used for the children of paternal uncles and maternal aunts (i.e., as O. says, they are also called brother and sister); but for the children of maternal aunts and paternal uncles there are different terms, i.e., they are not regarded as brothers and sisters. The AmaXhosa have a somewhat similar system of relationship terminology.

[47]) The supposition that what is now Southern Rhodesia and the adjoining districts of P.E.A. were the Ophir of the Scriptures is also found in earlier Portuguese writers, e.g. de Barros and dos Santos. Modern research has tended to discredit this theory, although it still crops up from time to time. Cf. the authoritative

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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the sword even of our own kin. But let me return from my digression.

Here I think I should mention that among our natives (i.e. the Hottentots) the names of brother and sister are, in the Israelitish fashion, bestowed on cousins on the father's or the mother's side; while among others (i.e. the Magosi) the names of brother and sister are given to those related to one another in the fourth degree.[56])

There are no arts and no crafts here, and no hired workers; every man is the designer and maker of his own equipment; they have no books, no writing; everything is plunged in an ignorance darker than Cimmerian night. I have, however, had much conversation with one Nicolas Almeida, a Portuguese born in Mozambique who came here in an English ship, the *John and Mary*. Among other matters worthy of investigation he told me that near Delagoa Bay on the Ethiopian side he saw characters cut on stones of huge size that had been set up in the manner of a trophy. These characters were not familiar to any European of his company. I shall not be held guilty of rash credulity if I suggest the query whether we may not here discover the Ophir of Solomon, which has been sought in so many places.[57]) This is the more likely as the same Nicolas told me to my complete surprise that he had seen there such a quantity of gold both wrought and unwrought that the wealth of the American Atahualpas compared with their riches would be found far inferior; and that he one day sold to the Ethiopians an ox which he had slain and cut up, and got therefor twenty, nay thirty pounds of gold, unshaped and unwrought, but wonderfully refined—*obrized* the Portuguese say, which suggests *Ophirized*.

Setting out from the fort of the King of Portugal in these parts, which is called *Ingome*, and lies in the district *Symbao*, he came, after a full twelve days' journey, to the capital *Mombooi*, where there is the court of the powerful king *Sompanetto*.[58]) This king had, from his hundred and more concubines, three sons of great promise, who spoke, read, and wrote the language of the Portuguese with a fair degree of correctness. This they owed to the complaisance

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discussion of the whole question by G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford 1931.

[56]) *Ingome* may be an attempt to write the name of the R. Ingomiarou, near whose mouth is Sofala, one of the earliest Portuguese strongholds in E. Africa; *Symbao* is probably meant to represent *Monomotapa*, *Mombooi* = *Mwene*, the hereditary name of the Rozwi (Shona) chiefs; *Sompanetto* I cannot identify. On the Portuguese in E. Africa, see Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, where most of the available records are reprinted.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Translation:

Iis was born at Saron (*Ikhoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note:

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes: "On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow" (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Iis* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Khoi*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gommab te /nuwe o, ina /kobab /nuwe-ina /khoub dibae, ina kakhwa /nuwae, ina /karub !anibae, ina /kha: //o:b qtuxumni na xumie, ina //na:ba //guisie, ina /nai /karuba /khu ka?amme, ina /ha:ba thurue.

Translation:

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note:

My informants were *Tetab* and *Iis*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tetab* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tetab* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 516

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

[See M: Kuby, cat. 766, and plate 4. -Pauly 95]

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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60| were asked what they called the different members of the genealogy, these being named by their specific names. By this means, a direct question embodying the English or Afrikaans term was avoided and it was thus possible to secure the real Korana word denoting the particular relationship.

Referring to the genealogical lists,

A. (Genealogical list of *Matiti* and *!gobo ǂ:aa*)

!gobo ǂ:aa called	*Api* (father)	*ti !b ;*
	Dyelani (mother)	*ti !s ;*
	Matiti (father's brother)	*gri ts* ("groot pa")
	Matouma (grandfather) ..	*ti //naub ;*
	!Kurubob (great-grandfather) ..	*ti gri //naub ;*
	Eabi (cousin by father's brother)	*ti !hãs ;*
	Otomas (-do-)	*ti !hãs.*

B. (Genealogical list of the Links Chiefs)

Khois called	*!Aubois* (cousin by father's brother)	*Ti !hãs ;*
	Brihib (-do-)	*ti !hãb ;*
	Geip !haroip (grandfather) ..	*ti //naub ;*
	Ouhomas (grandmother) ..	*oumas ;*
!Kutsi called	*Tabab* (Father-in-law)	*ti!aib ;*
	Khois (mother-in-law)	*ti!ais ;*
	Loli (daughter)	*ti ãas ;*
	Dani (son)	*ti ãab ;*
	Ovoas (wife)	*ti taras ;*
Ovoas called	*!Kutsi* (husband)	*ti aai ;*
	Katnilib (mother's brother) ..	*Ti //naunab ;*

C. (Genealogical list of *Meis* and *Iis*)

Iis called	*Hinas* (father's sister)	*ti mookis, oumas ;*
	Seko: (uncle by marriage) ..	*ti //naub ;*
	Mulubab (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti //naub ;*
	Tawas (father's sister)	*ti mookis ;*
	Bupas (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti //naub.*
!gaube called	*Iis* (mother)	*ti !s ;*
	Kiwido (grandfather)	*outab ;*
	Tawas (great aunt)	*oumas ;*
	Hinas (great aunt)	*oumas ;*
	Seko: (great uncle)	*outab ;*
	Meis (mother's elder sister) ..	*gri mas ;*
	Mulubab (second cousin) ..	*mas //naub.*

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhoedi na /o:khoa /khûrus tki hoib tkikha khau /hoa. //hoa ha ha hje na /hû, ina huri //hur ha'pa ha. oaob ha'ai //nlikhoa na /oro //na:n. /khoredi ha'aquakhoa na tokokhoedi dikha. gaida khoakhoa tkje dikha. //guru /naikhoa tdo hje di tama. na:khoa hokje di hoa.

Translation :

The women dig for "*uintjes*" with the board-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

196 Khoikhoi family had separated. Here I may add that
174 the Khoikhoi name for Betyuana is Bri or Biri (Briqua of the Cape Records), and this appellation is generally derived from *biri, goat;* thus the Tyuana are the *Goat people.* But I am more inclined to derive the word *Biri*qua from ba-*Beri*, or ba-Pedi, or ba-Beli, a Tyuana tribe, who formerly lived more to the South, in the present Free State, and are of Suto (Basuto) extraction, who form again a sub-family of the Tyuana.

● 601 Before the Khoikhoi left their primordial "Fatherland,"
196 the various degrees of relationship were already estab-
174 lished. Father as genitor was ǁgŭ-*b;* as protector *t-b;* as master *saub;* as friend *āb, tatab, abob* and *abo-īb.* Amongst many other names for mother was that suggestive expression *ei-goe*, the one *who looks upon*—viz., the child (from *ei* upon, and *go* to look, to see). Strange enough, uncle and grandfather, or ancestor, were called ǁhaub; the son-in-law was ǁnu-ri-b, and he had to spend his first years like Jacob in the service of his father-in-law. He was the *old man's* companion in the hunting-field as well as in the war. Polygamy was customary, as we can see from the appellations *gei-ris*, the *elder wife*, the *great-wife*, and ǁā-*ri-s*, the *younger wife.* As we shall see in the following chapter, Heitsi-eibib, their great-grandfather, had a second wife. And the laws of *succession* and *inheritance* are now-a-days the same among the surviving tribes as they were before their separation. Law, ǂhanub means what is right, straight, what is in a straight line. A *great-man's*, or, to speak more familiarly, a gentleman's, word was a *true word* (*amab*), and it was a disgrace to a "*great-man*" to speak untruth, or to ǂhumi *or gūra.* Boys when they became of age were told *not to lie*, not to steal ǁā, and not to ill-treat the other sex, not to commit rape. The vendetta, ǁkharab, was in practice, which means *the-doing-in-return.* Sin, guilt, and wickedness was expressed by the word ǁo-re-b, evidently derived from the word ǁō, to die; ǁoreb thus means what makes *liable to death*, and ǁoreχa wicked, sinful.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamse! My lioness!

!Gaibista ǀaote! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch thee?

Gomasa ke ǀausi ǁgani !omsaĭ!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǀGabi-ǀkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamse! My lioness.

Gei khoits ǒase! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles (ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have fragments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap (ǂgt sū-s, to boil, to cook ǂāi).

B /260 cont./

191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
192 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
193 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ò (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ò	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|onb
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tang	tang	|gaaab
My brother	mé tang	me tang	—
Sister	tsau tang	tsau tang	|gaa
Father	ombá	ombá	dadáb
Mother	medeí	medeí	n.áma
Grandfather	omba n|à (n|a — alt)**	omba n|à	aóda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aómama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂdi	tschu n‡oa	|kn
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damára
Betschuana	Biria	ǂgabé	Biria
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti /gās ao nu*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa /gāsa xae*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gāb*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite *different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his* own generation whom he calls *//nāris*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 20-1; von Francois, op. cit., 202; Schultze, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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Nama

son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

!Oaras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Habeben*, the *Gei /!Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [795]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must 602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most 582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is an indication of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother 602 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they 593 ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful terms. A sister was a *tàras*, that is, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*sou*) in the presence of his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call [583] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei !Keis*, a great offense. Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a man is his *Gei Tàras*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own 582 generation whom he calls *//Nàrin*. These women are his companions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

601
602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[14] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[14] Drawn up in 1858. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other. 584

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents. 585

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies. 585 178

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no means that of the devoted servant of the man. According to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions. 562 593 [342 423] 586 602 595

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that 843

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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561 expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to
[576] Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The
593 children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection
888 and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall
603 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances
576 be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti //ndob* " my grandfather ", or *ti //ndosa* " my grandmother ", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative
576 age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in
593 definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *eaxis* in the case of the eldest sister, *aixa* or *aixiros* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *aboaxûb* for the eldest brother, and *boaxirob* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called " brother ", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father.[3]

576 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in
593 later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *aixa*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *aes*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Supra Propers*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 320.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 22; Schultze, op. cit., 322. The term *aixa* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *aixiros*, *aixa*; *aixa* or *aixiros* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*. *Aboaxûb* and *boaxirob* are similarly derived from the Dutch *boas*, brother.

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!"

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation.

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister *gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister *dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father *mĭgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father *mĭ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister *o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother *o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother *ais gais or *gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother *ai·ros or *ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the

uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Bishop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle ‘ũ//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited.

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84).

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

We have two chief groups of family names, /o/mi, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here.

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Horsemot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kjaribes, the son is called

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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei sieras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ai /gûs se ra*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *se /gûs sun*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gûi*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his own generation whom he calls *//aixa*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and love-play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 20; Hahn, "Zur Kenntnis der Hottentotten," 30; idem, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 40–3; von Francois, op. cit., 100; Fehrsen, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

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604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *tàras* or *gei taras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost-anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//nâri //gab* or *//nâri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

88 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even *to-day* carefully observed among the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *khara*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relative. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 22–3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 323–26; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 309.

[2] "Reisje van den Heere van Plettenberg," 99–100.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, I, 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 377; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 371; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 253; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297–71; Vedder, "The Nama," 156.

[4] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," 70–4; *idem*, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 319–9.

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ceremonially initiated between two special individuals is sufficient argument against the existence of communism among the Hottentots.

Somewhat akin to the *aorgus*, from the economic point of view, is the *//nari //gas*, the exchange of goods between a man and his sister's son. Here, however, as we have seen, the material advantages are all in favour of the nephew. This economic relationship is based directly on a kinship status, and therefore allows us to see the exchange of goods in a wider social setting, as part of a general pattern of behaviour. The privileged position of the nephew in regard to his mother's brother is due to the respect a man must show towards his sister; and the uneven economic reciprocity between the two former can be regarded as one means of expressing the nature of the ties connecting them. Here again this relationship, with the special rights of exploitation it confers in regard to property, is an argument against the existence of communism.

It is hardly necessary to stress any further the fact that the economic life of the Hottentots is really based upon the notion of private property. The problem now arises whether property belongs to the individual or to the family as a whole. Wandres categorically states that an individual owns nothing but his *ens*, soul or breath. All objects of common use—clothes, weapons, implements, and utensils—as well as the hut and the live stock are the collective property of the family. The individual has only the usufruct of, e.g. his clothes and his weapons, and has not the right to dispose of them or of anything else without the consent or knowledge of the rest of the family.[1] Vedder repeats this assertion in terms that are somewhat confusing: "Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use. Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission, and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possesses a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not."[2]

1. "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 482–3.
2. "The Nama," 144.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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My father's sister is nowadays called *Mupis* (or *Mupives*, if she is young), but the older men and women deny that this is a pure Nama word. There is a Dutch word *Moeke*, meaning little mother, and it is most likely that this, together with many other terms of kinship, has been adopted by the Nama from the Dutch. My most reliable informants tell me that the old Nama way of addressing the father's sister was *Ēis Geis*, that is, big mother. This woman is also called *Tāras* or *Gei Tāras*,[2] the great respected one, and great deference is, or was, due to her. The father's sister's husband is called *Omeb* nowadays, a term most certainly borrowed from the Dutch Om(uncle). It can be used in the diminutive form *Omeib* also. This man may also be addressed as *Tatab* through courtesy, but there is no distinctive term applied to him.

My mother's brother is properly *//Ndab* or *//Ndaxab*, but he may be called *Omeb* nowadays. His wife is *//Nâes*, but she may be called *Mupis* now. The behavior due to this man will be described later.

Contemporary Generation. The children of my father, of my father's brothers, and of my mother's sisters, in fact, the children of all those whom I call *Tatab* and *Mamas* in their own right, are my brother, *!Gāb*, and my sister, *!Gās*. My older brother is *!Gāb Geib*, my younger brother is *!Gāb ǂKami*. The form *!Gāxab* may also be used. Nowadays, the forms *Butib*, *Butireb*, may be used from the Dutch Boetie (brother). My sister is *!Gās hais*, my younger sister *!Gās ǂKama* or *!Gāxas*. These terms are used by both men and women. The term *Sisis* is also in use, especially *Ouris*, from the Dutch *ou*, meaning old, and *Suusie*, meaning sister. The form *Sisiros* is formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*.

Nowadays, further, these relatives are sometimes distinguished as */Ge !Gāxab*, */ge !Gāxas* (from */ge* to have twins), that is, twin brother, twin sister, to distinguish them from the cross cousins who may be called *//Nari !Gāxab*.

My father's sister's son is my *//Nerib*. My father's sister's daughter is my *//Neris*. These forms are used by both men and

[2] This word, *Tāras*, is to be very carefully distinguished from another *Taras* which means wife.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons
of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must
602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most
582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is
an indication of the complete transformation of the organization
of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and
European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now
602 relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother
593 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they
ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to
avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to
speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the
hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful
terms. A sister was a *târas*, that is, a person to be respected, not
to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister
was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could
generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was
taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*saw*) in the presence of
his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call
[613] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her pre-
sence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to
purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei /Keis*, a great offense.
Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut
when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a
man is his *Gei Târas*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own
582 generation whom he calls *//Naris*. These women are his com-
panions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech
and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been
considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that
a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of
great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with
much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had
to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the
greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

4: Hoernlé E-S (1912-1913)1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's */Hêis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nôri //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[2] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[2] Cf. Rhenish Missions-Berichte, 1838, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1840, p. 31.

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585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women—but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [274] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

991 Among the Namas, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, 606 and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Hottentot and Kaffirland*, 197, 510; Vedder, *Eingeborenenrecht*, 18.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 98; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 199; Schinz, op. cit., 82; Wuttke, "Unter den Buschmannsleuten . . . der Hottentotten," 779; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 35–6; *Reports on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 91-1918), 77.

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And Wikar, as far back as 1778, described what almost seems to have been a form of wife exchange among the Little Namaqua tribes. A married man, he says, will come at night into the hut of another, and lie down next to the latter's wife; whereupon the husband gets up to make room for him, and goes to sleep in another part of the hut. The following night this process is reversed, but, as Wikar delightfully adds, if the wife of the man who first initiated it is ugly, the affair is soon ended ("maar is de vrouw van diegene die 't spel eerst begonnen heeft leelijk, dan wil 't nog niet braaf lukken met deese handel") ! This form of intercourse is naturally of quite a different order from adultery, for although it is an encroachment upon the husband's sexual prerogative over his wife, it takes place with his full agreement, and he himself obtains a reciprocal liberty. It appears from Wikar's description that the relationship is formally agreed upon by the two husbands, for he speaks of it as being accompanied by slaughtering and rejoicing, but it is not clear if we have anything here in the nature of the *sore* relationship.[1] In any case it is a good illustration of the freedom of sexual life among the Hottentots. A similar instance is mentioned by Alexander: "If a Hottentot has been out hunting and on his return finds his place occupied, he sits down at the door of his hut, and the paramour handing him out a bit of tobacco, the injured man contentedly smokes it till the latter chooses to retire."[2] This statement one would certainly question were it not compatible with the description just quoted from Wikar, who is on the whole so accurate an observer that there is no good reason for rejecting his evidence on this particular point.

586

The only ground for divorce is ill-treatment, which has to be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, in whose hands the decision lies. A wife deserting her husband is forced to return to him, and similarly a husband abandoning his wife is requested to return to her. Should he refuse or neglect to do so, his property is taken from him and handed over to her.[3]

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Marriage, in addition to establishing the household with all its accompanying social, economic, and legal functions, also creates social observances of a special type with regard to the relatives-in-law. A man not only lives, as we have seen, with his parents-in-law for some time after his marriage, during which he has to render them

[1] Op. cit., 1779.
[2] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, I, 156. Cf. also Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, II, 40, 64-5.
[3] Kolben, op. cit., pp. 210

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up so
and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household witho
assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is n
permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elapsed since th
death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whethe
a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or eve
a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and a
elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom hav
been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

587 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a specia
783 remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possibl
794 a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new
hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floo
and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known
to the Hottentots as */nam*, during which they are not only themselve
in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of dange
to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony.
Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their cla
(*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15; Schreiner, op. cit., part 25; Rudner, op. cit., 340. The ceremonies o
the Hottentots among the Namaqua was noted as far back as 1661 by Ruiter and Munnik, who stated
that if a man died, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving
brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has
sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether
he takes her or not. ("Rapport van den . . . Hoere Rijk Tulbagh," 15.)

[2] Rudner, op. cit., 340.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Sex among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, I (1918), 55-9.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
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Nama

thing at his maternal uncle's *//Hâis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nari //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[2] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the elli, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[2] Cf. Rhenish Mission Berichte, 1836, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

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[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 253; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 322 sq.; Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 345. The existence of the levirate among the Namaqua was noted as far back as 1760 by Ross and Mentzel, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his oldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport van den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.)

[2] Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 346.

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[19] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1836, p. 111; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 31.

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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organise themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organised trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 240.
[2] Op. cit., 241. The documents referred to, dating up to 1878, is translated in the Report on the Administration of S.W. Affairs, 1920.

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Nama

439 609 to trade with the Namas, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

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609 579 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Outib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and compares, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, others also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know my aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 579 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] Fourteen years earlier with Inquainez, when published in Moniss, "Die Hottentotten-Buschmänner über D.S.W.A.," 1918, p. 150.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting —the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Hottentotten," 1905-6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 386.
[2] Grevenkamp, "Uit den Oudsten Tijd," 308-9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 140-4; Fritsch, op. cit., 393-4; Barrow, op. cit., abridgt. 160-2, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. African before 1795*, vol. 2, *passim*.

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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, lark-pipes, *is !aka xaire*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it."[1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gein*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui !Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */naa* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances[4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 272-3. [2] Ibid., 78-80, passim.
[3] Ibid., 78; cf. Wikar, "Beitrag zum von Plettenberg," 110.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 311-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schinz, op. cit., 311.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hamamoor FX13

776 that there is a Lord, whom they call Tui'qua. They also believe in a devil, to whom they give the name Gounu, but they do not care much about him."—(De Jong, "Reisen nach dem Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung," Hamburg, 1803, vol. i. p. 274.)

‖Khâb, *the Moon, and* ‖Khoi, *the Lord.*

776 821 By order of the Dutch Governor, Ryk van Tulbagh, an expedition was undertaken to the Great Namaqua, which reached as far as the Kamob river, about lat. 27°. In the "Journal of Hop, the commander of that expedition, we find the following remark: "Their (the Namaqua) religion chiefly consists in worshipping and praising the new moon. The men stand in a circle together and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, and the women, clasping hands, dance round the men. They continually sing in a praying manner, that the last moon had protected them and their cattle so well, and they hope the same from this new moon. The Colonas (very likely the ‖Haboun or ‖Haioben) whom we met, praised the moon, particularly that *he* (in Hottentot the moon is masculine) had brought them into contact with a nation from whom they had received so much kindness. Although these were the only rites, *we also observed that they had some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Chuyn* (the Nama ‖Khôb or ‖Khoeib), and who is great and powerful. For if they want to express that something is beyond their conception, then they say it is a work of *Chuyn*."—("Hop's Journal," pp. 86, 89.)

Heitsi-eibib, ‖*Gaunab, and* ‖*Gorib.*

609 We should have expected that the Swedish travellers, Thunberg and Sparrmann, men of great learning, would have been able to give us more particular information about the religion of the Khoikhoi. It, however, appears that their great learning on the one side made them underrate the natives. On the other hand the natives, as sensitive as

14.Hahn L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 699
rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterizes the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who tra- 718
velled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots in passing by, "threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.)

"Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) 725
the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hotten- 776
tots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hastiness.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-

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family surname. That of the */Gori /Naguman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusis* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooís as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartbooie, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartbooie in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khwa Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

624 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

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that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognise these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haos*, and the sibs *!Haos !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haos*, tribe; *hos*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *si* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Goin; /Gari !Nagoman; /Gari ≠Karin; //Naigoman; Gaoman; Karaoan; //Khaw Tamaan; /Ga oi Tamaan; !Naisa oin; /Oa Gaon.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Great Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartbooia. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Gari* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Goin*) */Gari-a*, the next (*!Nagoman*) */Gari-a*, and the little (*≠Karin*) */Gari-a*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*goiti*), the second the next one (*!nagomaiti*), the third the dark one (*≠naiti*) or the light one (*/haiti*) or the tall one (*garaiti*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*≠kariti*) or the young one (*≠amiti*).

The legend of the Swartbooia themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khaoan*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garia* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khaw Tamaan*,

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the //Naigomas, and the /Gurasis are said to be also descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the */Gari Goin* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari //Naigomas*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsamkaw, Tsaugab, Tsaxuab, ≠Aubib, Hoaib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then Hoaib's son Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, Hara Goib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

It is interesting to note that the */Gari //Naigomas* are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsaxuan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsaxuas* the members of which call themselves */Ou Goas*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (gaé) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

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not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse.

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *!Haw !Nati*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartboois, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, *Hoiaib*, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Kaeis* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the *!Garanis* sib there are at least four families, the Swartbooi's, Cortaus, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Neigwan* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartbooi's, the Linders. The *!Oa Gaon* are the Petersens, whilst the Goamun's are represented to-day by the Orlam family, the *//Khow Tonaes* by the Kido and the Branda families, the */Gari Gein* by only one family, the *Matibis*, and the *!Neisi ein* by the Beukes family.

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe.

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartbooi's and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

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tee north in the Kaokoveld whither it retired after the defeat of the Hottentots by the Herero in the sixties of last century The other section lives in the dunes around Walvis Bay and in the bed of the Kuiseb river at various places. The people in the north are reduced to a mere handful and those in the south are probably the most miserable of all the remnants of the Nama, though in Sir James Alexander's time they were described as being fine, handsome people.[9] My information about these people was obtained from the daughter of one of the last chiefs, an intelligent old woman, Khaxas, and from some of the headmen of the last recognized chief of the tribe, Piet //Elleb, who had himself died before I visited the tribe in 1912. According to the information of these old people, the tribe originally lived far to the north in the region to which one branch has again retired. When they first came to Walvis Bay, another Nama people, the */Namisan*, were in control, one of the sibs of this people being called the *≠Ai //Kumxie*. These people were completely defeated and the remnant incorporated in the sibs of the newcomers who called themselves *Mu//ses*, so that today no */Namisan* are to be found. The sibs of the *Mu//ses* are the *//Hawaibia Goin; //Hawaibia /Goan;* the *!Nawabes;* the */Ubusan;* and the */Heibia*. There are today very few of these pure *Mu//ses* people left. The Nama population of Walvis Bay consists now of stragglers from all the tribes and of half-breeds of many different nations.

The sibs of the *Goi//Khwan* I have been able to learn from the few old men who still represent this tribe. One of these men, !Goi ep, claims to be the hereditary chief of the people and is so acknowledged by the handful who are left of this once large tribe. Most of the sibs named to me have now no representatives at all. The rest are represented by a few individuals. It is impossible to say whether the list is complete, because the Nama very easily forget a sib or family which has no representatives living.

The sibs are *!Khabiron; !Nuriris* (*extinct*); *//Nani≠nun; //Nani /Abon; /Hana !Gaon; //Naoba !Gorion; /Kobun; !Hoare-*

[9] L. c., vol. I, p. 72.

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sin; Gamadamin; //Gubu ≠Kurin; !Khoion; !Gubu ≠Kurin; //Khau ≠Nun; //Khau Tanasin; ≠Khari ≠Naman.[9] The chieftainship was held by the *//Nani /abon*, the red *//Nanin*. Whether the term Roni Natie, Red Nation, by which this tribe has always been called in Dutch, is derived from the name of this sib I do not know, but it may be. From the names of the sibs it is easy to see that there must have been many more sibs at one time. Thus, one sib is called the small *//Gubun* which makes it likely that there was at least one other *//Gubun* sib from which it had to be distinguished. Another sib is the small *!Gubun*, and so on. It will be noticed that there are two sibs called *//Khaunun*, the *//Khau Tanasin* and the *//Khau ≠Nun*, while the whole tribe is called *//Khaunun Gein or Gei //Khaunun*. One of these sibs, the *//Khau Tanasin*, is the same as we found among the Swartbooi, while the Swartbooi tribal name is taken from this same sib name, the *//Khaunun /Goan*. The tradition of these two tribes, therefore, that they are originally one tribe, is corroborated by the evidence from the sib structure.[9]

The *//Habobes* tribe is also broken up and scattered now. I have never lived among this tribe and have had to gather my information concerning it from chance individuals living in other tribes. In 1913 I visited a very old man of this tribe in the Windhoek gaol. He had been the chief adviser of the chief who had also been in prison but who had died. Unfortunately, the old man's memory was failing and I cannot be sure that the information from him is complete. The sibs, so far as I have them, are as follows: */Haoan; Dau Gein; !Amun; Garsin; Ouris*. The *Ouris* was the sib in which the chieftainship was hereditary.

The remnants of the *!Khara Gei Khoin* are in the Kalahari desert, and none of the men I have met in the Protectorate have been able to give me any information concerning their old tribal structure. At the present day all these people have Dutch names.

The *!Gami ≠Nun*, though one of the old aboriginal tribes, have lived for so long on one of the highways into the Protectorate

[9] Seven of these sibs are mentioned by the first missionary to the Roni Natie, Vollmer; cf. Rheinischer Missionsbericht, 1866, p. 277.

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that they have been very much exposed to incoming influences. To-day they have all Dutch surnames. I have, however, been able to collect some of the old Nama names which were in use before the European surnames came into common use. The chief's sib has now the surname Christian, and they call themselves the *!Gami ǂNun*. The Matroo family have the Nama name *Tsâubêe*. The Aprils are the *!Noesie*. The Hackshind family takes its Dutch name from a translation of the old Nama name *!Noesie* (*!Noes*=the head). Another sib is called the *!Nuubêe*; a third the */Nabasie*, another the */Ariman*, who to-day also have the surname Christian. In giving me these names the old headman, Christian, gave me the fountains in the Bondelswart territory which were known as the headquarters of these different sibs.

The Oriam tribes, that is, the tribes who came into the territory from the south, have all surnames taken from Europeans, such as the Isaacs, the Goliaths, the Christians, the Hendricks, and I have found it impossible to get their old Nama sib names from them. In the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 15, 1901, however, there is an account of the sibs of the /Hobesin, given by the then Bezirkshauptmann von Burgsdorff in answer to a questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kohler. According to him there were seven sibs among the /Hobesin:

1) */Khauun* (families: Witbooïs, Dragoners, Hanses, Kaisers).
2) *!Amin* (Isaacs, Gertses, Zals, Banks, Vishers).
3) *Dausaw* (Jods, Classens, Stewes, Sewis, Jahrs).
4) *!Nawesen* (Jantses).
5) */Khawen* (Piqueurs, Marius).
6) *!Hawe ǂ*Nun (Romans, Jacobs, Links).
7) */Khwin* (Pitters, Fredericks, Jochems, Links).

This evidence from the Witbooïs is sufficient to show that the structure of these tribes from the south was essentially the same as that of the tribes of the Great Namaqua.

The families claiming to belong to a sib still tend to live together, though the old original camping order has long been given up. Information from many sources, however, enables one to reconstruct the old encampment, and this reconstruction agrees

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with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots. [36]

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the *!Haos*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbooi camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *!Oa Gaos*, the *//Noigamas*, the *!Garanin*, the */Gari Karin*, the *!Noise ein*. On his right in order came the *Gaamas*, the *//Khow Tamaras*, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga oi Tamaras*, meeting the *!Noise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Horaibin Gein*, *//Horaibin /Goas*, *!Naraban*, */Ubanas*, */Hoibin*, starting from the *//Horaibin Gein* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left. [621] [624]

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the tribe. [622] [623]

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The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[20] of such a vendetta among the Boodeiswa'is when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[21] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartbooie even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gri khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gri khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[20] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[21] *Loc. cit.*

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white men the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witbooís 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/khau /aasi*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsaob-//Goam*, 37.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 24, quoted by Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 7.
[3] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 9–16; Olpp, *op. cit.*, 23; Kohler, *op. cit.*, 332–3.

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the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witbooie) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartbooie, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Gaeis* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gein* or big */Gaeis*, the */Gari /Naguman* or "next" */Gaeis*, and the */Gari /Karis* or little */Gaeis*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gein* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari /Naguman*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gein tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the /Aunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Namaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */kau /nani*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gei khoi /oe*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gei khoi /oe* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Gaeis* will be called */Gaeiti*, and all the daughters of a man named //*Khauab* will be called //*Khause*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special *adjectives*, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaiti*, hence */Gari gaiti*, the second the next one, */naguaxab*, hence */Gari /naguaxab*, the third the dark one, *//aob*, or the light one, */haiti*, or the tall one, *gaoab*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, */aoti*, or the little one, */kaeti*, hence */Gari /kaeti*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

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family surname. That of the /Gori /Nagoreun, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the /Naisi Ein, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Bruiker. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the /Garoaib clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartboois as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

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acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up, but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 11–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 *and passim*; Peacock, *Hingabenen Zuidafrika's*, 316 *sq.*; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 193–9.

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643 555 [229] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 ● 648 649 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, iii, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

The political organization of the Namas was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 222–31; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 317–31; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–4, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Grass Nomenclature*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 320–4; Schinz, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 140.

Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentots" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people. 101

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65) 175 619

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony; they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the captaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of 131 619

the nineteenth century, five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Na‿ma-n is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are: 131 6R

1. The ǂAo-ǁnin or !Go-ǁmen, who are sometimes called *ǁNa-ranin by their neighbors because of their gourd (naras) fields, the Topnaars of the Boers.

2. The ǁKχa-ragai-kχoĩn, shortened to ǁKχa-r(a)-kχoĩn, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.

3. The //Ha-bobe-n or Veldskoendragers.

4. The ǁGa-miǂnũ-ǁn or Bondelzwarts.

5. The //Kχau-ǁgõa-n or Zwartbooïs now settled in the northern kookoveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The //Kχau-ben or the Rooi Natie.

7. The ǁKχa-roǂo-an or the Tsaibechen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop.

8. The //Ogain or Grootdooden.

b) ᵒGũ‿ǁnũn is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The ǁA-maĩn or Bethanie Hottentots.

10. The ǀHai-ǀkχau-an or Berseba Hottentots.

11. The ǀKχo-besin or Witbooïs.

12. The Gai-ǀkχau-an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes.

13. //Aᵗ-ǂa//a-en or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, 114

B. The Tribal Community

178 The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

423 The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. [721] The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national [619] power.

422 Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

426 Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aũs ga ǂareza ota nĩ ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

425 In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous [574] to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or ǂgao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mũ//(e)ĩn and ǃnorabagu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Kʰoi-kʰoin, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã ǃhaos kʰoētsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

either "na-/mata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then he answers: "kxoë-kxoëta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kxoë-kxoëta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kxoï-kxoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hetts kis* (? *Heitsi Eibib*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. J. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatae descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirgs der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they now came with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete disintegration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such as smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Even more effective, however, in destroying their original status was the very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first years of the settlement began to take place between them and the white settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whether at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this division can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their original culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans, early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlement. One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the end of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleus of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua or Charigiriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before* 1795, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Stow, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[i.e., The Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

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tribe, who by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most powerful group of Hottentots in the east, and extended from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River. Very little is actually known of these people, especially as regards their social habits and customs. They are said to have differed slightly in appearance from the Cape Hottentots, the result of intermixture with the neighbouring Bantu, and their language was also different in some respects. They have now apparently all been exterminated or absorbed by other races. They were the first Hottentots to come into contact with the Bantu invaders along the south coast, and it is largely as a result of both conflict and intermixture with these more powerful neighbours that they have become so completely effaced.[1]

The KORANA or !KORA are, as already noted, traditionally the descendants of the Kora or Gorachouqua, who, originally resident in the Cape Peninsula, began to draw away inland from the Dutch settlement towards the end of the seventeenth century. Their history for the last two hundred years has been one of continual strife with the Europeans on the one hand, and later with the Bantu as well. During the early half of the eighteenth century they gradually moved north-eastwards towards the Middle Orange, and by the end of the century they had been forced across that river to seek refuge round the junction of the Vaal and the Harts. They were found in 1813 by Campbell in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Old Lithakao, and later on settled at Bethany, under the influence of the Berlin Mission. For a time they managed to preserve their original status, and by about 1850 are said to have been divided into seventeen different groups numbering altogether some 20,000 persons. But by 1870 their tribal units had also become completely destroyed, chiefly as the result of disastrous fights with the neighbouring BaSuto. They have since declined considerably in numbers, and no semblance of their original organization now survives. They have mixed freely with the Bantu and with half-breeds, and although it is said that a number of racially pure individuals are still to be found, the majority of the present Korana have certainly a good deal of foreign blood in them.[2]

The fourth and best-known division of the Hottentots are the

[1] A summary of the early literature relating to these tribes is given by J. Hewitt, "Notes relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Eastern Province," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), pp. 304 sqq., esp. 308–15. The most useful account of the Gonaqua is in F. le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance dans les années 1780–5*, 2 vols., Paris, 1790, esp. vol. ii, pp. 28 sqq.

[2] Fritsch, op. cit., 366–76; Snow, op. cit., 267–315.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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NAMAS, spoken of more frequently as the Namaqua.[1] They were classified by the early Dutch settlers into two main groups: the *Little Namaqua*, living south of the Orange River in what is now Little Namaqualand, and the *Great Namaqua*, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South-West Africa. Both these groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and in the early days the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of Hottentots, and probably formed the rear-guard of their invasion of South Africa. Early in historical times they were settled definitely in the country north of the Orange River, where for a considerable time they held undisputed sway.

The Great Namaqua were subdivided into seven tribal groups, with one or two minor offshoots all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors. These groups were the *Gei //Khauan* (often known by their Dutch name *Rooi Natie*), the survivors of which are now resident at Hoachanas; the */Gami ǂNun* (*Bondelswarts*), in the district of Warmbad, just north of the Orange River; the *//Haboben* (*Veldskoendragers*), round Koes and Hasuur; the */Khara Gei Khoin* (*Simon Coppers* or *Franzmanns*), formerly found along the Auob River at Gokhas, but now living in British Bechuanaland south-east of Rietfontein S.; the *//Khau /Goan* (*Swartboois*), who lived at Rehoboth till about 1870, when they removed first to Ameib, and then to Fransfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld, where they are now found; the *//O Gein* (*Groot Doode*), who formerly roamed about the upper courses of the Great Fish River, but ceased to exist some fifty years ago as a result of inter-tribal quarrels and wars against the OvaHerero; and the *ǂAunin* or */Naranin* (*Topnaars*), of whom some live round Zesfontein in the Kaokoveld and the others at Walvis Bay.

At the present time there are also found in South-West Africa,

[1] The main sources of information on the habits and customs of the Naman are: J. H. Wikar, "Beriqt aan den . . . Heer Joachim van Plettenberg (1778–9)," published in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd* (3 vols., 1916–22), vol. ii, 78–138; T. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," *Globus*, xii (1867); *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, London, 1881; Fritsch, op. cit., 343–65; J. Olpp, *Angra Pequena and Great Namaland*, 1884; H. von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, Magdeburg n.d. (1896); J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; C. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien* (ed. S. R. Steinmetz), Berlin, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman und Bergdamaren," *Z. Int. Priv.*, xi (1903), 657–86; L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 170–549; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inxa among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), 65–82; *idem*, "The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Naman of South-West Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 514–26; *idem*, "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South-west Africa," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24; H. Vedder, "The Nama," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, 109–52.

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619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white [191] blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witboois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei |khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei |khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been [144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

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CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

114 The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

178 In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

162 619 The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */haus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doode* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//habob* or *//hawob*); while the *ǂAunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witboois, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */hobe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami ǂNun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and *ǂAunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4–7.

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/hau /nati*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 94, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

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family surname. That of the */Gari /Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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618 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants
619 of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form
513 clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually
643 develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous
618 to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were
619 scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a
417 great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in
231 which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south.
618 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
592 but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

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Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa
423 and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartbooi's. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their
619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products
166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Snow, *Native Races*, 238 sqq.; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandse Tijd*, vols. i and ii *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1834, p. 155.

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tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hohesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoop to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 9146), 70, 77–6; Hoernlé, op. cit., 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti ||Naoan !Hans
!Gaisi !khai hm se re
aike mutse

My ancestors' territory
Run nicely to meet me
I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hai /Nan* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Naman", 319–20.

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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqui*
● 619 or *khoequa*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal
622 heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives.
[5N] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he
622 presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reize naar Vorgebirge der Goede Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 321–2.

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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 554 [224] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 618 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, iii, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

643 642

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

642 177

The political organization of the Naman was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 101–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 357–9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–4, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322–4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 142.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need
621 of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami /Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[3] Snow, *Native Races*, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

2: Schapera, E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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619 Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their
648 names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

619 The early Dutch records throw some light on the political inter-
648 relations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains"
643 of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the
622 head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's
619 wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating
648 somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 96–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

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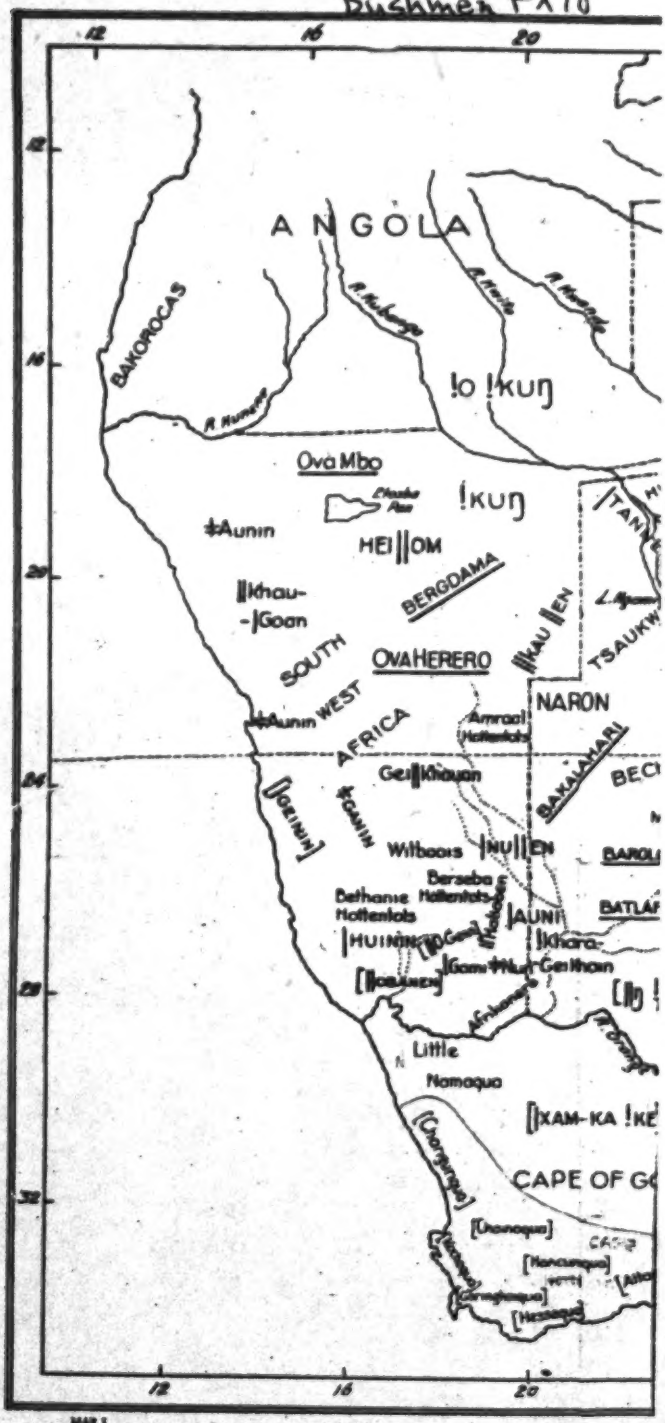

[facing p. 446 (a)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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[facing p. 446 (4)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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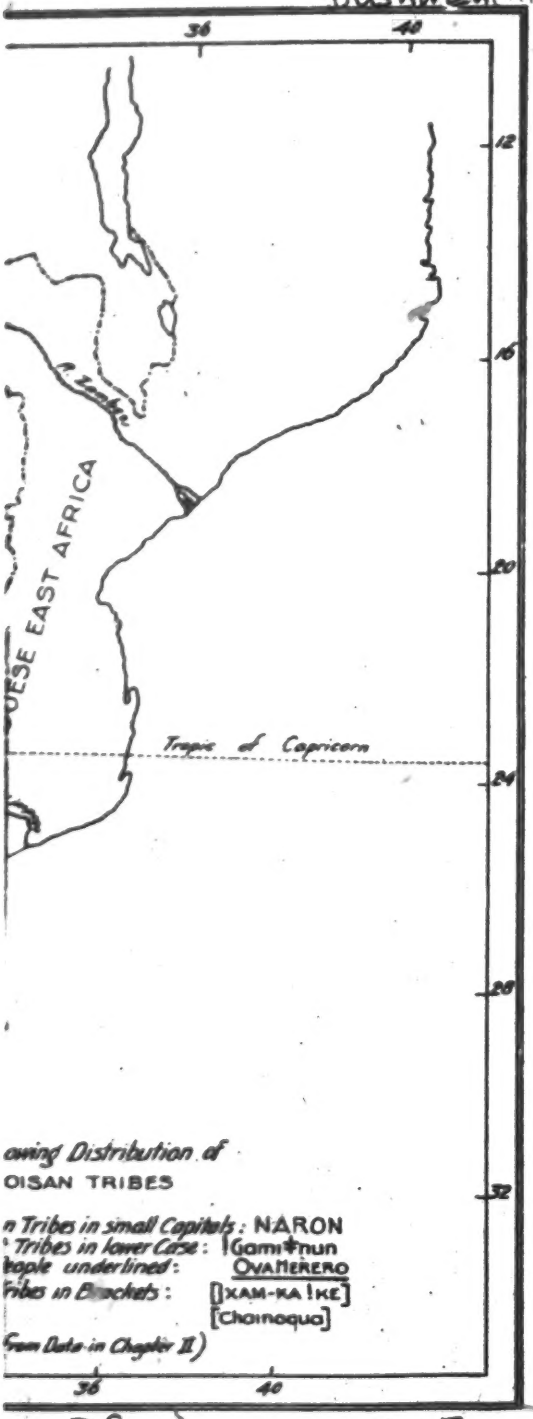

[facing p. 446 (c)]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[14] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[14] Drawn up in 1858. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of those Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex"—an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gochoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kapliden."

(v) Gorona, also written Goraqua, Gorachonqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc.

They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainouqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniga, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hancoumqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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(xii) Chariguriqua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua = *i.e.*, the small (=ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib = sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Griqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Griqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaun, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Áwa-khoin = Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaun or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Games, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes.

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmannsche Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) !Kara-!ôan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawobe, whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Ameib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Groot-doden. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Amboland in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ≠Ounin, also called !Gomen or !Naranin, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ≠Ounin, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1825, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Gami-≠nun or Bondelswartz who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonization of the Cape Colony by Europeans progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 619 European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilization and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams.'

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Mansvelt traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Nama who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Oorlandse mense" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Nama would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin; who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

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missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witboois after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witboois observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Nama were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witboois?

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amraal Hottentots, who settled at Nausannabis and in the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Broekkaross.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaagas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of the //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂganis in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amraal Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Nausannabis and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the +Kari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Broekkaross in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicha-//ain=angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, !Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hôa-/arab and Titus.

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After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

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1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [341] [843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 536 [521]

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KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS, OTHERWISE NAMED HOTTENTOTS.

The country or land of Kaffraria (or, according to Marmol,[1]) Quefreria) is so named after the Kafirs, its native inhabitants. They are commonly known to our countrymen as Hottentoos or Hottentots, because their language is so clumsy and difficult;[2]) and they live without any laws of religion.

* * *

The land of Kaffraria, although not divided into any special kingdoms of which we know, is nevertheless inhabited by different indigenous peoples. Some of them are governed by kings and some by chiefs, while others live in the wilds without any leader at all. I shall describe several of these peoples, together with their customs, government, religion and other characteristics, as far as these have come to our knowledge from some reports recently sent over by men who have dwelt in those parts for some time.[3])

The principal peoples, then, whom our countrymen have up till now discovered in this southernmost portion of Africa, are the following:[4]) the Gorachouquas, Goringhai-

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[1]) *Description general de Affrica*, by Luis del Marmol Carvajal. 3 vols. Granada and Malaga, 1573-99. (French trans., Paris, 1667.)

[2]) See below, p. 71.

[3]) On Dapper's sources of information, see above, p. 2.

[4]) In the Cape records of this period the names of the Hottentot tribes and clans are spelt in a variety of different ways. All, however, are obviously so inaccurate that the correct vernacular according to Hottentot pronunciation are no longer obtainable, now that the tribes concerned have ceased to exist. The names as given above are all written without the clicks, and most of them have the suffix for the third masc. plur. (-qua, -kwa, or -qui) or, sometimes, for the common plur. (-sa). The forms given by Dapper are for the most part identical with those used by van Riebeeck in the "Instructions" he left for his successor (Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Cape Archives: Letters Despatched*, 1652-1662, vol. iii, 239-42), except that *k* has been uniformly substituted for *c*. Van Riebeeck in his list (loc. cit.) describes briefly the following tribes: Goringhaiconas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, Cochoquas, Little (and Great) Chariguriquas, Namaquas, Chainouquas, Heumaquas, and Hancumquas; and mentions also the Chamaquas, Omaquas, Aliquas, Houtumquas, and Chanquas. "After these is said to begin . . . another race of men, called . . . Chobogua or Chobona." Wagenaar, in a similar memorandum written four years later (1666), mentions only the first nine of these (Moodie, *The Record*, Part I, 261).

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De drie eerste volken, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas* en *Goringhaikonas*, leggen meest al dicht aen de Kaep, niet boven vier of vijf uuren gaens van het Fort van goeder hope, inzonderheit de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die maer een vierendeel uur gaens verre afgelegen zijn.

GORINGHAIKONAS

De *Goringhaikonas*, of watermans, staen onder eenen oversten, genaemt by hen *Demtad*, en by d'onzen *Klaes Das*, om dat hy eens op het Dassen eilant gevangen en gebannen zy geweest, over zekeren misdaet, aen de Neerlanders gepleeght; maer is naderhant, door zich zelven wel te dragen, ontslaekt, en in zijne oude heerschappye gestelt. Zy hebben een leger slechts van vier of vijf huizen, zijn omtrent vijftigh zielen, met vrouw en kinderen, in getale sterk, en de armste onder alle de *Hottentots*.

GORACHOUQUAS

De *Gorachouquas*, by d'onzen genaemt Tabaks-dieven, ter oorzake zy op zekeren tijt daer te lande al de Tabaks-planten van zekeren vryen landtbouwer van het velt hebben wegh-gestolen, en noch heden daer in volharden, zijn ontrent drie of vier hondert weer-bare mannen sterk, behalve vrou en kinderen, en erneren zich met schoon vee van schapen en koe-beesten.

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[a]) In Van Riebeeck's "Dagverhaal" (henceforth referred to as DJ) and other contemporary records the name also appears in the forms Goringycona, Goeringaycona, Goringhaicoina, etc. Wuras (*Bantu Studies*, iii, 239) interprets it as "children (or descendants)" of the Goringhaiqua (q.v.), from whom they had broken away. Van Riebeeck (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 239) refers to them as beachrangers and fishermen; exclusive of their wives and children, they did not number more than eighteen; they had no cattle, but lived by fishing and collecting, and by doing various menial services for the Dutch. Theal says they were the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded in 1652 (*History of S. Afr. before* 1795, ii, 13).

[b]) In the first years of the Cape settlement the accepted leader of the Goringhaikona was the famous Herry or Harry (see below, p. 16n); after his death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou (Theal, *op. cit.*, 197), whose Hottentot name was "Khamy" (D. July 8, 1658). I have been unable to find any evidence in the official records to corroborate Dapper's statement that Klaas Das was the chief of this group. This man with some other Hottentots had "of their own accord" accompanied

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[5]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[6]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[7]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 18, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1656) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 8, 1659).

[7]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or khaikhoa, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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Zy staen onder eenen overste, met name *Chora*, die eenen broeder heeft, geheten *Gaking*, beide gaende in besmeerde vellen, dat grote rijkdom van vee in heeft.

GORINGHAIQUAS

De *Goringhaiquas*, by d'onzen Kaepmans genaemt, om dat zy het naeste altijts van al de *Hottentots* aen de kaep van goeder hope gewoont hebben, en zich die plaets als eigen toe-schrijven, zoo lang d'onzen daer geweest zijn, mogen in volkrijkheit tegen de *Gorachouquas* op, en beide ontrent duizend weerbare mannen uitmaeken, bewonende ontrent vijf-en-tnegentigh huizen of hutten, met matten overdekt.

De *Goringhaiquas* staen onder eenen overste, by hen genaemt *Gogosoa*, maer by d'onzen de dikke kapitein, om zijn overgroten dikken en neerhangenden buik, zulx zijn naem met het wezen en gestalte des lijfs wonder wel over een komt.

Hy was in 't jaer zestien hondert en twee-en-zestigh, na het overschrijven der genen, die zich toen aldaer bevonden, wel hondert jaer out, en had twee zonen, de oudste genaemt *Osinghaikanna*, en d'andere *Otegnoa*, welke hunnen vader, insonderheit de oudste, altijts hebben zoeken t'overheren, en geheel meester te spelen, met aenwendingh van alle middelen om dezen ouden *Gogosoa*, hunnen vader, van kant te helpen, en door dit middel de heerschappye vervolgens op den oudste, en voorts op den tweden te laten komen.

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[8]) The incident is mentioned in van Riebeeck's journal, March 11, 1657. In the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by the Hottentot girl Eva, the "Chorachouqua" are first identified as "the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens" (D. Oct. 31, 1657).

[9]) Dapper's information is wrong; van Riebeeck says that "exclusive of women and children these Gorachouquas number from six to seven hundred men capable of bearing arms" (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 240).

[8a]) Also mentioned in the records as Choeringaina, Goeringaiqua, Goringhoina, etc., a name which Wuras (*op cit.*, 288) translates as "those who dip water out of fountains," but which Maingard (*op. cit.*, 111) suggests with more probability as being equivalent to *!kurin //aikwa*, or "proud people," one of the later Korana tribes. Together with the Goringhaikona and Gorachouqua they constituted a single tribe, of which their leader Gogosoa was the principal chief; but it is evident enough from the early records that these different sections were continually bickering and fighting amongst themselves.

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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11])van Riebeeck (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khuma, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 26, 1658).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yea! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1661).

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In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.[15]) The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandise, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoā and to our countrymen as Doman.[16]). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, [17]) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

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wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1656, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1659); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognised as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, *op. cit.*, 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 272).

[17]) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

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Na het befrijven van al deze vrolijkheden, wierden d'oversten met rode kralen, kopere stokken, en platen, en elk daer en boven met een rolletje tabak beschonken; maer de gemene *Hottentots* moesten zich met het voorzeide onthael vernoegt houden: waer op zy alle gezamentlijk, na dat een parthye dien nacht in het Fort geslapen had, weder vertrokken, uitgezeit, de voornoemde *Herry*, die noch drie of vier daegen daer verbleef.

De zelve *Herry* spreekt mede een weinigh Engelsch, geleert door het verkeren met d'Engelschen in *Bantam* in Indiën, daer d'Engelschen een vastigheit hebben, derwaerts hy van de kaep met een Engelsch schip over gevaren was; maer komende naderhant met een schip weer aen de kaep, begaf hy zich weder onder zijn volk.

COCHOQUAS OF SALDANHARS.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, alzo by d'onzen genoemt, om dat zich altijts meest ontrent en in de dalen van de *Saldanhabay* hebben onthouden, gelegen achtien mijlen Noord-westwaerts van de kaep, leggen in vijf of zestien negeryen verdeilt, elk ontrent een vierendeel uurs van elkandre, en bewonen met hun allen ontrent vier hondert, of vier hondert en vijftigh huizen. Ieder negerye bestaet uit dertig, zes-en-dertig, veertig en vijftig huizen, meer en minder, alle in 't ronde gezet, en een weinig van elkandre, daer binnen, versta binnen ieder negerye, de *Saldanhars* hun vee in bewaringh stellen.

Zy bezitten een groote menighte van schone beesten, wel over de hondert duizent, en ontrent twee hondert duizent schapen, die geen wol, maer langachtigh gekleurt hair op 't lijf hebben.

Al de *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, staen onder eenen overste of koning, met den tijtel van *Koehque*, dat gezeit is, een koning van 't Hottentots geslacht, die op ontrent vijftigh mijlen van de kaep wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, of Tabaks-dieven, desgelijx de *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans,

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[258a]) Bantam forms the western end of Java. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately gained the upper hand and took possession of the district in 1643. If Herry accompanied an English ship there, it must have been nearer 1640 than 1650.

[258b]) Also mentioned in the records as Cochonas, Kochehoqua, etc., a name which Wuras (*op. cit.*, 389) interprets as "sheep owners". Van Riebeeck says of them that "the tribe consists of some thousands of men, and generally occupies the country in the middle, opposite to us, at the foot of the African Mountain range, extending from about False Bay to Saldanha Bay. They,

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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[28a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[28b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afri. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

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000 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Waterman, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoã*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoã*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoã*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoã* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy altijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoã*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, noit niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoã* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgestelt van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoã* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgezondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

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622 [28]) For "Oldasoã" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnomoã" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoa van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 16, 1661), etc.

624 [29]) Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 28-29, 1659).

622 [31]) Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1689 or 1690 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 355); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240).

142 [32]) Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiso" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

619 [33]) Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Chariquas, Charinguriqua, Chariguriqua, Gregeriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was ≠*Kari-huriqua*, i.e. the small (≠*kari*) tribe which lives

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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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erneren zich, nevens de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, mede met zeer schoon vee, hun eenigste hoop en betrouwen, gemerkt zy in den droger zomertijt niet anders hebben, dan van hun vee te leven.

Dus verre van de Hottentots, genaemt *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*, die dicht aen de kaep gelegen zijn; de verre te landwaerts in gelegen, zijn de *Chainoquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas* en *Hankumquas*, hoewel eenige de *Kobonas* niet onder de *Hottentots* rekenen.

CHAINOUQUAS.

De volken, genaemt in de lant-tale *Chainouquas*, zyn tegenwoordigh wel drie maenden reizens te lande in geweken, met huis, hof, vrouw, kinderen en vee, en wonen, na het zeggen van d'andere wilden, zeer na by de *Kobonas* lant; doch zijn niet boven de vier hondert menschen in getale, maar rijk van schoon vee.

De *Chainouquas* staen onder eenen overste, genaemt *Sousoð*, een out man: heeft twee vrouwen gehad doch beide doot: heeft eenen zoon genaemt *Goeboe*, dien zijn rechter been van eenen olifant te pietteren is getrapt, en kan het zelve tegenwoordigh door de verdorvenheit niet ter werelt gebruiken. Wanneer de *Chainouquas* met hunne negerye opbreken, moet deze *Goeboe* op een os zitten, en daer op en afgetilt worden. Zyn vrouw is genaemt *Kamisoð*.

De kleding van dezen overste *Sousoð*, is een schoon luipertsvel, met de bevlekste en schoonste zijde na binnen gekeert, en d'onzienlijke vleeschzijde, wel vet besmeert, na 's lant-maniere, na buiten.

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34) See below, s.v. *Kobonas* (p. 28).

35) Also mentioned in the early records as Chaynunqua, Chaynouqua, Chainouna. Wuras (*op. cit.*, 289) interprets their name as "those who are swollen or puffy in the face". The Dutch first came into contact with them in Sept. 1660, when "a certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentoos dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas", and the name of their chief was Sousa (*Letters desp.*, iii, 183). The latter had "such power, and was so dreaded, that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects nor others would dare to come to us to trade, as long as these Chainouquas were in the neighbourhood; but they would all make

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They subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live. 619 [231]

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[34])

CHAINOUQUAS.

The people named Chainouquas[33]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle. [162 231]

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoä, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoä. The clothing of Chief Sousoä is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards. 619 622 [291]

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op cit.*, 155; D., Feb. 25, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandize amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 200-201). The principal Cnainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495-6). 619 622

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NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

000 De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vrientschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkeit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulx alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aengewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

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41) First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

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NAMA

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NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

619 [131] 574 [533 534] [278]

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[191] 619 177 144

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

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NAMA

ivory, in front of their private parts,[48]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[49]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

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Brygoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[50]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[51])

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Heusaquas.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[52]) lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[51]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

[52]) Also referred to as Hessaqua, Hassequa, Essaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hesaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumquar . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 496, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *heib*, tree, *-se*, adj. ending, *-qua*).

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den overste van de *Chainouquas* daer eenige beesten en schapen quamen verhandelen, gaende aenstonts weder met hem naer hunne woonplaetsen.

De *Heusaquas* zijn vee-rijk: dan deze alleen erneren zich ook met 't planten (want geen onder al de daer te lande gevonden Hottentots planten of zaien, dan alleen de *Heusaquas,)* van zekeren krachtigen wortel, dien zy *dacha* noemen, en eten om dronken te worden; hoewel zy den zelven bywijlen ook met water mengen, om te drinken. Wanneer het eten en drinken des wortels *dacha* hen de hersenen bedwelmt en bevangen heeft, stellen zy zich, met het bedrijven van vreemde grepen en wonderlijke grillen, als dolle en uitzinnige menschen aen; onder welk krioel en gewoel, de vrouwen komen, en zeker fijn geklopt en gewreven kruit, genaemt *boggoa*, op hun hooft stroien. Dit kruit, dat geel en sterk-riekend is, wast op het hoogh geberghte, met klompen of klaeuwen aen de klippen, in groten overvloet, en wort van de mans opgezocht, en van de vrouwen bereit.

Ontrent de *Heusaquas* leggen de vee en volkrijke *Hankumquas*, doch zijn noit by d'onzen aen het Fort geweest.

De *Heusaquas* zijn byzonder vaerdigh met jonge en oude leeuwen om te gaen, die zy in strikken weten te vangen, en te temmen, met een bant aen den hals, als een hont. Zy trekken ook wel met leeuwen, die zy lang gehad, en heel tam gemaekt hebben, ten oorloge, en kunnen daer mee den vyant, zonder moet van eenige tegenstant te bieden, in de route op de vlucht drijven; 't geen velen vremt wil voorkomen, en echter in 'er daet onder hen gepleeght wort.

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53) *Leonotis leonurus*, whose leaves are still smoked by the S.A. natives like those of Indian hemp, producing a similar stupefying effect. Dapper is wrong in stating that the Hessequa cultivated this plant. Van Riebeeck terms them "regular dagga makers of the Hancumquas" (Sept. 27, 1660), but says of the latter (from hearsay evidence also) that "they plant and dry a certain plant *dacha*, which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242; cf. D., Dec. 16, 1661). Maingard, after discussing all the evidence, concludes that these Hottentots never *cultivated* dagga, but that they traded in it, which probably gave rise to the legend (*op. cit.*, 493).

54) More correctly *buchu*, a common name to this day in S. Africa for various species of *Barosma* and *Diosma*, much used by natives as a sweet-smelling powder.

55) First mentioned, as Chancumqua, in the list of tribes given by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657), supplemented later by the statement that they cultivated dagga (D., June 21, 1658). Soeswa told van Riebeeck that the chief of these "Hamcumquas" was "the chief lord of all the Hottentoo tribes" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). All that

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him. [437]

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women. [231] 276 [302] [824]

Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort. 619

The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[56]). 231 726

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was known of them in 1662 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 402). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. R. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.) 619

[53]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters desp., iii, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

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GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king[83]).

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RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them *'s Humma*[84]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him; for why, say they, should they pray to this *'s Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[84a]). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

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83) On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. VI.

84) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama */homi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits *'s Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

84a) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Naman until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 51 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:—

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Essequaes*.[1]) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, though inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting.

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[1]) The Hessequas (see above, p. 39) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 125.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

2. Alteram *Namacquaes* constituunt, hunc sibi peculiarem in vestitu servantes ritum: quod ubi alii vulpino, caprinove corio, hi ex elephantino dente contextis canistellis pudenda tegant, vix penetrabilibus aliis tutiores in bello scutis.

3. Hos sequuntur *Sousvas*, ejusdem cum nostris Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Hinc *Sonquas*, quibus sontica* de caussa a nostratibus ereptae sunt pecudes, ut silvis degentes alimoniam ex desertis, ferarum praesertim venatione petere cogantur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregoriquas*.

6. Inimicum agmen claudunt *Honnimas*, quibuscum nostrates ob dira municipum homicidia bella gerunt. Quorum *praefectus supremus*, *Honnima* dictus, claudus etiamsi senex; strenuus tamen miles est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros securi arcem frequentant, auxiliares in terrestri bello copias componunt. Eorum praefectus generalis *Claes* appellatur, & ab illo secundus *Capteyn Cuyper*, egregii uterque & vafri milites, non semel a me visi, mera cum nudipeda plebe mendicabula: sic huic, sex stipatoribus comitato, emendicatum *tabaci* frustulum pluries dedi, Gallice tantillum cum eodem locutus.

* Ten Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 90) about Table Mountain and the table of the Governor. B.P.

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[7]) See above, p. 34.

[8]) A misleading description; the garment referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully pleated and prepared skin" (see above, p. 33). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the C[illegible] Hottentots wore goatskins, for none of them possessed any goats.

[9]) Van Meerhoff describes these as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 38).

[10]) The Chainouquas (see above, p. 26), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Souswa.

[11]) Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1669 Cruse encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandise, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 26, 1669: Moodie, *Record*, 303-4).

[12]) Called *Karicheriquas* by Dapper.

[13]) *i.e.* Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 33). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 38).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Soussus*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[7]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1672-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Scusoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Idiomeg, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1668, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentots Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackigy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince?) (!) (Idiomeg, *Record*, 218-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

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Korana

to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaiboschee and the Links were then still living together. 175

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaiboschee and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabak*, *Matibi* and *Totsé* all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hareena to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this " hiving off " occurred in this intervening period. 175 619

Hareena was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Koonah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the " Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Mahalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east " makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River. 175 619 191

[1] Campbell, 1813, p. 250-2.
[2] Campbell, 1820, II. p. 283, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii, pp. 348-352.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bontar*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaranstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the most bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Harteheestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 260-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Masson, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 247; Nicholas Kruger, p. 330.

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175 619 721 State, until they hurled Molitsane and the Links over the Modder River. A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern Bloemfontein. Molitsane had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuisen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they wore the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Molitsane—the Links,—among the dead.

Molitsane himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

175 619 The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wurst, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[39] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[39] B. M. D. 1836, p. 178 ff.

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of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Visser, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbok, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludovicus Pretorius—two of the original "voortrekkers." Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Bergen in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.[11] The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found "any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River."[12] As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Mekwatling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.[13] Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Moselekatze and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Links had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a "smous," that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he outspanned at the Saltpan. A kraal of Korana resided there, "under Abraham Lynx and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lynx."[14] They had returned to their old home and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

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[11] B. C. p. 237-238.
[12] B. C. p. 198.
[13] J. D. Missions Evangeliques, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.
[14] B. C. 253.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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175 For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan
619 and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was
797 in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the
261 Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under
[161] Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[15] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[16] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

175 To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana
619 in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely
797 pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years,
[166] had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only diffi-
619 culty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the
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[15] B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[16] B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.
[17] B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.
[18] B. M. B. years 1848-1854.
[19] B. M. B. 1850, p. 202
[20] B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt pursuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[21]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.*

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom, not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[21] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191 ; 202-6.

*Bas. Rec. I. pp. 299, 414, 421 ; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18 ; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220 ; 1852, note on pp. 3-5 ; pp. 103, 106.

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175 readily granted.[22] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.
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But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[23] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[24] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[25] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[26]

175 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the
619 Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society
648 Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of
797 which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty
167 beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[27] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[28] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[22] B. C. p. 291-3.
[23] B. C. p. 257.
[24] B. C. p. 324.
[25] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[26] B. C. p. 323.
[27] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[28] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; " now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, " and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[29]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm " Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[30]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[31] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm " Nooitgedacht " on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near " a large Korana station " . . and he received " the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[32] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that " it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa " and " soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds " a good many Koranas " still at the Saltpan.[33]

[29] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.
[30] B. C. 215.
[31] B. C. 289.
[32] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[33] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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175 During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and
● 619 along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value
648 of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives.
797 England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[34] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[35] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[36] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[37]

175 Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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34 Wangemann. *Sud-Afrika und seine Bewohner.* Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
35 Imperial Blue Book, C. 2454-'79, p. 33.
36 Ibid, p. 34.
37 Wangemann op. cit. p. 24.

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already done so, but Brune flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[38] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Pniel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Wuras and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.[39] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.[40]

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Brune and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Brune maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Brune, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[40]

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[41] Mr. Brune is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk

38 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

39 Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 35, p. 81 ff.

40 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

41 Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */haimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *=/hûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of */Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are mŋ //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kei !korana*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/hei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*=/Kaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geide khaekhwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ka-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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VIII. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA TRIBAL NAMES.

Wikar(1)	*Albrecht*(2)	*Campbell*(3)	*Bloemhof*(4)
1. *Namryhoa.*	*t'Kamanaqua.*	*Karossdrager* / *"Weavers of Karosses or cloaks."*	
2. *Kaukoa of Snyervolk.*	*t'Kommqqua oder 'Sneider.*	*Snyers* / *"Cutters or taylors."*	
3. *Aukokoa.*	*t'Ogaqua oder "Naauwanger."*	*Naanarwangs* / *"Narrowcheeks."*	
4. *Kauringais "de Hoogekraal."*	*t'Qwoeriqqua oder "Hoogneemer."*	*"Hoogtens"* / *"Heights."*	*/Kuriŋ//aihua*
5. *Husingais "Spinnedraad."*	*t'hoekyqua oder "Spinnehopper."*	*Spinnehopsnoger.*	
6. *Key korakhoa of "Groot dito."*			*Kei /horana.*
7.	*t'Arisuangkys.*	*Links staan* / *"Standing to the left."*	*//aramŋ//ais.*
8.	*t'Hoemqquiqua.*	*Springbokkers* / *"Springbucks."*	*/hûb//aihua.*
9.	*t'Hoeaqua.*	*"Katmenchen."* / *"Cat people."*	*/hõaŋ//aina.*
10.	*t'Kounyqua oder "Zeekoenemers."*	*Zeekoedragers* / *"Bearer of seacows."*	*/hau//aina.*
11.	*t'Amzaqua.*		
12.		*Tovermaans* / *"Wizards."*	
13.			*/hûŋ//aihua.*
14.	*t'Noekijqua oder "Overkantnemers."*		

(1) G.M. ii. 1·7, 118, 124, 126, 128, 134. Date: 1778-1779.
(2) in Moritz. *Die älteste Reiseberichte in S.W. Afrika.* p. 99. Date: 1813.
(3) 1813. p. 282—four tribal names are left out in the above list.
(4) Bloemhof informants: *Tabab, Tetab, Khois, Iis.* They did not give any more names, except the *aaiise*, the *Barends* or tribe of Barend, the Griqua chief.

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•619 The geographical position of some of the northern Korana tribes in the 19th century has already been indicated in the preceding pages, viz. The " Taaibosch " or *Kei !korana* at Schweizer Reneke and at Umpukani ; the " Links " or *//aremŋ //ais* at Bloemhof ; The " Springboks " or */kũb //eikwa* at Pniel. It must be remembered, as has already been pointed out elsewhere (" The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *South African Journal of Science*, 1931 p. 495), that these geographical points are merely centres round which the tribes wandered.

The " Cat " tribe or */hõaŋ //aina* got involved with Jan Bloem and some are still to be found near Pneil (cp. Meinhof, op. cit. p. 5). An official map of the Pneil-Hebron region, " in the Government Office at Bloemfontein," initialled by H. Green, the British resident, and by F. K. Hohne, the Government Secretary, places, for the period 1849-1850, the " Hoogstanders " or */kuriŋ//ais ;* the " Seekoes " or *!hau //aina* and the " Skerpioens " or */hũŋ//eikwa* in the immediate vicinity of Pneil and Goliath Ysterbek, the chief of the " Right Hand " tribe, at Platberg.[1]

The tribes 1-3 in the table are more properly the *Eynikkoa* or "River volk " of Wikar. Campbell included them in his " Different Tribes of Corannas on the Great River." This became the practice later, for they are called officially Korana in the Government Reports on Sir Walter Currie's campaign against them in 1868-1869, when " Korannaland " was created, and again in 1878-1879, when they were practically annihilated. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G. 61-'79). Even in 1875, their numbers were very small. D. Hook, Special Commissioner at Kenhardt, reported that there were only 120 to 140 under the two chiefs Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs C.A. 19.'75 p. 52-53).

This table is also of philological interest. It is a testimony to the disfigurement suffered by the Korana names in the attempt to transcribe them with inadequate phonetic symbols. Wikar renders the clicks with *k* and has no indication before *n*, *a* and *h ;* Albrecht with *t'k* or *t'q*, etc., being probably inspired here by Sparrman's or Lichtenstein's *t'*. Campbell, whose transcription and perhaps hearing of all Native words is extremely imperfect, has mangled beyond hope even the Dutch names, for he does not attempt the Korana ones.

Finally, it should be noted here that *//ais* means " tribe " ; *//aina* is its plural form and *-kwa* is the plural mas. suffix.

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[1] Imperial Blue Book. C. 508-'72, Map facing p. 56.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

600 children, as they are entirely left during their infancy to the care of the mother, were the medium through which the Hottentot clicks got introduced into the Kafir idioms (Zulu, ||Khosa, &c.); and with these elements they introduced the mother's religious ideas and the name of the Supreme Being, Tsũ||goab."

[17] *Vide* Theoph. Hahn, Der hottentotische Tsũi-||goab und der griechische Zeus: *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1870, p. 452.

[18] Here we have a specimen of the blundering I spoke of in the beginning of the first chapter, where I protested against the indiscriminate use of the word *Hottentot*. It is obvious that after the word *Hottentot* has become so deeply rooted it would be difficult to annihilate it. But it must be used either to designate the whole race, Bushmen and Khoikhoi, or it must be simply applied to the Nomadic Hottentot or Khoikhoi. Or, from the Khoikhoi words for Bushmen and Nomadic Hottentot, Sa- and Khoikhoi, we should form, analogous to our "Indo-Germanic," a word Satsi-Khoikhoi, to be applied to the whole race. Missionaries, who live among the natives, and the superintendents of missions at least, should not commit any blunders as regards the ethnological nomenclature. Thus, we read in a mission tract, written for general edification: "*Along the west coast are distributed the various tribes of the Hottentots, Namaqua, Herero, Damra.*"—*Vide* Dr. Wangemann, "Maleo und Sekukuni, Ein Lebensbild aus Süd Africa," Berlin (1868), p. 53. That the Herero, a Bantu nation, suddenly were transformed into clicking Hottentots I had to learn from Dr. Wangemann.

619 [19] ||Eiχa||ais . . . . This tribe is a branch of the !Amas (the Amaquas of the Cape Records) who formerly inhabited the country between Bergriver and Olifants river. The !Amas again were a branch of the |Khauas (Cauquas of the Records) whose head-quarters were in the Worcester district, the present Goudini. It appears that the greater

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

number of the so-called Cape Hottentots were tribes who were more or less connected with the ǀKhauas, and acknowledged that tribe as the paramount tribe, as about fifteen or twenty years ago the Geiǁkhous of Great Namaqualand had the supremacy over all the Nama tribes. Certain it is that the Geiǁkhous once ruled from the borders of Ovambóland to the mouth of Olifants river, and that all the tribes of Great and Little Namaqualand sent annually a tribute to the paramount chief, generally consisting of a heifer, buchu, spears, and copper or iron beads, and milk-tubs. The last tribute of that kind was paid in 1863; and in 1856, even from Korannaland the chief Poffadder came to do homage to ǁOasib on‡Hatsamas, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springbucks," were a branch of the Geiǁkhous.

To return to Jager Afrikaner and his tribe, the ǁEiχaǁais, they formerly occupied the valleys of the Upper Olifants river and the Upper Breede-Rivier, in the vicinity of the Witsenberg, a mountain named after Witsen, the famous burgomaster of Amsterdam. Early in the Cape Records, in Simon van der Stell's time, we meet a chief of that vicinity by the name of Harramac, which is ǀHara-mub, as no name or word in Khoikhoi ends in c or k. And we meet this name again among the chiefs of the ǁEiχaǁais. This justifies the conclusion that the Harramac of the Cape Records was an ancestor of the ǁEiχaǁai-chiefs. The following names have still come down to us: Tsaūχab, about 1720; ǀGaruχab, about 1750; ǀGaruχamab, about 1780; ǀHŏaǀarab geib, 1790–1823; ǀHaramūb geib, 1823–1861; and ǀHŏaǀarab of Jan Jonker, 1861. . . . . It appears that their love for freedom was the reason that they left their native hills and dales, under the rule of the old chief ǀGaruχamab, and went to the north as far as the ǀHantam, where they in some way or other came under the sway of a Boer Pienaar, living on the Groot Doornberg farm, near the present Calvinia. Pienaar's unjustice, however, was so

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

619 provoking that he was killed by the Afrikaners, as the ǁEiχaǁais were styled by the Boers; and under the guidance of ǃGaruχamab's son, Jager Afrikaner ǀHõaǀarab, they fled with the Boer's flocks and ammunition towards Griqualand, and from there again all along the Orange River to South Namaqualand, where they settled at ǁHamis or Blydeverwacht. Here the German missionaries, the brothers Albrecht, and afterwards Moffat and Ebner, came in contact with the tribe, who embraced Christianity. Jager Afrikaner died in 1823, and his second son, ǀHaramub, the famous Jonker Afrikaner, called by the then paramount chief of Great Namaqualand, Gameb, started with one part of the tribe towards the north, against the Herero, who encroached upon the Namaquas, and, with few exceptions, conquered and enslaved them. With Jonker ǀHaramub's death, however, the late Andersson and Green, and other Europeans, were the cause that the Herero rose, and in a war of nearly ten years, reconquered their freedom. The present chief is ǀHõaǀarab, son of the late ǀHaraǀmũb. Since 1842, after the visit of Captain Alexander, with a short interruption, they had a permanent mission station at ǀAiǁgams, at the foot of the gigantic Auãs mountains in North Namaqualand. Space does not allow us here to go into particulars, but this much we can say, that the history of this ǁEiχaǁais tribe would fill the most interesting pages of South African history, not lacking in romance and recording deeds of which our mediæval knights need not be ashamed.

000 = *Half-caste Hottentot women.*—The title of this valuable translation is: "Annoe Kayn hoeasti Nama-Kowapna gowayhiihati. Diihiiko Hoekays na Kaykoep Bridekirk, kipga. 1831;" or, written with the letters of the standard alphabet, ǃAnu ǃgatǂhoati Nama gobab ǃna χoahẽhãti. Holy good news, Nama-language in they have been written. Diheko ǁHuǃgais ǃna geiǃKhub Bridekirkib χa. Printed Capetown in, great-man (*i.e.*,

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

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67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !hafs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority. 643 619 622 645

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal. [643] 621 621 692 [623]

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public 643 [622] 554

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 108, 112.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 177.
[3] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii; cf. Alexander, Narrative of Voyage to Africa, etc.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that
621 the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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101 connection. They mean the big group of *//Khauas*, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the *//Khauas*. The derivation of the name *//Khauas* I do not know. The Topnaars, or the *≠Aunin*, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the *!Gumis* of which I do not know the meaning.

• 621 All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. 423 Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Oriams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[4] the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

175 A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the 621 Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gami nu Khois.[5] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gami ≠Nun*, or *!Gami ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gami ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[4] p. 153.

[5] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 261. The author spells the name "Cammiesquois."

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161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

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that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognize these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haus*, and the sibs *!Hau !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haus*, tribe; *!na*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *ti* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Gein; /Gari !Nagaman; /Gari ǂKarin; //Neigaman; Goamun; !Gurusen; //Khou Tanasen; !Ga ei Tanasen; !Neise ein; !Oa Gaon.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Groot Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartboois. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franzfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Garib* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Gein*) */Garin*, the next (*!Nagaman*) */Garin*, and the little (*ǂKarin*) */Garin*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*geib*), the second the next one (*!nagamab*), the third the dark one (*ǂnub*) or the light one (*!heib*) or the tall one (*garub*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*ǂkarib*) or the young one (*ǂaub*).

The legend of the Swartboois themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khauan*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khou Tanasen*,

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614 the *//Neigaman*, and the *!Gurusin* are said to be sibs descended
● 621 from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that [591] a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

622 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the
614 */Gari Gein* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari !Nagaman*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained informa-
614 tion. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed
551 in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ≠Aubib, !Huisib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then !Huisib's son !Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then !Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son !Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son !Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, !Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 It is interesting to note that the */Gari !Nagaman* are begin-
551 ning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsauxan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsauxan* the members of which call themselves */Oa Gaon*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (*gaob*) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

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not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse.

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *!Hau !Nati*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartboois, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, !Huisib, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Karin* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the *!Gurusin* sib there are at least four families, the Swartboois, Gertzes, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Neigman* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartboois, the Linders. The !Oa Gaon are the Petersens, whilst the Goamun's are represented to-day by the Orlam family, the *//Khou Tanasen* by the Kido and the Branda families, the */Gari Gein* by only one family, the *Matibis*, and the *!Neisi ein* by the Beukes family.

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe.

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartboois and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

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the north in the Kaokoveld whither it retired after the defeat of the Hottentots by the Herero in the sixties of last century The other section lives in the dunes around Walvis Bay and in the bed of the Kuisib river at various places. The people in the north are reduced to a mere handful and those in the south are probably the most miserable of all the remnants of the Nama, though in Sir James Alexander's time they were described as being fine, handsome people.[8] My information about these people was obtained from the daughter of one of the last chiefs, an intelligent old woman, Khaxas, and from some of the headmen of the last recognized chief of the tribe, Piet //Eibib, who had himself died before I visited the tribe in 1912. According to the information of these old people, the tribe originally lived far to the north in the region to which one branch has again retired. When they first came to Walvis Bay, another Nama people, the */Namixan*, were in control, one of the sibs of this people being called the *≠Ai //Kumsin*. These people were completely defeated and the remnant incorporated in the sibs of the newcomers who called themselves *Mu//een*, so that today no */Namixan* are to be found. The sibs of the *Mu//een* are the *//Hornibin Gein; //Hornibin /Goan;* the *!Noraban;* the */Ubuxan;* and the */Heibin*. There are today very few of these pure *Mu//een* people left. The Nama population of Walvis Bay consists now of stragglers from all the tribes and of half-breeds of many different nations.

The sibs of the *Gei//Khauan* I have been able to learn from the few old men who still represent this tribe. One of these men, !Goi ep, claims to be the hereditary chief of the people and is so acknowledged by the handful who are left of this once large tribe. Most of the sibs named to me have now no representatives at all. The rest are represented by a few individuals. It is impossible to say whether the list is complete, because the Nama very easily forget a sib or family which has no representatives living.

The sibs are *!Khabiron; !Nurisin (extinct); //Nani≠nun; //Nani /Aban; /Hana !Gaon; //Naobxa !Garien; /Kabun; !Hoara-*

[8] *L. c.*, vol. I, p. 72.

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sin; Gamadamin; //Gubu ≠Karin; !Khaian; !Gaba ≠Karin; //Khau ≠Nun; //Khau Tanasin; ≠Khari ≠Namen.[9] The chieftainship was held by the *//Nani /aban*, the red *//Nanin*. Whether the term Rooi Natie, Red Nation, by which this tribe has always been called in Dutch, is derived from the name of this sib I do not know, but it may be. From the names of the sibs it is easy to see that there must have been many more sibs at one time. Thus, one sib is called the small *//Gubun* which makes it likely that there was at least one other *//Gubun sib* from which it had to be distinguished. Another sib is the small *!Gaban*, and so on. It will be noticed that there are two sibs called *//Khauan*, the *//Khau Tanasin* and the *//Khau ≠Nun*, while the whole tribe is called *//Khauan Gein* or *Gei //Khauan*. One of these sibs, the *//Khau Tanasin*, is the same as we found among the Swartboois, while the Swartbooi tribal name is taken from this same sib name, the *//Khauan /Goan*. The tradition of these two tribes, therefore, that they are originally one tribe, is corroborated by the evidence from the sib structure.[9]

The *//Haboben* tribe is also broken up and scattered now. I have never lived among this tribe and have had to gather my information concerning it from chance individuals living in other tribes. In 1923 I visited a very old man of this tribe in the Windhoek gaol. He had been the chief advisor of the chief who had also been in prison but who had died. Unfortunately, the old man's memory was failing and I cannot be sure that the information from him is complete. The sibs, so far as I have them, are as follows: */Haoen; Dou Gein; !Amen; Garsin; Ourin.* The *Ourin* was the sib in which the chieftainship was hereditary.

The remnants of the *!Khara Gei Khoin* are in the Kalahari desert, and none of the men I have met in the Protectorate have been able to give me any information concerning their old tribal structure. At the present day all these people have Dutch names.

The */Gami ≠Nun*, though one of the old aboriginal tribes, have lived for so long on one of the highways into the Protectorate

[9] Seven of these sibs are mentioned by the first missionary to the Rooi Natie, Vollmer; cf. Rheinischer Missionsbericht, 1866, p. 277.

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614 that they have been very much exposed to incoming influences. To-day they have all Dutch surnames. I have, however, been 621 able to collect some of the old Nama names which were in use before the European surnames came into common use. The chief's sib has now the surname Christian, and they call themselves the *!Gami ≠Nun*. The Matros family have the Nama name *Tsububin*. The Aprils are the *!Nanin*. The Hackskind family takes its Dutch name from a translation of the old Nama name *!Noarin* (*!Noas* = the heel). Another sib is called the *!Nurubin;* a third the */Nabasin*, another the */Arimun*, who to-day also have the surname Christian. In giving me these names the old headman, Christian, gave me the fountains in the Bondelswart territory which were known as the headquarters of these different sibs.

The Orlam tribes, that is, the tribes who came into the territory from the south, have all surnames taken from Europeans, such as the Izaacs, the Goliaths, the Christians, the Hendricks, and I have found it impossible to get their old Nama sib names from them. In the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 15, 1901, however, there is an account of the sibs of the /Hobesin, given by the then Bezirkshauptmann von Burgsdorff in answer to a questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kohler. According to him there were seven sibs among the /Hobesin:

1) */Khowan* (families: Witboois, Dragoners, Hanses, Kaisers).
2) *!Amin* (Izaacs, Gertses, Zals, Banks, Vishers).
3) *Dausan* (Jods, Classens, Stewes, Sewis, Jahrs).
4) *!Noresen* (Jantzes).
5) */Kharan* (Piqueurs, Marius).
6) *!Hawe ≠*Nun (Romans, Jacobs, Links).
7) */Khorin* (Pitters, Fredericks, Jochems, Links).

This evidence from the Witboois is sufficient to show that the structure of these tribes from the south was essentially the same as that of the tribes of the Great Namaqua.

361 The families claiming to belong to a sib still tend to live together, though the old original camping order has long been given up. Information from many sources, however, enables one to reconstruct the old encampment, and this reconstruction agrees

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with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots.

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the *!Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbools camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *!Oa Gaon*, the *//Naigaman*, the *!Gurusin*, the */Gari Karin*, the *!Neise ein*. On his right in order came the *Goamun*, the *//Khau Tanasen*, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga ei Tanasen*, meeting the *!Neise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Hornibin Gein*, *//Hornibin /Goan*, *!Noraban*, */Ubuxan*, */Heibin*, starting from the *//Hornibin Gein* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left.

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the tribe.

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614 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all con-
582 sidered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong
627 measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given
621 up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartboois even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the
592 same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they
[595] are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *L.c.*, p.

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young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

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773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-762 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions 535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious 178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[5]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[6]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[7]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

[7]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or *khoekhoa*, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *≠a:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina≠na:e ≠nammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*!hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kwa:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or ǂgao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mũ//(e)ĩn and !norabagu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Kʔoĩ-kʔoĩn, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã !haos kʔoētsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

family surname. That of the */Gari /Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states [1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqui*
619 or *khoequa*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing
622 a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives.
[5N] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing
622 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reize ... Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 320–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape territories

between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognised headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Name
Capa Hottentots

643 554 [229] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 649 649 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, II, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentots Nama

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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

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As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

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The political organization of the Naman was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 100–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kolbe, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 317–91; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–3, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Thorbeck, *Grosse Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Augra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 320–4; Schreiber, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Vedder, "The Nama," 141.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," [illegible].
[3] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. [illegible]; cf. Alberti, Account of S. Africa, etc.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

The early Dutch records throw some light on the political interrelations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains" of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, pp. 7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., I, 40–2.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognize these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haos*, and the sibs *!Hoa !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haos*, tribe; *!ha*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *ti* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Gein; /Gari !Nagaman; /Gari ≠Karin; //Neigaman; Geaman; !Garuxen; //Khou Tamaxen; !Ga ei Tamaxen; !Neixe ein; !Oa Gaen.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Groot Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartbooia. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franzfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Garib* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Gein*) */Garin*, the next (*!Nagaman*) */Garin*, and the little (*≠Karin*) */Garin*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*geib*), the second the next one (*!nagamab*), the third the dark one (*≠naib*) or the light one (*/haib*) or the tall one (*gaxab*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*≠karib*) or the young one (*≠aixa*).

The legend of the Swartbooia themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khawan*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khou Tamaxen*,

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

614 621 [591] the //*Neigaman*, and the *!Gurusin* are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

● 622 614 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the */Gari Geis* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari !Nagaman*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 614 551 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ǂAubib, !Huisib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then !Huisib's son !Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then !Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son !Habib ǂami, and now the latter's son !Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, !Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 551 It is interesting to note that the */Gari !Nagaman* are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves *Tsauxan*, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsauxan* the members of which call themselves */Oa Gaon*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (*gaob*) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

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information given to us by the early travellers among the 361
tentots.

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great
le. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in
ch there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the
th. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts
he *!Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a
ole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there
e usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's
dquarters, though there might be other encampments in other
ts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre
cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the
ves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the
ttentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These
mals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbools 621
nped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the 614
ef's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in
er the *!Oa Gaon*, the *//Neigaman*, the *!Gurusin*, the */Gari
ein*, the *!Neise ein*. On his right in order came the *Goamun*,
//Khou Tanasen, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga ei Tanasen*,
eting the *!Neise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars
camped in the order *//Hornibin Gein*, *//Hornibin !Goan*,
rabas, */Ubasen*, */Heibin*, starting from the *//Hornibin Gein*
the west and continuing round the circle to the left.

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the
ongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time
ain a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its indepen-
ence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than
bal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the [622]
ttentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was
knowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of
e character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads [623]
the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much
thout their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then,
a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the
be.

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De drie eerste volken, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas* en *Goringhaikonas*, leggen meest al dicht aen de Kaep, niet boven vier of vijf uuren gaens van het Fort van goeder hope, insonderheit de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die maer een vierendeel uur gaens verre afgelegen zijn.

GORINGHAIKONAS

De *Goringhaikonas*, of watermans, staen onder eenen oversten, genaemt by hen *Demtaã*, en by d'onzen *Klaes Das*, om dat hy eens op het Dassen eilant gevangen en gebannen zy geweest, over zekeren misdaet, aen de Neerlanders gepleeght; maer is naderhant, door zich zelven wel te dragen, ontslaekt, en in zijne oude heerschappye gestelt. Zy hebben een leger slechts van vier of vijf huizen, zijn omtrent vijftigh zielen, met vrouw en kinderen, in getale sterk, en de armste onder alle de *Hottentots*.

GORACHOUQUAS

De *Gorachouquas*, by d'onzen genaemt Tabaks-dieven, ter oorzake zy op zekeren tijt daer te lande al de Tabaks-planten van zekeren vryen lantbouwer van het velt hebben wegh-gestolen, en noch heden daer in volharden, zijn ontrent drie of vier hondert weer-bare mannen sterk, behalve vrou en kinderen, en erneren zich met schoon vee van schapen en koe-beesten.

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[5]) In Van Riebeeck's "Dagverhaal" (henceforth referred to as D.) and other contemporary records the name also appears in the forms Goringycona, Goeringaycona, Goringhaicoina, etc. Wuras (*Bantu Studies*, iii, 289) interprets it as "children (or descendants)" of the Goringhaiqua (q.v.), from whom they had broken away. Van Riebeeck (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 236) refers to them as beachrangers and fishermen; exclusive of their wives and children, they did not number more than eighteen; they had no cattle, but lived by fishing and collecting, and by doing various menial services for the Dutch. Theal says they were the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded in 1652 (*History of S. Afr. before* 1795, ii, 13).

[6]) In the first years of the Cape settlement the accepted leader of the Goringhaikona was the famous Herry or Harry (see below, p. 16n); after his death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou (Theal, op. cit., 187), whose Hottentot name was "Khamy" (D. July 8, 1656). I have been unable to find any evidence in the official records to corroborate Dapper's statement that Klaas Das was the chief of this group. This man with some other Hottentots had "of their own accord" accompanied

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

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GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[3]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[4]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

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GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[1]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 13, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 18, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1654) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1660).

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[1]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouquas, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 109-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-khoqua or -khoekwa, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11]) van Riebeeck (*Letters Dagr.* iii. 230) gives their numbers as "about 200 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khumo, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 28, 1660).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yes! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1. 1661).

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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[37]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of ha, ho, ho, ho, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

37) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1662.

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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[22a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[22b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 248). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 88). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnema; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 28, 1658). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Charigurigquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnema on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 488).

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000 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoã*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoã*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoã*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoã* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy altijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoã*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, noit niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoã* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgestelt van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoã* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgezondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

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●622 [39]) For "Oldasoã" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnomoã" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoa van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 16, 1661), etc.

624 [40]) Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 28-29, 1659).

622 [41]) Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1689 or 1690 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 355); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240).

142 [42]) Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiso" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

619 [43]) Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Chariquas, Charinguriqua, Chariguriqua, Gregeriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was ≠*Kari-huriqua*, i.e. the small (≠*kari*) tribe which lives

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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamana," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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erneren zich, nevens de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, mede met zeer schoon vee, hun eenigste hoop en betrouwen. gemerkt zy in den drogen zomertijt niet anders hebben, dan van hun vee te leven.

Dus verre van de Hottentots, genaemt *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*, die dicht aen de kaep gelegen zijn; de verre te landwaerts in gelegen, zijn de *Chainoquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas* en *Hankumquas*, hoewel eenige de *Kobonas* niet onder de *Hottentots* rekenen.

CHAINOUQUAS.

De volken, genaemt in de lant-tale *Chainouquas*, zyn tegenwoordigh wel drie maenden reizens te lande in geweken, met huis, hof, vrouw, kinderen en vee, en wonen, na het zeggen van d'andere wilden, zeer na by de *Kobonas* lant; doch zijn niet boven de vier hondert menschen in getale, maar rijk van schoon vee.

De *Chainouquas* staen onder eenen overste, genaemt *Sousoâ*, een out man: heeft twee vrouwen gehad doch beide doot: heeft eenen zoon genaemt *Goeboe*, dien zijn rechter been van eenen olifant te pletteren is getrapt, en kan het zelve tegenwoordigh door de verdorvenheit niet ter werelt gebruiken. Wanneer de *Chainouquas* met hunne negerye opbreken, moet deze *Goeboe* op een os zitten, en daer op en afgetilt worden. Zyn vrouw is genaemt *Kamisoâ*.

De kleding van dezen overste *Sousoâ*, is een schoon luipertsvel, met de bevlekste en schoonste zijde na binnen gekeert, en d'onzienlijke vleeschzijde, wel vet besmeert, na 's lant-maniere, na buiten.

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[54]) See below, s.v. *Kobonas* (p. 38).

[55]) Also mentioned in the early records as Chaynunqua, Chaynouqua, Chainouna. Wuras (*op. cit.*, 289) interprets their name as "those who are swollen or puffy in the face". The Dutch first came into contact with them in Sept. 1660, when "a certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentoos dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas", and the name of their chief was Sousa (*Letters desp.*, iii, 182). The latter had "such power, and was so dreaded, that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects nor others would dare to come to us to trade, as long as these Chainouquas were in the neighbourhood; but they would all make

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They
subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live.

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[34])

Chainouquas.

The people named Chainouquas[35]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle.

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoä, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoä. The clothing of Chief Sousoä is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards.

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1668 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 185; D., Feb. 23, 1664). In 1673 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandise amounting in value to £300. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 18s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 260-261). The principal Chainouqua centres were at Knoflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 435-6).

[1. The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.—Ed.]

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ivory, in front of their private parts,[44]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[45]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

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Brygoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[46]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[47])

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Heusaquas.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[48]) lie approximately *northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto* our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[44]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

[45]) Also referred to as Heussaqua, Hassaqua, Hussaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hessaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumaquas . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters despr.*, III, 241; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 454, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *hoib*, tree, *-se*, adj. ending, *-qua*).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king[42]).

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RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them *'s Humma*[44]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him; for why, say they, should they pray to this *'s Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[44a]). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

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42) On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. VI.

44) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama /*hoesi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits *'s Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

44a) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Namaqua until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933

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Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Souseas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[7]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Doman) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1673, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Soussa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Stir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Idenburg, *V.R.S.* 12, 200 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned 31 July 6, 1688, was head of one of the Gorinhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkay (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (I) (Idenburg, *Record*, 218-9). It is interesting to note here, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

291 The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a coloebum or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep,* and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common [620] folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when *he* sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they [415] hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their [309] arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These [262 267] under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than [302] the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.**)

**) Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the hairs cut look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (*V.H.S.* I, 50).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[*] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[*] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Hoinema and his people.[*] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[*] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[*]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with those natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way.[*] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them bouhoua tabak), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[*] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headmen of every large Hottentot kraal "kapiteins" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[*] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[*] See above, p. 111.

[*] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Goiesema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 500 sheep. (D., July 30, 1673.)

[*] In April, 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Goiesema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claes, to treat for peace" (Memoir, Barrow, 248), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[*] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognises its own chief, and the chief generally recognises a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequaa, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [1]. In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [2].

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as soon as they are born (according to Kirchoff) or at the age of 8 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Gen. I. 11). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Pritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb (and also Maxwell) may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (op. cit., 233-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were eunuchs.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Tara-dadi*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root da or ta means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix ra expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tis (contracted from gautaras), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xamiis, who ruled the Cauquas (ǂKhauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xamiis, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-ǂKhauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is Xamiis-ǂ and the mother is ǂ*Arises*, the sons are—

1. ǂAriseb gaib—*i.e.*, ǂArise the big one, or the eldest ǂArise.

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or 'gao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (72).

72. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their captain in this way: /hai bego, ũũ//(e)ĩn and !nuabego.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Khoĩ-khoĩn, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã ǃhaos khoĩtas?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

2. Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority. 643 69 622 695

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognised headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organised council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal. [643] 621 632 692 [623]

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public 693 [638] 654

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots. 361

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the */Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartboois 621 camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the 614 chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *Xo Gaon*, the *//Naigoman*, the *Kharuxin*, the */Gari Karin*, the */Noin oin*. On his right in order came the *Gaoman*, the *//Khow Tanaon*, the */Gari Goin*, and the *Xo ai Tanaon*, meeting the */Noin oin* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Haruibin Goin*, *//Haruibin /Gaon*, */Naonkon*, */Ubanon*, */Haibin*, starting from the *//Haruibin Goin* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left.

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the [622] Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads [623] of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the elder men of the tribe.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[41] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[42] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[43] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[44] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[45]

CHAP. XVII.

Modes of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way.[46] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them boubosse tabaki), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[41] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headmen of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[42] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[43] See above, p. 111.

[44] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 200 cattle and 800 sheep. (D., July 30, 1673.)

[45] In April, 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Saldanha Bay[illegible] reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claes, to treat for peace" (Dagrede, Record, 348), which would seem to confirm Van Riebeeck's statement.

[46] Van Riebeeck's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1892, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 80.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von Francois, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10, 119–20; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 seqq., 96; Kuhn, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 624 was that, while he was an autocrat to a certain extent, the other chiefs, like Willem Christian of the Bondelswarts, and Simon Kooper of the Franzmann Hottentots, relied more on popular approval and the support of their councillors than on their royal prerogatives.

Hoornkrans,
3rd January, 1840.

Beloved Community of Hoornkrans,

To-day I make fresh appointments for the New Year. I have caused certain alterations to be made to the Civil and Church Laws. I have also appointed new officials according to the times and the promptings of the Lord. Therefore have I appointed younger men, like children who are being trained and, when the time is accomplished, they will be taken into full membership. For this reason I have relieved some of the older officials and have substituted young men in full authority of the laws, in order that they may publicly perform their ambassadorial duties. I have, however, reappointed some of the old officials as well, so that they may train and teach the younger men. I have also appointed two additional elders. The names of those appointed will be read to the community, and are as follows :—

Then follows a list of the names and of the offices to which they have been appointed. These posts were all honorary, and carried no salaries or emoluments. The seven chief appointments are those of sub-chief, magistrate, war commandant, chief field cornet, and three senior councillors. The remainder (there are thirty in all) include the "overseer of the whole village", a "second magistrate", second, third, and fourth field cornets, elders, junior councillors, messengers of the court and of the elders, a "corporal" and a "second corporal". The "corporal", in spite of his humble designation, was really the quartermaster-general in the field![1]

Law and Justice

671 The political institutions of the Hoornkrans must be regarded from one aspect as a means of welding the tribe into an integral unity, and thus giving it the cohesion and solidarity which enable it to present a united front to the outside world in defence and aggression. They serve also to maintain law and order within the tribe. Through its agencies of government the activities of the community are organised, and the harmonious co-operation in public affairs which this produces secures the orderly functioning of communal life. Various other mechanisms contribute towards the achievement of the same end. Throughout our discussion of the social and economic life of the people we have noted the existence of numerous observances, conventions, and rules. These regulate all the normal relations between persons, as in marriage with its conditions and implications, the status of husband and wife and of their respective families, kinship,

[1] Quoted in *Reports on the Working of S.W.A.*, 77. A similar list of officials for 1888, differing slightly from the above, is appended to a letter quoted by von Francois, *op. cit.*, 220.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

C00 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, groote en kleine *Karichariquas* en *Hoenas*. Tot sijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde persoon in 't Rijk. De *Koshque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers sestien hondert en een-en-sestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldaseé*, sijn onderkoningh *Gonnemoé*, en de derde persoon in 't rijk *Kouhaeoé*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnemoé* wort by d'onsen aen de kaep, de swarte kapitein geheten, ter oorsake hy altijts swarter en vuilder in 't aensicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en swaerlijvig persoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koshque* of Koningh *Oldaseé*, die des jaers sestien hondert en een-en-sestigh, aen een langduryge en quijnende siekte is komen t'overlijden, nolt niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldaseé* was een persoon, fraí van leest, welgestelt van leden, en seer sedigh, die ook nolt den onsen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde persoon in 't rijk tamelijk fraí van aensicht en sedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldaseé* liet eene dochter na, met name *Homie*, goelik en seer schoon van gedaente, uitgesondert dat sy wat plat van neuse is, gelijk al deze volken sijn.

Groote en kleine Karichariquas en Hoenas.

De groote en kleine *Karichariquas* en *Hoenas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Sy

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622 [1] For "Oldaseé" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnemoé" (whose name also appears as Gonnema, Nguminima, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukoemoé van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the generals of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief counsellor" (D., Nov. 14, 1661), etc.

● 629 [2] Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 3, 1660). In the first years of contact with the Koehoqua, Oedasoa was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 31, 1659; Nov. 7, 1660), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognized (D., June 28-29, 1660).

622 [3] Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1680 or 1681 (Theal, op. cit., 332); it was his wife who died in 1661 (Leibrandt, op. cit., 260).

192 [4] Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestizo" (D., Nov. 2, 1660).

619 [5] Also referred to in the early records as Charingoeiras, Charingoeas, Charingoeiqua, Charigoriqua, Gregoriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was *≠Kari-hariqua*, i.e. the small reboh tribe which lives

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

the Gorinhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karitouriquas, and Homaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The koshque or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoá, his subordinate king Gonnomoá, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukoroá.[1]) The subordinate king Gonnomoá our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[2]) On the other hand the koshque or king Oldasoá, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[3]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoá left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[4]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

619 622 [624] [302] [595] [142]

Great and Little Karitouriquas and Homaas.

The Great and Little Karitouriquas and Homaas[1]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They 619

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1) the yes. (North, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentots refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Chouqua of Hanqua, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (Letters dep., iii. 249; cf. D. Apr. 26-28, 1652). This group, after receiving a strong admixture of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and fast to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now antiquated name of Griqua. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, Khoisan Peoples, 46). The name Homaas appears in Tabulpie's map of South Africa (1708) as that of a tribe living just north of the Berg R., between the Koukoquas and the "Little Grigriquas", but van Riebeeck (Letters dep., ii. 89-0) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Homaas," which would suggest that Homa was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader. 619 144 167

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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xogamy, descent and succession, chieftainship, the exercise of power, economic activities and co-operation, and between persons and objects, as in property and inheritance. All the manners and customs of the Hottentots, therefore, their moral and religious precepts, their fashions, conventional standards of etiquette and rules of social intercourse, make for law and order in the community. They determine the personal relations between people, and their existence is the basis of uniformity and cohesion in social and economic life.

These rules are not formulated in any legal code. Some of them have come into being as decisions of the tribal council in judicial trials, while in more recent times others have even been deliberately enacted, as for example in the case of the various proclamations issued by such chiefs as Hendrik Witbooi. Legislation of the latter type, however, does not appear to have occurred in the original conditions of Hottentot life. The laws of the Hottentots are to a very considerable extent inherent in the social organization and usages of the people. They have developed as a result of the more or less unconscious adjustment of personal relations, as a product of economic activities, and so on, and have become accepted as norms or standards of life and conduct which are binding as such on the community. Their existence, in other words, is derived from the authority of tradition and precedence.

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The orderly functioning of communal life demands that all members of the community must conform to these rules or norms of conduct. The individual, that is, must be adapted to social needs and standards. This involves the operation of social control, a process found everywhere in society. Here again we meet with the existence of moulding forces similar in function to those already noted among the Bushmen. The Hottentot child at birth comes into a society where there are already established manners and customs, definite forms of behaviour and organization. In the household of his parents, where he remains until marriage, in his relations with other people, especially with his kindred, and in the company of his comrades, the rules of social behaviour are impressed upon him. He falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking as is expected of him, and in this way comes to conform to the existing social pattern. Moreover, first under the careful guidance of his mother, and later in tending the flocks and in hunting, he is initiated into the economic life of his people, while the girl gradually learns to perform the household duties proper to her sex. At puberty, above all, he receives a definite course of instruction

conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

The non-fulfilment or breach of any recognised norms of behaviour is penalised by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of /naa. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct interference on the part of the community.

Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganised social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to scorn, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishment, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organised reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its authorities or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *daro* men, and may not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any counter-history evidence at his command, and his answer

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136 ff.; cf. Peter, op. cit., 310.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Nyanja, in northern Rhodesia, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her husband, either cross or disobliging, is taking part. The saddest hour in the married life of a sister by her brother.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Negro FN7

H 304

It must be supposed that it is from the Jews that the inhabitants of the remoter parts have learned the practice of circumcision,[**] (although it is a more serious operation with the Africans, involving the cutting away not only of the prepuce but of the skin right up to the base of the abdomen. From the Jews also the natives near us must have acquired the practice of removing the left testicle, if you will excuse the mention of it.[**] Indeed who is so blind as not to see that it is from the Israelites that both divisions of Hottentots have derived all their sacerdotal and martbial rites, which are redolent of the purest antiquity, though admittedly the lapse of so many centuries has obscured the connection.

Should any of our Hottentots refuse to subject his male members to the martbial blade or lancet or operating knife of the priest, preferring to preserve his genital organs perfect in the shape and number provided by nature rather than submit himself to agonies of pain and a partial castration, this enemy of all superstition is insulted by the name of "ram," shut out from all fellowship and inheritance, and shunned as if blasted by the lightning of heaven. The others make an incision in the scrotum, cut away a little skin from the right testicle, send the young man home(?), and when the wound is cured regard him as his own master.

H [324]

The Africans who live at about the thirty-second parallel of the degrees of the South Pole and near to the place called Natal by the Portuguese celebrate the rite of circumcision with notable display and brilliant edat. Every year they build, in a wide spreading plain, a sacred booth more than a mile away from every habitation. To it flock the youths of the whole district to be circumcised; and when all preparations have been duly made the priest or prophet, under the open sky, draws back the skin of the penis of each youth and cuts it away as far as the hair on the pubis. He then anoints the wound with fat, and applies to it a wrapping of some herb with seeds not very different from those of an onion. Only when they are cured may they leave the booth; only then are they permitted to talk with parents, friends, and girls, whose business it is to secure that food and drink and other necessaries, to be dealt out by the priest, should not fail the poor sufferers for the space of three months. When this compulsory inactivity of twice forty days has gone by, each returns dancing home, and being now adult is numbered among the men. The women are sent away, while he is welcomed with many embraces and much good cheer. He is now his own master, and having left the ranks of the youths is given full liberty to take a wife.[**]

S 881 304

14:Haim L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Homeoot FX13

881 river, among the Gei |Khauas at |Nuis, and among the |Ogeis, on the banks of the |Kham river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

843 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, geitaras), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 431 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repeatedly and apologize, until he hears the word "|Ttago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me!" He laughed, and thought that I was in fun. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not forgiven him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower-garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-bear (‖kharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ‖Nai‖ab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will certainly return home, and they say, "‖Gaunâb ge dabe hâ," we are overpowered by ‖Gauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "tsoab ui ha, ‖ô ge ai," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly-sea breeze (hui-‡oab) is blowing,

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired, if he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222. 137

a) "omam!gaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (oma) of the hut (oma)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture, omam!gaub, 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [271]

b) "!ga-/naeb- (3.m. cf. p. 332.) or #ha-hab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

!"/kdo-hus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called "/a-mi#i-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Walvis Bay received their name !na-rensin from the gourd fruit !na-}eb, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year: the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222. [340] [342]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Bergdamaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222. 925 [342] [343]

conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Capa Hottentots

626 [171]

the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

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[1] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Namas, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sacrifice here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

614 582 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 627 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 621 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartbooi's even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /oas*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /oas* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 592 [595] In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *L.c.*, p.

[196] I would like to direct the attention of future travelers to the following plants, the leaves and blossoms of which are greatly desired. If he would like to become acquainted with the wild field fruits of the old inhabitants of the country: 222 137

a) "omamigaub is a plant with succulent leaves; the carrot-like underground part has a strong purgative effect. The name of the plant expresses this drastically: "one lets it fall (!gau) at the door (ama) of the hut (oma)", or, more optimistically translated, "one just makes it to the courtyard." [Picture, omamigaub. 1/2 natural size. The "Ostrich foot". 2/3 natural size.] [278]

) "!ga-/marib- (3.n. cf. p. 352.) or /ha-hab has a smooth, carrot-like, underground part and thin, narrow leaves, 3 centimeters long and crinkled at the edges.

)"/hâu-hus forms juicy root formations as big as a child's head.

Pelargonium incrassatum Curt., called "/a-migbi-b, the "Ostrich foot", (so called because of the shape of the budding leaves) is the last of the plants which should be mentioned here because of their edible underground parts.

b) The chief fruits are gourds and cucumbers because of the abundant water in their flesh and the food content of their seeds.

The Topnaars in the region of Walvis Bay received their name !na-nain from the gourd fruit !na-!ab, the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw., on which they live for a large part of the year (cf. Analysis in the appendix). The nara matures in the first four months of the year; the chief harvest time is in February and March. [101]

Then the kraals become desolate. The poorer families depart for the dunes with all their belongings, either taking their mat house with them or building a scanty shelter of brushwood, which can scarcely be called a hut, and only return to their old dwellings to get water when it is unavailable in the nara field. Wealthier Hottentots stay at home and have the nara brought to them by slaves and only go out for the day on a visit or for inspection. [Picture. Half-ripe nara fruit. 2/3 natural size] 221 222 [302] [567]

The individual families have inherited rights to definite nara bushes (cf. Plate IX above and illustrations, page 146, 147). That is the only case known to me of private ownership of immoveable property outside of the hut area among the Hottentots. The Hottentot defends his nara bushes from attacks by fellow tribesmen by bringing a legal complaint before the captain. No quarter is given the Berg-damaras and Bushmen. I know of several cases in which the thieves 222 423 [628] 222 423 631

were simply shot down at the place by the nara bush where the owner found their tracks and meted out the death sentence. If the captain takes notice of such an occurrence at all, he never takes the side of the slain man.

[190] For the preparation of the nara I found that the Hottentots in the Walvis Bay region possessed bone knives made from the ribs or the lower leg bone of cattle. The word for such a bone knife, *ǂâ-ns (3, f) seems to me to mean "the little sharp one" (ǂâ - to be sharp, -ns, dimin., -s, personal suff., fem.). [Picture. Ornamented Bone Knives of the Topnaam, about 1/2 natural size.]

The fruit is cut in half with these knives, and in times of abundance, eaten raw. The insides, which can easily be separated from the rind when the fruit is ripe, fall naturally into five double sections, have a pale reddish-yellow color and are saturated with a cool sweet juice, which in taste and aroma, is not unlike a thin vanilla-flavored egg drink. But a single fruit suffices to produce on the tongue and gums of the novice an unpleasant feeling of soreness.

The nara achieves its greatest importance as a national dish when it is preserved and stored in the huts for provisions. The peeled fruit is cut into pieces the size of walnuts. The ripe fruits are cooked with a little fat, the unripe with a little water as well and stirred to a pap with a whisk of the most primitive kind, *ǁûi-b (also called !nu/ho-s). Then the hot mass is poured into a sieve, a grass basket, *gabiras, which is shaken up and down by its strong handle until the sulphur-yellow or brownish-yellow pap has strained through. This is poured out on a dune, after a slightly slanted bed has been smoothed out for it. After one or two days, the mass has solidified to a dark-brown flat cake, heavily encrusted with sand at the bottom. [Plate IX, Nara Dune in the Kuiseb River. Salt Crusts in the Namib behind Walvis Bay.] [191] Such a nara cake, *ǂgoa/g(a)a-ribeb, is about 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 of a meter long and 3 millimeters thick, flexible, kneadable, tough, shining with dark streaks when cut, brownish-yellow and frayed when broken. It has the spicy smell of fresh pumpernickel and leaves a greasy sheen on the fingers. When I was first shown the cake, I watched the old torn dirty rag expectantly as it was being unwrapped and in which I expected to see the delicacy, until I realised that it was the cake itself that was being handled. It tastes better than it looks: sweet, powerful and aromatic; it dissolves slowly in the mouth.

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family surname. That of the */Gari /Naguman*, for example, is Swarthooi, and that of the */Nâsi Ein*, another of the Swarthooi clans, is Bricken. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swarthooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swarthooois as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

861 conveying to him the type of behaviour expelled of him as a man.
626 Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

626 The non-fulfilment or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour
784 is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of */aun*. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct interference on the part of the community.

626 Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganized social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to scorn, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishment, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its authorities or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may
[628] not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other
[627] cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may
626 be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community,
171 i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among

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and formerly they could even escape the death sentence for murder by a payment of cattle to the chief. But the possible shielding of murderers in this way always exposed them to the blood feud. If, through favouritism or for political reasons, a murderer was acquitted by the council, the nearest relative of the victim had the right to take the law into his own hands and to kill him.

Blood vengeance, *//khawab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots.[1] A son avenged the death of his father, a brother his brother, and if there was no son to take vengeance for the death of a woman her husband was obliged to do so. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act. The case is cited of the well-known traveller and explorer Charles John Andersson, who about 1861 shot an Afrikander Hottentot near Windhoek in what he alleged was self-defence. He reported the matter to the chief Jonker Afrikaner, and as a result was brought before the chief and tribal council for trial. The council, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied, rightly or wrongly, that Andersson had exceeded his rights and had gone too far. But in view of the fact that he was a European and a British subject, the chief was reluctant to punish him. So, "I release you," said Jonker, "but," he added, "according to our law the brother of Hartebeest will kill you and must kill you, so flee for your life."[2]

In all probability the blood feud was formerly very extensively practised, especially in connection with the clan organization. We know from accounts left us by travellers among the Naman in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them, and the chief was unable in the interests of the tribe as a whole to prevent two clans from carrying out vengeance one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Alexander gives an account of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account of another vendetta at Bethanie among the !Aman Hottentots.[3] According to Wandres the feud ceased when revenge for the death had been taken, but other accounts imply that it was kept up as a continuous vendetta. Hahn states that

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Kohler, loc. cit.; Wandres, op. cit., 276.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.
[3] Hasenjäl, "Social Organization of the Nama," 18, quoting Alexander, op. cit., I, 187, cf. 201; and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1856, p. 274.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 621 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 648 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Uxoribus, quot habuere virus, tot digitorum articuli a primo minimi digiti incipiendo abscindentur. Polygamiae, *Mahammadorum* more, indulgent. *) Industria* gentis hujus ingenio culta, non legibus. Sola vindicta illis est homicidii poena; ubi tutelati cujusvoque consanguinei percussorem persequuntur; neque quiescunt, nisi ultionem fecerint; repertumque ilaque fortibus caedunt, telisve transverberant, cerebrum multis etiamnum ictibus feriendum. Caetera, sive adulterium, sive furtum, vilia non nisi talionis lege puniunt. Desique id sibi peculiare habent: si juvenis inter eos segretiat, pingues mactant bovem, faluti delictae convivii, atque, quae maxima opima sunt, exta cum omento segretantis tecto appendunt, unguentum pulvefacta deridunt, quae omen quisquam devorare debet. In consanguineos haereditarium jus apud eos, praesertim apud *Sonquas*, valet.

CAP. XXIII.

De Matrimonio.

Conjugium inire volentes suos parentes adiiciunt, illi *Praefectos*, ut sibi integrum sit, ducere virginem; sibi nunquam, nisi bajulum, ad minimum unum, bovem, transportando cum suppellectili tuguria, unam alteramve lactariam vaccam, emulgendo lacti, ovesque decem vel duodecim, celebrandis ejusdem epulis repetiture &c. possideant. Qui vero locupletiores, *Turcarum* ritu polygamiam exercent: atque ita si connubium non arrierit, subtam

*) I feel sure *industria* is a mistake for *instita*. Ten Rhyne in this sentence is simply transcribing Justin. See note *), p. 162. B.F.

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*) This form of mutilation has already been discussed, see above, p. 68. A

*) Blood vengeance. | *Kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots, down till within fairly recent times. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act (cf. discussion in Schapera, *op cit.*, 240-6).

**) The treatment of sick people is described more fully by Grevenbrook, see below, p. 243. F A similar observation to that of Ten Rhyne was recorded in 1710 by Commissary Ossell, who learned from some Hottentots, near the present Roere Hoek, that "In case of the very worst diseases, it is their custom to place

a A [See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 63. — Analysis]

b A [See 10: Grevenbrook, this File, cat. 116, p. 243. — A.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have[m]. Like the Mahommedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the lex talionis[n]. Finally, they have this peculiar custom: If a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men[o]. In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on its ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (V.R. Bat. I, 88). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqual*
649 or *khaequa*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal
622 heir to the chiefainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives.
[574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chiefainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
649 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he
622 presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing
645 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reise tum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 41–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 322–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 55 [229] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 69 69 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in affairs affecting the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, II, 111.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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642 618 619 622 643 642 642 177

autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

The political organization of the Namaas was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Oviams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 100–31; van François, *Natur und Diamanten*, 108–21; Kolbe, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 317–31; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–9, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Aegis Namaqua*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 310–41; Schinz, *Mamaland und Kalahari*, 311; Vedder, "The Nama," 140.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Namas under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Oviam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to rule quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hoibonen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1891, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 82.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von Francois, *op. cit.*, and Nr., 229–231; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83–109, 96; Kuch, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 33–63 *passim*.

843 they frequently manage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 851 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 849 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 849 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its firs. calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

5: Vedder M-S (ca. 1910) 1928
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533 517 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 517 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 643 645 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 693 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the [693] passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[691] 692 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/hau /nati*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, 30, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the chieftainship of the whole tribe was hereditary in this senior clan, and inherited in the male line from father to son. In the case of the //Khau /Goan (Swartbooi) tribe the names of ten clans have been preserved, in the case of the Gei //Khauan (Rooi Natie) of fifteen, and in that of the /Hobesen (Witbooïs) of seven. It appears from the clan names of the Gei //Khauan that there must formerly have been several more clans in this tribe, so that on the whole the size of a clan cannot have been considerable. No actual figures are available, however.

Each clan named itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. In some cases tribal traditions have been preserved in which the various clans in the tribe are shown to have been related to one another in the past. The legend of the Swartbooïs, for instance, is that they separated from the Rooi Natie under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three brothers of this family became the ancestors of the three chief clans of the tribe—the */Gari Gein* or big */Garin*, the */Gari /Nagaman* or "next" */Garin*, and the */Gari /Karin* or little */Garin*, these names being those of the three brothers respectively.[1] When the tribe was first formed the chieftainship was vested in the */Gari Gein* clan, but it has now passed to the second clan, the */Gari /Nagaman*, as the senior clan has become almost extinct, being represented to-day by only two or three people. Two of the other clans in this tribe are formed by people who were incorporated from the //O Gein tribe after the latter had broken up; and a similar instance where members of a different tribe were absorbed is found in the case of the /Aunin living at Walvis Bay, who completely defeated another Nama people known as the */Namaxin* and incorporated its remnant into their own clans. It would appear, therefore, that the different clans now found in a tribe are by no means always related, and even where they do claim a common descent it is no longer possible to trace this relationship genealogically.

The various family groups which go together to form a clan are also called */hau /nati*. These family groups to-day have Dutch, or, at any rate, European surnames. Some of the clans have only one

[1] It is the Hottentot custom for all the sons of a woman to be called by her "great name" (*gui khoi /oes*), while all the daughters are similarly called by the *gui khoi /oes* of their father. Hence all the sons of a woman named */Garis* will be called */Garib*, and all the daughters of a man named //*Khaub* will be called //*Khaua*. They are distinguished from one another by the use of special adjectives, the eldest son being called the big one, *gaib*, hence */Gari gaib*, the second the next one, */nagamab*, hence */Gari /nagamab*, the third the dark one, *ǂaub*, or the light one, */haib*, or the tall one, *guxub*, and so on, while the youngest will be called the young one, *ǂami*, or the little one, *ǂarib*, hence */Gari ǂarib*. The same distinctions are made in the case of the daughters.

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family surname. That of the */Gari /Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

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618 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants
619 of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form
513 clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually
643 develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous
618 to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were
619 scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a
417 great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in
231 which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south.
618 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
592 but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 193–7.

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thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chieftainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expected to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the */nara* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

[1] Schinze, op. cit., 317, 318.
[2] Wandres, op. cit., 675–6; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76. [3] Wandres, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 177 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 619 622 He states [1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqui* or *khoeque*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives. [574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 619 622 645 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 321–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

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643 554 [224] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 618 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, iii, 111.

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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

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As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

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The political organization of the Naman was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 100–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 317–9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 70–4, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322–4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 142.

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643 [554] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-heib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chieftainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

643 645 The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witboois from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-constituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

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[1] Tindall (op. cit., 42) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 365) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the oldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Time," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i, 19.)

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 115. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gau-tas* (contracted from *gausaras*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., 97, 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305.
[3] *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii; cf. *idem*, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

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643 554 651 number of years. He also keeps a large quantity of milk at the door of his hut, which he distributes to the poor and the needy. None of these statements has been confirmed by later writers, with the exception of the tribute of game, which, as we have seen, is also mentioned by Wandres. Kohler's informant, on the other hand, explicitly denies that such a tribute is paid, and this would seem to be confirmed, at least as far as more recent times are concerned, by the statements of several other writers that the chief receives no tribute from his subjects. Nor does he levy any taxes, although in case of war or other extensive undertakings collections may be held or requisitions made, to which every tribesman has to contribute according to his means. The fines levied in criminal cases, however, often go to the chief, or are shared between him and the judges. He can also accept a share of the damages awarded in a civil dispute, but there is no obligation on the successful litigant to pay this. It is regarded merely as a voluntary gift for the trouble taken, and the same is probably true in those cases, mentioned by Wandres, where the chief regulates inheritances. In co-operation with his council the chief can also impose orders upon his people, which as a rule are implicitly obeyed. He can, e.g., cause certain grazing grounds to be vacated, in order that they may be rested. He has also the right to use the labour of the people for public purposes, such as mending roads, building schools, or churches, opening up water and furrows, and so on. All adult males further are liable to be called out for military duty at any time.

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643 554 It may be added that, according to Hahn, a Hottentot chief is expected "to have an open house and an open hand" and the worst that can be said of a chief is that he is *gei-//are*, i.e. "greatly left-handed or stingy." "It happens sometimes," Hahn even says, "that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal."[1] There is no instance on record, as far as can be ascertained, of such a deposal having taken place, and the statement seems contradictory to the genuine respect attached by the people to the hereditary rights of the chief. "Our chiefs are not made," they say, "they are given by God." And Eduard Lambert, when on the death of his brother Andries the German authorities wished him to act as chief of the Gei //Khauan, the rightful heir being several hundred miles away, is said to have at first declined the proposal, with the words: "One

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 17; cf. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322.

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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1891, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Reports on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illustrating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, op. cit., 126 sq., 219–20; *Reports on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 sqq., 96; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 33–42 *passim*.

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643 624 was that, while he was an autocrat to a certain extent, the other chiefs, like Willem Christian of the Bondelswarts, and Simon Kooper of the Franzmann Hottentots, relied more on popular approval and the support of their councillors than on their royal prerogatives.

HOORNKRANZ,
3rd January, 1891.

BELOVED COMMUNITY OF HOORNKRANZ,

To-day I make fresh appointments for the New Year. I have caused certain alterations to be made to the Civil and Church Laws. I have also appointed new officials according to the times and the promptings of the Lord. Therefore have I appointed younger men, like children who are being trained and, when the time is accomplished, they will be taken into full membership. For this reason I have relieved some of the older officials and have substituted young men in full authority of the laws, in order that they may publicly perform their authorized duties. I have, however, reappointed some of the old officials as well, so that they may train and teach the younger team. I have also appointed two additional elders. The names of those appointed will be read to the community, and are as follows :—

Then follows a list of the names and of the offices to which they have been appointed. These posts were all honorary, and carried no salaries or emoluments. The seven chief appointments are those of sub-chief, magistrate, war commandant, chief field cornet, and three senior councillors. The remainder (there are thirty in all) include the " overseer of the whole village ", a " second magistrate ", second, third, and fourth field cornets, elders, junior councillors, messengers of the court and of the elders, a " corporal " and a " second corporal ". The " corporal ", in spite of his humble designation, was really the quartermaster-general in the field ![1]

LAW AND JUSTICE

671 The political institutions of the Hottentots must be regarded from one aspect as a means of welding the tribe into an integral unity, and thus giving it the cohesion and solidarity which enable it to present a united front to the outside world in defence and aggression. They serve also to maintain law and order within the tribe. Through its agencies of government the activities of the community are organized, and the harmonious co-operation in public affairs which this produces secures the orderly functioning of communal life. Various other mechanisms contribute towards the achievement of the same end. Throughout our discussion of the social and economic life of the people we have noted the existence of numerous observances, conventions, and rules. These regulate all the normal relations between persons, as in marriage with its conditions and implications, the status of husband and wife and of their respective families, kinship,

[1] Quoted in *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73. A similar list of officials for 1888, differing slightly from the above, is appended to a letter quoted by von François, *op. cit.*, 220.

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Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

The early Dutch records throw some light on the political interrelations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains" of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 56–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

726 which he hunts all the more confidently if he knows their habits from previous encounters. While our soldiers are ever learning anew at the cost of many lives, the Hottentot employs his old tactics. He lies in wait for the enemy at a waterhole, as formerly he awaited the zebra at the vlei; he fires upon a passing column from his rocky retreats, as he ambushed the springboks wandering in herds; he stalks round a weak patrol as round the gemsbok at dawn, and he surrounds a transport as he beats up the hares in an encircling drive to knock them down with the kirri." They preferred above all to lay ambushes, especially in the vicinity of waterholes, since the enemy both needed the water and usually came to it weary. As a rule difficult spots were chosen to fight in, which afforded good cover and facilities for retreat, if necessary; or else the flat tops of high hills were occupied, whose last ascent was almost vertical. The leading ranks of the enemy were allowed to pass by or to approach very closely; and then a general volley was fired into their midst. Their natural colour allowed the Hottentots to make use of every possible cover, and rendered it difficult for the approaching enemy to discover the position they occupied. Signals were often given on pipes cut from the horn of the springbok. It was one of the duties of the sub-chief to ascertain if any post or waterhole which was being approached was occupied by the enemy. He rode round it reconnoitring, while his men lay hidden near by, until a long drawn-out note caused them to emerge. Short successive blasts, to be answered by the men lying opposite or to the side, were generally the prearranged signal for attack.

726 643 Their raiding expeditions, as illustrated in the many successful descents made by Hendrik Witbooi upon the OvaHerero, were carried out with great skill and remarkable swiftness. He issued directions for the undertaking proposed only on the evening before he planned to set out. Then by forced marches he covered in two days the hundred miles or so lying between him and the Herero territory, after causing deliberately false reports as to the object of his expedition to be circulated among the OvaHerero. With overwhelming force he fell at dawn on their scattered villages, swept through a number of cattle posts, whose herdsmen were defenceless before his superior might, and drove away the cattle. This he did with remarkable adroitness, considering the great numbers he lifted. One of his men would give a penetrating whistle, whereupon the cattle were surrounded and driven sharply in a certain direction. Then one or two horsemen placed themselves at the head of the herds and conducted them without

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rest along a route well known to them; and then, joined by several more horsemen and the bulk of the men on foot, the cattle were escorted in forced marches by the most direct route to Hoornkranz, the headquarters of the tribe. Most of the horsemen remained behind to keep back the OvaHerero who in the meanwhile had gathered together. In regulating these retirements Hendrik was a real master, and he seldom made a mistake. If there was a biggish village in the vicinity, he would keep its inhabitants engaged until he knew that the stolen cattle had been driven far ahead; then he disappeared as swiftly as he had descended, and he always flung obstacles in the way of pursuit.

In retreat small parties were often posted at various spots to check the advance of the enemy; or, if the country was flat, the grass was set on fire, and the men disappeared behind the clouds of smoke. There was no orderly withdrawal. After a defeat the troops would scatter apart, to come together again later in small bands. The appointed place of assembly was not directly in line with the scene of battle, but to the side, sometimes even to the rear of the enemy. Their knowledge of the place and their colour, as well as their swiftness on horse or on foot, enabled the Hottentots to find security; sometimes they even hid in the immediate vicinity, and they always, if possible, fled over stony ground, so as to avoid leaving tracks. At best the enemy might see in the distance horsemen and those on foot scattered over a wide surface between bushes and rocks; almost immediately afterwards all had disappeared, and effective pursuit was seldom possible.

Of the special usages connected with warfare, only a few isolated facts have been recorded. These almost all relate to what may be loosely termed war magic. "If a party goes out on warlike expeditions," says Hahn, "a crow's heart is burned and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this powdered heart is blown into the air, in the same manner their enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows." Elsewhere he mentions that the Korana have certain roots which they use as amulets. If a commando goes out, every man will put such roots into his pockets and into the pouch where he carries his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy will then have no effect, whereas his own will invariably prove destructive. Also, if they have carried off much booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat.

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726 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not
789 follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden
787 ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere
[821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, " we are overpowered by *//Gauna* "; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha*, *//o ge ni*, " war is approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot
● [643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something
554 similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. " Bravery was highly admired," he says, " and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony.
[304] The priest or *!gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-!gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsătamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ŏb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as *!Khami* and *!Khams*, Battlefield; *!Khŏ-//oa-tes*, " You cannot catch me "; *!Khotoas*, the one last caught; *!Kxĭxas*, peace; and *!Huritamas*, " I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 338. [3] Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Kreft, " The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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533 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and con-
517 tinued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art
517 of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Law.

642 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the represen-
643 tative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all
645 public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the
693 same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the [643] passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[691] 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and
692 injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

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their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643] by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 177 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 619 622 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqui* or *khoeque*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives. [5N] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 619 622 645 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 331–2.

between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

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643 [554] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-heib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chieftainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

643 ● 645 The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witboois from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onder-kapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders 643 of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-con- 887 stituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Tindall (op. cit., 42) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 365) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the oldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Time," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i, 19.)

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 115. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gau-sas* (contracted from *gautaras*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., 97, 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305.
[3] *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii; cf. *idem*, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Naman under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the /Hobesen, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1891, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72, 81.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, op. cit., 226 sq., 229–30; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 83 sqq., 96; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 55–61 *passim*.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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533 517 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 517 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher. that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 643 645 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 693 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the [643] passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[691] 692 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

either "na-ǃmata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and 101
understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then 619
he answers: "kχoē-kχoēta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature [186]
such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kχoē-kχoēta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kχoī-kχoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

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a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. [567]
They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

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The first contact of the Hottentots with the Bergdamaras goes beyond any time from which we have historical dates. Pieter Brand, the companion of the explorer Willem van Reenen (14), who led an expedition in

14. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I - VI, London, 1888-1902.

September 1791 into Great Namaland, found the language of the Hottentots in use among the Bergdamaras. Their own mother tongue seems to have been forgotten at that time as it is today. Although the Bergdamaras have obtained their freedom under the German protectorate and have been freed from the yoke of the Hereros as well as from that of the Hottentots, they have often remained in voluntary dependency as household servants as the Bushmen have.

Although generally known as good-natured and docile and therefore treasured by the whites, the derogatory name given the Bergdamaras by his oppressors has remained. The Hottentot calls the Bergdamaras ǂau·daman, i.e. shit Kaffirs." I also heard them called ǂhau/kxoĩn, i.e. (according to the claim of the Hottentots themselves) "Manure people."* A friendly

*Derived from ǂhau/b = manure. Krönlein (57) [114]

57. J. G. Kroenlein, wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

does not know this word and derives the above designation, which, according to him, the Bergdamaras have given to themselves, from the word for "to be right." But to my ear it is not ǂhau/ but sounds like ǂhau·, the two vowels pronounced separately and with a rising (one third) accent. I can only place my opinion beside Kroenlein's as the actual result of my findings without deciding which is better. Schinz (50) mistakenly writes !haukhoin and his

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

typesetter muddled the click even more in the index.

half joking address, also used for the baboon, which the Hottentot sometimes uses with a Bergdamara, is *⁄no·ro ⁄kxo·nibetse, with a reference (unclear to me) to an edible plant. Or he calls him the same as a baboon, *⁄hu·nitsi ⁄hai·tse, mockingly, saying he is as pale (⁄hai) as the ⁄hunis tree (a Boscia species).

[324] Of the tribes that are grouped together as Bantus on the basis of their common language structure, we can pass by the Ovambo, ⁄nabe·n, and the Bechuans, b(e)rin, i.e. goats, as only coming into occasional contact with the Hottentots. The Hottentots have only tested their strength in centuries of ancient enmity with one Bantu tribe, the Ovahereros, who penetrated into the lands south of the Kunene about 100 years ago. (70)

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2. Aufl., 1894.

The power of the immigrating Hereros was broken by the Hottentot tribe of the Red Nation and the followers of Jonker Afrikaaners about the middle of the previous century. But from the beginning of the sixties the tide turned and after bloody battles the Hottentots were completely defeated. But a subordinate role of conquered and victors similar to that between the Bergdamaras and the Hottentots did not develop. [Picture. Herero, 17 years old, with his mouth open to show his teeth. The four lower ones have been broken and the upper center incisors filed.]

The great wealth of cattle, about which all the battles revolved, gave the Hereros the name go⁄ma·damab, i.e. "cattle Kaffir." Another mocking designation for the Hereros is *≠na·⁄ntomagye //habo·kxoi s̃o·an, i.e. "the human - (kxoi s, fem.) children (o·an) with skin shoes (//habo·), who do not (toma) look around (≠na⁄n)": The crafty Hottentot, who never leaves a place without looking back to orient himself as to what is happening behind him, thus expresses the heedlessness of his opponent with this nickname.

2. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the White Race

a) The first contact of the Hottentot with the white man, ⁄hũ⁄b, occurred at the end of the fifteenth century, in the golden age of the Portuguese. Curiosity and a thirst for knowledge on the explorers' part but also fear on the Hottentots' part were naturally the dominant feelings at the first meeting. So Vasco da Gama's people (12) had to surround the natives whom

12. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I-VI, London, 1888-1902.

they discovered in November, 1497, at the foot of a hill in the St. Helena Bay and catch them like wild animals to have any contact with them. The good treatment of the one captured and the rich presents received when released lured others of his tribe to the ship. They also got something and so both sides were pleased.

Distrust, based on the impossibility of understanding each other properly, soon split the recently formed bonds. The soldier, Fernão Veloso, was on his way accompanying the natives to their village, when he suddenly got suspicious of their intentions and hurriedly turned back to the ship. The Hottentots followed him -- as it seems without hostile intentions, because it would have been easy for them to kill him. The men on the ship were mobilized and landed with their weapons and the parties separated with bloody heads, without really knowing what was the reason for the whole affair. Distrust also seems to have been the reason for a skirmish that Saldanha had in 1503 with the Hottentots near Table Mountain by Capetown.

The rash decision to revenge a scuffle between Hottentots and soldiers of the ship with a punitive expedition, in which the soldiers were apparently at fault, sent over sixty Portuguese to their destruction on the first of March, 1510. It seems incomprehensible to us today how the Viceroy of India, Francisco d'Almeida, who was traveling through, could not only tolerate but also personally lead an expedition of revenge and cattlerobbing during which even children were abducted from the peaceful kraal, all for the sake of avenging a trifling matter which had cost no lives, but merely wounded his pride. He and a dozen of his dignitaries were killed by blows from sticks, stones and assagais while doing this.

The successors to the Portuguese at the Cape, the English (see p. 24) had good experiences with the Hottentots. The trade went well (a sheep was traded for a knife, an ox for two knives) [326] and there was no friction. But in the long run the relationships of the whites to the natives have suffered under the Portuguese as well as the English from their sending criminals to the Cape, men who have forfeited their lives or freedom at home but who still seem to be usable to track down Hottentots. Although we know little about the fate of these deported people and almost nothing about their activities, still it only seems likely that they have not inspired the natives with confidence or respect for our race.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch entered a badly predisposed country. They did nothing to improve it (69) until Johann van

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, part. I-III, Cape Town, 1897.

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Riebeeck realized that the opening of the natural resources of the country was only possible with the assistance of the natives and systematized the relations of the yellow and white races.

For understanding the time of the first close contact between the Dutch and the Hottentots the diary of van Riebeeck is a most valuable document because it describes not only the facts but also in the short daily phases of development which are precisely noted, he documents the motives and aims of the people involved. Here not only the historian but also a person who watches the meeting of two extremely different human races with psychological interest comes to account. We must be content here with merely a few hints. In the first stage a mutually friendly and obliging 439 manner reigned and peaceful trade was concluded on both sides. Copper and tobacco and also spirits were the best articles for barter. Three 648 pounds of hammered copper and one third of a pound of tobacco was the price of a cow, a pound of flat copper and some tobacco for a sheep, one quarter of a pound of copper wire and some tobacco for a lamb. Game, sometimes elephant teeth and young ostriches were traded cheaply.

In the second stage a decline in the desire for copper brought on a price increase on the part of the Hottentots. After they had enough copper, the Hottentots no longer wanted to sell their cattle, from which they lived. But freshly slaughtered meat was a necessity for satisfactory provisions for the travelers to India and since provisions were the only purpose of the white settlement in South Africa, ownership of cattle was just as much a question of life for the Dutch on the Cape as it was for [327] the Hottentots. And so the first discord appeared and with it the old distrust -- not without reason -- on both sides. The Hottentot could not resist the temptation to take possession of his sold cattle again and stole. What he sells from now on is of inferior quality. He gives the white men hope that the next ones will be better and in the end deceives them.

On the other hand the Dutchman, incensed by this behavior of the Hottentots, have their own crooked designs. He waits for the proper 648 moment to further his own interests brutally and conceals his plans till then. Just as previously in England using criminals as an avantgarde against the Hottentots was justified with the reason that it was "a very merciful deed for these criminals and a way to lead them to God since they were given time for penance and for praying for forgiveness of their sins etc.," in the same way the Dutch-Indian Trading Company received the following recommendation from the officers (July 26, 1649) concerning the erection of a fort on the Cape: not only was it good business but by converting heathen "many souls would be brought to God -- certainly the very best deed for the glorification of the Highest One and for the

spreading of His holy Gospel. In this way your undertaking in India will be blessed again and again." Van Riebeeck also believes that he will attain his goal without offering God shares of stock. He hopes to exploit the Hottentots' blind confidence at the right moment to rob cattle on a large scale and to capture a lot of slaves for India (Entry in the diary for the 13th of December, 1652). For this purpose he suppresses his annoyance, is friendly and considerate, all of which the Hottentots take for weakness. At the same time bitterness increases on their part as the native sees himself pushed out of valuable stretches of pasture by the foreigners. 648

In the third stage open enmity appears, complicated by the traitorous behavior of individual influential Hottentots who are playing a double game with the Dutch. Theft of cattle and murder here and there seems to eliminate all chance of an agreement but after a while peaceful relations are renewed and barter flourishes again. This unpredictable switch from friendship to enmity characterizes the relationship of the whites [328] to the Hottentots from the beginning and characterizes it up to our day as the relations of the two races moved beyond occasional friction to the stage of a conscious and ever deepening collision of interests.

We do not wish to give a history of the Hottentot wars. He who would write about them, would have to study in detail how the Cape Colony of the British Empire grew from the little stronghold and vegetable garden of the Dutch Indian Company. We are only concerned about becoming acquainted with the people who were in command on the white side in the battles of the following centuries. We must use van Riebeeck's colony as a base. It received reinforcements first of all from Holland and from France after the revoking of the Edict of Nantes. These are the ancestors of the present-day Boers.

b) The Boer has become the cultural pioneer of South Africa. A tough body, a fertility undiminished by the new climate, endurance and a minimum amount of physical and spiritual needs enabled him to found permanent settlements with the few cultural means which he brought from his homeland and to push deeper and deeper into the interior of the country. History depicts him as a brutal egoist. In order to understand the Hottentot's opinion of him, it is necessary to seek out the Boers who live in the remote northern parts of the Cape Colony today. You will still find here strong remnants of the autocratic feelings that became second nature to the Boers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on his lonely frontier post of civilization. He only feels at home there if no white man comes within four miles of his hut, where he himself prescribes the rights and customs for his family and especially for the natives who are in his power. Today he

grudgingly gives in to the law before which the native is a being with human rights. The idea that one has responsibilities to one's neighbors, when combined with the idea of the common weal, involving some denial on the part of the individual, is but a vague concept for this family hermit in northern Little Namaland, either politically, socially or religiously. Even a formal marriage contract often seems unnecessary to him. That his children are legally illegitimate does not bother him. That they grow up unbaptized does no damage to the standing of Christian families among his own kind. At the end of the nineties an English minister discovered such paradisical conditions [329] in the area between the mouth of Orange River and Port Nolloth. Then bearded men were baptized and grandparents married to make the grandchildren legitimate. The only social instinct that the Boers still possess is their hospitality.

This lack of political unity degrades the Boers of Namaland in the eyes of the Hottentots. The hereditary captaincy is the proud expression of a tribal right to the possession of land as well as of an orderly (according to his concepts) national life. From this standpoint the Hottentot, aside from his hate of the intruder, despised and still despises the Boer settler as a newcomer and masterless person, and points to the Germans in contrast who, as he does, have a captain and are one nation as he is.

Much stronger than such national feelings are the purely human feelings which have alienated the Boers from the Hottentots for ever. The Boer has always openly treated the natives with such a scorn for the colored race making an understanding impossible by its very nature. This scorn is characteristic of the Caucasian at a low level of racial and national consciousness. Even today the Boer calls the Hottentot a "schepsel," i.e. a creature in the sense of a being that happens to exist next to him as so many other mysterious and unnecessary things do in the world. Or he calls the Hottentot "geel goed," "yellow goods" which one can harness or trade, as one does cattle. The custom of seizing Hottentot children and rearing them "groot maak" is less rewarding than formerly when the master still had complete power over the life and death of his slaves and punished disobedience or running away by shooting them. That the culture penetrating the country has taken away these ancient rights is the chief reason why the Boers whom I met in Little Namaland despise the English rule (which otherwise leaves them as free as can be imagined).

These Boers were strangely disappointed when they discovered that the Hottentots also have rights in the German territory to which they wished to migrate. When I became better acquainted with the Boers, I tried to get an explanation from them, as to what they imagined that their God, before Whom they knelt three times a day, might think of their concept

of neighborly love in regard to colored people. I was referred to the Bible. I would not have taken their arguments from the Old Testament [330] seriously, if they had not been presented so seriously and if they actually had not been used in other places as a guide for their activities. In the ninth chapter of Genesis Noah damns Ham's son Canaan and his descendants to slavery. The Boers have extended this curse to all Hamites and include the Hottentot in this category, looking upon him as a born slave. Who is now the lord whom God has placed over them? What the people of Israel were in the old covenant, Christ is in the new. In the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Deuteronomy the extermination of the Canaanites is ordered. So God has placed the Christian Boer as the heir of Israel as lord over life and death of the cursed descendants of Canaan down to the last generation (the natives of South Africa). The Boer clings to this interpretation the more narrow-minded he is and the greater his racial pride is. This kind of gospel is a cover for the more liberal-minded that reveals most clearly what it is supposed to hide: the unbounded egoism of the Boers, that left the Hottentot no alternative than relentlessly to pursue a slow war to the death. Whoever had the upper hand in such a situation acted and still acts where the power of law is inadequate according to this concept.

c) The Hottentot entered a diametrically opposite relationship with another class of white men, the representatives of the Christian missions, which are maintained today in Great Namaland by the representatives of the Rhenish missionary society of Barmen. Whoever reads the older reports of this society can measure the difference between the present day Nama-Mission and the one of fifty years ago. At that time service among the Hottentots in this country without any government, where there were many battles among the natives, was a sacrifice of the first rank. Without any government protection the missionary threw himself on the mercy of the people, following the restless tribes on their migrations and sharing hunger and thirst with them. In order to keep in closest touch with the people, the missionary did not even shy away from marriage with a native girl. Gradually the opening up of the land led to the establishment of permanent mission stations. The protection of the government gave new guarantees to life and property and today the mission houses are the best and prettiest buildings in the country thanks to the excellent trade schools of the missionaries. They are places not only of work but also of comfort and, as I would like to emphasize with honest gratitude, show the traveler friendly hospitality. [331] The swing towards

himself and his family. In this sense few Hottentots have become 797
Christians. The systematic education of the natives for work has been demanded often enough for economic reasons. But this seems to me to be an unavoidable religious requirement of the Christian mission. Work represents in Namaland, as in every colony, the only possibility that the native has to hold his head economically above the tide of the inrushing cultural stream. And experience has shown further that a primitive people that is economically demoralized is also morally demoralized because it is for sale for any service to the superior race for its own livelihood. Thus the requirement that the native be taught to work does not seem to the missionary a secularization of his duties but only points a way to a firm basis for his religious duties. Moreover the white population is more grateful for a Christian trained for work than for ninety-nine candidates for heaven that know the Bible well but don't want to work.

Whether it would prove successful to appoint a special official for native affairs according to the English model, whether such an official could work together with the mission in the execution of his duties towards a systematic training of the natives for work and towards an organized employment bureau and labor welfare, must be determined by a trial, if possible before the English employers have drawn our best workers away from us across the border. Then we will also see whether the Protestant or the Catholic mission is more vital in this area. In the future this decision may have consequences far beyond the bounds of the missions.

d) The relationship of the Hottentot to his German master. The 648
Hottentot learns our language quickly, at least to understand it. He observes foreigners carefully and has the sense to hide his opinion. In all three points he differs to his advantage from the majority of our people. It cannot be held against the settler and the merchant that they show no interest in the difficult language. That an official can triple his influence over the natives when he masters their language is an old saw, but one would have run into enormous [334] difficulties applying the moral to the Hottentot language if one had ever thought of applying it at all.

There is usually only contempt felt for the Hottentots' language because of its clicking sounds. That can be harmless enough, but a large part of our countrymen are content with finding only the humorous aspects of the Hottentot and that is more serious. If the hundred little upsets are then added, which no one can avoid who has to depend on natives in his work, then all these feelings combine with the outward impression of a ragged, dirty fellow to a general opinion, which is unconcealed scorn.

This scorn may be humorous or bitter depending on the experiences and situation of the individual, but usually there is combined with it our feeling of enormous superiority that seems to make any closer study of the Hottentot unnecessary. We think we can manage him without this knowledge. 648

In addition enormous contrasts appear in our dealings with him. A captain, whom on occasion an official invites into his house as a "leader," is offered hospitality by a trader with the words "Will you have a schnapps, old pig?" On the one hand a white man is punished because he ejected a wise-aleck Hottentot bodily, but on the other hand an official in an understandable rage dealt out stripes himself. Punishment in itself is not the bad thing; it is the contradictions in the treatment that are. One may deplore the ruthless methods of the Boers in particular; the consistency, however, with which even the gentler Boer, in complete agreement with his own people, sticks to his severe principles towards the Hottentots, is the heart of that which must be admired, namely, the ability of the Boers to deal with the natives.

Such a uniformity in the treatment of the natives cannot be achieved by ordinances. It must be the spontaneous expression of a consistent appraisal of the native's character and of the situation. Those who know the Hottentot agree that two things are essential to get along well with him. In innumerable cases I have had the experience that a Hottentot expects punishment if he is convinced he deserves it. In his eyes it is a sign of weakness or stupidity if the punishment is remitted or given a sugar-coating. He may [335] thank you touchingly for your indulgent pardon and if he is a Christian wish you the reward of the "Lord Jesus" -- but he who can see behind the facade knows that the Hottentot is amused at this kind of treatment (cf. folk tale XLI); he wants to be treated firmly. The demands of justice should be emphasized in the interest of authority, even when it is not a matter of serious punishments. The harsh and blind scolding of a number of Hottentots by a high official, who could not even speak Dutch with them, was interrupted by a Hottentot (who thought that only his own people could understand him) with a warning to his companions: "!kxau/ hã ǂuigye tã kxom," "he is crazy, therefore do not speak." Such situations can occur more often than is good for the strengthening of our prestige, even in the short time that the individual official is allowed to stay in the southwest (cf. the chronicle of the district bureau of Keetmanshoop).

Also the person who is not an official should be aware that his private dealings with the natives in the half-civilized land are not purely private matters. Each individual directly bears a part of the responsibility for the good or the bad relations of the two races. The result of these meetings, in which the individual bears direct responsibility is the sharpest test of the maturity of a people in dealing with other peoples. Here we show up clearly as novices. We fluctuate too much between undisciplined fraternization and bureaucratic overbearing. The middle way is not natural to us yet: the understanding of foreign peculiarities while quietly maintaining our own superiority. Our cousin on the other side of the Channel is more cosmopolitan.

In the meantime we must openly confess that the Hottentot knows us better than we do him. Even while aware of his own weakness he never loses interest in the study of the white intruder. Taught for generations and from boyhood up to operate with trickery he only lets the white man see the results of his observations of humans in the rarest cases. We have lost a great deal in not recognizing this situation. In the critical time after the outbreak of the Warmbad unrest, think what was said about war policy around the beer bench in front of the stores in the presence of Hottentot men! Relentlessly, when patriotism had reached its height after the sixth bottle, the refrain was "What can the fellows do?", after someone had hinted that unbidden listeners were there. And they miss nothing; they comment more thoroughly on such [336] idiotic and thoughtless speeches than on any of the governor's decrees. Whoever thinks he can demand every kind of service from the Hottentot for tobacco and bad gin, ought to have at least as much information about the families of this "trash" in these critical times so that he does not select the man to spy on the leader of a band from a related family.

But we will not give any further examples here. Even without them the conviction that underestimating the Hottentots in the small matters of daily life as well as in the most important was a basic error in our relations with the natives will make headway. We have had to pay for this mistake so dearly with blood that it is the duty of every witness to point it out that it may be avoided in the future.

He who measures the Hottentot as a fighter not exclusively according to the measure of the dragoons or the paragraphs of the Geneva Convention, cannot deny him recognition in more than one point. To be sure, one does not need the eyes of a general to recognize that it was not Hendrik Witbooi who was our chief opponent in the battle with the

Hottentots but his ally, the countryside, that shoved waterless deserts, 648
pathless mountains or interminable flatlands between us and the enemy. The enemy vanishes here with his entire outfit. His provisions come from the living cattle that the children drive and the women milk. In remote districts or rocky hollows that only the native herdsman and hunter know they find water and they sleep in open bush-kraals as they usually do when they go out with family and possessions for weeks and months seeking pastures. And so the Oorlog Hottentot feels himself to be in his own element no matter how badly things are going. We had the task to transplant all at once and efficiently our entire cultural superiority into a country where it would normally take decades for the culture to conquer. In order to mobilize all the resources of modern war here it meant that, long before we could attack the enemy, we had to do battle with nature, which even today places enormous demands on the individual.

The Hottentot is our superior in this battle, not only because he can 72c
live on meat and roots, -- experience gives [337] him the edge. Our 648
army is like wild game to the Hottentot, which he hunts with assurance, as he has learned the tricks in former battles. Whereas our soldiers pay the cost of learning in blood again and again, he uses his old methods. He waits in ambush for the enemy at the water hole just as he did for the zebra at the Vlei. He fires at a passing detachment from the rocky hiding place as he did at a herd of migrating springboks. He stalks a weak patrol as an oryx antelope in the early dawn. He surrounds a supply train the way he surrounds hares when encircling them to throw the kirri at them.

And when he himself was surrounded, how did it happen that he always escaped again? During the entire war our troops tirelessly covered the battlefield in all directions with patrols, covered the entire country with a net of telegraphs and heliographs at enormous sacrifice and then overcame heretofore insuperable difficulties of time and space with wireless telegraphs. (76) That the Hottentot often surpassed us in passing 648

76. L. Schultze, Nachrichtenwesen während der Kämpfe in Deutsch-Südwestafrika ("Tägliche Rundschau," Jahrg. 1905, Nr. 511 u. 515).

information in spite of all this, reminds us most uncomfortably of that which we easily forget from pride in our cultural level: the fact that simple practice of the naked senses of a primitive race plus primitive intellectual experience, sharpened only by everyday things, can be

raised to such perfection that they can compete successfully with a numerically and intellectually far superior power, using the most modern equipment. 648

The strength of the Hottentot in comparison to his enemy, who is trained from youth to work cooperatively and according to regulations, lies in the independence of each individual. When we compare him with the German soldier, we see how many primitive abilities gained by direct contact with nature have been lost by us.

Added to this is the fact that the Hottentot warrior often is a mature man. The youth of our soldiers is very evident to him and he is aware again of a definite superiority in this area. One designation for the German soldier, which has lasted from the times of our former battles with the Hottentots, is "!gaǂkyaosa //gaũ-sexarob, i.e. "the little boy (a-xab, boy; -so, dimin.) from the foreign place (//gaũs), whose dress (the uniform coat that fits snugly across the small of the back) is fastened (!gaǂ) at the rear (kxaos)". But even though he laughs at his opponent here the way a sly old poacher does at [338] at a young game warden, he has still felt the strength of our soldiers sufficiently. He expresses his recognition in the expression "!huni!oǂm. !oǂm is a so-called "buskop". These animals are harder to handle than the usual oxen because of their lack of horns. They pull their heads out of the noose if they are yoked up in the usual way. They stick their heads through barriers that would be protected against horned animals. One is never certain about them. To the recognition of this readiness to fight, they add, without stretching the metaphor, the striking color of our blood (!huni, yellow) hair to the name.

I have not been able to find out from the Hottentots many details of their battle customs. In order to steel himself to his bloody work, the 726 man who has never killed anyone supposedly drinks the raw blood of a slaughtered animal before he goes into battle. [Picture. Hottentots' War Pipe.]

The battle reports of the troops will give the best information about 726 tactics. Signals are frequently given on a pipe that is carved from the 202 horn of a female springbok. Since this signal pipe, ǂgiǂs, is blown the same way as a dance pipe, it is also called a reed or blowing horn, xaĩ //nãǂs or "!naĩǂ //nãǂs.

It is the job of one of the sub-captains to determine whether a place or water hole which the troop is approaching is occupied by the enemy or not. He rides up spying, while his people conceal themselves [illegible]. Not until he lets out a long drawn-out whistle do they [illegible] In this way the Hottentots are supposed to have approached the water hole /Aos in the

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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the Ovaherero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Sawer, *Native Races*, 258–259; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandsche Tijd*, vols. I and II *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 155.

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423 619 648 tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers [121] settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

619 423 486 How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

619 423 On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 3146), 70, 73–6; Hoernlé, op. cit., 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need
621 of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami /Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[3] Theal, *Native Races*, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

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Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

The early Dutch records throw some light on the political interrelations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains" of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 96–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, 751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed ● 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[5]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[6]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[7]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

7) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (*-choqua* or *khwekwa*, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 320).

[65]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique,*

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[19])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausouwe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.[20]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[19]) There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[20]) This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

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friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damoh*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practice polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[21]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[22]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kanima, ostrich feather, and a woman *Hau na maos*, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (Kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

[22]) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Soc.* 5, pp. 69 ff.

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his way from the river Sena to Niemba, a journey of twenty days to the north. The inhabitants of this place proved to be men of a confident and ready temper, they put up a strenuous fight in defence of their own, and were so successful that they slew Matthew and his followers to a man.

O kind heaven, what a harvest of souls could here be made for Christ! What a field is here for the preaching of His gospel! if only private gain could be put in the second place, and all, for the greater glory of God, would watch over the common good. But, alas, for the most part they forswear their allegiance to God and country and turn to unscrupulous quest of gain; and there are some who fill two or three public positions, men whose poverty of spirit, weakness of intellect, incapacity for service, and utter absence of all virtuous endowment, would not suffice for one. Off, Shame, and hide in the woods! and teach the natives not to put too much trust in colour. The white blossoms fall, the black berries are gathered.

But the limits of a letter do not permit of my including every particular, and I fear that I have already transgressed them in this very long, and literally voluminous, epistle. But you, kind sir, asked me to write at length, and you will readily pardon my evil lust for writing, even if it has gone beyond what your judgment and consideration of our respective ages, could permit; and you will not despise these few observations, such as they are, in which I attempt to reply to your questions, and to record what seemed to me both worth telling and easy to express in the Latin tongue; nor will you refuse to smoothe my roughness with your critical file, to dress the unkempt locks of my poor prose, and to forgive the homely style which is all that exiles can attain.

To put all in a word, you must know that this land is sufficient unto itself, and needs neither commerce nor any other aid, if luxury be absent, so bountifully does the goodness of God here display itself, affording nurture without stint to the inhabitants.

In addition to this the land is girdled with a circumfluent and lordly Ocean, which from time to time casts upon her shores pearls of the colour of alum, together with amber and other offerings from its store. A narrow isthmus unites the peninsula to the mainland. This peninsula, in the year 1651,[109] the Dutch occupied under the command and auspices of the great van Riebeeck, and now hold from the natives on a just title of purchase and with the sanction of

[109] Sic. Van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay on April 7, 1652.

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000 in dies colonis, agris, fortunisque auctiorem gliscentemque, sed quo justo interveniente pretio venditores ignorant, et emptores dicere gravantur: sufficit volentibus non factam injuriam et nostrates ex tenuissimis principiis, vastioris terrae dominos factos, quam totius Bataviae ambitus complectitur: qui in cunis adhuc vagientes, multis frequentibusque latrociniis barbarorum irritati, et oblatas pacis conditiones superbè satis spretas videntes, bellum illis indicunt, et cum omnibus copiis, tam stipendiario milite quam colonis, impressionem in hostilem terram populationemque faciunt, modico saltem praesidio in arce relicto, qui captantes temporum momenta, dum barbarus nocturnis choraeis fessus, ut fere fit, primulo diliculo somnum capit, nil tale metuentem, et in utramvis aurem dormiscentem assiliunt, pars trucidatur, reliqui fuga sibi consulunt. Europaei omnia diripientes, ingentem pecudum armentorumque vim, magnis itineribus abducunt. Barbari se colligentes regredientium terga et latera premunt, sed equitatu nostro in fugam versi statuunt ad conspectum stellae, orientem solem antecedentis (hinc eos motus siderum et statas temporum vices omnimodo non ignorare colligere licet) attemperate omnibus copiis in nostrorum castra quadripartito agmine reptabundi, et in ventrem proni provolare; ex compacto assultant, sed in speculis stans miles, hoste detecto ad arma clamat; consurgunt nostri, impetumque inimicorum fortiter propellunt, quibus si mens non laeva fuisset, illaesi ad libitum Batavos non diu post cecidissent, nam tanta vis imbrium subito effusa tantaque violentia ventorum coörta, ut frigore obrigescentibus membris, et madentibus nostrorum armis, itinere fessos, sarcinis impedimentisque graves ad unum omnes deleri potuissent, sed aliter Superis visum fuit, hoc unico ictu totae Barbarorum vires accisae, illaque victoriâ debel-

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● 648 [101]) In 1672 the Dutch "bought" from the Goringhaiqua chief Schacher "the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout and Saldanha Bays, with all its lands, rivers and forests" for goods to the nominal value of £800 (the goods actually transferred were worth £2 16s. 5d.); and a little later a similar agreement was made with the Chainouqua chief Dhouw, who "sold"

law, and the settlement grows greater day by day in burghers, farms, and fortunes; but what the just price was that passed between them the sellers do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating.[101]) It is sufficient that no harm was done to those who accepted the occupation without resistance, and that our countrymen, from the slenderest beginnings, have become the lords of a domain vaster than the whole circuit of Holland. For when the colony was still in its infancy, the burghers, provoked by repeated robberies on the part of the natives, and perceiving that the terms of peace they offered were rather scornfully rejected, declared war upon them. They then collected all their forces, both mercenary troops and burghers, made an invasion into the territory of the enemy and began to lay it waste, leaving only a small garrison behind in the fort. The invaders waited their time, and when the natives were wearied on one occasion with their usual dancing by night, and had fallen asleep at the first peep of dawn, they fell upon them, off their guard and sleeping soundly. Some were slaughtered, the rest sought safety in flight. The Europeans then plundered everything, and drove off by forced marches a huge quantity of sheep and oxen. The natives rallied and pressed upon the rear and flanks of the retreating host, but our cavalry routed them. They then made a plan to be carried out at the first sight of the morning star (and this is the reason why I think they cannot be regarded as totally ignorant of the motions of the stars and the fixed order of time). Dividing all their forces into four divisions they were to steal upon our camp, crawling up on their bellies. At the agreed signal they sprang up for the attack. But our pickets sighted them and gave the cry *To arms*. Our men arose, and vigorously repelled the assault of the enemy. But if they had not misjudged the situation they could a little afterwards have slain the Dutch with impunity to their heart's content, for such a flood of rain suddenly fell and so violent a wind rose that our men were numbed with the cold and their weapons were soaked with wet. If the natives had then attacked they could have slain them to a man, exhausted as they were with marching and encumbered with packs and baggage. But heaven willed otherwise. This one blow crippled the natives' strength. One victory finished

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the district of Hottentots Holland to the Dutch "in return for merchandise amounting in value to £300. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d." (Theal, ii, 198-201). In the eyes of the Hottentots these "sales" were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" analogous to tribute paid for this use (Schapera, 290).

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175 619 161 439 The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

175 619 167 797 In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

175 619 797 Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantze*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[2] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Massow, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt pursuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[11]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.[*]

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[*] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 202-6.

[11] Bas. Rec. I. pp. 499, 414, 421; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

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175 69 648 readily granted.[22] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[23] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[24] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[25] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[26]

175 69 648 797 167 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[27] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[28] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[22] B. C. p. 291-3.
[23] B. C. p. 257.
[24] B. C. p. 324.
[25] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[26] B. C. p. 323.
[27] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[28] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[89]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[90]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[91] Native tradition at *Bloemhof*, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[92] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Koranas at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[93]

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[89] B. M. B. 1834, pp. 162-3.
[90] B. C. 215.
[91] B. C. 289.
[92] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[93] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[24] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[25] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[26] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[27]

175

Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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24 Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner.* Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
25 Imperial Blue Book. C. 2454-79. p. 33.
26 Ibid. p. 34.
27 Wangemann. op. cit. p. 24.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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already done so, but Brune flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[38] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Pniel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Wuras and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.[39] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.[40] 175

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Brune and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Brune maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Brune, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[40] 175 619 648

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[41] Mr. Brune is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk 175 648

[38] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

[39] Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 33, p. 81 ff.

[40] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

[41] Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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175 648 of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Korana were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Brune had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

175 A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.[42] Brune himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Brune's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,[43] it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Brune can be substantiated. What Poole stigmatises as the breach of a man's word of honour Brune ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.[43] There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Brune protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Brune had been unjudicious. Brune himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

[42] Letters of Brune and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2116-'79, p. 72-74 and p. 74-75, C. p. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24-26.

[43] Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

113 *Globus*, 1868 and 1870, and Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentoten, in *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden, 1868; not to forget the chapter on the Hottentots in Friedr. Müller's excellent work "Allgemeine Ethnographie."

648 It is enough meanwhile to say, that the Bushmen lead the life of a Pariah, and that they are hated and chased by all other nations of South Africa, having to suffer most, however, from the hands of their own nearest kith and kin, the Khoikhoi, whom I have, on more than one occasion, seen manifesting more charity for a dog than for a starving Bushman.

101 The Khoikhoi are generally called, as I have already said, Hottentots, a term to which I would not object, were it not for the confusion it generally brings in its train, as far as ethnological, anthropological or linguistic terminology is concerned. Sometimes they are called the *Hottentots proper* in our Colonial language. But very often, again, our Khoikhoi in the Colony, or more particularly those remnants of the tribes formerly occupying the vicinity of Cape Town, are called *Hottentots*, *Hottentots proper* or *Cape Hottentots*, while on the other hand the inhabitants of Griqualand West, of the South Kalihari, of Great Namaqualand are called by their tribal names, Griquas, Namaquas, Koras or Koranas, just as if they were not Hottentots as much as the Khoikhoi tribes of the Cape Colony. It would be as absurd for us to call only the Prussians, Germans, and apply to all the other tribes of Germany their tribal names, Bavarians, Suabians, Hessians, &c., denying to them the attribute German; or for Londoners to claim for themselves the title of Englishmen, while excluding the Northumberland and Sussex men from it.

This is my reason for protesting emphatically against the indiscriminate and superficial use of the term *Hottentot*, and therefore I have taken the liberty of taxing the patience of my readers by dwelling at some length on this subject.

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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., 97, 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 107.
[3] *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxvi–lxvii; cf. *idem*, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

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643 554 651 number of years. He also keeps a large quantity of milk at the door of his hut, which he distributes to the poor and the needy. None of these statements has been confirmed by later writers, with the exception of the tribute of game, which, as we have seen, is also mentioned by Wandres. Kohler's informant, on the other hand, explicitly denies that such a tribute is paid, and this would seem to be confirmed, at least as far as more recent times are concerned, by the statements of several other writers that the chief receives no tribute from his subjects. Nor does he levy any taxes, although in case of war or other extensive undertakings collections may be held or requisitions made, to which every tribesman has to contribute according [681] to his means. The fines levied in criminal cases, however, often go to the chief, or are shared between him and the judges. He can also accept a share of the damages awarded in a civil dispute, but there is no obligation on the successful litigant to pay this. It is regarded merely as a voluntary gift for the trouble taken, and the same is probably true in those cases, mentioned by Wandres, where the chief regulates inheritances. In co-operation with his council the chief can also impose orders upon his people, which as a rule are implicitly obeyed. He can, e.g., cause certain grazing grounds to be vacated, in order that they may be rested. He has also the right to use the labour of the people for public purposes, such as mending roads, building schools, or churches, opening up water and furrows, and so on. All adult males further are liable to be called out for military duty at any time.

643 554 It may be added that, according to Hahn, a Hottentot chief is expected "to have an open house and an open hand" and the worst that can be said of a chief is that he is *gei-//are*, i.e. "greatly left-handed or stingy." "It happens sometimes," Hahn even says, "that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal."[1] There is no instance on record, as far as can be ascertained, of such a deposal having taken place, and the statement seems contradictory to the genuine respect attached by the people to the hereditary rights of the chief. "Our chiefs are not made," they say, "they are given by God." And Eduard Lambert, when on the death of his brother Andries the German authorities wished him to act as chief of the Gei //Khauan, the rightful heir being several hundred miles away, is said to have at first declined the proposal, with the words: "One

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 17; cf. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322.

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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami /Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[3] Sparrman, *Voyage*, ii, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

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643 624 was that, while he was an autocrat to a certain extent, the other chiefs, like Willem Christian of the Bondelswarts, and Simon Kooper of the Franzmann Hottentots, relied more on popular approval and the support of their councillors than on their royal prerogatives.

HOORNKRANZ,
3rd January, 1891.

BELOVED COMMUNITY OF HOORNKRANZ,

To-day I make fresh appointments for the New Year. I have caused certain alterations to be made to the Civil and Church Laws. I have also appointed new officials according to the times and the promptings of the Lord. Therefore have I appointed younger men, like children who are being trained and, when the time is accomplished, they will be taken into full membership. For this reason I have relieved some of the older officials and have substituted young men in full authority of the laws, in order that they may publicly perform their authorized duties. I have, however, reappointed some of the old officials as well, so that they may train and teach the younger team. I have also appointed two additional elders. The names of those appointed will be read to the community, and are as follows :—

Then follows a list of the names and of the offices to which they have been appointed. These posts were all honorary, and carried no salaries or emoluments. The seven chief appointments are those of sub-chief, magistrate, war commandant, chief field cornet, and three senior councillors. The remainder (there are thirty in all) include the " overseer of the whole village ", a " second magistrate ", second, third, and fourth field cornets, elders, junior councillors, messengers of the court and of the elders, a " corporal " and a " second corporal ". The " corporal ", in spite of his humble designation, was really the quartermaster-general in the field ![1]

LAW AND JUSTICE

671 The political institutions of the Hottentots must be regarded from one aspect as a means of welding the tribe into an integral unity, and thus giving it the cohesion and solidarity which enable it to present a united front to the outside world in defence and aggression. They serve also to maintain law and order within the tribe. Through its agencies of government the activities of the community are organized, and the harmonious co-operation in public affairs which this produces secures the orderly functioning of communal life. Various other mechanisms contribute towards the achievement of the same end. Throughout our discussion of the social and economic life of the people we have noted the existence of numerous observances, conventions, and rules. These regulate all the normal relations between persons, as in marriage with its conditions and implications, the status of husband and wife and of their respective families, kinship,

[1] Quoted in *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73. A similar list of officials for 1888, differing slightly from the above, is appended to a letter quoted by von François, op. cit., 220.

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exogamy, descent and succession, chieftainship, the exercise of power, economic activities and co-operation, and between persons and objects, as in property and inheritance. All the manners and customs of the Hottentots, therefore, their moral and religious precepts, their fashions, conventional standards of etiquette and rules of social intercourse, make for law and order in the community. They determine the personal relations between people, and their existence is the basis of uniformity and cohesion in social and economic life.

These rules are not formulated in any legal code. Some of them have come into being as decisions of the tribal council in judicial trials, while in more recent times others have even been deliberately enacted, as for example in the case of the various proclamations issued by such chiefs as Hendrik Witbooi. Legislation of the latter type, however, does not appear to have occurred in the original conditions of Hottentot life. The laws of the Hottentots are to a very considerable extent inherent in the social organization and usages of the people. They have developed as a result of the more or less unconscious adjustment of personal relations, as a product of economic activities, and so on, and have become accepted as norms or standards of life and conduct which are binding as such on the community. Their existence, in other words, is derived from the authority of tradition and precedents.

The orderly functioning of communal life demands that all members of the community must conform to these rules or norms of conduct. The individual, that is, must be adapted to social needs and standards. This involves the operation of social control, a process found everywhere in society. Here again we meet with the existence of moulding forces similar in function to those already noted among the Bushmen. The Hottentot child at birth comes into a society where there are already established manners and customs, definite forms of behaviour and organization. In the household of his parents, where he remains until marriage, in his relations with other people, especially with his kindred, and in the company of his coevals, the rules of social behaviour are impressed upon him. He falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking as is expected of him, and in this way comes to conform to the existing social pattern. Moreover, first under the direct guidance of his mother, and later in tending the flocks and in hunting, he is initiated into the economic life of his people, while a girl gradually learns to perform the household duties proper to her sex. At puberty, above all, he receives a definite course of instruction

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even dead, on the ground. The victor was not punished, and in some cases he also inherited the property of his unfortunate opponent.[1] 695

Another resort sometimes employed was divination. If the council was unable to decide the guilt of a person, the diviner, *ku aob*, was called in for assistance. He had with him two small strips of leather, *kura*, one with a copper bead, the other with an iron bead attached to the end. The former was regarded as male, the latter as female. These leather strips the diviner beat on the fist of his hand or on the ground, at the same time invoking the oracle with the words: *mi, mi, amae mi, homits gao, ota mi ais !na khau tsi!* "Tell, speak, tell the truth, if you lie, then I will burn you in the fire!" Then he jerked the strips from his hand into the circle formed about him by the council with the litigants or the accused. The ends to which the beads were attached had to point towards the culprit. Wandres explains the working of this method by the firm belief which the Naman even at the present time have in this oracle. The diviner, a skilled reader of men, carefully observes the litigants or the accused while busy with his strips. The real culprit, like all the others, believes in the efficacy of the oracle, and therefore cannot hide his apprehensions, with the result that the diviner can readily recognize his man, and with a twist of his hand divert the strips towards him.[2] 695 787

The main penal sanctions among the Naman are flogging, fines, and death. A sentence of death can nowadays only be passed by the European administration and its duly-constituted law courts, to which all cases involving it must be referred. Punishment in the native courts is therefore confined to flogging and to fines payable as a rule in goats. There are no fixed rules for the degree of punishment, but certain pragmatic principles are observed. Offences against the community are more severely punished than those against individuals. Accidental misdeeds are not regarded as crimes; but unsuccessful attempts meet with punishment, while self-defence, although not sufficient ground for acquittal, produces amelioration of the sentence. Incorrigible offenders are expelled and their property confiscated; in the old days they might even be killed. The confirmed cattle thief has to expect harder punishment at every conviction, until ultimately the death sentence would formerly have been decided upon; nowadays the matter is then referred to the law courts of the Europeans. 681 [673]

[1] Op. cit., 272–3; cf. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 105–6.
[2] Op. cit., 273.

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and formerly they could even escape the death sentence for murder by a payment of cattle to the chief. But the possible shielding of murderers in this way always exposed them to the blood feud. If, through favouritism or for political reasons, a murderer was acquitted by the council, the nearest relative of the victim had the right to take the law into his own hands and to kill him.

Blood vengeance, *//kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots.[1] A son avenged the death of his father, a brother his brother, and if there was no son to take vengeance for the death of a woman her husband was obliged to do so. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act. The case is cited of the well-known traveller and explorer Charles John Andersson, who about 1861 shot an Afrikander Hottentot near Windhoek in what he alleged was self-defence. He reported the matter to the chief Jonker Afrikaner, and as a result was brought before the chief and tribal council for trial. The council, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied, rightly or wrongly, that Andersson had exceeded his rights and had gone too far. But in view of the fact that he was a European and a British subject, the chief was reluctant to punish him. So, "I release you," said Jonker, "but," he added, "according to our law the brother of Hartebeest will kill you and must kill you, so flee for your life."[2]

In all probability the blood feud was formerly very extensively practised, especially in connection with the clan organization. We know from accounts left us by travellers among the Naman in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them, and the chief was unable in the interests of the tribe as a whole to prevent two clans from carrying out vengeance one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Alexander gives an account of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account of another vendetta at Bethanie among the !Aman Hottentots.[3] According to Wandres the feud ceased when revenge for the death had been taken, but other accounts imply that it was kept up as a continuous vendetta. Hahn states that

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Kohler, loc. cit.; Wandres, op. cit., 276.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 16, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, cf. 221; and *Berichte der Rhänischen Mission*, 1856, p. 274.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684] punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[388] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

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the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

627

Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

[562] [576] 695 [674] [694]

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Naman, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sanction here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [43]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [44]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [45]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves thereby most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 330).

[44]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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• 68 Theft as a rule is punished by flogging, administered with the sjambok, and the thief must also make twofold restitution. Sexual crimes, such as incest, adultery, and rape, are, as we have seen, punished by fines, floggings, confiscation of property, or even by death, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence. A man who insults or slanders the chief or a councillor is flogged till he becomes unconscious; if he slanders a dead man he is fined one or two head of small stock, and if the offence is repeated he receives fifty lashes and must pay a fine in cattle. The infliction of mild bodily injuries meets with a fine, and the culprit must, in addition, support the victim and his family until the former is well again; if the injured man is himself the cause of the strife, his assailant goes free. In severe bodily injuries leading to death, it is specially investigated if the wounds were deliberately caused or not. In the latter case all the assailant's property is given to the relatives of the deceased, and he receives a severe flogging as well, unless his relatives ransom him by paying a heavy fine. In the former case he was sentenced to death. The death sentence was also imposed for high treason, deliberate murder, and incorrigible stealing. Incorrigible thieves were stoned or beaten to death, but a murderer was killed in the same way as he had caused the death of his victim. If by shooting, then he was also shot; if by stabbing, then he was stabbed; if by beating, then he was also beaten to death, and so on. Wandres states also that a sorcerer who by his magic had caused the death of a man was killed and his body burned, but this lacks confirmation. Attempted homicide is punished by a flogging of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty lashes, unless the intended victim is the chief, when in former days the assailant was sentenced to death.

681 696 In the infliction of these punishments, the poorer members of the tribe, the servants and other inferiors usually come off worst. This is a point made by several reliable observers, and emphasized by Vedder, when he says: "Since South-West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused." This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property."[1] The more wealthy and influential people are on the whole treated less severely,

[1] Op. cit., 129.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, *op. cit.*, 57, 218.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 357.
[3] *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii; cf. Idem, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 42.

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643 554 651 number of years. He also keeps a large quantity of milk at the door of his hut, which he distributes to the poor and the needy. None of these statements has been confirmed by later writers, with the exception of the tribute of game, which, as we have seen, is also mentioned by Wandres. Kohler's informant, on the other hand, explicitly denies that such a tribute is paid, and this would seem to be confirmed, at least as far as more recent times are concerned, by the statements of several other writers that the chief receives no tribute from his subjects. Nor does he levy any taxes, although in case of war or other extensive undertakings collections may be held or requisitions made, to which every tribesman has to contribute according to his means. The fines levied in criminal cases, however, often go to the chief, or are shared between him and the judges. He can also accept a share of the damages awarded in a civil dispute, but there is no obligation on the successful litigant to pay this. It is regarded merely as a voluntary gift for the trouble taken, and the same is probably true in those cases, mentioned by Wandres, where the chief regulates inheritances. In co-operation with his council the chief can also impose orders upon his people, which as a rule are implicitly obeyed. He can, e.g., cause certain grazing grounds to be vacated, in order that they may be rested. He has also the right to use the labour of the people for public purposes, such as mending roads, building schools, or churches, opening up water and furrows, and so on. All adult males further are liable to be called out for military duty at any time.

643 554 It may be added that, according to Hahn, a Hottentot chief is expected "to have an open house and an open hand" and the worst that can be said of a chief is that he is *gei-//ara*, i.e. "greatly left-handed or stingy." "It happens sometimes," Hahn even says, "that another man is made chief, who is expected to be more liberal."[1] There is no instance on record, as far as can be ascertained, of such a deposal having taken place, and the statement seems contradictory to the genuine respect attached by the people to the hereditary rights of the chief. "Our chiefs are not made," they say, "they are given by God." And Eduard Lambert, when on the death of his brother Andries the German authorities wished him to act as chief of the Gei //Khauan, the rightful heir being several hundred miles away, is said to have at first declined the proposal, with the words: "One

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 173; cf. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322.

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695 was listened to with undivided attention. The matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the headman, 696 in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The headman, as chief executioner, rushed towards the criminal and felled him to the ground [684] with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men then violently attacked him until he was beaten to death.[1]

672 No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same [764] way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as 631 a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing 695 that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

692 There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either 694 in civil disputes or in crimes. The main tribal council, consisting of the chief and the kraal headmen, dealt only with disputes between different kraals. It was summoned by the chief on receipt of any complaint, and its proceedings were conducted along the same lines as those of the kraal councils.

692 The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Naman, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal 693 cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

[1] An eye-witness account of such an execution, in which four men were beaten to death, is quoted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 172–3.

[2] The fullest accounts are given by Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsverwandte und Rechte der Hottentotten," 270–6; Vedder, "The Nama," 149–51; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 319–7; cf. also Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 308; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 221; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 324–5; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73–6 *passim*.

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of the tribe. The eldest of them presides over the proceedings; 693
the others are his assessors, *nu-aogu*, and can take part freely in the examination of the litigants or accused and of the witnesses. One of them also acts as public prosecutor, another as advocate for the defence (*gowaka-aob*, intercessor). The post of councillor, as we have seen, is honorary and carries no salary, but certain court fees are levied in trials. The complainant must deliver a couple of fat goats in advance in order to have his case heard, and these provide food for the judges as long as the court sits. The defendant also may be required to contribute a similar fee, even before the verdict is arrived at.

The initiative in any legal proceedings lies in the hands of the 694
complainant. Self-help is not permitted. He must lodge his grievance with the official known as the magistrate. The latter then summons the councillors, who assemble together on the day fixed for the hearing. The court meets as a rule out in the open, under the shade of some tree, where all squat in a circle. The litigants or accused and the witnesses are then summoned by the public messenger, who as sign of his function carries with him a long stick. With this, on entering the hut of the defendant, he knocks three times on the ground, without speaking a word. Then he goes away as silently as he came. The defendant now knows that his presence is required. If he refuses to appear, which in fact seldom happens, or fails to send an acceptable excuse in time, several strong men are sent to take and bring him by force. For defying the summons he then receives a special flogging. [681] ●
If he is accused of some crime, and is suspected of meditating flight, he is brought before the court with a riem[1] round his neck and his hands tied behind his back. Witnesses summoned are obliged to appear, and if they do not are fetched and punished in the same way as the defendant. The latter must stand or kneel in the centre of the court 695
circle, but if a woman is permitted to sit. The complainant stands or squats nearby till he is called upon to speak, and the summoned witnesses must also remain within a reasonable distance.

The magistrate now states the case to the council. The chairman then calls on the complainant to speak, next on the defendant and on all the witnesses one after the other. One witness as a rule is sufficient, but more are desirable. No hearsay evidence is allowed; only what the witness has himself seen and heard is admitted as valid. False testimony is severely condemned, the perjurer being punished [687]
according to the mischief he causes. Examination and cross-examination are conducted by the councillors. They rarely employ direct 695 195

[1] [i.e., a thin strip of cowhide. – Analyst]

695 [195] questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions. When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion is the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed. 696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is 681 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *nou-aob*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wandres describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *thigu*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men, or else he poured a little sand on to their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and bit, until one of them [574] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

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even dead, on the ground. The victor was not punished, and in some cases he also inherited the property of his unfortunate opponent.[1] 695

Another resort sometimes employed was divination. If the council was unable to decide the guilt of a person, the diviner, *ku aob*, was called in for assistance. He had with him two small strips of leather, *kura*, one with a copper bead, the other with an iron bead attached to the end. The former was regarded as male, the latter as female. These leather strips the diviner beat on the fist of his hand or on the ground, at the same time invoking the oracle with the words: *mi, mi, amae mi, homits gao, ota mi ais !na khau tsi!* "Tell, speak, tell the truth, if you lie, then I will burn you in the fire!" Then he jerked the strips from his hand into the circle formed about him by the council with the litigants or the accused. The ends to which the beads were attached had to point towards the culprit. Wandres explains the working of this method by the firm belief which the Naman even at the present time have in this oracle. The diviner, a skilled reader of men, carefully observes the litigants or the accused while busy with his strips. The real culprit, like all the others, believes in the efficacy of the oracle, and therefore cannot hide his apprehensions, with the result that the diviner can readily recognize his man, and with a twist of his hand divert the strips towards him.[2] 695 787

The main penal sanctions among the Naman are flogging, fines, and death. A sentence of death can nowadays only be passed by the European administration and its duly-constituted law courts, to which all cases involving it must be referred. Punishment in the native courts is therefore confined to flogging and to fines payable as a rule in goats. There are no fixed rules for the degree of punishment, but certain pragmatic principles are observed. Offences against the community are more severely punished than those against individuals. Accidental misdeeds are not regarded as crimes; but unsuccessful attempts meet with punishment, while self-defence, although not sufficient ground for acquittal, produces amelioration of the sentence. Incorrigible offenders are expelled and their property confiscated; in the old days they might even be killed. The confirmed cattle thief has to expect harder punishment at every conviction, until ultimately the death sentence would formerly have been decided upon; nowadays the matter is then referred to the law courts of the Europeans. 681 [673]

[1] Op. cit., 272–3; cf. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 101–6.

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68 Theft as a rule is punished by flogging, administered with the sjambok, and the thief must also make twofold restitution. Sexual crimes, such as incest, adultery, and rape, are, as we have seen, punished by fines, floggings, confiscation of property, or even by death, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence. A man who insults or slanders the chief or a councillor is flogged till he becomes unconscious; if he slanders a dead man he is fined one or two head of small stock, and if the offence is repeated he receives fifty lashes and must pay a fine in cattle. The infliction of mild bodily injuries meets with a fine, and the culprit must, in addition, support the victim and his family until the former is well again; if the injured man is himself the cause of the strife, his assailant goes free. In severe bodily injuries leading to death, it is specially investigated if the wounds were deliberately caused or not. In the latter case all the assailant's property is given to the relatives of the deceased, and he receives a severe flogging as well, unless his relatives ransom him by paying a heavy fine. In the former case he was sentenced to death. The death sentence was also imposed for high treason, deliberate murder, and incorrigible stealing. Incorrigible thieves were stoned or beaten to death, but a murderer was killed in the same way as he had caused the death of his victim. If by shooting, then he was also shot; if by stabbing, then he was stabbed; if by beating, then he was also beaten to death, and so on. Wandres states also that a sorcerer who by his magic had caused the death of a man was killed and his body burned, but this lacks confirmation. Attempted homicide is punished by a flogging of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty lashes, unless the intended victim is the chief, when in former days the assailant was sentenced to death.

● 681 696 In the infliction of these punishments, the poorer members of the tribe, the servants and other inferiors usually come off worst. This is a point made by several reliable observers, and emphasized by Vedder, when he says: "Since South-West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property."[1] The more wealthy and influential people are on the whole treated less severely,

[1] Op. cit., 143.

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and formerly they could even escape the death sentence for murder by a payment of cattle to the chief. But the possible shielding of murderers in this way always exposed them to the blood feud. If, through favouritism or for political reasons, a murderer was acquitted by the council, the nearest relative of the victim had the right to take the law into his own hands and to kill him.

Blood vengeance, *//kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots.[1] A son avenged the death of his father, a brother his brother, and if there was no son to take vengeance for the death of a woman her husband was obliged to do so. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act. The case is cited of the well-known traveller and explorer Charles John Andersson, who about 1861 shot an Afrikander Hottentot near Windhoek in what he alleged was self-defence. He reported the matter to the chief Jonker Afrikaner, and as a result was brought before the chief and tribal council for trial. The council, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied, rightly or wrongly, that Andersson had exceeded his rights and had gone too far. But in view of the fact that he was a European and a British subject, the chief was reluctant to punish him. So, "I release you," said Jonker, "but," he added, "according to our law the brother of Hartebeest will kill you and must kill you, so flee for your life."[2]

In all probability the blood feud was formerly very extensively practised, especially in connection with the clan organization. We know from accounts left us by travellers among the Naman in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them, and the chief was unable in the interests of the tribe as a whole to prevent two clans from carrying out vengeance one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Alexander gives an account of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account of another vendetta at Bethanie among the !Aman Hottentots.[3] According to Wandres the feud ceased when revenge for the death had been taken, but other accounts imply that it was kept up as a continuous vendetta. Hahn states that

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Kohler, loc. cit.; Wandres, op. cit., 276.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 16, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, cf. 211; and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1856, p. 274.

South West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property. 692

3. In earlier days and in some tribal unions still to-day the procedure in a law-suit is as follows: The complainant lodges his complaint with the magistrate who at the same time exercises the powers of a policeman. The magistrate then summons the judges; and the complainant and accused are summoned by messengers. The sitting takes place in the open as a rule. The complainant has to provide sufficient food for the judges as long as they sit. Generally he delivers some goats in advance in payment of the legal expenses. If the accused is unwilling to appear he is brought by force by strong men duly authorised in such circumstances. The complainant as well as the accused stand at a distance from the place where the court is held or squat down on the ground till they are called. The summoned witnesses also remain within a reasonable distance. The magistrate then lays the case before them. The eldest person amongst the judges, who is chairman, then gives the complainant the word. Thereupon the accused is heard. Care is taken that only one person speaks at a time; for the rest absolute freedom prevails. If the case has been sufficiently investigated the complainant and the accused together with the witnesses have to withdraw. The judgment is passed unanimously when possible and pronounced by the chairman. If punishment is to be inflicted it is executed at once and the accused has to replace the goats paid for expenses by the complainant. 695

4. The methods of punishment in olden days were: Death, executed in many ways according to the nature of crime. He, who had slain someone, was beaten to death with clubs and sticks. When one had shot another, he also was shot. Other sentences were: Fines, payable in goats; corporal punishment in the form of flogging or branding and, lastly, confiscation of property or the declaration of such people, who have been found to be a danger to the public, as of unsound mind. These were then outlawed and could be done away with, without being punished. To-day a sentence of death can only be passed by the Government and duly constituted law-courts. Punishment among the Nama to-day is confined to flogging, fines and fees payable in goats. 681

5. Rules for the degrees of punishment were never, and have not yet been, definitely fixed. Nevertheless no rule was allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of 681 685

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[388] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 Ontrent over vijf jaren is 't gebeurt, dat zeker perzoon, een grote vrient en na-maeghschap van den *Koehque* of Koning van de *Saldanharz*, in bloetschande was vervallen, doch deed evenwel, zonder aenschou op zijnen perzoon, recht over den zelven, maer raekte nogtans door grote voorspraek met een roede geeseling, en ontnemen van al zijne beesten, en ballingschap vry, en begaf zich by de *Goringhaikonas*, by het Fort van goeder hope, verlaten van al zijne vrienden, met belofte echter, dan zoo hy zich als te voore weder wilde dragen, al dan weder in genade zoude aengenomen worden. Een teken van noch eenige tucht onder deze wilden.

STRAFFE DER DOOTSLAGEN EN QUETSURE.

Wanneer iemant den eenen of den anderen, door gramschap of toornigheit, komt doot te slaen of te steken, zulx wort by hen mede voor een gewichtige zake opgenomen, inzonderheit indien een perzoon van aenziene, redelijk van wijsheit, staet en rijkdom, zulx gepleeght heeft; overmits zy zeggen, zulk een perzoon, met meer verstant als een ander, beter behoorde te weten, en eenen anderen met goede exempelen, (aengezien hy mede een vonnis-wijzer is) wijzelijk voor te gaen. Weshalve wort zulk eenen de hals aen eenen boom toegeworght, en doot in het zelfste graf by den doden gelegt; daer in tegendeel andere onnozele byzondere luiden 't zelven door vee, en geringer straffe beter kunnen afmaken, dan een grote wijze (of, zoo gemeent wort) raetgever. Zommigen misdadigen, die de doot verdient hebben, worden de knien doornagelt en met een yzere penne aen de schouderen vast gehecht, en dus met een langzame doot gestraft.

HUIZEN.

Wat hunne huizingen belangt, zy leven als d'Arabers op 't velt, in hutten, gemaekt van enkele krom gebogen stokken, in 't ront gezet, en met bies-matten, die zy zelfs zeer net en aerdigh weten te vlechten, overdekt; de zommigen zijn wel zoo groot, dat bequamelijk tien of twintigh man, met vrou en kinderen, daer in hun verblijf kunnen houden;

● 681 **) Dapper's account of Hottentot legal procedure and methods of punishment is much fuller than that of most other observers, so that its accuracy cannot be easily estimated. From such other information as is available, however, it seems that offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery and sodomy were all regarded as crimes punishable by death, and were tried by the chief and his council. The court sat in a circle, with the accused in the centre, where he could hear all that

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [16]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [17]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [18]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Animi vitio laborantem, flagitiosum, et novissima meritum exemplia, circumrugienti leoni, hominibus pecorique infesto, pellibus probè infibulatum, teloque armatum, coercendis nebulonis sceleribus, tanquam faeneum hominem periculo objiciunt, advolantibus subsidio omnibus, victoremque ovatu salutant, et hoc claro egregioque facinore in integrum restituto, abrogatis legibus, criminibusque abolitis, salillo puriori, omniumque sententiis atramento sutorio absoluto cuncti gratulantur: nec de nihilo, cum leo semel carne humana pastus, ut delicantissimam omnibus praefert. Qui adhaec in pretio habet carnem caninam, visus enim est devorasse canem, ejusdemque caput postridie pro repotiis edere maluisse, quod in propinquo ante decipulam abjectum erat, quam vervecem vivum duobus inde passibus frutici alligatum dilacerare, hunc dum intactum transit, glandibusque plumbeis trajectus cadit. Quem fecunditate sua vastaturum regionem liquet, nisi conquirens sibi foetuique praedam, rediens à venatione, saepe cubile scymnis vacuum inveniret, qui ferocia aut famis instinctu latius à lustro vagantes, hominibus praeda fiunt, aut inediâ pereunt, dum catuliens leaena vel leo nostratium armis aut decipulo necatur. Huc accedit quod leones prurientem catervatim sequentes leaenam, venereo aestu saevientes se mutuo dentibus unguibusque dilacerant.

Leo à captura rediens ventriculum carnibus plenum coram pullis vomitu exonerat, pari modo leaena frustis esculentis crudis catulos alit, iisdemque insuper ubera praebit.

Qui leonem quantumlibet necat aut capit, ei ex publico aerario per aediles sedecim nummi argenti cum nummi besse, vulgo R. D. in βραβεῖον numerantur, decem si ejus dextra aut industria pardus, tres ubi lupus ceciderit, addendis acuendisque animis praemio dantur. Quo nonnulli nimium accensi suo cum damno, vitaeque jacturâ discunt, quam asper leo tactu, et quam periculosi morientium animalium ungues morsusque sunt.

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[70]) This opportunity of rehabilitating himself may conceivably have been offered to one or two criminals known to G., but it is certainly not the normal Hottentot method of administering justice, even as described by the earliest writers. Dapper's account (see above, p. 65 ff.) has far more truth in it.

[71]) As early as 1656 the Council at the Cape, in consequence of the great damage caused by wild animals, had decided to

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character[70]. And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver nummi, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.[71] The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

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offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 6 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by
[842] abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are
apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated
[825] urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in
[824] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate
847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody
● 682 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Laidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.
[3] Wandres, *loc. cit.*; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[682] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
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[838] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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It happened about five years ago that a certain man, a great friend and kinsman of the Koekqua or King of the Saldanhars, sank so low as to commit incest. But justice was done upon him as well, without regard for his person. He managed nevertheless by pleading hard to get off with a whipping, the confiscation of all his cattle, and exile; and betook himself to the Goringhaikonas at the Fort, deserted by all his friends, but with the promise that if he should conduct himself as before then he would again be taken into favour. This shows again that even to these savages discipline is not unknown.

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PUNISHMENT OF HOMICIDE AND ASSAULT.

They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some ill-doers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end."[695]

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DWELLINGS.

As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts

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was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser stated his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kiri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Schapera, *op cit.*, 398 f.)

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The foetus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognised to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with outstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a *Isaus* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 113–17; Alan, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] "The Nama," 135.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 116.
[4] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 83.
[5] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," 168.

things, become !nau without some individual or group of individuals being !nau. This 783
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly !nau and must 889
but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262]
one realizes that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realizes how strongly this !nau influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes !nau certain things also become !nau. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is !nau. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the !nau person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The !nau fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a !nau person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became !nau, but every 778
!nau person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its power. The Hottentot witch doctor, or *!gûi-doa*, never touches [791]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Berseba in the time of his grandfather, when [483]
a !gûi-doa who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become !nau, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her *!gûi*, or petticoat, when she was !nau.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must
602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most
582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is an indication of the complete transformation of the organisation of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother
602 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they
593 ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful terms. A sister was a *tèras*, that is, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*sew*) in the presence of his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call
[593] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei !Kais*, a great offense. Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a man is his *Gei Tèras*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own
582 generation whom he calls *//Nàris*. These women are his companions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 236), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/a/gu hã kxoẽs gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transfered to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gõ/gãs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, ǂnago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in ǂna skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂnamago/mas. The term kxã/go/mas, [229] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxãã) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus*. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ǔ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment while the women who were arranging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ǂ//nāǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaixāba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara χ̃āba ũts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." (!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩǂnũisõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (ǂnũis, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse aa !gãsa χ̃aẽ "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "ǂgũits go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 71) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 133). [502] [773]
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, viii (1913–6), 109–10.

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practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gamsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gamsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*oa /huru* or simply */huru* in the case of men, */goe-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gui-guisen*, to make oneself stiff) is also found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wandres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 391; cf. Falk, *op. cit.*, 221.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 389.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his g sts. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence [578] of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, ● 684 according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without *further question and* without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 342.

[2] Von François, *op. cit.*, 212, 214; Olpp, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* Schultze, *op. cit.*, 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 71.

[3] Kohler, *op. cit.*, 354; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 71; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 689; Vedder, "The Nama," 140.

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[588] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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[76]) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, op cit., 360 ff.)

[77]) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, op cit., 72). [587] [751]

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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks"). 757

PUNISHMENTS OF THEFT.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *choeque* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *choeque* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else. 685

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant. [684] 836

") For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 149, 241 below.

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Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur.

INCEST.

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:—

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain 's *Hummo*, as will be related below.

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It happened about five years ago that a certain man, a great friend and kinsman of the *koekque* or King of the Saldanhars, sank so low as to commit incest. But justice was done upon him as well, without regard for his person. He managed nevertheless by pleading hard to get off with a whipping, the confiscation of all his cattle, and exile; and betook himself to the Goringhaikonas at the Fort, deserted by all his friends, but with the promise that if he should conduct himself as before then he would again be taken into favour. This shows again that even to these savages discipline is not unknown. 684

PUNISHMENT OF HOMICIDE AND ASSAULT.

They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some libdoers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end.**) 682

DWELLINGS.

As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts 342

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was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser stated his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Schapera, *op cit.*, 389 ff.) 695 696

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thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chiefainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expected to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the */nara* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 190, 308.
[2] Warmelo, op. cit., 673-4; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 56. [3] Warmelo, loc. cit.

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421 unobserved by others, to use for himself.[1] And the various ways of acquiring cattle, as well as the internal trade which we have noted, all point clearly to the existence of private property rights. These [685] rights, moreover, are adequately protected. Theft, the furtive or forcible removal of goods belonging to another, is regarded as a serious offence, punishable by severe fines and ostracism, even by [426] flogging, while an incorrigible thief would formerly be killed.[2] The payment of debts, again, is an obligation of honour. If a man is unable to satisfy his creditors, a trustee is appointed to take over and divide his assets among them. He is allowed to keep a few goats and cows, whose milk he may use for the maintenance of himself and his family, but he may not slaughter these animals, for he is regarded as holding them in trust for the creditors.[3]

571 With all this strict regard for private property rights, greed is far from being a characteristic of the Hottentots. They not only share to 574 the utmost with their fellows, but are also very hospitable to strangers, traits favourably commented upon by many observers.[4] A man in possession of food shares, and is expected to share, it freely with others, and greediness in this respect renders him an object of public scorn.[5] Objects of common use are also readily given away temporarily, and in the majority of cases even permanently. To take a goat from a [685] man's herds for food, even in his absence or without his permission, is not unlawful, provided he is informed of the deed; on the other hand the taking of an animal in order to sell it is prohibited. This hospitality is a general custom arising out of the conditions of the country, where for long distances food is unobtainable, and it is based on the idea of reciprocity. No Hottentot need leave a stranger's hut

[1] "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 349.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 136–7; Schultze, op. cit., 318; Wanderer, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein der Nomaden," 875; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

[3] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Kohler, op. cit., 331–2.

[4] Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 135; Tindall, *Cape Narrow-Gauged*, 40; Wilms, op. cit., 734; Fehlen, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305; von François, op. cit., 222; Schultze, op. cit., 318; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 77.

[5] An extremely interesting statement of this principle is seen in the following entry made in his diary by Hendrik Witbooi, the famous chief of the *||*Khowesin :—

"Agreement closed 9th January, 1893 :

"The agreement which I make with François Daniel Visser and with anyone who hires a farm from me is as follows :

"1. I charge him £12 per annum.

"2. If he follows his own customs on the farm and if he is cordially to the poor people and does not give them a kibe when they come to him then I charge him £24 per annum.

"3. If strangers come to his farm and he is not hospitable to them but makes them pay for water and pasture, be they white, red, or black, then I charge him £36 per annum."

This document is signed by Hendrik Witbooi and witnessed by eight of his councillors. (Quoted by Kuhn, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, ii (1926–7), 77–8.)

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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have not yet been, definitely fixed. Nevertheless no rule was 685
allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks[1]).

PUNISHMENTS OF THEFT.

685

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *chaqua* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *chaqua* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as [illegible] culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else.

[684] 836

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar station in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant.

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[1]) For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 148, 341 below.

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of the tribe. The eldest of them presides over the proceedings; the others are his assessors, *ku-ungu*, and can take part freely in the examination of the litigants or accused and of the witnesses. One of them also acts as public prosecutor, another as advocate for the defence (*gewaka-aob*, intercessor). The post of councillor, as we have seen, is honorary and carries no salary, but certain court fees are levied in trials. The complainant must deliver a couple of fat goats in advance in order to have his case heard, and these provide food for the judges as long as the court sits. The defendant also may be required to contribute a similar fee, even before the verdict is arrived at. 693

The initiative in any legal proceedings lies in the hands of the complainant. Self-help is not permitted. He must lodge his grievance with the official known as the magistrate. The latter then summons the councillors, who assemble together on the day fixed for the hearing. The court meets as a rule out in the open, under the shade of some tree, where all squat in a circle. The litigants or accused and the witnesses are then summoned by the public messenger, who as sign of his function carries with him a long stick. With this, on entering the hut of the defendant, he knocks three times on the ground, without speaking a word. Then he goes away as silently as he came. The defendant now knows that his presence is required. If he refuses to appear, which in fact seldom happens, or fails to send an acceptable excuse in time, several strong men are sent to take and bring him by force. For defying the summons he then receives a special flogging. If he is accused of some crime, and is suspected of meditating flight, he is brought before the court with a rieme round his neck and his hands tied behind his back. Witnesses summoned are obliged to appear, and if they do not are fetched and punished in the same way as the defendant. The latter must stand or kneel in the centre of the court circle, but if a woman is permitted to sit. The complainant stands or squats nearby till he is called upon to speak, and the summoned witnesses must also remain within a reasonable distance. 694 [681] 695

The magistrate now states the case to the council. The chairman then calls on the complainant to speak, next on the defendant and on all the witnesses one after the other. One witness as a rule is sufficient, but more are desirable. No hearsay evidence is allowed; only what the witness has himself seen and heard is admitted as valid. False testimony is severely condemned, the perjurer being punished according to the mischief he causes. Examination and cross-examination are conducted by the councillors. They rarely employ direct [681] 695 195

2 [or, a thick strip of athlete. – Author]

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IX. Usage and Laws.

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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karoosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he retrieves the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the observations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 21 f.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," [illegible]
[3] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. [illegible]; cf. Alberti, Beschreibung [illegible]

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was listened to with undivided attention. The matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the headman, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The headman, as chief executioner, rushed towards the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men then violently attacked him until he was beaten to death.[1]

No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either in civil disputes or in crimes. The main tribal council, consisting of the chief and the kraal headmen, dealt only with disputes between different kraals. It was summoned by the chief on receipt of any complaint, and its proceedings were conducted along the same lines as those of the kraal councils.

The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Namas, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

[1] An eye-witness account of such an execution, in which four men were beaten to death, is quoted by Gustav Mechelmann, op. cit., i, 179–9.

[2] The fullest accounts are given by Wandres, "Ueber Rechtsverhältnisse und Rechte der Hottentotten," 279–84; Vedder, "The Nama," 140–41; Rudolph, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 313–17; cf. also Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 308; and Fourie, Morse and Drennan, 661; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 304–5; Report on the Natives of S.W.A., 73–4 passim.

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allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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672 No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same
[704] way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as
681 a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing
695 that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

692 There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either
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692 The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Naman, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal
693 cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

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False testimony is severely condemned, the perjurer being punished [687]
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[illegible] – Author]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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533 517 monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

532 517 8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

642 643 645 The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

645 643 The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the passing of a sentence in the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

[643] [641] 642 2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all. [626] [171]

Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. [627] No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded [562] as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, [576] with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. [695] Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, [674] adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or [694] suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all manner of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 158-9, 161; cf. Peter[illegible], op. cit., 310.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Nharo, an exclusive council, [illegible] are generally the oldest men in any camp who have [illegible] other men or disobedience, or taking part. The similar term in the original does not [illegible] her husband.

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No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 138-9; cf. Peinaar, op. cit., 310.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this punishment by the fact that among the Herero, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her husband, either actual or classificatory, is taking part. The sacrilege here is the assault done to a woman by her husband.

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[1] [i.e., a single strip of cowhide. – Analyst]

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695 [195] questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions. When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion is the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed. 696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is 698 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *saw-ood*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wandres describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *ikiga*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men, or else he poured a little sand on to their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and hit, until one of them [574] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

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even dead, on the ground. The victor was not punished, and in some cases he also inherited the property of his unfortunate opponent.[1] 695

Another resort sometimes employed was divination. If the council was unable to decide the guilt of a person, the diviner, *ǃa aoti*, was called in for assistance. He had with him two small strips of leather, *ǃaxa*, one with a copper head, the other with an iron head attached to the end. The former was regarded as male, the latter as female. These leather strips the diviner beat on the fist of his hand or on the ground, at the same time invoking the oracle with the words: *ai, ai, amaa ai, ǃaonis gan, ona ai ais /ua ǃkau tai!* "Tell, speak, tell the truth, if you lie, then I will burn you in the fire!" Then he jerked the strips from his hand into the circle formed about him by the council with the litigants or the accused. The ends to which the heads were attached had to point towards the culprit. Wandres explains the working of this method by the firm belief which the Namas even at the present time have in this oracle. The diviner, a skilled reader of men, carefully observes the litigants or the accused while busy with his strips. The real culprit, like all the others, believes in the efficacy of the oracle, and therefore cannot hide his apprehensions, with the result that the diviner can readily recognize his man, and with a twist of his hand divert the strips towards him.[2] 695 787

The main penal sanctions among the Namas are flogging, fines, and death. A sentence of death can nowadays only be passed by the European administration and its duly-constituted law courts, to which all cases involving it must be referred. Punishment in the native courts is therefore confined to flogging and to fines payable as a rule in goats. There are no fixed rules for the degree of punishment, but certain pragmatic principles are observed. Offences against the community are more severely punished than those against individuals. Accidental misdeeds are not regarded as crimes; but unsuccessful attempts meet with punishment, while self-defence, although not sufficient ground for acquittal, produces amelioration of the sentence. Incorrigible offenders are expelled and their property confiscated; in the old days they might even be killed. The confirmed cattle thief has to expect harder punishment at every conviction, until ultimately the death sentence would formerly have been decided upon; nowadays the matter is then referred to the law courts of the Europeans. 681 [673]

[1] Op. cit., 172-3; cf. Hahn, *Tsuni-ǁGoam*, 103-4.
[2] Op. cit., 173.

South West has become a colony and a mandated territory. 692
confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property.

3. In earlier days and in some tribal unions still to-day 695
the procedure in a law-suit is as follows: The complainant lodges his complaint with the magistrate who at the same time exercises the powers of a policeman. The magistrate then summons the judges; and the complainant and accused are summoned by messengers. The sitting takes place in the open as a rule. The complainant has to provide sufficient food for the judges as long as they sit. Generally he delivers some goats in advance in payment of the legal expenses. If the accused is unwilling to appear he is brought by force by strong men duly authorized in such circumstances. The complainant as well as the accused stand at a distance from the place where the court is held or squat down on the ground till they are called. The summoned witnesses also remain within a reasonable distance. The magistrate then lays the case before them. The oldest person amongst the judges, who is chairman, then gives the complainant the word. Thereupon the accused is heard. Care is taken that only one person speaks at a time; for the rest absolute freedom prevails. If the case has been sufficiently investigated the complainant and the accused together with the witnesses have to withdraw. The judgment is passed unanimously when possible and pronounced by the chairman. If punishment is to be inflicted it is executed at once and the accused has to replace the goats paid for expenses by the complainant.

4. The methods of punishment in olden days were: Death 681
executed in many ways according to the nature of crime. He, who had slain someone, was beaten to death with clubs and sticks. When one had shot another, he also was shot. Other sentences were: Fines, payable in goats; corporal punishment in the form of flogging or branding and, lastly, confiscation of property or the declaration of such people, who have been found to be a danger to the public, as of unsound mind. These were then outlawed and could be done away with, without being punished. To-day a sentence of death can only be passed by the Government and duly constituted law-courts. Punishment among the Nama to-day is confined to flogging, fines and fees payable in goats.

5. Rules for the degrees of punishment were never, and 681
have not yet been, definitely fixed. Nevertheless no rule was 685
allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of

9: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Ontrent over vijf jaren is 't gebeurt, dat zeker persoon, een groote vriendt en na-maagschap van den Koningen of Koning van de Saldanhars, in kinderlandt was verrezen, doch dood overwon, zonder aenzien op zijnen persoon, recht over den zelven, maer rechte toegiaen door groote voorspraek met een roode gewelling, en uitvinnen van al zijne beesten, en huisgesteltenis vry, en begaf zich by de Gerechtsdienaers, by het Vier van gemelder hoge, verlaten van al zijne vrienden, met beloofte achter, dan een by zich als te weere weder wilde dragen, al dan weder in genade souden aengenomen worden. Een teken van zoch eenige hadt onder deze wilden.

STRAFFE EN DOODSLAGEN DER GEVANGEN.

Wanneer iemand den eenen of den anderen, door grootmoedigheid of heerschzucht, kunst dood te slaen of te stelen, zulx wort by hen zoude voor een gewichtige zake opgenomen, inzonderheit indien een persoon van aenzien, redelijk van wijsheit, staet en rijkdom, zulx gepleeght heeft; overmits zy meggen, zulk een persoon, met meer verstant als een ander, beter behoorde te weten, en eenen anderen met goede exempelen, (zeggenden by zoda een voorde-wijser is wijselijk voor te gaen. Wanneer wort zulk eenen de hals om eenen boom toegevoeght, en dood in het zelfde graf by den dooden gelegt; daer in tegendeel andere eenemale tyranniare luiden 't selven door vee, en geringer straffe beter kunnen afmaken, dan een groote wijze (of, hoe genoemt wort) raetgever. Eenmalgen misdadigers, die de dood verdient hebben, worden de kinen doorsnaght en met een zwaer penne aen de schouderen vast gebonden, en dus met een langzame dood gestraft.

HUWEN.

Wat trouwe huisdingen belangt, zy leven als d'Arabiers op 't veld, in hutten, gemaekt van enkele kruin gevogten stokken, in 't zomt gezet, en met bies-matten, die zy zelfs maer met een aerdigh weten te vlechten, overdekt; de sommigen zijn wel een groot, dat bequamelijk tien of twintigh man, met vrou en kinderen, daer in hun verblijf kunnen houden;

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[*] Dapper's account of Hottentot legal procedure and method of punishment is much fuller than that of most other observers, so that its accuracy cannot be easily estimated. From such other information as is available, however, it seems that offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery and sodomy were all regarded as crimes punishable by death, and were tried by the chief and his council. The court sat in a circle, with the accused in the centre, where he could hear all that

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FX13 Hottentot FX13
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They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some filchers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end.[1] 682

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As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts 342

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was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser stated his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Schapera, op cit., 390 ff.) 695 696

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

695 was listened to with undivided attention. The matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the headman, 696 in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The headman, as chief executioner, rushed towards the criminal and felled him to the ground [694] with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men then violently attacked him until he was beaten to death.[1]

612 No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same [709] way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as 631 a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing 695 that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

642 There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either 644 in civil disputes or in crimes. The main tribal council, consisting of the chief and the kraal headmen, dealt only with disputes between different kraals. It was summoned by the chief on receipt of any complaint, and its proceedings were conducted along the same lines as those of the kraal councils.

642 The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Naman, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal 643 cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

[1] An eye-witness account of such an execution, in which four men were beaten to death, is quoted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 172–3.

[2] The fullest accounts are given by Wanderer, "Ueber Rechtsverwaltung und Rechte der Hottentotten," 270–6; Vedder, "The Nama," 142–45; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 312–7 (cf. also Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 221; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 324–5; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 73–4 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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695 questions, but prefer to arrive at their point by circumlocutions.
[695] When they have probed the matter to their satisfaction, or when the accused has either confessed or been reduced to helpless silence by all the cross-questioning, both parties, together with the witnesses, have to withdraw to a distance. The case is then discussed among themselves by the councillors, and judgment is arrived at unanimously, if possible. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion in the matter referred to the chief, whose casting vote settles the question finally.

The verdict, opening with the words: "In the name of the chief's law," is pronounced by the chairman, and is forthwith executed.
•696 Sentences of death are carried out by the official executioner, who is
681 appointed from time to time by the council, and by his assistant; if corporal punishment has been decided upon, the *saw-and*, "thrashing-man," gets into action; while any fines levied are collected by the magistrate. The costs of the action, in the form of goats paid as court fees, always fall upon the losing party. If this is the defendant, he must also replace the goats delivered at the beginning of the case by the complainant.

695 No torture is employed in legal trials, nor are there any special oaths or ordeals. Wanders describes, however, what he terms a sort of duel by warrant, which was sometimes resorted to in the past. This duel, *ǂkiga*, could take place with or without weapons. When the councillors were unable to secure harmony between the litigants, the oldest of them took some sand in the palm of each hand, which he held out before the two men, or else he poured a little sand on to their shoulders. If the challenge was accepted, the sand was brushed away; but if one of the men refused it, he was branded as a coward and held to be in the wrong. Where both accepted the challenge, the councillors formed a ring around them. They then attacked each other with their fists, kicked, wrestled, and hit, until one of them
[574] was overpowered. Reconciliation followed. The victor slaughtered a fat sheep, which was eaten by him and his opponent, with the councillors as guests. Before the feast the two men shook hands in a friendly manner, and as sign of their reconciliation they ate together out of one dish. Finally there followed a general shaking of hands. The duel with weapons was of a more serious nature, and might even result in death. If reconciliation could not be brought about by the councillors, the two men left the court in a rage, and fought with their kirris or spears until one of them was stretched senseless, perhaps

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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68 Theft as a rule is punished by flogging, administered with the sjambok, and the thief must also make twofold restitution. Sexual crimes, such as incest, adultery, and rape, are, as we have seen, punished by fines, floggings, confiscation of property, or even by death, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence. A man who insults or slanders the chief or a councillor is flogged till he becomes unconscious; if he slanders a dead man he is fined one or two head of small stock, and if the offence is repeated he receives fifty lashes and must pay a fine in cattle. The infliction of mild bodily injuries meets with a fine, and the culprit must, in addition, support the victim and his family until the former is well again; if the injured man is himself the cause of the strife, his assailant goes free. In severe bodily injuries leading to death, it is specially investigated if the wounds were deliberately caused or not. In the latter case all the assailant's property is given to the relatives of the deceased, and he receives a severe flogging as well, unless his relatives ransom him by paying a heavy fine. In the former case he was sentenced to death. The death sentence was also imposed for high treason, deliberate murder, and incorrigible stealing. Incorrigible thieves were stoned or beaten to death, but a murderer was killed in the same way as he had caused the death of his victim. If by shooting, then he was also shot; if by stabbing, then he was stabbed; if by beating, then he was also beaten to death, and so on. Wanderes states also that a sorcerer who by his magic had caused the death of a man was killed and his body burned, but this lacks confirmation. Attempted homicide is punished by a flogging of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty lashes, unless the intended victim is the chief, when in former days the assailant was sentenced to death.

69 In the infliction of these punishments, the poorer members of the tribe, the servants and other inferiors usually come off worst. 696 This is a point made by several reliable observers, and emphasized by Vedder, when he says: "Since South-West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property."[1] The more wealthy and influential people are on the whole treated less severely,

[1] Op. cit., 130.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and formerly they could even escape the death sentence for murder by a payment of cattle to the chief. But the possible shielding of murderers in this way always exposed them to the blood feud. If, through favouritism or for political reasons, a murderer was acquitted by the council, the nearest relative of the victim had the right to take the law into his own hands and to kill him.

Blood vengeance, *//khawâ*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots.[1] A son avenged the death of his father, a brother his brother, and if there was no son to take vengeance for the death of a woman her husband was obliged to do so. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act. The case is cited of the well-known traveller and explorer Charles John Andersson, who about 1861 shot an Afrikander Hottentot near Windhoek in what he alleged was self-defence. He reported the matter to the chief Jonker Afrikaner, and as a result was brought before the chief and tribal council for trial. The council, after hearing the evidence, was satisfied, rightly or wrongly, that Andersson had exceeded his rights and had gone too far. But in view of the fact that he was a European and a British subject, the chief was reluctant to punish him. So, "I release you," said Jonker, "but," he added, "according to our law the brother of Hartebeest will kill you and must kill you, so flee for your life."[2]

In all probability the blood feud was formerly very extensively practised, especially in connection with the clan organization. We know from accounts left us by travellers among the Naman in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them, and the chief was unable in the interests of the tribe as a whole to prevent two clans from carrying out vengeance one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Alexander gives an account of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1836 there is an account of another vendetta at Bethanie among the !Aman Hottentots.[3] According to Wandres the feud ceased when revenge for the death had been taken, but other accounts imply that it was kept up as a continuous vendetta. Hahn states that

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306; Wikar, op. cit., 134; Kohler, loc. cit.; Wandres, op. cit., 106.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 74.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 16, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, cf. 211; and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1836, p. 174.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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Straffe der Doodslagen en Quetsuren.

Wanneer iemant den eenen of den anderen, door gramschap of toornigheit, komt doot te slaen of te slaken, zulx wort hy hen mede voor een gewichtige zake opgenomen, inzonderheit indien een persoon van aenzienen, redelijk van wijsheit, staet en rijkdom, zulx gepleeght heeft; overmits zy seggen, zulk een persoon, met meer verstant als een ander, beter behoorde te weten, en eenen anderen met goede exempelen, (aengesien hy mede een vermin-wijser is) wijselijk voor te gaen. Wealhalve wort zulk eenen de hals aen eenen boom toegeworght, en doot in het zelfste graf by den dooden gelegt; daer in tegendeel andere onmenschelijke tyranderen luiden 't zelven door vee, en geringer straffe beter kunnen afmaken, dan een grote wijse (of, soo gemeent wort) raetgever. Zoomtijgen misdadigen, die de doot verdient hebben, worden de knien doorsnegelt en met een yzere spanne aen de schouderen vast gebecht, en dus met een langsame doot gestraft.

Hutten.

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3. Alterum *Kemaiquas* constituunt, hunc olim peculiarem in vestitu servatus ritum: quod ubi olli reliqui, captivos exuti, hi ex elephantino dente exsertis caninitibus pudenda tegunt, vir penetrabilibus aliis lateribus in bello erectis.

5. Hos sequuntur *Soaquas*, ejusdem cum sociis Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Illos *Sonquas*, quibus nomine* de causa a nonnullibus eruptae sunt pericles, ut olivis degustus alimentum et deserta, horrage praesertim vestitione petere cognatur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregriquas*.

6. Infestissimi agrorum circolunt *Kinnikinas*, quibusnam nationibus ob diras mutuorum hominum bellis gerunt. Quarum praefectus supremus, *Kinnikina* dictus, circulus vicinat assat; strenuus latrones nullus est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros saepe saepius frequentant, ecclitores in terrestri bello saepe componunt. Horum praefectus generalis Claes appellatur, & ab illo secundus Captayn Capper, agrestis stirpis & valdi nitidus, non sensu & ita vivi, mera cum malignitate pleno mendacioque: sic huic, aut aliquantibus comitatis, consideratum (absit frustulum plurimi dedi, Ovidius tantillum cum eodem laserbat.

* Ten Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 98) about Table Mountain and the title of the Governor. E.P.

[illegible] See above, p. 34.

[illegible] A misleading description; the present referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully painted and prepared skin" (see above, p. 38). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the Cape Hottentots were genitalia, for none of them possessed any such.

[illegible] Ten Moorhoff describes them as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Valentijn-Middelburgen, op. cit., I, 58).

[illegible] The Chainouquas (see above, p. 36), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Saldanha.

[illegible] Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1660 Cruse encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandise, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 26, 1660: Moodie, Record, 313-4).

[illegible] Called *Kerichariquas* by Dapper.

[illegible] I.e. Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 33). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 80).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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3. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[1]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of lions or goats, they cover their nakedness with a loincloth of elephant's hide.[2]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[3])

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3. *After them come the Sonquas,*[4]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas,*[5]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gracquinquas.*[6])

6. The *Hawassoas*[7]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Hawassoa* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

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7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called *Chass,* and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[8]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[1]) *Chass* (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1673, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Chass with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Soussa. In 1691 he was ordered on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Chass. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond the Lowry Poss his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Chass was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Moseop, *V.R.S.* 12, 308 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1666, was head of one of the Gorinhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 1, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Doukkey (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (1) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note here, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

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B. The Tribal Community

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The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

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The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power. [729] [649]

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Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

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Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aus ga ǂareya ota ni ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

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In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of getting some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood. [579]

2: Schapera E.-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Snow, *Native Races*, 238 sqq.; Goddé-Mulsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandse Tijd*, vols. I and II *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 153.

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423 619 648 tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers [721] settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

619 423 486 How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

619 423 On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 9146), 70, 73–4; Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

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439 609 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, [721] the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

609 574 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 574 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 18th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1916, p. 191.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting—the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305–6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 362.
[2] Gouvernbrouck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 368–9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 140–8; Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4; Stow, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

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After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

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1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. 728

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

175 721 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

[728] Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartbooïs ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero. 175 721

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in [728] which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

175 At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle
721 was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witbooi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treaties by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganised for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. There not only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognise him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plun-
721 dered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested; which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and
178 the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came
[197] under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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000 Des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, en d'onzen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de bezitting en toe-eigeningh van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'onzen trachten uit te stoten; met voorwenden van aller eeuwen her dat bezeten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven doorgaens bystant, en velden velen van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met assagayen ter neer, en bragtense jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden zy den onzen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen geruilt, die zy hen zoo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat zy niet te beschieten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh waer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het geweer zeer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Deze treken en wetenschap hadden zy bekomen uit berecht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommod*, en by d'onzen *Doman*, die te *Batavie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) zich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omgangh der Neerlanders wel bezichtight, ook zelfs geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingezogen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verordent,) weer aen de Kaap gekomen, hielt zich een lange wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'onzen, maer begaf zich eindelik weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniere van hun geweer volkomelijk bekent.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdtbaren krijghsknecht, geheten by de Hottentots *Garabinga*, en by de Neerlanders *Plat-neus*, zijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor afgebeten, zonder dat zy oit, van wegen hunne overgrote raddigheit, door heimelijke wachten van ruiterye of voet-knechten t'achterhalen waren.

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721 [15]) For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, op cit., 99-101. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, says of the Goringhaiqua: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239).

159 177 [16]) He belonged to the group of Capemen, and was called Doman or Dominie by the Dutch, "because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Nov. 12, 1655). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

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One morning in June 1659, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower ribs, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.[18])

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The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and domination.[19]) To this our men replied:

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and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently as if we intended never to leave again, but take permanent possession of this Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (*Letters desp.*, iii, 128.)

[721]

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600 leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien zy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetzen voor hun vee, daerze die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit beseten, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer zagen ook hun landeryen, zonder hen te kennen, onder d'onzen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke zy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons zulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk zouden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te zullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onzen weer tot antwoort, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemael verloren, en noit derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te zullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van dezen *Eykamma*, die ten zesten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering perzoon was, maer men zijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de zaken t'overleggen, om elk het zijn te herstellen, of zoodanigh, als het beste konde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling schade en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgezonden, met verslag aen den Overste *Gogosoa* om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wiert vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, zy voeren echter, daer zy kans zagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, zulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaerste te beslechten. Weinigh holp ook het stellen

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721 [20]) This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Capemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 166; cf. D., April 5, 1660.)

[21]) Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1660 (cf. D, *ut cit.*).

728 159 [22]) This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autoehamao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

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"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."[20]) 721

Eykamma died on the sixth day.[21]) His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoa to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoea,[22]) had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months 728 159

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learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1653, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1655, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1658, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1663. (D. passim; cf. Bosman, "Uit die Biografie van 'n Hottentot," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, x, 143-81.) 728 159

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63].

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]. It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65].

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 220).

[64]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115)

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effusis collibus, & per immensum spargentibus oculos, coelum montibus suspensa terra diversissima *plantarum* gratia praedivites *Semiramidis Alcinoive* hortos, aut *Elysios* in ipso deserto campos aemulari videbatur: ubi cumulatissimam earundem ilico conquisivi sarcinam, ut viva exemplaria *botanosophis Musis* imposterum offerrem. Miratus praesertim ingentem *gummosae aloes* copiam, quae milliena aliquot *amarissimi succi* pondera industrio quotannis expromere posset. Tum ad valetudinariam & jam pene agonizantem navim revocabat vespera *venatores*, petrosum maris tegentes[a] in reditu litus, multivario *ostracodermatôn* genere conspersum. Inde fortuitis nos subducentes periculis (quippe *Belgae* octo *hippopotamorum* venationi insudantes, miserrime nuper ibidem ab *Hottentottis* confecti erant) sublestam repetimus acatio ratem; qua postridie, propitio extra sinum argeste (N.W.) solvimus; a meridie praeternavigantes [b]) *Daxinsulam*, paucis servatam excubiis [c]) *marinorum cuniculorum* capturae, *ovisumque* pastioni ab *Illustriss. orientalium Indiarum societate*, decore ac praesidio nostro summo, designatis.

Pridie Iduum Octobris, sub noctem tranquillus ad litora nos impellebat mesolibonatus (Z.T.W.) ad viginti trés profunditatis orgyias ancoram fundantes.

[a]) I conjecture legentes.
[b]) Dassen Eylant.
[c]) Robben.

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* This collection was sent from India to the botanist Breyn, and forms an appendix to *Plantarum exoticarum Centuria prima*, published by him in Dantzig in 1678 (B.P.)

[1]) This refers to a party of eight freemen who had gone with the governor's permission, in June 1673, to shoot big game for the needs of their families. They crossed the Berg River at a ford near Riebeeck's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-Four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's Kochoqua, who after detaining them for several days murdered them all. (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 212; cf. D., June 29, July 11, July 14, 1673.) Soon afterwards four men in

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vast expanse of heaven, and earth with the varied charm of many plants seemed to rival the rich gardens of Semiramis or Alcinous, or to present a vision of the Elysian fields in the midst of a wilderness. Of these plants I forthwith collected a generous supply that I might afterwards make offering of the actual specimens to the Botanical Muses.* I specially admired the enormous abundance of gum aloes, capable of an annual yield of thousands of pounds of bitter juice if cultivated. Then the approach of evening recalled us from our hunting to our ship where there were many sick men already almost at the last gasp. On our return we skirted a stony beach covered with a rich variety of shell fish. Then escaping without hurt from the dangers that might befall us (I must explain that eight Dutchmen recently who were hunting the hippopotamus perished wretchedly at the hands of the Hottentots on this very spot)[1] we regained our crazy bark in the dinghy. Next day we weighed anchor, picking up a fair N.W. breeze outside the bay, and in the afternoon we sailed past Dassen Island, which is occupied only by a few posts established by the Illustrious East India Company, our great glory and protection, for catching seals and pasturing the sheep.

On the 14th of October at the fall of night a gentle S.W. breeze carried us to the shore and we cast anchor in 23 fathoms of water.

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charge of the Dutch post at Saldanha Bay were also murdered by Hottentots of the same tribe. A punitive expedition under Ensign Hieronymus Cruse was despatched from the Fort at Table Bay, but the Hottentots could not be got at, except for one slight skirmish, although 500 head of cattle and 900 sheep were looted from them and brought back to the Fort. The war which started in this way dragged on for four years, the Dutch, assisted by the Capemen and other local Hottentots, sending out several expeditions against Gonnema, who with his men always managed to escape in time, although not without the loss of his cattle and sheep. Peace was finally restored in June, 1677, when the Hottentots submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Dutch. (Theal, op. cit., chaps. 30, 31, passim; D. 1673-1677, passim.)

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Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Sousoas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[14]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1673, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1698, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (1) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubas tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1672, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1672.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 348), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

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law, and the settlement grows greater day by day in burghers, farms, and fortunes; but what the just price was that passed between them the sellers do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating.[101]) It is sufficient that no harm was done to those who accepted the occupation without resistance, and that our countrymen, from the slenderest beginnings, have become the lords of a domain vaster than the whole circuit of Holland. For when the colony was still in its infancy, the burghers, provoked by repeated robberies on the part of the natives, and perceiving that the terms of peace they offered were rather scornfully rejected, declared war upon them. They then collected all their forces, both mercenary troops and burghers, made an invasion into the territory of the enemy and began to lay it waste, leaving only a small garrison behind in the fort. The invaders waited their time, and when the natives were wearied on one occasion with their usual dancing by night, and had fallen asleep at the first peep of dawn, they fell upon them, off their guard and sleeping soundly. Some were slaughtered, the rest sought safety in flight. The Europeans then plundered everything, and drove off by forced marches a huge quantity of sheep and oxen. The natives rallied and pressed upon the rear and flanks of the retreating host, but our cavalry routed them. They then made a plan to be carried out at the first sight of the morning star (and this is the reason why I think they cannot be regarded as totally ignorant of the motions of the stars and the fixed order of time). Dividing all their forces into four divisions they were to steal upon our camp, crawling up on their bellies. At the agreed signal they sprang up for the attack. But our pickets sighted them and gave the cry *To arms*. Our men arose, and vigorously repelled the assault of the enemy. But if they had not misjudged the situation they could a little afterwards have slain the Dutch with impunity to their heart's content, for such a flood of rain suddenly fell and so violent a wind rose that our men were numbed with the cold and their weapons were soaked with wet. If the natives had then attacked they could have slain them to a man, exhausted as they were with marching and encumbered with packs and baggage. But heaven willed otherwise. This one blow crippled the natives' strength. One victory finished

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the district of Hottentots Holland to the Dutch "in return for merchandise amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 18s. 4d." (Theal, ii, 198-201). In the eyes of the Hottentots these "sales" were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" analogous to tribute paid for this use (Schapera, 1930).

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680 latum, nobisque in otio vivendi copia quiesque parta, et latius extendendi pomeria occasio oblata fuit.

Sub hujus Coloniae primordiis, Afri nostros conterraneos ignivomos putabant, dum adstupentes, displosis nostratium bombardis una solâ glanda plombeâ quantamcunque feram, leonem, elephantemve tanquam Jovis ignibus ictum, sterni vident. Iidem equites nostros, totidem Centauros, aut semi-viros[que] equos sibi fingebant, ad quorum conspectum contremiscebant. Eorundemque fortitudinem in tantum reverebantur, ut quamlibet mulierem puellamve horum barbarorum, alteram Thalestram Alexandri concipiendi studio se prostituentem dixisses, eò acriori in venerem cupidine (instigante et stimulante forte ejus marito) quo firmius credebat, foetui ex nostris concepto, parentis virtutem ingenerari: Misella! pulveris nitrati et nostratium armorum ignara.

Talibus illusionibus fovendis, nostratium aliquis, barbaro pateram ex vicino torrente aquâ replendam porrexit: nostras interim aliam priori assimilem, spiritu vini maximarum virium diffluentem in tentorio suo abscondit, revertitur Afer, cantinumque lympha plenum reportat, quem arreptum nostras juxta latentem patinam subdole collocat, convocatque Barbaros, ut cum suis magis adsint. Protinus omnes adstant, interroganturque, an aquam per Afrum ex amne haustam et scutella contentam flammis conflagrare valeant? qui imperitiam suam fassi, negant à quoquam id posse fieri. Astu nostras patinam spiritu vini gravem produxit, petitque ignem sibi dari, vafreque admotis sulphuratis spiritum vini accendit, quem ubi flammatum barbari vident, credentes aquam à se allatam ignem concepisse, nullum suspicantes dolum, quidam eorum pudore, omnes metu diffugiunt: sic ars deluditur arte.

• 721 [102]) The episode to which G. refers took place during the war of 1673-77 against Gonnema (see above, p. 88). In July, 1673, the first punitive expedition sent out from the Fort under Cruse found the Hottentots' kraal abandoned, but seized all the cattle and marched back home. They had not gone very far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them, and at their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle. It failed, but the Hottentots kept hovering about for some time. "Had hardly marched a quarter of an hour," says Cruse's report, "when it began to rain so horribly that in case of necessity not one of us would have been able to discharge his musket, but God has protected us from an attack of the enemy who might, humanly speaking, have been able to destroy us all and recapture the cattle" (D., July 25, 1673).

177 [103]) De Choisy, one of the Jesuits who passed through the Cape in 1685-86 on their way to Siam, relates an identical episode which he says was told to him by Simon v. d. Stel as having

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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[182])

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[183]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prouver, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moos* as the scene of his activities. *Moos*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moos*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moos* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Massow, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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175 State, until they hurled Molitsane and the Links over the Modder River.
619 A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern
721 Bloemfontein. Molitsane had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuisen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they wore the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Molitsane—the Links,—among the dead.

Molitsane himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

175 The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged
619 to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wuras, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[10] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[10] B. M. B. 1836, p. 178. ff.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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175 619 797 261 For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under [161] Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[15] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[16] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

175 619 797 To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, [166] had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 619 721 Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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[15] B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[16] B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.
[17] B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.
[18] B. M. B. years 1848-1854.
[19] B. M. B. 1850, p. 202
[20] B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt pursuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[21]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.*

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[21] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 202-6.

*Bas. Rec. I. pp. 299, 414, 421; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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000 Gravem ex humero et a tergo pharetram, et sicubi adversarius imminet telum, sarissam, pilum, jaculumve, longo latoque, et quandoque adunco hamatoque praeferrata spiculo, ossibusve asperata, dextrâ gestant; altero cubitorum sex septemve et pluribus eburneis armillis calbeisque digiti crassitudine singulis, seque invicem contingentibus, tam in sui tutelam, quam ornatus gratiâ munito, quibus ictus hostiles, dentes unguesque ferarum è re nata cominus excipiunt; sinistrâ vero retinent clavam seu fustem ex praeduro gravique ligno, buxeo simillimo, cum aliquot sagittis arcuque, et illo quo teguntur laxo, lanatoque scorteo, quo eminus hostium telis veluti clypeo scutati illudunt: abtegentibus se nonnullis praesultatoribus rorariisque, decumanorum boum ferociorumque taurorum corporibus, quos prolusionibus simulacris pugnae certaminibusque ludicris exercitos et in prima acie stare doctos, in adversum hostem capistratos agunt, quem hoc mobili et in omnem partem versatili vallo, veluti peribolo loricave tecti, fidenter thoracati petunt.

Hoc apparatu bellico instructi, pugnam laeti lacessunt, impavidique subsilientes, vibrando tela, jaculis certi, et sagittâ metuendi, vario corporis flexu et inclinatione hostilia exeunt arma; horrendo inconditoque clamore quo maximè hostis conterretur, tremendisque sibilis (voluntatis virtutisque indicibus) sublatis, dum fremitu aethera retonant, cum hoste paribus adsiste in armis, introrsum sinuata acie, formidabiles concurrunt, conserti cohaerentesque, et collato pede aperto Marte manum conferunt, et priusquam unum

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● 725 231 [18]) This statement finds an interesting confirmation in the account given by de Barros of the skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay in which de Almeida was killed (1510). The Hottentots, says de Barros, "having called their cattle, which are accustomed to this kind of warfare, began to whistle to them and make signs by which they guide them, so that forming into a squadron, and sheltered by the cattle, they attacked our men with wooden darts hardened by fire. Some fell wounded and were trodden down by the cattle, and as most of them were without shields, their only weapons being lances and swords, in this kind of warfare they could not do much damage to the negroes, who from among the cattle hurled their weapons against

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[18])

411 301 726 411 726 725 231

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying hissings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

726 [727]

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our men, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi. 301). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 23-24) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

725 231 [224]

Hottentots but his ally, the countryside, that shoved waterless deserts, 648
pathless mountains or interminable flatlands between us and the enemy. The enemy vanishes here with his entire outfit. His provisions come from the living cattle that the children drive and the women milk. In remote districts or rocky hollows that only the native herdsman and hunter know they find water and they sleep in open bush-kraals as they usually do when they go out with family and possessions for weeks and months seeking pastures. And so the Oorlog Hottentot feels himself to be in his own element no matter how badly things are going. We had the task to transplant all at once and efficiently our entire cultural superiority into a country where it would normally take decades for the culture to conquer. In order to mobilize all the resources of modern war here it meant that, long before we could attack the enemy, we had to do battle with nature, which even today places enormous demands on the individual.

The Hottentot is our superior in this battle, not only because he can 726
live on meat and roots, -- experience gives [337] him the edge. Our 648
army is like wild game to the Hottentot, which he hunts with assurance, as he has learned the tricks in former battles. Whereas our soldiers pay the cost of learning in blood again and again, he uses his old methods. He waits in ambush for the enemy at the water hole just as he did for the zebra at the Vlei. He fires at a passing detachment from the rocky hiding place as he did at a herd of migrating springboks. He stalks a weak patrol as an oryx antelope in the early dawn. He surrounds a supply train the way he surrounds hares when encircling them to throw the kirri at them.

And when he himself was surrounded, how did it happen that he always escaped again? During the entire war our troops tirelessly covered the battlefield in all directions with patrols, covered the entire country with a net of telegraphs and heliographs at enormous sacrifice and then overcame heretofore insuperable difficulties of time and space with wireless telegraphs. (76) That the Hottentot often surpassed us in passing 648

76. L. Schultze, Nachrichtenwesen während der Kämpfe in Deutsch-Südwestafrika ("Tägliche Rundschau." Jahrg. 1905, Nr. 511 u. 515).

information in spite of all this, reminds us most uncomfortably of that which we easily forget from pride in our cultural level: the fact that simple practice of the naked senses of a primitive race plus primitive intellectual experience, sharpened only by everyday things, can be

raised to such perfection that they can compete successfully with a numerically and intellectually far superior power, using the most modern equipment. 648

The strength of the Hottentot in comparison to his enemy, who is trained from youth to work cooperatively and according to regulations, lies in the independence of each individual. When we compare him with the German soldier, we see how many primitive abilities gained by direct contact with nature have been lost by us.

Added to this is the fact that the Hottentot warrior often is a mature man. The youth of our soldiers is very evident to him and he is aware again of a definite superiority in this area. One designation for the German soldier, which has lasted from the times of our former battles with the Hottentots, is *!gaĕkχaosa //gãũ· saχarob, i. e. "the little boy (a·χab, boy; -ro, dimin.) from the foreign place (//gãũs), whose dress (the uniform coat that fits snugly across the small of the back) is fastened (!gaĕ) at the rear (kχaos)". But even though he laughs at his opponent here the way a sly old poacher does at [338] at a young game warden, he has still felt the strength of our soldiers sufficiently. He expresses his recognition in the expression *!huni!o/m. !o/m is a so-called "buskop". These animals are harder to handle than the usual oxen because of their lack of horns. They pull their heads out of the noose if they are yoked up in the usual way. They stick their heads through barriers that would be protected against horned animals. One is never certain about them. To the recognition of this readiness to fight, they add, without stretching the metaphor, the striking color of our blond (!huni, yellow) hair to the name.

I have not been able to find out from the Hottentots many details of their battle customs. In order to steel himself to his bloody work, the man who has never killed anyone supposedly drinks the raw blood of a slaughtered animal before he goes into battle. [Picture. Hottentots' War Pipe.] 726

The battle reports of the troops will give the best information about tactics. Signals are frequently given on a pipe that is carved from the horn of a female springbok. Since this signal pipe, */gi/s, is blown the same way as a dance pipe, it is also called a reed or blowing horn, χaĭ //nãĭs or *!naĭ //nãĭs. 726 202

It is the job of one of the sub-captains to determine whether a place or water hole which the troop is approaching is occupied by the enemy or not. He rides up spying, while his people conceal themselves around it. Not until he lets out a long drawn-out whistle do they appear. In this way the Hottentots are supposed to have approached the water hole /Aos in the

1: Schultze--135A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p. 338]

Hottentot war pipe.

year 1893, in order to attack Kubub on the following morning. A series of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack. 726 202

The Hottentot also seeks hints from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called *go·bo go·bos, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture. Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go·bo go·bo a·maẽ , kxo·egu go ǂno·aẽ?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows. 726 787

A ring around the moon, *ao/gā/b, (the moon is as though thrown, ao, in, /gā/, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occurred and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga·barab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet 197

77. W. H. J. Bleek, A Comparative grammar of South African languages, 2 Bände. London, 1862 und 1869.

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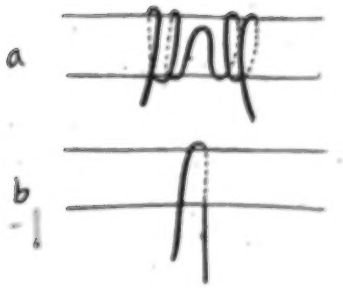

Figures a and b.

[p. 339]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Cape Hottentots

together with the pounded testicles of the new oxen.[1] A similar feast was noted among the Cape Hottentots by Jan Hartogh in 1707.[2] 233

The young oxen are trained to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen are used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with the few household utensils, which are bound securely on them with "riems" (long thongs of raw hide). The riding-oxen are guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit. Instead of a saddle a sheepskin is thrown over the back of the animal and fastened by a thong drawn tight round the body. No stirrups are used, but both men and women ride the animals with ease, being accustomed to do so from childhood. "One can travel comfortably and securely in this way for a great distance and over rugged mountains," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "provided one is not in too much of a hurry." Kolb relates also that special oxen were taught to guard and keep the sheep together while they were grazing; such an ox, he says, is strictly obedient to the voice of its master, and flies round the pasture ground to bring back within proper limits those of the flock that are straying off! No stranger is allowed to come within range of the pasture ground; the ox drives off the intruder and gives the robber a rude reception. The Hottentot oxen, he continues, are even taught to combat in a body, like a regiment of elephants, against the enemies of the nation. This statement, at least, is confirmed by other observers, but one cannot resist doubting if oxen were ever really used as sheep-dogs. Nowadays, at any rate, they are generally employed for the far more prosaic task of drawing wagons, and have been almost entirely superseded by the horse for riding.[3] 492 [233] [726]

The goats and the sheep, like the calves, are herded by day in the veld, and kept at night in the kraal. Single goats or small flocks need no care, and easily accustom themselves to returning of their own accord at night. Bigger flocks are put under the care of a herd-boy, who guards them from danger and theft, and sees to it that they do not spread too widely over the veld. He also has to collect them during the midday heat under some trees or a rock, where they may rest in the shade. The lambs while still small remain continuously in a special kraal, and are allowed to go to their mothers only before the 233

[1] Op. cit., 162.
[2] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, ii, 9.
[3] Schinz, op. cit., 213–4; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 24; Kolb, op. cit., 82–3; cf. Barrow, *De Asia*, quoted in Colvin, *Romance of S. Africa*, 20; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 323; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 237–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting—the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 372–4; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 362.
[2] Gutsmedicus, "Uit den Oudsten Tijd," 388–91; Kolb, *Vergelijkinge der Caapse Hottentots*, 90–8; Fritsch, op. cit., 373–4; Sparrman, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Thunberg, *History of Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

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726 proceed without further delay into the enemy's territory. As a rule, however, they preferred to attack by surprise, in order not to allow their opponents time enough to drive their cattle into security. They seized upon all the men, women and cattle that came in their way, and then returned with their booty before they could be attacked. Often enough they would swoop down upon the kraals, as in one of many similar recorded instances where a band of Little Namaqua and Chariguriqua attacked a Kochoqua kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off women, children, and cattle as booty.

If the enemy was prepared to receive them, both sides would first shoot at one another from a distance with their arrows, and then as the one showed signs of weakening the other would close up and the battle resolve itself into a disorder of hand-to-hand fights with the kirri and the spear. Sometimes the fighting-oxen would accompany the men, and when the chief thought the moment opportune, the beasts, goaded to fury, would be driven into the weakest ranks of the enemy, and in the havoc that ensued victory was assured.

728 One such battle as a rule ended the war. As soon as victory was obtained, the conquerors withdrew with their booty, and the defeated enemy, on coming together again, would send messengers to negotiate for peace and to make any necessary concessions. After the foundation of the Dutch settlement the practice developed of requesting its commander to mediate in such cases, which for reasons of policy he was always willing to do; but Graevenbroeck describes a peace-making ceremony which he says was observed in fixed form among the Hottentots themselves. When peace was desired, the two sides came together at their boundary, and after they had agreed upon terms an ox was slaughtered with spears, and the corpse left a prey to wild animals. They then expressed the wish that whoever might break the compact should come to all possible harm, the fate implied being that he might perish pierced through just like the ox, and become the food of vultures and hyenas.[1]

727 The burning of huts or other destruction of property does not seem to have been usual in these wars. Nor as a rule were the dead dismembered or despoiled. They were left untouched where they fell, and the victors, after having buried their own fallen warriors, withdrew and permitted the vanquished also to bury their dead. At times, however, when excited by lust of plunder or in a spirit of revenge,

[1] Op. cit., 369.

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the Hottentots could be ferocious and cruel. They gave no quarter to their enemy, and mercilessly slaughtered all the prisoners falling into their hands. Wikar states that among the tribes along the Orange River the belly of a captive was ripped open while he was still alive, and his entrails were pulled out by hand. Sometimes, if the captive refused to beg for mercy, his genital organs were cut off and he was slapped with them on the mouth. An instance of this occurred while Wikar was travelling among these tribes, in a war between the "Kamingous" (probably the */Gemi /Nun*) and the "Nanningais" (a group which cannot now be identified). In a battle lasting two days, thirteen of the Nanningais were killed with arrows, and about twenty severely wounded. They captured one of the Kamingou men, and in malicious revenge for the loss they had suffered treated him in the way just described.[1] This is the only record of abnormal cruelty to captives in purely Hottentot wars. It may be noted, however, that in 1850, in a war between the Afrikaners and the OvaHerero, a terrible massacre took place at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and numbers of their women crippled by having their feet chopped off in order to obtain the copper rings worn round their legs.[2] But Jonker Afrikaner, the leader of the victorious Hottentots on this occasion, was an Orlam chief notorious for his ferocity. In none of the early records of inter-tribal wars among the Cape Hottentots do we meet with instances of savagery comparable to this.

Firearms and the horse naturally made a tremendous difference to Hottentot methods of fighting. In their wars amongst themselves, against the OvaHerero and later against the Germans, the Naman were able to conduct campaigns often protracted over several months or even a year or more. Their strength lay in guerilla warfare, to which the nature of their country readily lent itself.[3] Its vast surfaces, waterless wastes and difficult rocky hills hindered pursuit by the enemy, and afforded safe refuge to the natives, familiar with every detail of their environment. The cattle which they drove with them afforded a standing subsistence, water could be found in remote spots or on rocky heights known only to the native herd or hunter, and an open kraal of bushes was ample shelter at night.

In attack the experience gained in hunting could readily be applied. "To the Hottentot," says Schultze, "our troops are a form of game,

1 "Dagverhaal van den Heere van Plettenberg," 55.
2 Vedder, "The Nama," 119.
3 The principal discussions of Nama methods of fighting are given by van François, *Namaqua and Damara*, 150, 286, *passim*; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 336-9.

726 which he hunts all the more confidently if he knows their habits from previous encounters. While our soldiers are ever learning anew at the cost of many lives, the Hottentot employs his old tactics. He lies in wait for the enemy at a waterhole, as formerly he awaited the zebra at the vlei; he fires upon a passing column from his rocky retreats, as he ambushed the springboks wandering in herds; he stalks round a weak patrol as round the gemsbok at dawn, and he surrounds a transport as he beats up the hares in an encircling drive to knock them down with the kirri." They preferred above all to lay ambushes, especially in the vicinity of waterholes, since the enemy both needed the water and usually came to it weary. As a rule difficult spots were chosen to fight in, which afforded good cover and facilities for retreat, if necessary; or else the flat tops of high hills were occupied, whose last ascent was almost vertical. The leading ranks of the enemy were allowed to pass by or to approach very closely; and then a general volley was fired into their midst. Their natural colour allowed the Hottentots to make use of every possible cover, and rendered it difficult for the approaching enemy to discover the position they occupied. Signals were often given on pipes cut from the horn of the springbok. It was one of the duties of the sub-chief to ascertain if any post or waterhole which was being approached was occupied by the enemy. He rode round it reconnoitring, while his men lay hidden near by, until a long drawn-out note caused them to emerge. Short successive blasts, to be answered by the men lying opposite or to the side, were generally the prearranged signal for attack.

726 643 Their raiding expeditions, as illustrated in the many successful descents made by Hendrik Witbooi upon the OvaHerero, were carried out with great skill and remarkable swiftness. He issued directions for the undertaking proposed only on the evening before he planned to set out. Then by forced marches he covered in two days the hundred miles or so lying between him and the Herero territory, after causing deliberately false reports as to the object of his expedition to be circulated among the OvaHerero. With overwhelming force he fell at dawn on their scattered villages, swept through a number of cattle posts, whose herdsmen were defenceless before his superior might, and drove away the cattle. This he did with remarkable adroitness, considering the great numbers he lifted. One of his men would give a penetrating whistle, whereupon the cattle were surrounded and driven sharply in a certain direction. Then one or two horsemen placed themselves at the head of the herds and conducted them without

rest along a route well known to them; and then, joined by several more horsemen and the bulk of the men on foot, the cattle were escorted in forced marches by the most direct route to Hoornkranz, the headquarters of the tribe. Most of the horsemen remained behind to keep back the OvaHerero who in the meanwhile had gathered together. In regulating these retirements Hendrik was a real master, and he seldom made a mistake. If there was a biggish village in the vicinity, he would keep its inhabitants engaged until he knew that the stolen cattle had been driven far ahead; then he disappeared as swiftly as he had descended, and he always flung obstacles in the way of pursuit. 726 643

In retreat small parties were often posted at various spots to check the advance of the enemy; or, if the country was flat, the grass was set on fire, and the men disappeared behind the clouds of smoke. There was no orderly withdrawal. After a defeat the troops would scatter apart, to come together again later in small bands. The appointed place of assembly was not directly in line with the scene of battle, but to the side, sometimes even to the rear of the enemy. Their knowledge of the place and their colour, as well as their swiftness on horse or on foot, enabled the Hottentots to find security; sometimes they even hid in the immediate vicinity, and they always, if possible, fled over stony ground, so as to avoid leaving tracks. At best the enemy might see in the distance horsemen and those on foot scattered over a wide surface between bushes and rocks; almost immediately afterwards all had disappeared, and effective pursuit was seldom possible. 726

Of the special usages connected with warfare, only a few isolated facts have been recorded. These almost all relate to what may be loosely termed war magic. "If a party goes out on warlike expeditions," says Hahn, "a crow's heart is burned and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this powdered heart is blown into the air, in the same manner their enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows." Elsewhere he mentions that the Korana have certain roots which they use as amulets. If a commando goes out, every man will put such roots into his pockets and into the pouch where he carries his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy will then have no effect, whereas his own will invariably prove destructive. Also, if they have carried off much booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat. 726 789

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726 789 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 787 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere [821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, "we are overpowered by *//Gaunа*"; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha, //o ge ni*, "war is approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot [643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 554 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. "Bravery was highly admired," he says, "and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. [304] The priest or */gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-/gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsātamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ōb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as */Khami* and */Khams*, Battlefield; */Kho-//oa-tes*, "You cannot catch me"; */Khoroas*, the one last caught; */Kxixas*, peace; and */Huritamas*, "I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 339. [2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Kreft, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

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In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.[15]) The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandize, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

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The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoā and to our countrymen as Doman.[16]). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, [17]) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

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wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1658, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1659); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognised as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, *op. cit.*, 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 272).

[17]) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

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000 Na dat 't oorlog reets drie maenden geduurt had, is in Zomermaent des jaers zestien hondert negen-en-vijftigh, op een morgenstont, wanneer vijf *Hottentots* (een der welke de voorzeide *Doman* was,) doende waren om zekeren vryman twee beesten afhandigh te maken, een felle schermutsing met vijf ruiters van d'onzen tegen deze vijf *Hottentots*, die in het vluchten met het vee achterhaelt wierden, aengevangen. Dan zy stelden zich als brave krijghs-luiden ter weer, naerdien zy geen middel zagen van wegh te kunnen vluchten, nochte geen lijfs-gena begeerden; zulx zy twe ruiters quetsten, d'eene door den arm en onder die korte ribben, en den anderen in 't rugge-been; doch bleven d'onzen hen dat niet schuldigh, maer schoten drie van de vijf onder de voet, en staken twee met hun eigen geweer, dat zy neerleiden, door 't lijf. Een der drie ter neergeschoten, *Eykamma* genaemt, die door den hals geraekt, en 't been aen stukken was, met een zwaren houw in den kop, wiert op een peert in 't Fort gebracht; maer *Doman*, met een anderen, ontsprongen den dans, door het overduiken eener reviere van acht voeten breet, waer na het vluchten hun beste geweer en behoudenis was.

De gewonde *Eykamma* in 't Fort gebraght, en gevraeght, uit wat oorzake zy luiden den onzen den oorlog hadden aengedaen, en met moorden, roven en branden trachten overal afbreuk te doen, gaf, by na door de pijne der grote en zware wonden overwonnen, tot antwoort; waerom zy Neerlanders hun lant om ploeghden, en koorn op hun landen zaiden, daer zy hun beesten moesten ter weide drijven, en hen daer door het broot uit den mont zochten t'ontrekken? met byvoegen, van noit andere nochte beter weyde gehad te hebben. Weshalve geschiede zulx, voeghde hy daer op, uit geen anderen inzichte, als zich over het

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726 [18]) Dapper's version of this episode, while substantially accurate, does not agree in every particular with the official records. All five Hottentots were wounded by shooting; Doman, and probably another, managed to escape; two others, after being shot down, were stabbed or slashed by the Dutch, but "must have been dragged away" afterwards by their fellows, for when some men were soon after sent from the Fort "to fetch their heads" they could not be found; and only the fifth was brought back, "mortally wounded, but somewhat alive still". (D. July 19, 1659; *Letters Desp.*, iii, 128.)

[19]) This paragraph is evidently based on van Riebeeck's despatch of July 29, 1659, to Batavia. He says there: "The prisoner, one of the Capemen, who could speak Dutch fairly well, having been asked the reason why they caused us this trouble, declared for no other reason than that they saw that we kept in possession the best lands, and grazed our cattle where theirs used to do so,

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One morning in June 1659, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower ribs, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.[18])

The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and domination.[19]) To this our men replied:

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and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently as if we intended never to leave again, but take permanent possession of this Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (*Letters desp.*, iii, 128.)

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of [439]
the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then
immediately went back home with him.

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone [231]
(for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or 276
sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a
certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they
eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it
with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking
of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they
behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts
of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst [302
of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their 824]
heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]).
This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows
in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the
mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the
women.

Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in 619
people and cattle. They have however never been to our
countrymen at the Fort.

The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young 231
and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and 726
tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set
out for war with lions which they have long had and
completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy
to flight without encountering any resistance. This may
seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually
the practice amongst them[56]).

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was known of them in 1662 is summarized by van Riebeeck as 619
follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able
to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all
the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of
matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on
the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe
seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or
Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 343). Later explorers did not succeed
in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are
prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon,
"who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably
given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*,
423). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop.
V.R.S. 12.)

[56]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of
"a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas
said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do
dogs" (Letters desp., iii, 342). This emissary, when questioned
by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would
make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing
is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they beat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.[31])

Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the lions, which are here very common[32]). In rainy weather, which puts our muskets out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on cunning for their criminal success, the natives bestow themselves in thickets and tough undergrowths; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. But in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to raise a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of them encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the invincible ardour which barbarians mistake for valour, meantime shouting horribly. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Florus made about the Insubrian Gauls finds a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Florus) and bodies more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The bodies of a mountain folk bred amidst moist clouds have a resemblance to their native snows: they warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a sweat, and are dissolved by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the flinty rocks and shuddering woods match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots hang about the mountains, scouring every part of them by night and day.

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31) A further description is given below, p. 151.

32) A more rational explanation of these tactics is given by Dapper. See above, p. 13. Ten Rhyne's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records, cf. e.g. D. July 25, 1673; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 353 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[14])

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying hissings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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our men, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi. 301). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 23-24) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[19])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausowe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.[20]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[19]) There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[20]) This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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THE HOTTENTOT MODE OF WARFARE.
(Notice the use of oxen as tanks.) [*After Kolb.*

[facing P. 194]

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Korannas place no control on their passions, and abandon themselves to excesses of which it would be a shame even to speak." The so-called "tang-tang" in this description is explained in another passage by Arbousset, in which he describes a similar dance by the Baroa (Hottentots) of Mokoma (Arbousset; English translation p. 353). "Supper being over, the women with their children and the young men set themselves to dance during the first watches of the night, to the sound of a wretched tam-tam" (the French term for a gong, but occasionally applied to drums by some writers, e.g. *Catalogue du Musée Instr., Bruxelles, vol. 4, p. 3*) "made of a small earthen pot, in the form of a quoit, and covered with the skin of a gazelle, well softened after having been stript of its hair."

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2. *Wind Instruments*

(a) Signal whistle named *//areŋ !as*. This instrument consisted of the shin-bone of a springbok, or the leg bone of an ostrich, one end of which was sheared off at right angles to its length, and the marrow removed. A piece of *riem* was attached to it so that it could be suspended from the shoulder of the player. It was sounded by being held against the tongue of the performer in the same way as the *≠a:di* (to be described next) were held, and it yielded a shrill penetrating note of considerable carrying power. It was used by the chief for summoning together the men of his tribe, and it was worn and blown by his headmen.

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A similar whistle is described by Kolbe as being used in battle by the Hottentots, who employed it to direct operations in the field. One of his plates actually shows the whistle-signallers of two opposing armies each seated upon an eminence, apparently controlling the respective forces. My Korana informants, however, knew nothing of this practice, and, had it been in use among them, it is certain that the older men would have known it in view of the fact that some of the Links people (including Tabab, one of my informants) were actually engaged in battle at Mamusa so recently as 1885.

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726
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[115]

(b) Reed-flute ensemble, called *≠a:di*.

This was formerly by far the most important musical feature of the Korana, since it was not only an organised ensemble of many performers, but was really part of the social life of the people. Although it has in the past been frequently noted among the Nama and also the Bechuana, there are but few references in the works of travellers and others to its existence among the Korana. These are Wikar, 1778-9, Wuras, 1858, Stow, 1880, Engelbrecht, 1928, and Meinhof, 1930. But while the

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[484] (hais), and was sitting (*ǂnõas) on the eggs (!ubugu, masc.). Then he said. "Hen, my (ti) sister (!gā, without suff.), please (re, optative particle) throw (ao) one (/gui) of those little things (ǁũba, masc. sing., -ro dimin.) down (//nā, with the objectifying particle -ba) to me (te, suff.), won't you (ǂabe)?" But she replied: "I (-ta, suff.) won't (tite, particle of the fut. negative) do (hĩ) it." Then he said: "If (o) I (tita, pron.) wanted to (ǂgao, ga, particle of the potential), I could (nĩ, fut. particle) climb (ǂoa) up the tree." And he continued: "I will climb up the tree immediately (/ãse)! So (ǁũigye) throw one down!" Then she threw down an egg, and he said: "If you had not (toma, with the personal suff. of the pers. addressed) thrown it down, I would have climbed up." He said it (-tsĩ, particle of the pret. participle) and went away (!gũng).

Then on the next (*nau) day (tsẽ) he came along just when (hĩa) the hen was on the ground (!hũb) and caught (*!kǂõ) her (si, suff.). Then she said: "Wait (//nam), first (aibe) let (ẽ) me (-ta, suff.) pray* (*/gore)."

[727]

*Baptized Hottentots occasionally allowed the white men whom they captured in war time to pray before they shot them.

But when he let (//nãǂu) her (the suff. of the subj. -b, is attached to the suff. of the 3rd pers. fem. sing.) loose, she flew (flĩ, borrowed from Cape Dutch) up (!aba, "to climb up"). Then he said: "This (nẽ) day you may (ga) mark (ǂan "to know")!" And went away.

And he came where (-ha, demon. particle of place) the flamingo (borrowed from Cape Dutch) was catching fish (//auna, neut. pl.), and asked: "When the North Wind (/abas) blows (!gom, ta = ra), how (mati) do you seat (ǂnũ) yourselves?" (-go, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. pl.). And the other replied: "I sit like this (nẽti)." -- The narrator turns to the South. -- Whereupon the jackal: "When the Southeast Wind (*aore ǂoab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this." -- The narrator turns to the Northwest. -- Whereupon the jackal: "When the sea wind (huriǂoab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this." -- The narrator turns to the Northeast. -- Whereupon the jackal: "And when the South wind (!kǂabagab) blows, how do you sit?" And the other replied: "I sit like this!"* Then there was a thud (*//ere, onomatopoeti

*The narrator puts his head under his arm, just as the flamingo puts its head under its wing.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

726 proceed without further delay into the enemy's territory. As a rule, however, they preferred to attack by surprise, in order not to allow their opponents time enough to drive their cattle into security. They seized upon all the men, women and cattle that came in their way, and then returned with their booty before they could be attacked. Often enough they would swoop down upon the kraals, as in one of many similar recorded instances where a band of Little Namaqua and Chariguriqua attacked a Kochoqua kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off women, children, and cattle as booty.

If the enemy was prepared to receive them, both sides would first shoot at one another from a distance with their arrows, and then as the one showed signs of weakening the other would close up and the battle resolve itself into a disorder of hand-to-hand fights with the kirri and the spear. Sometimes the fighting-oxen would accompany the men, and when the chief thought the moment opportune, the beasts, goaded to fury, would be driven into the weakest ranks of the enemy, and in the havoc that ensued victory was assured.

728 One such battle as a rule ended the war. As soon as victory was obtained, the conquerors withdrew with their booty, and the defeated enemy, on coming together again, would send messengers to negotiate for peace and to make any necessary concessions. After the foundation of the Dutch settlement the practice developed of requesting its commander to mediate in such cases, which for reasons of policy he was always willing to do; but Graevenbroeck describes a peace-making ceremony which he says was observed in fixed form among the Hottentots themselves. When peace was desired, the two sides came together at their boundary, and after they had agreed upon terms an ox was slaughtered with spears, and the corpse left a prey to wild animals. They then expressed the wish that whoever might break the compact should come to all possible harm, the fate implied being that he might perish pierced through just like the ox, and become the food of vultures and hyenas.[1]

727 The burning of huts or other destruction of property does not seem to have been usual in these wars. Nor as a rule were the dead dismembered or despoiled. They were left untouched where they fell, and the victors, after having buried their own fallen warriors, withdrew and permitted the vanquished also to bury their dead. At times, however, when excited by lust of plunder or in a spirit of revenge,

[1] Op. cit., 369.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

the Hottentots could be ferocious and cruel. They gave no quarter to their enemy, and mercilessly slaughtered all the prisoners falling into their hands. Wikar states that among the tribes along the Orange River the belly of a captive was ripped open while he was still alive, and his entrails were pulled out by hand. Sometimes, if the captive refused to beg for mercy, his genital organs were cut off and he was slapped with them on the mouth. An instance of this occurred while Wikar was travelling among these tribes, in a war between the "Kamingous" (probably the */Gami ǂNun*) and the "Nanningais" (a group which cannot now be identified). In a battle lasting two days, thirteen of the Nanningais were killed with arrows, and about twenty severely wounded. They captured one of the Kamingou men, and in malicious revenge for the loss they had suffered treated him in the way just described.[1] This is the only record of abnormal cruelty to captives in purely Hottentot wars. It may be noted, however, that in 1850, in a war between the Afrikaners and the OvaHerero, a terrible massacre took place at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and numbers of their women crippled by having their feet chopped off in order to obtain the copper rings worn round their legs.[2] But Jonker Afrikaner, the leader of the victorious Hottentots on this occasion, was an Orlam chief notorious for his ferocity. In none of the early records of inter-tribal wars among the Cape Hottentots do we meet with instances of savagery comparable to this.

Firearms and the horse naturally made a tremendous difference to Hottentot methods of fighting. In their wars amongst themselves, against the OvaHerero and later against the Germans, the Naman were able to conduct campaigns often protracted over several months or even a year or more. Their strength lay in guerilla warfare, to which the nature of their country readily lent itself.[3] Its vast surfaces, waterless wastes and difficult rocky hills hindered pursuit by the enemy, and afforded safe refuge to the natives, familiar with every detail of their environment. The cattle which they drove with them afforded a standing subsistence, water could be found in remote spots or on rocky heights known only to the native herd or hunter, and an open kraal of bushes was ample shelter at night.

In attack the experience gained in hunting could readily be applied. "To the Hottentot," says Schultze, "our troops are a form of game,

[1] "Bericht aus den Heere van Plettenberg," 93.
[2] Vedder, "The Nama," 119.
[3] The principal discussions of Nama methods of fighting are given by von François, *Nama und Damara*, 132, 286, chaps. iv–v *passim*; Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 336–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

726 789 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 787 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere [821] a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, " we are overpowered by *//Gauna* "; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha, //o ge ni*, " war is approaching, we are going to die." [3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot [643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

● 727 554 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. " Bravery was highly admired," he says, " and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. [304] The priest or */gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-/gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsătamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ŏb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as */Khami* and */Khams*, Battlefield; */Kho-//oa-tes*, " You cannot catch me "; */Khotoas*, the one last caught; */Kxĭxas*, peace; and */Huritamas*, " I am not afraid." [5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 339. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [5] Schultze, loc. cit.; Kreft, " The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[3] Op. cit., 23–4.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [42]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [44]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [45]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, op. cit., 238).

[44]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Africa*, 14.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 118).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[1]

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying hissings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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[1] ... our men, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi, 301). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 33-34) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

Whom about to make peace they sometimes armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[15])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Theuessaus*, but our men call him Captain Klaas.[16]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsûi‖goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (‖hamab, trade, ‖hamagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-‖khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǂAmas tribe), and of the ǂKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-‖hoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǂ*Khâseti* (ǂKhunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ‖*goreyu* the Zebras, α Orionis χ*ami*, the Lion, α Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *torib*, from *tore*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (‖gari-b, ‖gob, ‖i-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ‖gaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-‖gamteb, Lion-killer, ‖Otaitamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ôb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

726 proceed without further delay into the enemy's territory. As a rule, however, they preferred to attack by surprise, in order not to allow their opponents time enough to drive their cattle into security. They seized upon all the men, women and cattle that came in their way, and then returned with their booty before they could be attacked. Often enough they would swoop down upon the kraals, as in one of many similar recorded instances where a band of Little Namaqua and Chariguriqua attacked a Kochoqua kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off women, children, and cattle as booty.

If the enemy was prepared to receive them, both sides would first shoot at one another from a distance with their arrows, and then as the one showed signs of weakening the other would close up and the battle resolve itself into a disorder of hand-to-hand fights with the kirri and the spear. Sometimes the fighting-oxen would accompany the men, and when the chief thought the moment opportune, the beasts, goaded to fury, would be driven into the weakest ranks of the enemy, and in the havoc that ensued victory was assured.

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727 The burning of huts or other destruction of property does not seem to have been usual in these wars. Nor as a rule were the dead dismembered or despoiled. They were left untouched where they fell, and the victors, after having buried their own fallen warriors, withdrew and permitted the vanquished also to bury their dead. At times, however, when excited by lust of plunder or in a spirit of revenge,

[1] Op. cit., 369.

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. [728]

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

175 721 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker [728] Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartboois ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero.

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elisabeth and participated in the hostilities.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plun-
721 dered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished " his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and
178 the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came
[197] under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien zy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetzen voor hun vee, daerze die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit bezeten, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer zagen ook hun landeryen, zonder hen te kennen, onder d'onzen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke zy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons zulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk zouden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te zullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onzen weer tot antwoort, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemael verloren, en noit derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te zullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van dezen *Eykamma*, die ten zesten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering perzoon was, maer men zijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de zaken t'overleggen, om elk het zijn te herstellen, of zoodanigh, als het beste konde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling schade en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgezonden, met verslag aen den Overste *Gogosoa* om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wiert vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, zy voeren echter, daer zy kans zagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, zulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaerste te bealechten. Weinigh holp ook het stellen

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[20]) This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Capemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 166; cf. D., April 5, 1660.)

[21]) Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1659 (cf. D, *ut cit.*).

[22]) This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autoehamao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."[20]) 721

Eykamma died on the sixth day.[21]) His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoa to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoea,[22]) had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months 728 ● 159

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learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1653, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1655, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1656, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1663. (D. passim; cf. Bosman, "Uit die Biografie van 'n Hottentot," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, x, 143-51.) 728 159

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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on the island, he and another Hottentot[23]) managed to make land in a leaky fishing-skiff provided with two oars, the wind favouring them. They found the settlements of their fellow Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas again erected in the vicinity. The flight of these two savages was reported to Governor Riebeeck after a few days by a certain free burgher of Saldanha Bay,[24]) who came sailing from there. On the following day the Governor sent out six Dutchmen to go seeking along the shore until they came across the skiff or any sign of it. The men set out, with provisions of food for four or five days, and on the next day, just about eleven miles from the Fort, found the skiff lying high and dry in a pretty little sand bay, with the oars by it and some grass inside, as if someone had slept there at night. But they saw no people thereabouts, nor any Hottentots on the whole trip, although rhinoceros, elephants and other wild beasts were observed often enough. After a trip of four days, these six men at last came back to the Fort, without having achieved their object, and told the Governor of their adventure.[25])

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At long last, in the month of February, 1660, the aforesaid Harry or Kamcemoea came to the Fort with the Chief Chore, accompanied by thirteen fat cattle and more than a hundred other savages, all unarmed.[26]) They entreated that we should be willing to accept these fat cattle as a token of friendship, and that they should again be permitted to visit us as before. In addition they agreed to let us plough the land within three hours' journey of the Fort with corn and other seed, but on condition that we did not plough up any more land than was already under cultivation. As soon as this compact had been concluded on both sides by word of mouth, the Hottentots were regaled in the Fort with bread, tobacco and brandy, from which they made themselves dead drunk. The others, as soon as they learned that the dispute was settled, also came running

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23) This man was a Gorachhouqua spy captured July 12, 1659, and used without success to guide Harry and the Dutch to the camping-places of his people. He was sent to Robben Island on Oct. 3, where Harry followed him in Oct. 20 (D. *ut cit.*).

24) D., Dec. 8, 1659. The escape had taken place "8 or 10 days" before.

25) Cf. D., Dec. 9-13, 1659.

26) Dapper's information is incorrect. The first pact was concluded on April 5-6 with the Capemen and their chief Gogosoa (D., *ut cit.*). Chore, "with a retinue of about 100 men, among them the eldest and principal of the tribe, bringing with them 13 head of cattle fairly old and young," did not come to sue for peace until a month later (D., May 5, 1660).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort. 728 159

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.[37]) Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little. 728 [622] 728 273

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho*, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away. 728 152 728 535 [533]

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[37]) The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[22a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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COCHOQUAS OR SALDANHARS.

The Kochoquas[22b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afri. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35] See above, p. 111.

[36] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37] In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[19])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausouwe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.[20]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[19]) There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[20]) This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," *!gîbes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added. 222 252

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches *!ga/e‿hu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, *!kx̃u/i‿hu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen. [262] 222

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw. 252 [262]

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense. 786 731 [834]

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of 262 576 [753] 262

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

THE EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL VALUE OF WATER AMONG THE NAMAN OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

BY

MRS. R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, B.A. (*née* MISS A. W. TUCKER).

Read July 13, 1923.

312 231 It seems hardly necessary to emphasise, before a South African audience, the importance of water in a country like South-West Africa, the home of the Naman. They are a pastoral people, to whom "God gave cattle as their grass," as one of them put it to me, so that a good supply of fodder and water are the two essentials of their existence. Grass is often easier to find than water.

133 132 231 When Moffat, over a hundred years ago, inquired of a traveller in South-West Africa what the country was like to which he was journeying he was told: "Sir, you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills roasted like a burnt loaf, under the scorching rays of a cloudless sky." That is a pretty good description of the country in the south which is the home of the Naman, in its normal condition, yet it only wants a few regular showers of rain to convert it into a veritable sea of grass, such as it is now after the wonderful season of rain that is just finished there. Grass there is enough for animals, wild and tame, for at least three years to come, yet long before that time much of it will have become inaccessible, or would have done under primitive conditions, because it will be too far removed from the nearest available water. Ten years ago, when I was travelling through the Richtersveld in a season of great drought, we came upon secluded spots where there was grass in plenty, which was still nourishing enough in spite of the fact that it was dry, yet the natives were creeping miserably along the rugged banks of the Orange, feeding their animals on the quick grass at the edge, for they did not dare to move away from the precious water. This sort of experience makes one realise vividly that it is water which must be the first thought in planning any settlement, or in deciding on any trek, and the quantity of water available will determine the numbers which can settle at any one spot and the length of time during which they can stay there.

312 361 731

NOTE.—It has not been possible to indicate the tone of the Hottentot words in all cases where it was necessary, owing to typographical difficulties. Also, it was not possible to indicate a nasalised *n* for the same reason.

10: Grevenbrook F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

mysteries! Behold the strenuous champions of Divine Truth! On the last day at the last judgment they shall be burned in the middle ditch of the amphitheatre by these barbarians. "This is the final spark of the woe to come."

They are beyond belief patient of heat, cold, fasting, and every kind of toil, but utterly impatient of injury, and prone to vengeance. Wherefore if a louse or a gnat sting them they put it into their mouth for no other reason than that by the law of retaliation they may chop, grind, and crush it with their teeth, and spit it out. Nothing pleases them more, they openly boast, than to return evil for evil, nor can they easily be at rest till they have satisfied their minds by the torture of their enemies. They are offensive to look at, savage in their dress, wild in their mode of life, but warlike and unaccustomed to slavery. They are as swift as the wind, often outstripping horses in fleetness of foot and Cretans in swimming.

In whiteness of soul they are superior to many of our countrymen, and in whiteness of body they are equal to some, and, in my judgment, would perhaps be so to all, if they cared for cleanliness. But as things are, what with fat and the scorching heat of the sun and the sharp pigment they put on their faces, they have grown dark and are of a swarthy brown colour. They have lively bright eyes, and the whites of their eyes and their teeth are fairer than snow. The pupils of the eyes are of a shade between brown and yellow. They have small feet and feminine hands; they are lightly built, and almost all snub-nosed. Those who live near our Cape are of middle height; but the inhabitants of the remote parts of this region are shaggy fellows, with taller and sturdier frames, and with frizzy hair.[1] Among them has been seen a king, Longurio, twelve foot high, with hair all over his body thicker than a water spaniel's.[2] To these latter the shortness of our countrymen is a matter of contempt. Sometimes they are bald in front; sometimes they wear beard and moustache and shave their heads. The women have large breasts. With the rarest exceptions I never saw one among them that was marked from birth, fat, hunch-backed, squinting, or that had varicose veins, a swollen paunch, flat feet or spindle-shanks, or one that went bow-legged or knock-kneed or had misshapen limbs of any kind, nor did I ever see one blind of an eye nor halt in his speech, nor

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be 142
one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, 732
or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some 522
distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages![1])

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and 151
their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of 222
honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize[2]).

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the [222]
bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that 825
is very fond of honey[2]). It is said that other birds give

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as 151
he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line 222
of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 16 of 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc., 1898, Min. Proc. p. xvi). [273]

[2]) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (Indicator spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain 222
honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are 136
always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[79]

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and enemies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (Tavel-//Ossam, 86, 70).

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni- //hui- b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [751] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gã aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind 757 278 tasting and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives.

The excrement of rock rabbits, °!aũ- /aru- b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] °!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the °!garisab plant,°

> °When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [128]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called °!gu/bi·b or °xam≠kxa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 881
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and serve honey beer to the guests.

[296] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 881
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota 751
rubbed with buchu power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called */na·ra/kxa/ra·. (/kxa/ra·b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle stroking of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 881
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleaned, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 881
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/m/ui (//a/m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure. /u·i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is called oaxes (not oaxais (57)).

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called *//gu·rurubeb.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of ●751 mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 824 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 824; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

1/1 [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 534). In the earlier version ("Conception of Issa," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the *!nau* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naoxon /Hutse	My ancestors' territory
/Goise /khai loa te re	Run nicely to meet me
aibe mutse	I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hei /Nun* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Naman", 519–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarés*, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarés*, the whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */hei /nun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forbode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze,

[1] Op. cit., 519–20. [2] "The Nama," 133. [3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 518–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1]
821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of */nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui //Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigeib*, *Heiseb* or *Kabib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," *passim*; *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, ●751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂâxais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with ǃnaop and /qaoasb ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂâxais. She takes her /úros ǂmis ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (≠kurún). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is /úros ǂmis /a /naru ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂâxais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǂâxais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abá taris must accompany the ǂâxais in all these rites, but often her friends go

[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 286.

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called " the
782 little heart-tree " is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called " Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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The other name for Sarés, the whirlwind, is //Gãuab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gãuab. In the mythology of the people //Gãuab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Nama and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gãuab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be. //Gãuab is also connected with the /Heí /Nûn, in fact. /Gãunagu in the plural is simply another name for /Heí /Nûn, and old David Zwartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Heí /Nûn were simply //Gãuab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Heí /Nûn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Heí /Nûn or //Gãuab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that those precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Náon, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:

'Ti //Náoxan !Hutse, (My ancestors' territory),

!Gãise !khoi ǂâa te re, (Run nicely to meet me),

Then all would have been well."

eibe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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751 823 182 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Hei /Nûn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life.

754 756 823 [791] The next example is a little different. In the old days, there were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Hei /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by //Gûaub,* or the /Hei /Nûn, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1718, p. 428.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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823 271 712 Sir James Alexander[1] tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narus, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!"

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

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[1] *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 132.

* *Tsuni ǁGoam*, p. 77.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure in the rest is all.

Where a girl gets her first period, when she is said to khoré, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Kolben describes the operation of bleeding. First a thong was tied around the limb, and the vein opened below it. When enough blood had been drawn off, the incision was closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Alexander says that they were fond of bleeding, and the backs and sides of many were thickly scored with the knife. They were not over-particular about having a horn for cupping, the mouth frequently being used for that purpose. 757

The Nama cupping horn, as still in use, is a carefully prepared tip of ox horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is applied to the scarified skin and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established he bites the resin and so closes the aperture. The horn is left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. An exactly similar mode of using a similar instrument occurs in India. [[71]]

Cupping is used for colics and pains in the stomach. The patient lies on his back and the horn is first applied dry, that is, over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified. If the pain moves to another area, the part is rubbed with hot fat and again cupped. If this fails, an infusion of herbs is given to drink. In the old days, cupping horns were carried to draw out the poison from arrow wounds, and also a little bottle or horn of oil with which to wash the injury, but scarification and suction applied by the mouth was also in favour. Scarification and cupping are also used for the relief of madness and epilepsy.

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE.

Preventive medicine was an important and extensive section of Hottentot medical lore and took the form of charms and incantations. When a child lost a milk tooth, he took the tooth, and standing facing the rising sun repeated the two lines:— 751

" P/gho c/ghoip Ba-oue D/kuoe
D/ghumba ma dae."

which may be translated, " Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth." The Dassie is the rock rabbit, on here there appears to be a double magical significance.

The remainder of the subject of charms, including those magic necklets to prevent attack by wild beasts or to prevent effect of witchcraft, can be considered correctly only in a separate article. But it is necessary to remember that there was no activity of Hottentot life which was not affected by signs, portents, charms or ritual, which he employed to foretell or warn of coming ill-luck, and which enabled him to prevent or remove the ill effects of them and of any other bad influence, whether believed by act of God or practice of witchcraft. 789

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is also P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Gunap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/keu D/han, the fleisch-hoech or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluitjies-boesh, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namia.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.*) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there [illegible].**)

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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*) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Sy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stuffe Ianghuis Coral en Koper gelyk. ("They also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

**) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 280).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[77]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 309 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the karosses he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, op cit., 166 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is mentioned by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, op cit., 70). [567] [751]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis dîis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, desuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum lympham ollâ ex proximo fonte, aut torrente haustam effundit, mox mediis nâtibus sedens, gnatum corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tum demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecaneo sacrificio sibi abscindit, eosque inibi in terram defodit; ultimò hospites lautè prorsusque proline adripiuntur, seque liberaliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro papâ, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim asscici, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram malam duobus suis dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam trimulus Afer alipem à me petens, impetratam continuo matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam pusionis buccularn attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me coram suaviata. Hinc una alterave ovicula, et ubi sponsi opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam bos hartoli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta ajûrui spônturnîrio aut antistitae scientiâ morbusque caeteris conspectiori, venerîis lyrocinîis, Junonîisque offeliis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus sponsum demulceat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra constent, edocet; demum ei pedes fîlii carnae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecta, sub quo haec sacra peragantur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, haruspex aut Flamen nodos nectunt, vervedis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, rorumdemque vestes unctae

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(*) I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the Amaxhosa: I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

(**) The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[*1]) next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[*2]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of minister and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 Humorum acrimoniam, inflationes inflammationesque seu phlegmone(s), aliaque tubera, decumbentibus aeque feliciter ac nostrates cucurbitulis, ore exugunt: hoc modo Afram vix bilustri cujusdam Europaei filiolae verendis exsurisse calculum phaseoli magnitudine, ex illius parentibus accipio.

Convalescenti salubribus jusculis pharmacisque corroborato, sacerdos sive haruspex omnem comam novaculâ abradit, postea illum viridibus foliis, nostratium salicis affinibus, sed minoribus, cutem corticemque malorum redolentibus, totum ab unguiculo ad capillum summum perfricat, mox calidâ aquâ, ultimoque persanatum frigidâ abluit: porrò una alterave ove, et si res pecuaria restituto sanitati ampla est, etiam bove aliove armento aut jumento ejus saluti perlitat, quem adipe hostiae delibutum, perspersumque pulviculis herbae bochu, omentoque bestiae intorto, ejusque collo amuleti loco circumjecto, amictuque pinguedine inuncto, et bochu pulvere consperso sanum salvumque convivatorem dimittit, et in aestrum lautè aetertis cum amicis excipitur. Quae sit salutifera, quaeque sit herba nocens, earundemque vim apprimè norunt: recordor eos indicasse mihi florem, narrantes illo e terra pullulante, mulieres suas quotannis mense Septembri aliquot diebus, altum sopitas, gravique somno pressas, et quasi torpore obductas, veternosas catalepsi laborantes in multum lucem stertere. Tempestatum significatus post futuros ante pronunciant, nec siderum motus stellarumque discursum planè ignorare videntur, quod exemplo infra colligendum dabo.

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751 752 755 [44]) Scarification (followed by rubbing various ingredients into the cuts, i.e. a form of inoculation) and cupping are still practised among the modern Hottentots (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 407, 409 ff.) The sucking to which G. refers is nowadays used chiefly in case of snakebite and similar injuries, to remove the poison, and also in such cases where the disease is attributed to the introduction by wizards and evil spirits of foreign substances into the patient's body. The magician massages the part affected and then sucks hard at it, to produce at last triumphantly from his mouth the harmful substances which he claims to have extracted in this way from the body of the patient (Schapera, 388).

leg is massaged in the direction towards the foot to empty them. Thus 753
the excrement is supposed to be pushed out; where it goes does not 757
worry them. The actual success which they often have with this cure confirms the diagnosis sufficiently in their eyes.

1. Surgical Treatment

Their procedure is clearest when surgical treatment seems necessary. 757
a) Blood-letting is a universal treatment for every difficulty localized to any extent. In the simplest case, cuts about one centimeter long, /go·regu, are made in the skin above the ailing part of the body. Nearly all the Hottentots, whom I examined closely when taking physical measurements, showed traces of this blood-letting. In one case the pubic area and the small of the back were covered with some forty scars a half centimeter long. The wounds had been made when he was a child by his father to cure "the deep descent of the intestines into the lower trunk" from which the child suffered.

[212] They call blood-letting in the narrower sense ǂhui·ǂkʒu·rub (opening a vein). It is used particularly for stiffness and pains in the limbs and is supposed to prevent them from swelling. The patient must first take a hot drink before the cutting. Then the blade of a sharp knife is placed across the vena mediana cubiti in the elbow joint of the right arm and the handle of the knife is struck with a little piece of wood so that the blade enters. They take about 100 centimeters of blood as far as I could estimate.

Bleeding /go/m follows the opening of the vein. A goat or calf horn serves as an instrument for bleeding (ǂhũ̀///nã̀s, from ǂhũ̀ - sucking marrow out of bones), by cutting off the point, they make a second opening for sucking which the bleeder puts in his mouth. The opposite, wider opening which is also filled [illegible] is firmly pressed on the bleeding cut. They do not empty the horn filled with blood on the ground but on a wet cake of cow dung to get rid of the sight of human blood quickly. [Picture. Horn for Bleeding. 1/2 natural size] [Picture. Closing a wound].

The wound is closed in the following manner. They stick a thorn, 752
d, firmly into the skin, twice (by c, to the right and also to the left near the vein a) in such a way that it lies diagonally across the cut b. Under the free ends of the thorn they slip a thread and tie it firmly

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[p212]

Horn for bleeding. 1/2 natural size.

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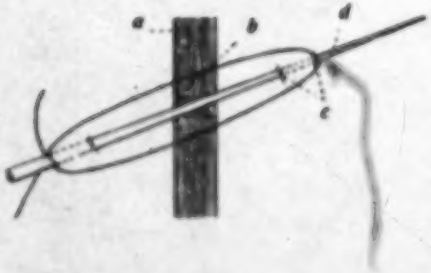

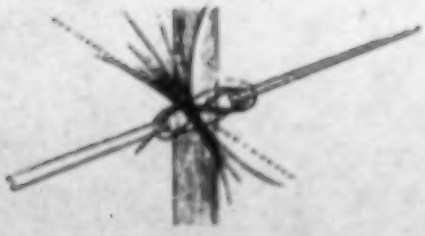

Closing a wound.

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously. 752

[213] To the west of !Hoaxa!nas, in the border territory of the Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded barelegged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there. 757

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls ᵓtsu/ʔitso/a-b, or more frequently calls fi-lsib, [164] borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /ɨgɨanis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called ᵓ//hā̃/b), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water. [278]

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with fingernails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scabs, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, [755] for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired.

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Fotzenfuss," °ǂnũãgyeǂai·bes, or pea-foot, °ǂai·!naro·s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhoãs, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound.

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called °a·ragyetsĩ·bes, i.e. "curling toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa·bagu, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and bast if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, uncleaned reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name °/ha·/raǂgã/.

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllum cardifolium L. f. (called °ǂnu/haĩb because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat.

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name !nu·/ngu.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds huts" (om, v.).

Splinting (/goĕ·) of a broken bone (°kx̃oa·s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely.

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, 845
bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward.

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less 757
clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The 278
use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning.

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, 757
either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. 278
He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing 325
ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties.

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kχo·ras, consists in the follow- 757
ing: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 278
1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have.

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[224] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake ǂno-/bo/ao-/s, 752
Scelotes capensis Gthr, is considered an infallible antidote for snake 825
bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni- //hui-b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [751] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gã aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind testing and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives. 757 278

The excrement of rock rabbits, °!aũ- /aru-b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

1: Schultze--43A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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278
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The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr.,
1/2 natural size.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 210–14; 233–4; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 59 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Hoernlé, op. cit., 630–1.

[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

states that the head of the joint was tied up with sinew, and cut through below, the sticky juice of certain leaves and other herbs then being applied to the raw surface.

For relatively localized pains the universal remedy is bleeding, either by venesection with bandaging or by cupping. In the former case, as described by Kolb, a thong is tied round the limb and the vein cut open below it. When enough blood has been drawn off, the incision is closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Cupping, apart from its use in the */nau* ceremonies and diseases, is specially employed for stiffness and pains in the limbs, in order to hinder their swelling, for colics and pains in the stomach, and also, according to Laidler, for the relief of madness and epilepsy. The cupping horn is a carefully-prepared tip of calf or goat horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is first applied dry, i.e. over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified, the horn pressed tightly over the bleeding cut, and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established, he bites the resin and so closes the aperture in it. The horn is then left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn.

Cures and antidotes for the bites and stings of the multitudinous snakes, spiders, and scorpions found in the country naturally play a large part in Hottentot medicine.[1] An "infallible" antidote for snake bite is the dried body of the lizard *Scelotes capense Gray*. Small deep cuts are made slightly above and below the bite, and cupped for about half an hour. Then a tiny fragment of the lizard's body is pressed into each cut and rubbed in with wood ashes. The bite itself is only washed with water. Snake poison itself may also be used as an antidote, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. Sometimes the "doctor" makes incisions over the bite, then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. Vegetable poultices are sometimes applied, or the crushed head of the snake may be used in the same way in case of snake bite, while similarly powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting, the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste. The patient at the same time is given

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 204-5; Laidler, op. cit., 438-40.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and faeces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff-adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in this way are known as */oo/ga ase*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *tsip* diseases.

For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the proselytive power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, op. cit., 238-9; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Natives," 522.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[757] [278] leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[845] [845] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia resinosa* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus sp.* are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is */au /arub*, the condensed urine and faeces of the dassie (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "dassiepis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition [817] generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the action of the atmosphere, is given internally [752] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhoea is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanni*, pounded fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chironia baccifera*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Cynanchum caperae Thun.* and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disemboweled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Massage.

757 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part
755 with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common use, and is called P/kouroa. When women are behind their [841] time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/kuo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation [842] of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai sup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then [278] cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Namaqua woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at dismantling any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull 232 calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently 142 referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentots, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is invisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to compel the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Kliprwort or Duinripia plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

The gecko lizard, the D'ong D'ong, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus: after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor used clothes. Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kakaon, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, the tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In such case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 patient. On the spot where a snake has lived for many years, the Natives say, a slimy patch develops that is almost cement like. This is used as an antidote for all poisonous bites, and is also given to dying people.

Abstract of Hottentot Herbal.

278 In discussing the various herbs used by the Hottentot medicine man, the following plan has been adopted:—

The Nama name is first given for the purposes of reference, then, in some cases, reference by travellers or other observers, and when modern uses are discussed the Nama name (if known), the Afrikaanse name and the scientific name are given.

Mesembs.

Kanna. Kanna is a Salsola, of which there are several species. Grevenbroek mentions that it was used similarly to hemp, and that the leaves were roasted in ashes and used as food. Paterson states that a certain district around the Kromme River was called Channa by the Hottentots because of the quantity of the plant which grew there.

Namaquas in 1662 accepted presents from the Dutch, and in return gave fat-tailed sheep and Kanna, which the Commander pronounced to be similar to the Chinese Ginseng. The Cape root was scarce and was considered valuable, and possibly is the channa mentioned by the traveller Paterson in 1779. During the early days of the settlement at the Cape, a Hottentot would perform any task willingly if he knew that the reward was to be a piece of kanna. It would appear that certain of these 278 writers confuse the root ningin or kanna with kauwgoed, the 276 leaves of a Mesembryanthemum, because they described properties which are certainly those of the latter. It was chewed and retained in the mouth for a while, when their spirits would rise, eyes brighten, and faces take on a jovial air, and they would commence to dance. But if indulged in to excess it robbed them of their senses and they became intoxicated.

278 Kauwgoed, *Mesembryanthemum tortuosum*. Leaves chewed for toothache and pains in the stomach. Has a strong narcotic effect due to alkaloid, mesembrine. Will make a child sleep. Used to-day for sand in horses.

Sinai, *Mesembryanthemum Crystallinum*, Nama N/aboo or N/aghoop, is used for taking hair off skins, and is still in use among farmers.

[276] Kanniedood, *Mesembryanthemum stellatum*. One of the beer making roots, a deliriant and intoxicant with an earlier stimulant action.

278 Kruipsleibosch, *Cotyledon Welchii or Lessertia annularis*. 757 Stem is pounded and used for poultices on abscesses after spine and bark have been removed. When dry has somewhat the appearance of ginseng.

gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse swart ho meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, ho meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1918, 82, among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

C/ngoma, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Name, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

The Kanker beetle, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Berend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is ochse C/naamop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namie.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[**]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[**])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[**]) Hamilton, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook AND-CYSERS van een stuffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelyk: ("They also have ornaments of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[**]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 294).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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411 825 [758] the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they beat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.[1])

726 Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the lions, which are here very common [2]). In rainy weather, which puts our muskets out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on running for their criminal success, the natives bestow themselves in thickets and tough undergrowths; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. But in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to raise a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of them encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the invincible ardour which barbarians mistake for valour, meantime shouting horribly. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Florus made about the Iberian Gauls finds a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Florus) and bodies more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The bodies of a mountain folk bred amidst moist clouds have a resemblance to their native stones: they warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a sweat, and are dissolved by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the flinty rocks and shuddering woods match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots hang about the mountains, ensuring every part of them by night and day.

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[1]) A further description is given below, p. 151.

[2]) A more rational explanation of these tactics is given by Dapper. See above, p. 13. Ten Rhyne's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records. Cf. e.g. D. July 30, 1672; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 202 ff.

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CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the ironsmiths. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [1]. Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [2].

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the Ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of celidony; from snakes of fennel; from beads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the wound of roe; from the stork of wild marjoram; from bears of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. These sorties and scrabbling are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they bear in

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[1] This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 88.
[2] I can find no confirmation for this statement.

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1650 ...ique *Machaira*, non tam in pestilentia, exanthemate morborum generibus auxilium adferunt, vulneribus praesertim mederi solita [1]. Celsi verba sunt. *Pacilio* & *Seuectio* remedia *Hottentottorum* primaria, quin universalia sunt, bestiarum *falcumque* severa tantum formidantium: quibus si laboret, laevam partem tandiu hastile fundunt, donec sanus privetur; tum scarificant, atque ita vehementer rapunt, ut sanguinem prae culis sequatur. Hic tamen curandi modus (quem ad *efficacem* suam *chirurgiam* referri *Severinus* pro veteri diversitate cum *pestilentia* diaturnitate, tum *exclusio* efficacia *differt*: quippe *Scorpio* non tam alta, quae quidem relinquenda, tenui vestigio relinquit; ille etenim hic in loris [2] non ita venenatus est. Si ejus cauda paulo supra spinosum *hortum* comprimatur, *Simplicissimum* gutturis adunco aculeo excitat aculeo, nisi forte paulo ante *ferierit*, contextibus aptius paulo superstat, ac venenii vim tardius recuperans, quo si quis pervestigetur, putat se lapide tangi. *Millipeda* vero caustica ferocia virus imprimit. De reliquis dictum [3] supra. Si mali morte sibi vulnus, levissimae ejus *pungrenae* indirium oculis *laborum* exspiritibus remanent, & si late serpenti, intestinum cancer bullant. Contextionibus omnibus illaesendo (vocilla vel bovina adipe, nec enim aliud unguenti genus convenit) tam scarificando, tandem *fortissima* suppeda, ut cruor cum *cute* salvetur, medentur. *Arthritis* eadem curiando tollunt, nisi quod *lacertorum*' adipe partem tyri chlendunt, vi, si subsiderint, partes dirt, pinguedinem assendo, extorquent, illos *exulcere* inconsilientes. Praeter ea pestilentia cognoverunt ex vegetabilibus alcam medicaminibus, sed alacris; quae ut jam exemplo, nullo ab ipsis

[1] In Proverb. lib I. (In the preface to lib. I.)
[2] longo salvae quam in Hispania, Italia vel Gallia. (For how an Asse in Spain, Italy or France.)
[3] de morbo bellandi. (See the chapter on Their Mode of War.)
* translation. B.P.

● 752 [1] There is an interesting confirmation of this statement in van Riebeeck's Diagrambook. On Feb. 26, 1657, van Ry called at Mossy's camp, where he found that "a Hottentot had been stung by an adder in his foot, which was much swollen; he had also lay under the knee tightly bound in two places, and

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the poison of wild animals or of weapons. If they are wounded they beat the injured part with a stick until it is deprived of feeling, then they scarify it, and then suck so vigorously that the skin almost comes off with the blood.[1]) This method of cure, however, (which Severinus* compares with his own effective surgery) differs, according to the various poisons, both in the length of time for which the beating must be carried on and in the efficacy of the sucking. The scorpion, for instance, does not leave the traces of his poison so deep as the millipede. Indeed the scorpion in these parts is not so poisonous. If you press his tail hard a little above the sting, he gradually emits a clear little drop on the barbed end of the sting, unless he happens to have struck a little time before. He is but little more injurious than our bees at home; he is slow in recovering the force of his poison; one that is stung by him thinks that he has got a knock from a stone. But the millipede with burning ferocity presses his poison home. Of the vipers we have spoken above.

If the wound is a bad one, they cut away the slightest sign of gangrene with the sharp points of their weapons, and if it has spread far, they remove the whole of the infected part. All bruises they treat by anointing them either with sheep or cow fat, for they know no other kind of unguent, then by scarifying them, and finally by vigorous sucking, so that the blood and the skin are removed. They get rid of rheumatism in the same way, the only difference being that they expose the part anointed with fat to the fire, in order that, if the affected parts are plump, they may by roasting the flesh drive the rheumatism out. Immediately on toasting the part they fall to at the sucking.

Apart from this they know a very few vegetable remedies, but choice ones; and, as I have said, these cannot be got from them for love or money. Accordingly we must suppose those persons to be themselves deceived or to be deceiving

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[1]) the first small incisions were made as the coppers are accustomed to do; the foot itself was placed in hot cowdung; a man and a woman were sucking the blood from the cuts, spitting it out on the cowdung, and pulling away as heavily as a child at it mother's breast." Ten Rhyne's description of the Hottentot medical practices is on the whole borne out by Grevenbroek and other reliable authorities.

* Marcus Aurelius Severinus (1580-1656), an Italian physician, was the author of numerous works on medical subjects.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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000 Humorum acrimoniam, inflationes inflammationesque seu phlegmone(s), aliaque tubera, decumbentibus aeque feliciter ac nostrates curuntur, ove enuguti: hoc modo Afram vir bilustri cujusdam Europaei filiolae verendis exortum calculum phaseoli magnitudine, ex illius parentibus sectpio.

Convalescenti salubribus jusculis pharmacisque corroboratis, mercedem sive harupex omnem eorum novarum aberdit, poetea ilium viridibus foliis, nostratium saliis affinibus, sed minoribus, cutem corticemque malorum redolentibus, totum ab unguiculo ad capillum summum perfricat, mox calidâ aquâ, ultimoque persanatum frigidâ abluit: porrò una alterave ove, et si res pecuaria restituto sanitati ampla est, etiam bove aliove armento aut jumento ejus saluti pertitat, quem adipe hostiae delibutum, perspersumque pulviculis herbae bochu, omentoque bestiae luiorte, ejusque collo amuleti loco circumjecto, axioctoque pinguedine linuerit, et bochu pulvere consperso earum salvumque conservatorem dixisti, et in nostrum laudi aptartis cum amicis certpitur. Quae sit salutifera, quaeque sit herba nocens, earumdemque vim apprimè norunt: recordor eos indicasse mihi florem, narrantes ilio e terra pullulante, mulieres suas quotannis mense Septembri aliquot diebus, alium aegritas, gravique somno pressas, et quasi torpore obduetas, veterosasse catalepsi laborantes in multum lucem aiertare. Tempestatum significatus post futurus ante pronuntiant, nec siderum motus stellarumque discursus plane ignorare videntur, quod exemplo infra colligendum dabo.

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751 ** Scarification (followed by rubbing various ingredients into the cuts, i.e. a form of inoculation) and cupping are still practised among the modern Hottentots (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 427, 430 f.) The marking to which O. refers is nowadays used chiefly in case of snakebite and similar injuries, to remove the poison, and also in such cases where the disease is attributed to the introduction by wizards and evil spirits of foreign substances into the patient's body. The magician massages the part affected and then sucks hard at it, to produce at last triumphantly from his mouth the harmful substances which he claims to have extracted in this way from the body of the patient. (Schapera, ibid).

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Nama

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.**) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean.

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like appleskin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bucku powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bucku, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.**)

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day**). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below.

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*) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Hama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, II, 71-9; *cf.* Schapera, 466-7, fig. 2).

**) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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000 Vulnus herbarum succo per syphonem et immisso, aut earundem folia, aut bulborum quorundam tunicis, etiam insulso butyro seboque obligatum curant, saepiusque urinâ fervenți, et in dimidiam sui partem decoctâ abluunt: si quem venenatum animal pupugit vel mammordit, aut si quis virulentis armis laesus, protinus ejus crus, pedem aut brachium supra subtusque plagam vinciurâ, morâ, factâ, aut forte arctissimè distendae sanguinis circulationi, et ne virus per venas latius serpat constringunt, variisque incisionibus cultro aut spiculo cirrum vulnus rectâ descendenti non transversâ lines per cutem factis, continuò vir aut mulier accurrit, oreque plagae admoto, virus omne exsugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope medica praestantius? quid hac fide majus? quid hoc alexipharmaco salutarius?

Cupido sciendi conjecturam Butyri dicam. Ulcus lanâ introrsum versâ lacte propemodum complent, ipsoque ejus orificium constringunt, quem dextrâ laevaque, et utraque extremitate subtatum, ultrà citràque divaricatis cruribus stantes commoverat, quassant et convellunt, donec cremor in butyrum congelatus constetusque sit.

Si forte contingit contra haec remedia malum ingravescere, illico insectantur viperam, anguem aut serpentem qualemcunque obvium, quem cocturum apud secretum ferunt, aperiuntque effractoque ejus ore, omne virus ei adimunt, quod duabus vesiculis quantum vel exiguis caperet, ori adnatis assimilis, in utraque maxilla juxta dentes situm, qui morsu inflxi hominum bestiarumve corpori, per foramen, quo virulenta ejus virus recepserunt, eorum illud vulneri inspirant: has vesiculas cum aliquot serpentibus alliisque variis animal mistas et elixas cum vaccino lacte, tanquam sacram anchoram aegro pro pellenda medica dant, adhibentes multo huic medo malum omnium, saepiusque hoc clavo clavum feliciter pellunt! ultimoque serpentum totum quantum cinderitibus carbonibus levatum in pulverulum legitimis commendant, quo morsû corpus, praecipuè vulnera perfricant, hocque medicamentum sive expiatorium.

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752. a) cf. Tyo Shpiw's description, p. 140 f. above.
2.W b) See above, p. 138.
752 c) The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

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They treat wounds by introducing into them through a 752 ●
pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the
leaves of plants or the heads of certain bulbs, using also
unsalted butter and lard. They also wash the wound with
the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to
half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal,
or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great
skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above
and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the
circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading
along the veins; then they make various incisions in the
skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not
across but in descending straight lines; then immediately
a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and
sucks all the poison out[*]. O noble deed! What could be
better than this medieval aid? Where shall we find greater
loyalty? What more effective antidote exists?

If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell 234
you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and
almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a
thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart,
and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the
other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and
fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been
skimmed and hardened into butter[*].

If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these 752
remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or 825
serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the 278
wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take
all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two
little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill
a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated
in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and
when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or
beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in
them the poison they draw from the glands nearby. It is
these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons,
salt in cow's milk, and administer to the sick man as a
last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the
roughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail
with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the
whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with
stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded
man, especially the wounds[*]. Experience has shown them
the great worth of this remedy.

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[*] ...snippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. Shrimpers, op. cit., 66b. Or's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough.

752.
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278

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," "!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga'e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "!ga'ɔ̃ũ'ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "!kx̃ũ/ũũ'mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 306
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 324
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then
a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those
who prefer red make a powder called "!gaib from the dry heartwood of a
giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the
face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror.
Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered
as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and
nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show,
according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yolks of raw penguin
eggs in order [311] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone
with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with
the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief 320
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Oreotragus megalotis Desmar, or at times 329
a bundle of ostrich feathers; "!na-kes or gams is the name of this handker-
chief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [327]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only
isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the
body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick
body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 767
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

leg is massaged in the direction towards the foot to empty them. Thus 753 ●
the excrement is supposed to be pushed out; where it goes does not 757
worry them. The actual success which they often have with this cure confirms the diagnosis sufficiently in their eyes.

1. Surgical Treatment

Their procedure is cleaver when surgical treatment seems necessary. 757
a) Blood-letting is a universal treatment for every difficulty localized to any extent. In the simplest case, cuts about one centimeter long, /gu-regu, are made in the skin above the ailing part of the body. Nearly all the Hottentots, whom I examined closely when taking physical measurements, showed traces of this blood-letting. In one case the pubic area and the small of the back were covered with some forty scars a half centimeter long. The wounds had been made when he was a child by his father to cure "the deep descent of the intestines into the lower trunk" from which the child suffered.

[313] They call blood-letting in the narrower sense "!hui-gi-gu-rub (opening a vein). It is used particularly for stiffness and pains in the limbs and is supposed to prevent them from swelling. The patient must first take a hot drink before the cutting. Then the blade of a sharp knife is placed across the vena mediana cubiti in the elbow joint of the right arm and the handle of the knife is struck with a little piece of wood so that the blade enters. They take about 100 centimeters of blood as far as I could estimate.

Bleeding /gu-!n follows the opening of the vein. A goat or calf horn serves as an instrument for bleeding (!hũ-//nãĩ, from !hũ/ - sucking marrow out of bones), by cutting off the point, they make a second opening for sucking which the bleeder puts in his mouth. The opposite, wider opening which is also filed [illegible] firmly pressed on the bleeding cut. They do not empty the horn filled with blood on the ground but on a wet cake of cow dung to get rid of the sight of human blood quickly. [Picture. Horn for Bleeding. 1/2 natural size] [Picture. Closing a Wound].

The wound is closed in the following manner. They stick a thorn, 752
d, firmly into the skin, twice (by c, to the right and also to the left near the vein a) in such a way that it lies diagonally across the cut b. Under the free ends of the thorn they slip a thread and tie it firmly

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously. 752

[213] To the west of !Hoerga!nas, in the border territory of the Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded bare-legged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there. 757

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls "nu/!nu/a-b, or more frequently calls ||-hab, borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /hganis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called "/hai-/i), which the sea casts up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water. [165] [278]

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with finger-nails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scab, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired. [755]

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Furunculus," ǂhûi-gwâi-hes, or pus-foot, ǂhûi-ǃnaes-s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhûi-s, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound.

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called ǂa-ragyeni-hes, i.e. "cutting toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa-hegu, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and hair if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, uncleaned reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name ǂûa-/nabi/.

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllum cuspidatum L. f. (called ǂnaǂhaib because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat.

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name ǃnu-/nugu.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds here" (um, v.).

Splinting (/gub-) of a broken bone (ǂûbe-s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely.

[215] 2. Midwifery

One can gain an insight into the intimate problems in this field only after one has acquired the confidence of the older women after a lengthy stay in the country, making a serious breach of the question possible. Once one has this confidence, one is probably safe from deliberate lies. However, one should never depend on the information of one person, but always test the reliability of what one has heard on other people in different places, without ever revealing the least bit of information which one has already acquired. In this way with time and patience I was able to acquire information that was plausible and not contradictory about a series of points from the natives. It was impossible for me to make direct observations in this area. I have tried to fill out the gaps by having a trusted person show me personally the techniques which I had learned were used with pregnant women, those giving birth, and those who have just given birth. 124

a) Pregnancy (!hẫ-i, !gu/m, v.). The Hottentot woman does not usually consider missing a period the first symptom of pregnancy, but rather the discomforts of pregnancy, *//gao-nâ, such as loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, etc., assuming that the person concerned otherwise does not suffer from these disturbances. The loss of color in the face during pregnancy they designate with the same word that is used for make-up: /ho/ho. Whether the above-mentioned custom of painting the face originally had some connection with pregnancy is difficult to decide. 125

The Hottentot women claim that they can definitely determine pregnancy in the second month by massaging the abdomen and by feeling the changed uterus through the wall of the stomach. As soon as pregnancy is suspected, the greased abdomen is massaged 2 to 3 times a week by two women for 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The massage begins at the middle line between the breasts and works downward. They work sideways along the curve of the ribs with wide spread thumbs, and work back again with all five fingers flat, from the area above the iliac crests to the front wall of the abdomen. They listen very carefully to see if they hear a gurgling in the large intestine. If they have found gas, [216] they are satisfied. They push it down on the left side of the body until it escapes to prevent it going "to the head," because there it would produce fever in the woman. The massage ends with a gentle pressing upwards of the groin on both sides of the middle line between the breasts. [153]

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth.

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A resin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ghu-ses, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */oums-b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body.

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily.

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 30 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tinderey powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */hu'khe-n. If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat.

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor

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The [illegible] gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little rush enclosure, *khara oma*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *ube xarisi*), carries her into the *khara oma*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *khara oma*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin karos. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also /*nas*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or senile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other /*nas* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *ube xarisi* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

§ [The girl's mother. — Author]

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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gui* /*gui*, big; brother, the latter as */gui-hommub*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a damie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These magic and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, these ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or prevent him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] Fourie, op. cit., 109.
[2] Olpp, op. cit., 189.
[3] Olpp, "Aus den Sagenkreisen der Hottentotten-Khoin," 41-2; Fourie, op. cit., 84-5; Schultze, op. cit., 189.

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775 sons, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the //*naun*, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the */kai /aun*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the */kai /aun* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761] Underlying this dread is the belief that the */kai /aun*, the ghosts,
• 753 cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through
the *!gui aoga*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he
[75] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, *//gâs oai, /uri /kâp /gâike te go ma*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the */kai /aun* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the */kai /aun* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289.
[2] "The Nama," 133.
[3] Op. cit., 318. A similar connexion indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii, 35-6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 80.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

let rain "[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gui*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

/Gamma se /Gaes	The Heart of the Thunder
/Hoaroaroa!	Son of the Thundercloud!
/Gorib-khai, /Gaoroa!	Thou brave, loud-speaking /Gaeo!
/Oasi gubere,	Talk softly, please,
/Hanib t'aes o-kh-aoroab;	For I have no guilt;
/Khaoro	Let me alone! (Forgive me?)
/Oaoaga enige.	For I have become quite weak.
/Gaeroa!	Thou, O /Gaeo!
/Hoaroa aoroa!	Son of the Thundercloud!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourroa* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thaabwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khab*, i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui ||Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tsuib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narra, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129–30. [2] Ibid., 59–60. [3] Loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 50–2. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, II, 125.
[6] "Redman," *soro-khoib*, is another name used for themselves by the Namas, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *soro-khoin*, "black man," and the Europeans or "white men" *hoab-khoin*.

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753 776 782 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 776 821 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /haba ra /ga*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Namab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 776 773 796 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 751 784 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 322. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *Amowaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [759] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witchcraft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarás*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hai /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for 791 */hai /nun*, and even the term *//gaunab* in the singular may be used for a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hai /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hai /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hai /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104. [4] Op. cit., pp. 86.
[2] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Natives," 320.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

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Nama

The only [illegible]
165 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less clearly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Namas died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infliction due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is *//aiseisa*, "sickness," which they regard
[824] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *//gu*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are *//aotse*, paralysis, *//kais*, "fever," *//arab*,
783 varicose veins, and */aomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *//gu* becomes */aun*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the *//aarriage* ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii. 431 ff., iii. 98, 316 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 670; Schinz, *op. cit.*, 391; von Francois, *op. cit.*, 219–16; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 207; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 6, 983–6 passim.

[2] "Conception of Isan among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, *op. cit.*, 213.

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Nama

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary /*nas mentiliions*: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gui aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gui aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gui aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as *hip*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

Some of [illegible] 77

dung are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties inside to go, "now587
are clean" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of taro."

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been operated more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Aráib, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terrible spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Bernabe the people professed great indignation at first when they found I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze* has given an admirable account of the 767
Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical 753
methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is /dixpa, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, //ãp, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent [64]
disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though

* These herbs were of medicinal and for ceremonial purposes, as here, often from tribe to tribe. The dried and the fresh ones were used by the priests.

*L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 311 sqq.

753 among the herbs which are to be found in any particular territory are always some
757 which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective, it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and been cured of it. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.

758 The chief diseases described to me as receiving this treatment are //nuise, "paraly-
759 sis", //kûs, "fever", ǂ'aiab, "various veins", and ǂaoxûs, a disease called lupus by my
757 interpreter, which I suspect is cancer. Whether in the old days people with some of these
164 dread diseases were effectively isolated, I do not know, though the Hottentots describe some of them as ǂ'ôti //ûi, "contagious diseases". Certain it is that today, especially in Walfish Bay, the people are eaten up with these diseases, though inland they appear to be less prevalent. The treatment, when carried out, is exactly similar to that described in the miscarriage ceremony, except that there is one important point on which I find my information fails me. I cannot say definitely that the "sacramental" feast takes place on these occasions. In one record it is stated that when various veins are being treated, the kidneys of the goat killed is strung on a stave together with the tail of the animal and tied round the ankle of the sufferer, just as in the miscarriage ceremony it was tied round the woman's waist. But whether the goat is eaten in company, I do not know. I regret that my information is not unequivocal on this point.

756 Otherwise the statements are clear enough. Gottlieb says, "when a man is sick
757 (//ûp) he is lean, and must look after himself. He mustn't touch anyone with his hands, he mustn't touch cold water or the pots. When the roots which have been made to inject medicine are healed (/ori), then the person who cut him must clean him with fat and milk mixed with cowdung; then he is taken to the well and has clay rubbed on his legs. He has also to take off all his old clothes, and give them to the one who cuts him. Then they say 'he/she is go'; 'you are clean.'"

/Ariabs said, "Paralysis is cured by cutting and putting in the dirt of one who has already had it. It is no simple task to undertake to cure anyone, for if anything goes wrong the people are sure to think something has been omitted or not done right." He spoke feelingly after much experience. Other informers mention ingredients which are mixed with the dirt, the chief of these being //naise kûip, "paralysis stick", the ground bark of a little plant.

Hannah !Amatis had an adopted son, a boy of about eighteen, who had the disease called ǂaoxûs (lupus). She was most disheartened about him. She had had him cut four times by different people, on either side of the nose and in the nape of the neck, and had had kûip, together with the grease of these persons, rubbed in. All of them had had wounds and been cured, according to Hannah. When I saw the boy, he had just come from his last treatment, which had taken place some distance inland. He looked very ill.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Kuma

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would show, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these customs to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Namas, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hoi /Kün, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 284.
† *Ibid.*, p. 284.
‡ *Tsuni-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

6: Hoerale E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Rivers

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* *Ibid.*, p. 284.
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6: Hoerale E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Ama

• 753 774 761 the Namaqua, either themselves, or through the Nūki Auga, the modernised men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Hoi /Nūin, some people not hesitating to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Namaqua why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Namaqua will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hoi /Nūin would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Hoi /Nūin come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons coming home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Ewerbeyn I found the /Hoi /Nūin were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelswart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "/Gâis mi, 'nei !hûp gûibe to go mo" (an Hottentot, a white horse since I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die." Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hoi /Nūin that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary mourners, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water. The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a !kuiis, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Bondelswarts, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Pho—e, hi re, tsin hâ hâ hun !hoa !nun pho—e' (Pho—e, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, pho—e) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in its path." This expression, pho—e, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Namaqua, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind. 823 821 [753]

* See p. 334.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Nama

753 774 774 the Namas, either themselves, or through the /Gei Anga, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Hei /Nûs, some people not hesitating to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in here, the skeleton, which he says is a loathsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, where I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hei /Nûs would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Hei /Nûs come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Hei /Nûs were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grove, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelswart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "/Gâis mâi, /uri !khîp gûibe te go mâ" (my flesh, a white man alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.[1] Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hei /Nûs that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on.* But the ordinary mourners, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water. 823 824 [753] The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Narin, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Red Nation, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Phu—u, hê re, tain hê hê kun !kun !kun phu—u' (Phu—u, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in the path." This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Namas, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

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* See p. 231.

6: Howitt E-S (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Howitt

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the structure of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of the life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worst a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure in the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khart, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or bucku, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

7: Lebller D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Abstract.

Grevenbroeck (1660) and Kolben (1738), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Men. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone cut of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Grevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that *after* medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and food, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an undermeaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and lung diseases swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1696) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Afr. F817

affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is frankly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away.

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[**]) The women lead a hard, rough life whilst producing barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population.

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun sore, the moon cha, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.**]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness.

[The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.**)] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

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*) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 139, 141. (The Namaqua use the terms aore for the sun, and //kaob for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is zoab.)

**) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

14.Hahn 1-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermann FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGoam, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGoam; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race. 169 171 173 174 182 194

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or somewhat relation, will soon arrive." 127

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or ear-drops. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die. 125 141

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-cows may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife. 125 127

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnas, on the banks of the Geiǂib 181

The magic box is also the Hottentot's poison supply. Whereas 757
billygoat fat possesses only healing properties, the other ingredients are 755
said to have a poisonous effect when secretly mixed with the enemy's tobacco or smeared on the bit of his pipe.

The box is also a soothsaying apparatus. A thread is placed in the 757
fat. The end which sticks out of the closed box is lighted and held to- 755
wards the wind. The direction of the smoke is followed by the Hottentot, if he does not know where he should look for a runaway cow or a lost companion. If he wants to catch up with a companion on the way to a meagre water hole so that he can water his oxen first, he ties a knot in the thread and lights it. Just as the glimmering fire goes out and is stopped, so his companion is supposed to be stopped until caught up with. Whoever has the reputation of controlling events in this way, is usually highly regarded as a doctor. Besides conscious deceit, medi- 755
cinal magic has many procedures which are based on faith and perhaps work by suggestion. Pains in the head and limbs are charmed away by two rather large glass beads, !gai-/!ai/mus, which serve only this purpose. A thread is tied firmly around the head and the two beads are placed close together in the middle of the forehead. If in the course of hours they slip far apart, then the pain has to be gone.

[227] A Hottentot woman ties a loin chain, //ni^{n}i-b, made of round little pieces of ostrich eggshells, around her own or her child's hips for pains in the abdomen.

The so-called "fright illness" of children which supposedly manifests itself by the child fainting for no particular reason, gets its name !kʰaa/os from the eland antelope, whose skin is highly prized as a cure for this illness. The skin is cut into small octagonal pieces and into strips 1/2 centimeter wide, dried, and made supple with eland fat. The cure consists in the following: a little piece of the skin, scarcely the size of a lentil, is turned to ash, pulverized with the fingernail, mixed into a swallow of milk, and fed to the child. The strap is bound around the child's breast as the illustration shows. When it falls off of its own accord several days later, the cure is considered successfully concluded. In the case that I knew about the magician received a goat in payment. [Picture. Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.]

Inadequate and irregular food, privations of all kinds, uncleanliness, 164
premature sexual intercourse and excessive use of alcohol and tobacco are the principal destructive forces from which the Hottentot's body suffers. Tuberculosis (//noba-b) and venereal disease are extensive.
Syphilis claims many victims.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hai /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The */gei aops* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hai /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nun*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wikar, "Beriqt aan van Plettenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Report on the Fan in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Meinke, "Die ältesten Reisenberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85–6; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 517–21 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 520–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 85.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly, according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated." Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called *//gauna //oro-khoin*, i.e. people who died the *//gauna* death.[2]

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers. When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission, never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation or to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was common and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of *//Gaunab*, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them."[5]

Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites.

[1] Cf. above, p. 266.
[2] Op. cit., 86.
[3] *Verzeichniss der Cocoa Hottentotten*, 133.
[4] Grevenbroek, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 24; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 358; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 428; Albrecht, "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 2693; Shaw, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 40–1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133–6 Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334.
[5] Op. cit., 86; cf. 74.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylviidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the */gai aob* is to cure people who have been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with 755 the */hei /nun*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nun* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the */gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good, he is much respected, and is an important person in the community. 754 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make 823 people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 29; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutz. Kolztg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 520–1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a !naip*, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*/ga//goab*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," 321. [2] Op. cit., 23, 24. [3] Ibid., 83.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gèio aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gèio aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, 751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare [439] these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conjointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Nama

751 823 182 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Hei /Nûn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life.

754 756 823 The next example is a little different. In the old days, there were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Hei /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by //Gãunb.* or the /Hei /Nûn, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

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* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //A !naip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: "A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye hui te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams !na ni ão !gã tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter, p. 419.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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argument, be a good "blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; "there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now passed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai* aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because goods-stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloom, Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of "scientific" and "sympathetic" lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

*For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus:—D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best; worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aie jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 Divitiae Afris nostris palmariae, arma, et pecus sunt. Fixas sedes nullas habeat, migrare per arva illis mos, atque errantes circumportare penates, bubis citatis velocissimisque dorso quaecunque onera, etiam homines et clitellas portantibus, et quo prata et pascua gregem, buceraque secla vocant, huc cum mapalibus suis sparsi, vagantesque circumcelliones ire, pecusque quoad contenebrascit pascere, illudque septis (ut supra dixi) nocte continere, alternantes brachia pedesque plausu, et ducere choros lasciviore corporis motu imminente luna, intempestâ concubiaque nocte assolent.

Morbo et aetate confectum, solum mutantes in tuguriolo probè clauso, instructum commeatu, aquâ et igne, pro silicern(i)o, singulari immanitate depositum, omnique auxilio destitutum, Barbarorum barbarissimi nobis vicini, nullo sexus aut consanguinitatis respectu, a lege alimentaria alienissimi derelinquunt.

Feminae ex incurvatis arcuatisque et in terram depactis tigillis crebrisque axiculis, transversè sibi invicem vimine connexis, orbiculatum convexum, testudineumque, et circiter quinque pedes altum, ejusque diametro duodenos non excedente, tuguriolum cum bicubitali ostiolo orienti obverso aedificant, illudque craticulis seu mattis, storeisve ex junco hibisco scirpove aff[r]abrè textis, quandoque etiam pellibus, contra caeli inclementiam aestuantesque ventos contegunt, et hoc tectum totam familiam, tenerosque agnellos, adasias cum vitulis excipit, in cujus centro omnibus fovendis cibisque praeparandis foculus perennis lucet, ibique ut plurimum libero corde confabulantur, tempusque cacchinis et cavillationibus Abarides, concordiâ conjunctissimi terunt: En lepidum gynaeceum!

Hae etiam figlina sua vasa dextrè satis conflant, ex fusili argillâ, quam effossam domum deportant, eamque in partes jugiandium magnitudine sectam, pellique inspersam, aspersamque subinde quantulacunque aquiculâ, ne nimium arescat, in biduum aut triduum insolant, hinc depititiam in cylindros, botellorum instar, ulnae magnitudine singulos, redigunt: primumque in gyros, turbinemque inflectunt

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888 754 [73]) This custom of abandoning elderly people to their fate was still being practised by the Hottentots in the middle of last century (see authorities quoted by Schapera, op. cit., 359). Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[73])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

171 a Lindwurm's (*i.e.*, a dragon's) trail was to be seen, now a brook is winding. Beowulf kills the dragon who lives in the lake. Acheloos, the River-god, became a serpent when Hercules fought for Deïaneira. Siegfried kills the dragon in the cavern on the Rhine: and many more instances too numerous to mention. (See on this subject, Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," Berlin, 1860, especially pp. 58, 59, &c.; Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 252; "On Serpent Worship," Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," pp. 186, &c.; Müller, "Americanische Urreligionen.")

825 So much as to the Serpent and Fountain superstition among the Khoikhoi. I have eagerly searched, but in vain, for indications of a serpent worship among the Namaquas, as we find among the Kafir tribes, especially the Ama-Zulu. What I heard and saw with my own eyes amongst the natives may here find place at once.

825 754 Not so many years ago a sorcerer died. When he felt his end approaching, he whistled, and all at once snakes of all sizes and of all descriptions came and assembled round their master, and crept over him, so that the eye-witness from whom I have this, and other people who were in the hut, cleared out as fast as their feet could carry them. The same person told me that he had a dispute once with that sorcerer about the power he exercised over the snakes, when the man told him that, if he doubted his witchcraft, he would call as many snakes as he wished to see. Upon which he whistled, and snakes of every kind approached from all directions, and the sorcerer took them from the ground and put them round his neck.

825 In January, 1872, I was on the mission station Warm Bath (or Nisbet Bath), in Great Namaqualand. I offered payment to the value of three and four shillings for large snakes, especially for very poisonous animals. No sooner was this known than a young fellow, of about twenty-two years of age, came to me and said he would bring as many as I liked, but he wished a goat for each pair. I agreed, and after some hours he returned with a pair of

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered !gauna
775 !ōra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
766 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered !gauna !ora khoin.

838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of
[754] their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of !Gaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that !Gaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAuni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, !Gaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsūi!goab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[171] is strange that the !Gabe-Bushmen, the !Ai-Bushmen, the !Nunin, and especially among these the Heiǂguin (or wooden noses), all know !Gauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsūi!goab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the !Gauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sān and Khoikhoin. Tsūi!goab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] °!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the °!garisab plant, °

> °When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [28]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called °!gu/bi· b or °xam≠kxa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

The magic box is also the Hottentot's poison supply. Whereas billygoat fat possesses only healing properties, the other ingredients are said to have a poisonous effect when secretly mixed with the enemy's tobacco or smeared on the bit of his pipe.

The box is also a soothsaying apparatus. A thread is placed in the fat. The end which sticks out of the closed box is lighted and held towards the wind. The direction of the smoke is followed by the Hottentot, if he does not know where he should look for a runaway cow or a lost companion. If he wants to catch up with a companion on the way to a meagre water hole so that he can water his oxen first, he ties a knot in the thread and lights it. Just as the glimmering fire goes out and is stopped, so his companion is supposed to be stopped until caught up with. Whoever has the reputation of controlling events in this way, is usually highly regarded as a doctor. Besides conscious deceit, medicinal magic has many procedures which are based on faith and perhaps work by suggestion. Pains in the head and limbs are charmed away by two rather large glass beads, !gai-/!a:/mra, which serve only this purpose. A thread is tied firmly around the head and the two beads are placed close together in the middle of the forehead. If in the course of hours they slip far apart, then the pain has to be gone.

[227] A Hottentot woman ties a loin chain, //nũ'i-b, made of round little pieces of ostrich eggshells, around her own or her child's hips for pains in the abdomen.

The so-called "fright illness" of children which supposedly manifests itself by the child fainting for no particular reason, gets its name !kxa/ns from the eland antelope, whose skin is highly prized as a cure for this illness. The skin is cut into small octagonal pieces and into strips 1/2 centimeter wide, dried, and made supple with eland fat. The cure consists in the following: a little piece of the skin, scarcely the size of a lentil, is turned to ash, pulverized with the fingernail, mixed into a swallow of milk, and fed to the child. The strap is bound around the child's breast as the illustration shows. When it falls off of its own accord several days later, the cure is considered successfully concluded. In the case that I knew about the magician received a goat in payment. [Picture. Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.]

Inadequate and irregular food, privations of all kinds, uncleanliness, premature sexual intercourse and excessive use of alcohol and tobacco are the principal destructive forces from which the Hottentot's body suffers. Tuberculosis (//noba·b) and venereal disease are extensive. Syphilis claims many victims.

1: Schultze--45A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.227]

Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damob* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating on the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gelo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gaib*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 62–3. [3] Ibid., 126.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 530. [4] *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 226.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylviidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the */gai aob* is to cure people who have
755 been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with the */hei /nuu*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nuu* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the */gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
823 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 93; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutsch. Kol.Ztg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 130–1; cf. Idem, "South-West Africa," 27.

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gai aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gai aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as */op*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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796 marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognised, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises, a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The !nau person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'essence' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in remarriage, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the rank of hunters, in the treatment of diseases which [753] are regarded as !nau, etc. For diseases the injection of the essence seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of crises is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the !nau person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the !nau person and persons who can no longer become !nau may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

783 888 **Some details concerning the state of !nau.** It has already been mentioned that there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attaching to !nau. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power as long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if times be hard and he is rather a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and none in which inanimate

[1] ≠Âs, lit. "killing". [2] For such a cleansing the word //aoaxa is used.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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753 among the herbs which are to be found in any particular territory are always some
757 which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective, it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and been cured of it. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.

753 The chief diseases described to me as receiving this treatment are *//auta*, "paraly-
755 sis", *//khis*, "fever", *ǂúrub*, "varicose veins", and *!nomis*, a disease called lupus by my
757 interpreter, which I suspect is cancer. Whether in the old days people with some of these
164 dread diseases were effectively isolated, I do not know, though the Hottentots describe some of them as *ǂkhi //ôb*, "contagious diseases". Certain it is that today, especially in Walfish Bay, the people are eaten up with these diseases, though inland they appear to be less prevalent. The treatment, when carried out, is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony, except that there is one important point on which I find my information fails me. I cannot say definitely that the 'sacramental' feast takes place on these occasions. In one record it is stated that when varicose veins are being treated, the !nâoxûs of the goat killed is strung on a sinew together with the tail of the animal and tied round the ankle of the sufferer, just as in the remarriage ceremony it was tied round the woman's waist. But whether the goat is eaten in company, I do not know. I regret that my information is not unequivocal on this point.

756 Otherwise the statements are clear enough. Gottlief says, "when a man is sick
757 (*//ôp*) he is !nau, and must look after himself. He mustn't touch anyone with his hands, he mustn't touch cold water or the pots. When the cuts which have been made to inject medicine are healed (*/arî*), then the person who cut him must clean him with fat and milk mixed with cowdung; then he is taken to the well and has clay rubbed on his legs. He has also to take off all his old clothes, and give them to the one who cuts him. Then they say 'lanûts ke go'; 'you are clean.'"

/Arisib said, "Paralysis is cured by cutting and putting in the dirt of one who has already had it. It is no simple task to undertake to cure anyone, for if anything goes wrong the people are sure to think something has been omitted or not done right." He spoke feelingly after much experience. Other informers mention ingredients which are mixed with the dirt, the chief of them being *//auta hêip*, "paralysis stick", the ground bark of a little plant.

Hannah !Arratis had an adopted son, a boy of about eighteen, who had the disease called !nomis (lupus). She was most disheartened about him. She had had him cut four times by different people, on either side of the nose and in the nape of the neck, and had had !nomi hêip, together with the grease of these persons, rubbed in. All of them had had !nomis and been cured, according to Hannah. When I saw the boy, he had just come from his last treatment, which had taken place some distance inland. He looked very ill.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this hom! hêip has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, (somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same when I received a piece lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hottentot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'andersmaked' is performed by killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to the circumstances of the family"[28]. This may be a feast similar to the one in which all partake when the ǂaxais leaves her kharú ǒms.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described. They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp or krsal was moved. My informers state that in the earlier days of their recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish Bay, and one while I was in Berseba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes !nau, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purification rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

[28] Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley,' London, 1738, p. 313. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Nuremberg, 1719).

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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841 823 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled [272 177] to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares, formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gàra 823 [844] ●[755] dama góure ǂhaba ǂhabare "* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will be the older women who have looked after her who will free her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When 823 841 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain: it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* ǂHaba is *Fockea damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 95 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

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Abstract.

753 Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, 755 both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by [787] examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and [562] men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

164 After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and [171] less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore [846] breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which 757 retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding [824] item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Massage.

757 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part
755 with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common
[841] use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation
[842] of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then
[278] cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing
232 any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently
142 referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentots, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5.(1673) 1933
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000 Uxoribus, quot habuere viros, tot digitorum articuli a primo minimi digiti incipiendo abscinduntur. Polygamiae, *Muhammedorum* more, indulgent. [u]) Industria* gentis hujus ingeniis culta, non legibus. Sola vindicta illis est homicidii poena; ubi trucidati cujuscunque consanguinei percussorem persequuntur; neque quiescunt, nisi ultionem fecerint; repertumque itaque fustibus caedunt, telisve transverberant, occisum multis etiamnum ictibus ferientes. Caetera, sive adulterium, sive furtum, vitia non nisi talionis lege puniunt. Denique id sibi peculiare habent: si juvenis inter eos aegrotat, pinguem mactant bovem, futuri delicias convivii, atque, quae maxima opima sunt, exta cum omento aegrotantis collo appendunt, usquedum putrefacta decidunt, quae senex quisquam devorare debet. In successionibus haereditarium jus apud eos, praesertim apud *Essequas*, valet.

CAP. XXIII.

De Matrimonio.

Conjugium inire volentes suos *parentes* sollicitant, illi *Praefectos*, ut sibi integrum sit, ducere virginem; etsi nunquam, nisi bajulum, ad minimum unum, *bovem*, transportando cum suppellectili tugurio, unam alteramve lactariam *vaccam*, emulgendo *lacti*, *ovesque* decem vel duodecim, celebrandis sponsalibus repotiisve &c. possideant. Qui vero locupletiores, *Turcarum* ritu polygamiam exercent: atque iis si connubium non arriserit, nubtam

*I feel sure *industria* is a mistake for *iustitia*. Ten Rhyne in this sentence is simply transcribing Justin. See note [u]), p. 142. B.F.

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304 [46]) This form of mutilation has already been discussed, see above, p. 63. a

628 [47]) Blood vengeance. ‖ *Kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots, down till within fairly recent times. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act (cf. discussion in Schapera, *op cit.*, 345-6).

● 755 [48]) The treatment of sick people is described more fully by Grevenbroek, see below, p. 243. b A similar observation to that of Ten Rhyne was recorded in 1710 by Commissary Cnoll, who learned from some Hottentots, near the present Houw Hoek, that "in case of the very worst diseases, it is their custom to place

a [See 8: Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p. 63. — Analyst]

b [See 10: Grevenbroek, this File, cat. 116, p. 243. — A.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [16]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [17]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [18]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away. S 595

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[34]) The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population. S 562 593 853 S [842 145]

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, the moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.[37]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness. H 821 771 753 841

[The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[36])] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen. H 514 576 H [755]

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[37]) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Naman use the terms *sores* for the sun, and *//kxab* for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *zoub*.)

[36]) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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Cape Hottentot

000 Humorum acrimoniam, inflationes inflammationesque seu phlegmone(s), aliaque tubera, decumbentibus aeque feliciter ac nostrates cucurbitulis, ore exugunt: hoc modo Aram vix bilustri cujusdam Europaei filiolae verendis exsuxisse calculum phaseoli magnitudine, ex illius parentibus accipio.

Convalescenti salubribus jusculis pharmacisque corroborato, sacerdos sive haruspex omnem comam novaculâ abradit, postea illum viridibus foliis, nostratium salicis affinibus, sed minoribus, cutem corticemque malorum redolentibus, totum ab unguiculo ad capillum summum perfricat, mox calidâ aquâ, ultimoque persanatum frigidâ abluit: porrò una alterave ove, et si res pecuaria restituto sanitati ampla est, etiam bove aliove armento aut jumento ejus saluti perlitat, quem adipe hostiae delibutum, perspersumque pulvisculis herbae bochu, omentoque bestiae intorto, ejusque collo amuleti loco circumjecto, amictuque pinguedine inuncto, et bochu pulvere consperso sanum salvumque convivatorem dimittit, et in sostrum lautè soteriis cum amicis excipitur. Quae sit salutifera, quaeque sit herba nocens, earundemque vim apprimè norunt: recordor eos indicasse mihi florem, narrantes illo e terra pullulante, mulieres suas quotannis mense Septembri aliquot diebus, altum sopitas, gravique somno pressas, et quasi torpore obductas, veternosas catalepsi laborantes in multum lucem stertere. Tempestatum significatus post futuros ante pronunciant, nec siderum motus stellarumque discursum planè ignorare videntur, quod exemplo infra colligendum dabo.

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751 752 755 ●

[44]) Scarification (followed by rubbing various ingredients into the cuts, i.e. a form of inoculation) and cupping are still practised among the modern Hottentots (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 407, 409 ff.) The sucking to which G. refers is nowadays used chiefly in case of snakebite and similar injuries, to remove the poison, and also in such cases where the disease is attributed to the introduction by wizards and evil spirits of foreign substances into the patient's body. The magician massages the part affected and then sucks hard at it, to produce at last triumphantly from his mouth the harmful substances which he claims to have extracted in this way from the body of the patient (Schapera, 390).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[73]) 323

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture). 285 415

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[74]) Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea, their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is. 291 301 755 782

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures. 301

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell. 293 291

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[74]) The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] °!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the °!garisab plant,°

> °When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [128]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called °!gu/bi·b or °xam≠kxa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

751 823 182 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Heí /Nûn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life

754 ●756 823 [797] The next example is a little different. In the old days, there were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Heí /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by //Gãuab,* or the /Heí /Nûn, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //Ä !naip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: " A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye huí te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams !na ni ǂo ǂgã tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

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* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter, p. 419.

the tail of a fat-tailed sheep is preferred to that of cattle or goats because of its softness. The grease is poured into the ox horn containers over a small skin strip that lies inside, from which the salve can be conveniently stripped off in small quantities between the fingers. 302 415 [237]

Greasing the body with fat is also a thorough massage. The word !gu·ri designates both. For relieving a general [Picture. Horn Fat Containers. 1/4 natural size] sick feeling and for increasing [208] a feeling of well-being (for example, to induce a pleasant feeling of tiredness before going to bed), massage is the Hottentots' favorite kind of body care. [Picture. Pricked Ornamentation around the Horn Fat Container. 1/2 natural size. The vertical lines follow the natural pattern of the horn.] [757]

3. Cosmetics

They try to give their skin a pleasant smell by powdering themselves with buchu (//nõs(e)n). The buchu, sã-b, is a fine brown powder which the women make out of the following ingredients, sometimes, just one, sometimes mixed, according to what is available or to individual taste: 302 137 303

a) from the short, fleshy leaves of certain Mesembrianthemum species, which they call gai- and *~~//gxari-~~ga·eb. Instead of these leaves, the aboveground and underground parts of the most varied kinds of bushes are used to prepare buchu, such as the slim bulblike, swollen root part of a Cyperus species.

b) Lichen are favorite ingredients for buchu. The Parmelia hottentotta (Thbg.) Ach. is scraped off stones and therefore is called */u·i//kxao·b, i.e. "stone scratch." Other lichen for buchu have the names *!na·/robeb and *!u·/risã·b.

c) The powdery spores of a mushroom [Bauchpilz] (it seems to be a Podaxon species) are already so fine a powder, that the women hang the dried spore container by a thread around their necks [209] and it empties itself on their necks and breasts. The underground parts of the mushroom are dried and pulverized.

The women keep the buchu herbs which they collect in a little bag, which is made preferably from the skin of a lamb that was born prematurely or has been taken from the body of the mother. The skin is removed in one piece. The parts of the plants are pulverized on a stone either as soon as they are dry or after a brief roasting over the fire. The powder is then frequently mixed with fine quartz dust, 303 302 [415]

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 396
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gũ'b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [203
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 189
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na·bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [136]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

leg is massaged in the direction towards the foot to empty them. Thus the excrement is supposed to be pushed out; where it goes does not worry them. The actual success which they often have with this cure confirms the diagnosis sufficiently in their eyes. 753 757

1. Surgical Treatment

Their procedure is clearest when surgical treatment seems necessary. 757

a) Blood-letting is a universal treatment for every difficulty localized to any extent. In the simplest case, cuts about one centimeter long, /go·regu, are made in the skin above the ailing part of the body. Nearly all the Hottentots, whom I examined closely when taking physical measurements, showed traces of this blood-letting. In one case the pubic area and the small of the back were covered with some forty scars a half centimeter long. The wounds had been made when he was a child by his father to cure "the deep descent of the intestines into the lower trunk" from which the child suffered.

[212] They call blood-letting in the narrower sense °!hui·ǂkxu·rub (opening a vein). It is used particularly for stiffness and pains in the limbs and is supposed to prevent them from swelling. The patient must first take a hot drink before the cutting. Then the blade of a sharp knife is placed across the vena mediana cubiti in the elbow joint of the right arm and the handle of the knife is struck with a little piece of wood so that the blade enters. They take about 100 centimeters of blood as far as I could estimate.

Bleeding /go/m follows the opening of the vein. A goat or calf horn serves as an instrument for bleeding (°!hũ///nã/s, from °!hũ/ - sucking marrow out of bones), by cutting off the point, they make a second opening for sucking which the bleeder puts in his mouth. The opposite, wider opening which is also filed smooth is firmly pressed on the bleeding cut. They do not empty the horn filled with blood on the ground but on a wet cake of cow dung to get rid of the sight of human blood quickly. [Picture, Horn for Bleeding. 1/2 natural size] [Picture, Closing a Wound].

The wound is closed in the following manner. They stick a thorn, d, firmly into the skin, twice (by c, to the right and also to the left near the vein a) in such a way that it lies diagonally across the cut b. Under the free ends of the thorn they slip a thread and tie it firmly 752

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[p212]

Horn for bleeding. 1/2 natural size.

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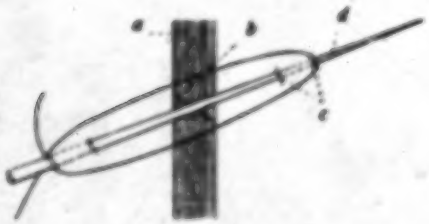

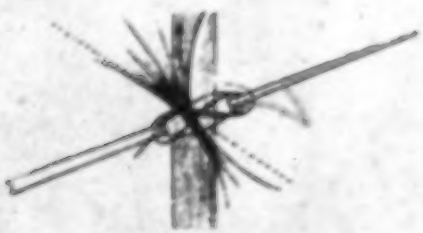

Closing a wound.

together. The skin between the places where the thorn has penetrated is thus raised in two folds, which press firmly together and so close the vein. The thorn is then shortened at both ends so that it disappears under the swelling made by the thread. The arm must be carried in a sling until the thorn and thread come out spontaneously. 752

[213] To the west of !Hoxga!nas, in the border territory of the Witbooi and the Red Nation, a small health resort, Hottentot style, is supposed to have existed when there was still plenty of water. People who had any kind of sickness and wanted to have their veins opened, waded barelegged in the pond of /Oas and let themselves be bitten by the numerous leeches which lived there. 757

If one other than a doctor may be permitted an opinion and if one may support this opinion by the language usage of the Boers (which is well known to the doctors in the Cape Colony), then I would like to claim that, judging from the most obvious symptoms, the sickness which the Hottentot calls "tsu/itso/a-b, or more frequently calls fi-laib, [169] borrowing from the Boer Dutch "vuilziekte," is syphilis. Individual syphilitic sores are superficially opened with a half-sharp instrument that tears rather than cuts (for example a quartz splinter). The wound is washed with sea water by the coastal dwellers, with a soap made from ashes of a bush called /kyanis by the natives of the interior. Then the wound deepened by scraping. As soon as the bleeding stops, they sprinkle the wound with seaweed powder. The strong hollow stalks of the Ecklonia buccinalis (L.) Hornem. (called "//hã/b), which the sea casts [178] up everywhere are slowly charred (not turned to ashes) and the coals pulverized. Before putting powder on the wounds, the sick person takes two swallows of sea water.

If the sores appear all over the body, then, as a native witness reported, the sick person is washed and the skin is scratched with fingernails until the body streams with blood. One man does the scratching, but others are needed to hold the patient firmly, who kicks about wildly from the pain and sometimes goes limp, forcing the process to be interrupted. Powdering concludes the procedure. If new sores form under the scabs, the skin is torn open again.

For assistants of the opposite sex, only the spouse or old people are permitted. The treatment itself may only be performed by those who already have had the sickness. Otherwise, they say, the treatment would be of no avail. But they also recognize the danger of infection, [175] for the sick person may not share either bed or eating or drinking utensils with healthy people. They believe that the person is cured after the disappearance of the sores and that immunity has been acquired.

[214] b) A treatment other than bleeding is used for some foot ailments. One sickness is designated as "Fotzenfuss," ǂnũãgyeǂai·bes, or pea-foot, ǂai·!naro·s which begins with the swelling of the whole foot or of individual toes. The parts of the sole that one steps on become painful, turn red, and the skin peels. In the middle of the inflamed area, a longish dark foreign body, about 2 centimeters in size, ǂhõã·s, shines through. To hasten its discharge, the foot is placed in the stomach dung of a freshly slaughtered goat and kept in the small stomach of the same animal for the night. If the inflamed area opens, then they warm and soften horse manure in water, smear the foot with it, and tie it up until the dark foreign body leaves the wound.

During the cold season, the Hottentot often suffers from bloody festering cuts on the inside joints of his second to fourth toes. The sickness is called ǂa·ragyetsĩ·bes, i.e. "curling toes."

Festering cuts, ǂa·bagu, in the skin of the heel, are smeared with ear wax and sometimes stitched with thorn and bast if they do not have a needle and thread. To heal wounds in the toes, the foot is placed in the warm, uncleaned reticulum of a goat or a sheep, or, best of all, of a cow (because it is the biggest). The foot is kept there until the contents of the stomach have cooled. The method of healing is known to every Hottentot by the name ǂ/ha·/raǂgã/.

The freshly removed skin of the lizard of the Agama genus is considered a good plaster to put on the feet when the skin has peeled. The fresh brain of these animals is smeared on as a salve. The dried root of the Zygophyllium cardifolium L. f. (called ǂnu/haĩb because of its brown leaves) is made into a salve for wounds after being pulverized and mixed with fat.

I have not been able to differentiate the various kinds of sores which have the name !nu·/mgu.

Characteristic of the metaphorical language of the Hottentots is the expression which describes the spreading of the seat of a disease: the sickness "builds huts" (om, v.).

Splinting (/goĕ·) of a broken bone (ǂkõa·s) is the final surgical accomplishment we shall mention. They tie five narrow strips of wood around the broken limb, which they tie to each other at both ends, so that they make a kind of casing. The limb is first wrapped in a skin, taking care that the blood can circulate freely.

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward. 845

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning. 757 278

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties. 757 278 825

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kxo·ras, consists in the following: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have. 757 278

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[224] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake *ǂno-/bo/ao-/s, Scelotes capensis Gthr. is considered an infallible antidote for snake bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of 752 825

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni· //hui· b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [751] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gã aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind testing and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives. 757 278

The excrement of rock rabbits, °!aũ· /aru· b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] *!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the *!garisab plant,*

> *When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [128]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called *!gu/bi- b or *xam≠kya/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

x539

(ga) he may be massaged (!guri).* And they came (/kxĩ). But the ostrich

[757] *Massage is one of the favorite household remedies of the Hottentots.

(/amisa) is milking (/ao) the cows (gomate - -ti) and sings (//naẽ): "[You look] alive (ũitsaba) in the (!na) eye (mũ). I (tita, pron.) think (ǂaĩ)."*

*The ostrich sees through the lion's deception.

Thus (tumi) sang the ostrich; whereupon [the lion]: "Little ostrich (-ro, dimin.), what (taẽ, abbreviated from tarẽe) are you saying (mĩ, ta after the s, the personal suff. of the subj., is euphonious for ra) there (ti)?" Whereupon the other: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob, term of respect) is most (gai "big" -se adverbial ending) deathly sick, I think, deathly sick is he." So said the ostrich. And the women (expressed only by the personal suff. of the fem. pl.) finished (toa "to cease") massaging him and went home (//aru, vb.). But one (/guisa) he caught ("!kxõ) and had intercourse with her. (ǂaẽ, "to complete coitus").

[Text omitted.]

[509] Translation of LV

The Lion and the Ostrich

The lion and the ostrich, the two of them, met (hao, narr. pass.) in (!na) the fields (!garob) when (hĩa) the lion had just killed (!gam) a springbo (//guba). Then the ostrich lit (kxau) a fire (/aẽsa). But the lion ate (õ) [th meat] raw (orase, adv.), and the ostrich roasted (am) it, and when (o) he h finished (toa "to cease," with the personal suff. of the subj.) eating, he again (//kxaba) went (si) to cut off (!gao) [some more for himself].

Then the lion said: "Say (gum---o), it was I (tita, pron.), after all (ǂabe), who killed a springbok (ǂhaẽ!, neut. sing.)!" and got angry (//aixa

Then the ostrich said: "You (sa---ts) child of a raw-eater! ("child" ~~õa~~, "of a mother who eats raw meat"; the mother is only hinted at contemptuously by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem.: -s,) you (-ts, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) raw-eater!"

852 source of water.[1] It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 ● 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in [824] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

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The early writers speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *top*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *!urub*, varicose veins, and */nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *top* becomes */nau*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before* 1795, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten ... der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

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a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gai aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gai aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as */op*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

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759 the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

757 On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also [842 previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according 841] to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

752 The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the 752 bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice 304 in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 19 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.
[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

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states that the head of the joint was tied up with sinew, and cut through below, the sticky juice of certain leaves and other herbs then being applied to the raw surface.

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For relatively localized pains the universal remedy is bleeding, either by venesection with bandaging or by cupping. In the former case, as described by Kolb, a thong is tied round the limb and the vein cut open below it. When enough blood has been drawn off, the incision is closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Cupping, apart from its use in the */nau* ceremonies and diseases, is specially employed for stiffness and pains in the limbs, in order to hinder their swelling, for colics and pains in the stomach, and also, according to Laidler, for the relief of madness and epilepsy. The cupping horn is a carefully-prepared tip of calf or goat horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is first applied dry, i.e. over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified, the horn pressed tightly over the bleeding cut, and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established, he bites the resin and so closes the aperture in it. The horn is then left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn.

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Cures and antidotes for the bites and stings of the multitudinous snakes, spiders, and scorpions found in the country naturally play a large part in Hottentot medicine.[1] An "infallible" antidote for snake bite is the dried body of the lizard *Scelates capense Gthr.* Small deep cuts are made slightly above and below the bite, and cupped for about half an hour. Then a tiny fragment of the lizard's body is pressed into each cut and rubbed in with wood ashes. The bite itself is only washed with water. Snake poison itself may also be used as an antidote, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. Sometimes the "doctor" makes incisions over the bite, then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. Vegetable poultices are sometimes applied, or the crushed head of the snake may be used in the same way in case of snake bite, while similarly powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting, the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste. The patient at the same time is given

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 224–5; Laidler, op. cit., 438–40.

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treating lupus, and consequently known as */nomi heip*, "lupus stick," must be treated with great deference. "When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not wholly disappear." [1]

Laidler has described at some length the herbal lore of the half-breed Naman of Little Namaqualand.[2] From the details he gives it appears that the principal ailments treated with herbs and roots are internal pains and fevers, classed together, he says, as "fires", and distinguished only by locality, certain women's troubles, flatulence as an entity, diarrhœa, and, among the accidental injuries, burns. In anæmias and weaknesses red substances are used, such as *Pelargonium anceps*, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are employed, several of his informants stated, because they are red, and the blood is red, and, therefore, they strengthen the blood; and, of course, when grown on red ground their value as drugs is increased enormously! All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. *Sutherlandia frutescens*, another red plant, was formerly used in decoction for washing wounds, and given as drink for fevers; nowadays it is used for consumption, chicken-pox, etc. *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, is considered a good poultice on bruises and cuts, and here again the colour appears to have been the chief attraction. Other decoctions for coughs and colds and fevers are made from the leaves of various Sages (*Salvia sp.*), as well as from the leaves of one species of wild olive, which are administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid. Other wild olives are used as sweating draughts, as is also *Grassula lycopodioides*.

Another species of wild olive is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and the leaves are also used as a plaster. Pains in the stomach are also treated with decoctions of *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens*; pains in the back are treated with *Boscia fœtida*; and shooting pains with *Passerina filiformis* or *Berkheyra sp.* For toothache the people chew the alkaline

[1] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 79.
[2] Op. cit., 434–5, 440–6; cf. for the Naman of S.W.A., Schultze, op. cit., 223 ff., Nolte, op. cit., 630–2.

757 278 leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[845] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia restituta* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus sp.* are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is *!au !arub*, the condensed urine and fæces of the dassie (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "dassiepis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition [847] generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the action of the atmosphere, is given internally [752] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhœa is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, pounded fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chiroma baccijeca*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Cynanchum capense Thun.* and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

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is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Cotyledon Walchii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkheyra sp.*, powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the same reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, that its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox is given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

Star Lore and Calendar

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and medicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or less directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the cares of everyday life, there is little trace of organized conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen are, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, and, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of season and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force the attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not discuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives a valuable detailed description.[1]

From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies for the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

[1] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 364–73.

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sheep are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties *ǀanâts ke go*, "you 587
are clean" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of Inau.[28]

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been married more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Arisib, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terrible spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Berseba the people professed great indignation at first when they found I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze[29] has given an admirable account of the 757
Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical 753
methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is */disena*, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *//ôp*, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent [164]
disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though

[28] The herbs used as medicines and for medicinal purposes, as here, differ from tribe to tribe. The dabi and the //gûnab are used by the *ǂ'Aonin*.

[29] L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 311 sqq.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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753 among the herbs which are to be found in any particular territory are always some
757 which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective, it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and been cured of it. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.

753 The chief diseases described to me as receiving this treatment are *//autsa*, "paraly-
755 sis", *//khîa*, "fever", *ǂ úrub*, "varicose veins", and *!nomîs*, a disease called lupus by my
757 interpreter, which I suspect is cancer. Whether in the old days people with some of these
164 dread diseases were effectively isolated, I do not know, though the Hottentots describe some of them as *ǂ hî //ôb*, "contagious diseases". Certain it is that today, especially in Walfish Bay, the people are eaten up with these diseases, though inland they appear to be less prevalent. The treatment, when carried out, is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony, except that there is one important point on which I find my information fails me. I cannot say definitely that the 'sacramental' feast takes place on these occasions. In one record it is stated that when varicose veins are being treated, the *!nâoxâs* of the goat killed is strung on a sinew together with the tail of the animal and tied round the ankle of the sufferer, just as in the remarriage ceremony it was tied round the woman's waist. But whether the goat is eaten in company, I do not know. I regret that my information is not unequivocal on this point.

755 Otherwise the statements are clear enough. Gottlief says, "when a man is sick
757 (*//ôp*) he is *!nau*, and must look after himself. He mustn't touch anyone with his hands, he mustn't touch cold water or the pots. When the cuts which have been made to inject medicine are healed (*/aré*), then the person who cut him must clean him with fat and milk mixed with cowdung; then he is taken to the well and has clay rubbed on his legs. He has also to take off all his old clothes, and give them to the one who cuts him. Then they say '*!anûts ke go*'; 'you are clean.'"

/Arisib said, "Paralysis is cured by cutting and putting in the dirt of one who has already had it. It is no simple task to undertake to cure anyone, for if anything goes wrong the people are sure to think something has been omitted or not done right." He spoke feelingly after much experience. Other informers mention ingredients which are mixed with the dirt, the chief of them being *//autsa hêip*, "paralysis stick", the ground bark of a little plant.

Hannah !Amatis had an adopted son, a boy of about eighteen, who had the disease called !nomîs (lupus). She was most disheartened about him. She had had him cut four times by different people, on either side of the nose and in the nape of the neck, and had had *!nomî hêip*, together with the grease of these persons, rubbed in. All of them had had !nomîs and been cured, according to Hannah. When I saw the boy, he had just come from his last treatment, which had taken place some distance inland. He looked very ill.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this homĭ hĕip has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, (somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same when I received a piece lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hottentot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'andersmaken' is performed by killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to the circumstances of the family"[1]. This may be a feast similar to the one in which all partake when the ǂaxnis leaves her kharú ǒms.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described. They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp or kraal was moved. My informers state that in the earlier days of their recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish Bay, and one while I was in Berseba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband who has died, the *wife* becomes ǂnau, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purification rites *before* attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

[1] Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley,' London, 1738, p. 213. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonæ Spei hodiernum, Nuremberg, 1719).

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however,
846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The
851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days
551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum-
843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the
642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a
871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that
[784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with
[757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names.
576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

7:Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

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Abstract.

Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an anderumaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

argument, be a good "blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; "there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai° aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloom. Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of "scientific" and "sympathetic" lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

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°For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus :— D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a F/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "doobe," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aip jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

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Massage.

Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentot, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born—once again a sympathetic reason.

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Kolben describes the operation of bleeding. First a thong was tied around the limb, and the vein opened below it. When enough blood had been drawn off, the incision was closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Alexander says that they were fond of bleeding, and the backs and sides of many were thickly scored with the knife. They were not over-particular about having a horn for cupping, the mouth frequently being used for that purpose. 757

The Nama cupping horn, as still in use, is a carefully prepared tip of ox horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is applied to the scarified skin and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established he bites the resin and so closes the aperture. The horn is left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. An exactly similar mode of using a similar instrument occurs in India. [71]

Cupping is used for colics and pains in the stomach. The patient lies on his back and the horn is first applied dry, that is, over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified. If the pain moves to another area, the part is rubbed with hot fat and again cupped. If this fails, an infusion of herbs is given to drink. In the old days, cupping horns were carried to draw out the poison from arrow wounds, and also a little bottle or horn of oil with which to wash the injury, but scarification and suction applied by the mouth was also in favour. Scarification and cupping are also used for the relief of madness and epilepsy.

Preventive Medicine.

Preventive medicine was an important and extensive section of Hottentot medical lore and took the form of charms and incantations. When a child lost a milk tooth, he took the tooth, and standing facing the rising sun repeated the two lines:— 751

" P/gko c/ghoip Ba-ooe D/hoose
D/ghumba ma dae."

which may be translated, " Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth." The Dassie is the rock rabbit, so here there appears to be a double magical significance.

The remainder of the subject of charms, including those magic necklets to prevent attack by wild beasts or to prevent effect of witchcraft, can be considered correctly only in a separate article. But it is necessary to remember that there was no activity of Hottentot life which was not affected by signs, portents, charms or ritual, which he employed to foretell or warn of coming ill-luck, and which enabled him to prevent or remove the ill effects of them and of any other bad influence, whether induced by act of God or practice of witchcraft. 789

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Toxicology.

825 •757 The snake stone has been a famous antidote in all countries. The South Africans imported them from India, but few farmers could afford to purchase this remedy because of the expense. Barrow examined specimens and pronounced them to be pieces of firm bone charred round the edges leaving a white speck in the centre. When thrown into water, a snake stone caused bubbles to rise and this test was a proof of genuineness. It adhered to the snake bite, sucked out the poison, and was cleansed by soaking in water which it turned blue. Country people believed that it was obtained from the head of a snake. 825 The snake stone of the Hottentot is quite a different matter, though it also is believed to be part of a snake. A young Richtersvelder gave this description: "I saw a snake's light. If you see it afar off it looks like a person's fire, but I know that there are no people there. Go nearer, and then it is seen that the light walks about. Then I keep away. I have heard that if a snake's hole be closed with earth that the snake then bites himself to death. Next day the snake stone is found in front of the hole where he dropped it when he went away."

Sam, two hundred miles south of the last informant, says that at night a twinkle is seen on the rocks, and that is a snake stone; and it is seen because the snake is away at the river. Then, to procure the snake stone it is necessary to keep a good look-out, and to approach cautiously with a handful of beast dung, which is to be thrown so that it puts out the light. Thereupon the absent snake becomes blind and cannot see, and can only creep aimlessly to and fro. Next day the dung is picked up and the snake stone, which is the snake's strength, taken away. He is ordinarily a strong-tempered fellow, but after losing his stone he becomes weak, and cannot sit up to bite. The stone is used by the Natives together with bush medicines for poisonous swellings. Probably it is one of the numerous quartz crystals, loose or embedded in the rocks, which occur in profusion all over Namaqualand, and that reflect light at evening time.

278 759 Jacob Klaas, whose father was a full-blooded Nama, is the Poison Doctor for the Northern portion of Namaqualand. He learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been taught by his father. He states that a boy must be strong to begin with, that is, he must have a good constitution. His father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, and into them rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom that contained several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery." This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until the size of a pin's head was reached. Though now about forty years old, Jacob still takes his daily dose. The only venom

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278 752 patient. On the spot where a snake has lived for many years, the Natives say, a slimy patch develops that is almost cement like. This is used as an antidote for all poisonous bites, and is also given to dying people.

Abstract of Hottentot Herbal.

278 In discussing the various herbs used by the Hottentot medicine man, the following plan has been adopted:—

The Nama name is first given for the purposes of reference, then, in some cases, reference by travellers or other observers, and when modern uses are discussed the Nama name (if known), the Afrikaanse name and the scientific name are given.

Medicines.

Kanna. Kanna is a Salsola, of which there are several species. Graevenbroeck mentions that it was used similarly to hemp, and that the leaves were roasted in ashes and used as food. Paterson states that a certain district around the Kromme River was called Channa by the Hottentots because of the quantity of the plant which grew there.

Namaquas in 1662 accepted presents from the Dutch, and in return gave fat-tailed sheep and Kanna, which the Commander pronounced to be similar to the Chinese Ginseng. The Cape root was scarce and was considered valuable, and possibly is the channa mentioned by the traveller Paterson in 1779. During the early days of the settlement at the Cape, a Hottentot would perform any task willingly if he knew that the reward was to be a piece of kanna. It would appear that certain of these 278 writers confuse the root ningin or kanna with kaawgoed, the 276 leaves of a Mesembryanthemum, because they described properties which are certainly those of the latter. It was chewed and retained in the mouth for a while, when their spirits would rise, eyes brighten, and faces take on a jovial air, and they would commence to dance. But if indulged in to excess it robbed them of their senses and they became intoxicated.

278 Kauwgoed, *Mesembryanthemum tortuosum*. Leaves chewed for toothache and pains in the stomach. Has a strong narcotic effect due to alkaloid, mesembrine. Will make a child sleep. Used to-day for sand in horses.

Slaai, *Mesembryanthemum Crystallinum*, Nama N/nhoo or N/nghoop, is used for taking hair off skins, and is still in use among farmers.

[276] Karremoer, *Mesembryanthemum stellatum*. One of the beer making roots, a deliriant and intoxicant with an earlier stimulant action.

278 Krampsiekbosch, *Cotyledon Welchii* or *Lessertia annularis*. Stem is pounded and used for poultices on abscesses after spine 757 and bark have been removed. When dry has somewhat the appearance of ginseng.

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Buchu barosma, Letulina. Nama Sab (Tyndale). P/nkaou (name given to writer). Two varieties known in Nama as D/nhora, D/khonsa or Haas buchu, and P/kabourie. Considered by Hottentot to possess great virtues in curing disorders, and rarer forms are valuable to the Native. In powder used for dusting, for fire and sunburns. Baby powder made of D/nhora kept in tortoise shell puff box, roasted with fat and dropped in ear for earache. Powder also mixed with C/ghoonabi, an acacia thorn sucker, and then considered a high class powder. The second rate powder used for babies was mixed with ground acacia thorn bark, and is named O/kai. D/nhora Buku is roasted with oil and fat, mixed with mother's milk and dropped into the ear for earache. P/nkaou is rare and valuable, and a thimbleful is worth from a sheep to an ox. It is obtained in mountainous districts and when used is pounded and tied in a cloth over which hot water is poured. Is this a method due to exercise of economy?

P/thon daneep, or sweet honey, a sticky soft-leaved sweet tasting plant, is also used for powder making.

The thorn tree sucker was put to many uses. The Bushmen used its ashes to blacken his face. To-day an oil not unlike cajuput is expressed and used for rheumatic troubles.

Xghoria or Xhoua, which means "smells strong," is a plant so far not identified. The whole plant is ground up and strewed on dead bodies, and is also applied to the living body when it has an unpleasant odour. This powder is also used as a snuff to keep away the smell of the dead "so that it doesn't strike in."

Bitter Roots. Many roots are known to-day under the name of bitterbosch, or bitter wortle, that is, bitter bush or bitter root. The chief are the blue bush, *Royena pallens*, *Xysmalobium undulatum* (*Asclepias crispa*?) and the Sand-Bitter hoed, a tall bush found in the mountains. These are so much used by the present white population that the Afrikaanse name has quite ousted the Nama one. The blue-bush root is also known as the black root, the wonderful emetic-purgative. These roots are powdered and boiled, and the decoction is used for pains in the stomach; if used for diarrhoea, then the stems of the plant are included. The liquor so prepared is greenish in colour and is exceedingly bitter, with a *Nux vomica* type of bitterness.

Dagga. Two species are recognised; wilde dagga, *Leonotis leonurie*; and klip dagga, *Leonotis ovatis*. Graevenbroeck mentions its use. The powdered leaves, he said, were made into a little cake no bigger than a Rijksdaler, a coin about the size of a modern shilling, which the Hottentots chewed, even as the Indians and Chinese chewed opium. In 1750 its use, mixed with tobacco introduced by the Europeans, is mentioned. A decoction of the reeds is used for headaches and for bronchitis. An ointment made from raw fat and pulverised dagga

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278 leaves is used for pains in the eyes. Its growth for commerce
●757 is now prohibited by law. It is still used with tobacco for
[276] smoking. A decoction of seeds boiled and allowed to stand is used for bronchitis and headaches.

Kraalbosch, D/kooi dabee, Kraal bosch, *Galenia africana*, is chewed for toothache in small quantities. If too much is used it blisters the mucous membrane of the mouth. This bush is now used in a mixture in decoction with Aister bosch for toothache and also for venereal disease.

Sages. Aromatic sage, Afrikaanse Salie. Blaauwblom, *Salvia africana* and *Salvia paniculata*. Geelblom or strand salie (sand salie), *Salvia aurea*. Decoction of leaves used for coughs and colds and also for women's troubles. Wittle blom. *Nuxia congesta*. Salie prout. Leaves resemble those of a sage. *Buddleia salvifolia*. *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*.

Stink sali, (small grey whitish leaves), dried leaves used in decoction for common colds and externally as a lotion for sores. Berg salie, or mountain sage, green or dried leaves in decoction for coughs and colds, is evidently an expectorant, as it is stated it makes the cough ripe. Also used in decoction for washing sores. To-day these salies are used in combination with Katakruie and plein hout and vaal bosch for fevers, such as measles.

Wild olives are used to make diaphoretic mixtures, or sweating draughts. One species, named in Nama, P/koem, is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and also the leaves are used as a plaster. The most prized is the sand olein houd, the Nama D/koubi, a decoction of the leaves of which is adminstered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid.

Klein koorts bosch, little fever bush, *Grassula lycopodioides* L. is used in decoction as a diaphoretic.

[844] Taaibosch, L/ or P/guara, *Rhus* sp. or *Rhus undulata* Jacq. The leaves of this plant are boiled and the liquor given for the troubles which arise after parturition. Of the two species of bush, long and short, the latter is preferred.

Vogelent, *Viscum capense* Lin. Nama Aie L/ kwoe, a Taaibosch parasite, is used as an emmenagogue. Barend uses it for amenorrhea, mixed with P/au, wild celery. By the Cape Boers it is used for epilepsy, chorea, and diarrhoea.

757 L/aiser, a bush not identified, is used in decoction for puer-
944 peral fever. It is strongly purgative, and as the Native doctor
278 says: "works the fire out of the stomach." It is never used for the young, but only for adult women. One informant states particularly it is used, when the patient is delirious, to "work it out."

Faierrank, Nautsi amma (Nama), a red tipped faier rank, *Mesembrianthemum edule* or *acinaciforme*, is used for delayed labour, or retained after-birth. It is stamped and given as a pulp.

1 [i.e. Dagga leaves — Analyst]

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Haakiesdoorn, P/ahbi, is also an emmenagogue.

P/ngoona, a thorn bush, *Sarcocaulon* sp., pounded whole and boiled, is a successful abortifacient according to many. Barend says that it is exceedingly good, but that he uses it only for parturient troubles in sheep. Klip melk bosch, *Euphorbia restituta*, given for tedious labours. When the treatment is continued for two or three days it "helps and strengthens."

Roode rabassam. Pappe, in his "*Flora Capensis*," mentions two Pelargoniums that are used medicinally in the Cape and Namaqualand, *Pelargonium antidysentericum*, in Nama D/kanie, which is boiled in milk and used as an astringent, and *P. anceps*, known to the Coloured and Afrikanders as *Roode rabassam* and used by the Cape Malays to produce abortion or for helping on a confinement. In Namaqualand this is known as rabass, which appears to be the original Nama name for it, or a corruption. The Afrikander names it rooi wortle or rooi storrm. It is used for anaemias and weaknesses and repeated doses are given during fevers. The Boer uses it boiled or "set op brandywijn." Baviaan's oor, Baboon's ear, Bol (Nama), *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, used as a cold poultice on bruises and cuts, is considered good. The colour in each case appears to have been the chief attraction.

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Kalkoen blom, or turkey flower, *Sutherlandia fructescens*, was used in decoction for washing wounds and given as drink for fevers. To-day it is used for consumption, chicken pox, etc. Rooi rainkie leaves, red again, are used as a poultice when thorns have pierced the foot, a common occurrence in a country covered with *Acacia horrida*.

Stinkbosch, *Nymania capensis* was, and is, given for convulsions. Stink bosch, Ou meide's bosch, or Old Woman's bush, P/kabou, *Boscia foetida*, is possibly used as an emmenagogue, but mainly, in so far as I can gather, as a decoction for pains in the back. There are a large number of aromatic bushes in the African veld, and many of these, in fact most, are in use, or have at some time past been used medicinally.

Rosemary, Nama name not identified, *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, is used in decoction for pain in the stomach.

Stinkkruit, is used in decoction for stomach pains, in cases of scorpion sting, pounded, moistened and applied cold as a plaster.

D/khammae or P/tkamma, "something that grows near water," aromatic thyme, used as a tea, as a diaphoretic.

The common fire bush, L/naroo, so named because of its domestic use, combines the characteristics of aroma with redness of its small thick, juicy, finger-like leaves, which are chewed for pain in the stomach.

Kattendoorn, or cat thorn, D/nuance, and the use of its roots in decoction in wasting diseases, has already been mentioned. It is probably a modern application of the ancient principles of sympathetic medicine.

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Quickgrass, P/arre, which has jointed roots of tremendous length, is used in decoction for coughs.

Baboon rope, P/nyra sooriep, a species of liana, is burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms. Several of the modern herbalists use it in decoction for boils, administered internally, as also they use the smaller climber, bakker bosch, *Cynanchum capense*, Thun. *Passerina filiformis*, P/tou, which when lighted disappears in a blaze of flame, whence its usefulness to the baker after whom it is named, is used in decoction for shooting pains.

Suitduizel, *Berkheyra* sp. a holly-like little bush about three feet high that grows near rivers and springs, is used in decoction for the same ailment. Sam uses it in powder as a plaster for burns and boils.

Candle bush, *Sarcocaula Burmanse*, a smaller variety *Patersonii*, is gathered, pounded fine, and used as an astringent for diarrhoea. Because of its laborious method of preparation it is named D/nou D/nou, which Sam translates as "work-work," but which is evidently an onomatopoetic word representing the sound of the stamping. The root is ground fine and used as a poultice, which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster.

Gums and resins are used to only a small extent.

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Heyra, the exudation of the acacia tree, is used as a food, and when boiled with fat as a salve for whitlows and boils. Possibly the ease with which the tree exudes this substance was the starting point of this use.

Scaap rapayce, D/ta dou, a resin greener than the others, is eaten by animals, but not used much by man.

D/Goonu, the resin of several species of Euryops, is gathered in the sands of Eushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath; this is the reason that it is thought most of. It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used. The stems of this plant when old are reddish and inflammable, even in wet weather.

PURGATIVES.

Purgatives are in great request. P/gameroo, a whitish tuber with flat, green leaves not unlike those of the pumpkin, is cut and boiled, and the liquor is used as emetic and purgative, in stomach complaints.

Kraaibosch, D/nareeree; *Royena hirsuta* L.; wild gentian, known as the Ambiner bosch, or piles bush, *Chiroma baccijeca*, of the decoction of which two mouthfuls is an efficient dose, have a rapid effect. It is also used in decoction for boils.

SNUFFS.

As well as snuffs to drive out the infection of death there were snuffs that cured headaches.

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White Kafir-wood. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is snuffed for flatulence, and is a very pungent snuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter.

Witte vergeit, a white chicory-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Barend declares that this is " first class " for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of " driving out " by means of an explosive sneeze.

POULTICES.

Plasters and poultices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether cow-dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C/koos P/naboo, veldschoon blaar or field shoes leaf, a large soft sole-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. P/nums ghana has been mentioned. D/nou D/nou was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is peppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of bushes contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopoeia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern goat-dung poultice is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, warm and ready to hand of selected bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such poultices have been applied by white people for pneumonia, appendicitis, peritonitis, and innumerable other complaints. For who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigine? And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a goat or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many " Bush things and strong things " that his stomach contents must be very good medicine.

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

L/am uru. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists, is dassiepis, L/am uru, or D/gaous, the inspissated urine and faeces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the clefts and crannies inhabited by them. Boiled and strained the liquor is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of Dassiepis acted upon by the atmosphere, which gradually removes all the organic matter, form a dark pitch-like mass, the dassiepis of commerce, which

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gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1918. 82. among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

C/ngama, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

The Kanker beeste, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is oubae C/namop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

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children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

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Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guaap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluities-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]

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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks[79]).

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Punishments of Theft.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *choeque* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *choeque* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else.

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When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant.

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[79]) For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 149, 241 below.

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the poison of wild animals or of weapons. If they are wounded they beat the injured part with a stick until it is deprived of feeling, then they scarify it, and then suck so vigorously that the skin almost comes off with the blood.[55]) This method of cure, however, (which Severinus* compares with his own effective surgery) differs, according to the various poisons, both in the length of time for which the beating must be carried on and in the efficacy of the sucking. The scorpion, for instance, does not leave the traces of his poison so deep as the millipede. Indeed the scorpion in these parts is not so poisonous. If you press his tail hard a little above the sting, he gradually emits a clear little drop on the barbed end of the sting, unless he happens to have struck a little time before. He is but little more injurious than our bees at home; he is slow in recovering the force of his poison; one that is stung by him thinks that he has got a knock from a stone. But the millipede with burning ferocity presses his poison home. Of the vipers we have spoken above.

If the wound is a bad one, they cut away the slightest sign of gangrene with the sharp points of their weapons, and if it has spread far, they remove the whole of the infected part. All bruises they treat by anointing them either with sheep or cow fat, for they know no other kind of unguent, then by scarifying them, and finally by vigorous sucking, so that the blood and the skin are removed. They get rid of rheumatism in the same way, the only difference being that they expose the part anointed with fat to the fire, in order that, if the affected parts are plump, they may by roasting the flesh drive the rheumatism out. Immediately on toasting the part they fall to at the sucking.

Apart from this they know a very few vegetable remedies, but choice ones; and, as I have said, these cannot be got from them for love or money. Accordingly we must suppose those persons to be themselves deceived or to be deceiving

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on the foot small incisions were made as the cuppers are accustomed to do; the foot itself was placed in hot cowdung; a man and a woman were sucking the blood from the cuts, spitting it out on the cowdung, and pulling away as heartily as a child at it mother's breast." Ten Rhyne's description of the Hottentot medical practices is on the whole borne out by Grevenbroek and other reliable authorities.

* Marcus Aurelius Severinus (1580-1656), an Italian physician, was the author of numerous works on medical subjects.

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pretio redimere potui. Quapropter falluntur & fallunt, qui se a mendacibus, & quae norunt, corde prementibus *Hottentottis* multa intellexisse jactant. *Colicam aromatica* quadam *radice* confestim curant. Subigunt & *Daturae* quandam speciem, ut opinor, *Dacha* vocant illi, quam accurate pinsunt, pistam, conglobatam & exsiccatam comedunt (ut plerique *Muhamedanorum* Amsion sive opium) eoque enormiter inebriantur. Recens natorum infantium *umbilicalia vasa* pressius ligant, non resecant, tandem sponte decidentia. Singula haec a quadam *Hottentottica* accepi, ab aliis praeter ea nihil rescire potena.

CAP. XXVII.

De Lingua eorundem.

Si quis eos loquentes auscultet, reviviscere *Pythagorae* aevum dixerit, in quo aves mutuo sermonis consortio polluisse fingebantur. Quippe revera [1]) *stridor* non vox est, si *Hottentottorum* expressionem expendas: nam quodvis vocabulum stridulo linguae (sonoro applicita* palato) clangore finitur. Hinc haud perperam quis opinetur, hanc linguae ad palatum crepitationem vocalium vim exprimere, caeteras autem vocum copulas ex alto pectore producunt, pleraque orbiculatis labiis pronunciantes. Adeo ut cum aliis gentibus omni orationis commercio careant; neque ex tanto temporis intervallo e nostratibus repertus sit aliquis, qui perfecte cum ipsis colloqui potuerit: nisi illi, qui dudum prope *fortalitium* vitam transegere, nostratibus se accommodent, plurima *Belgica* vocabula, sola terminatione diversa callentes. Omnia ferme finiunt in *Kom*, ut *tabaqkom*, tabacum, *kortom*, portiuncula, *horom*, audire, &c.

[1]) Jul. de Atlantibus Plin. ibidem.
* *Applicitae.* B.F.

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[46]) The Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use decoctions of *Eriocephalus Umbellatatus* or of the powdered and boiled root of *Rogena pallens* for this purpose (Schapera, op. cit., 411).

[47]) On *dagga* (the leaves of *leonotis leonurus*), see above, p. 40.

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others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselves. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[56]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 264, 282).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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080 Morbi epidemici inter Cisalpinos Afros subinde grassantes sunt gramia, gravedo, rheuma, et fortè alii mihi ignoti, vereorque ne foedam impetiginem venereamque luem à nostratibus contraxerint.

Etiam atque etiam illis suasor fui, lectulos lignis pedibus, loris tanquam stramine tectos, pellibusque perstratos sibi conservandae curandaeque valetudini conficerent, sed surdis narrata fabula, dum videntes probantesque meliora tamen deteriora sequuntur: tantae molis est! ab inveterato, damnoso damnatoque errore, perversaque consuetudine terrae filios divellere.

Fatidicus seu flamen sacrificium facturus cote clunaculum subigit, vaccamque tribus quatuorve passibus ab ostiolo tugurioli, in quo aeger decumbit, stantem pedibusque revinctam, capite Septentrioni obversam levi pugno, laterique sinistro impacto, victimarius sternit: cadentique in dextrum, inque virides substratos ramulos, illico particulam cutis palmae magnitudine et quantam laevâ capit, dextra prope umbilicum excindit, eamque sine mora dextro decumbentis carpo alligat, mox pergit vivam deglubere, eviscerataque mugientem audivi, exenteraeque et viventis ilia malè carbonibus tosta, devorantes Afros vidi: hinc pauxillo sanguine, quem ollâ extari, capeduncula, aut testudinis putamine excepit, aegri faciem diluit, et felle victimae libans, ejus folliculum tecto infirmi imponit.

Testor longe segnius irritasse animum meum, quaecunque de ritu sacrificandi veterum tam lapidibus, quam aeri insculptaque caelataque, aut in tabulis, aulaeis, tapetiis, membranis, libris chartave picta unquam vidi, quam hic nostrorum Barbarorum sacrificalia et for(di)cidiorum apparatus, oculis meis subjectus.

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164 [81]) The description which follows of diseases and their treatment refers entirely to the Cape Hottentots, and is much fuller than any given by earlier writers. It appears in the main to be fairly accurate, although some of the details mentioned cannot be confirmed from other sources.

● 757 [82]) Even among the modern Hottentots the skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain, and poultices are also made of the entrails of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat (Schapera, op. cit., 231 413-9). The ordinary Hottentot method of slaughter is well

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.[1]) A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us. 164

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognised as such. 000

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.[2]) His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house. 782 757 231

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books. 000

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 194). 231 [262 252]

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Ili conjiciare permittitur, non alia de causa ipsos aegri colle omentum circumdare, eumque axungia oblinire dicerem, quam ut ita spirituum vitalium nimias exhalationes sistant, porosque corporis obturando, frigus externum arceant, caloremque nativum foveant.

Omnima pasta in ventriculo vel panticibus aut intestinis victimae inventa excretaque, quidam simul cum carne discocta, in deliciis habent: inelegantibus sanè alii ea prae foribus decumbentis abjiciunt, quorum medullâ igne liquefactâ, praestantissimo remedio, aegrum perungunt, eumque frequentissimè abstinentiâ diaeteticisque, praecipue lacte vaccino, cum manipulo piperis aliisque aromatibus simul elixis egelidisque decumbenti propinatis, sanant.

Frequentissimè aegro tam prono quam supino immejunt, nec hujus faciem urinâ illotam putiuntur, nec desunt qui decumbenti lotium unius viri exceptum concubâ, aut testudinis putamine aliove vase, ut redditum admirio cujusdam herbae pulvisculo propinent: feminarum lotium asservantur, ipsaeque mulieres illud sibi nostrum censent: sed quandoque viri, aegrotam clunibus insedentem nudamque cruribus, à genubus ad pedes usque commingunt.

Ubi femina decumbit, recentia bovum excrementa, admistâ aquâ ad ignem conferuescere in olla faciunt, quae sedenti in scrobe, cruribus aegrae tejectis, prospero subinde successu inguinibus tenue affundunt, adjuvante (meâ sententiâ) plurimum naturâ, sui semper conservatrice.

Scarificationem seu incisionem in cute transversam, ad digiti longitudinem, praecipuè in pectore interfemoque, satis superque spissam, morbo laborantibus adhibent, et nonnunquam cauteria.

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*) Although not all the details of this account can be confirmed from other writers, there is evidence enough to substantiate the use of urine by the early Hottentots in their medical treatments. Sparrman, e.g., gives a valuable first-hand observation to this effect. He was travelling inland with a party of soldiers, who had with them some Hottentots as guides. One of the latter had a swollen testicle which pained him so much that he could hardly move. "The sun was going down, when they made a small fire, which none of us might approach, and to ensure this they had kindled a separate fire for us. They seated themselves

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

If I may be allowed a conjecture, I should say that the reason of their hanging the entrails round the neck of the patient and anointing him with fat is to check the excessive exhalation of the vital spirits, and, by closing the ports of the body, to keep out external cold and foster the native heat.

The pasture grass found in the stomach or bowels of the victim, and the excreta, are cooked by some together with the flesh and looked upon as a great treat: not a very refined one to be sure! Others fling these things before the sick man's door, and when the marrow has been extracted from them by the heat of the fire, they anoint the sick man with it, a very powerful remedy. They treat the patient also by fasting and dieting. A favourite diet is cow's milk boiled with a handful of pepper and other aromatic herbs, and given to the patient cold.

A very frequent remedy is to turn the patient on his back and on his front and make water on him. They do not allow even his face to escape a bath of urine. Some even take, in a sea-shell or tortoise-shell or some other vessel, the amount of water discharged by one man, mix it with a powder from a certain plant, and administer it to the sick man. They do not attach any healing property to the water of women: the women themselves think it injurious to them. But sometimes a sick woman is made to sit upon her haunches with her legs bare, while the men make water upon her from the knees to the feet.[1])

When a woman is ill, they take fresh cow dung, mix it with water, and heat it on the fire; the woman is put to sit in a trench, and the warm water is dashed over her legs up to the waist. The patient sometimes recovers, but in my opinion most of the credit is due to Nature which always strives to preserve itself.

As a cure for disease they also employ scarification or criss-cross incisions in the skin of about a finger's length, especially on the chest and sides. The cuts are made very close to one another. Sometimes also they try cautery.

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in a circle round their fire. The 'doctor,' after addressing himself to the sun with much gesticulation and talk, went up to the patient, who was lying completely naked on the ground, and began to make water all over him, from the head down all over the body, until his flow had ceased; the other Hottentots, 7 or 8 in number, then faithfully followed his example. The patient, after being busily bathed and washed in this way, went to sleep in his kraven, and the following day was again fit enough to accompany us" (op. cit., 31-2). Kolb also gives a good deal of attention to this mode of treatment (op. cit., 168 ff.).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Nama

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[44]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean.

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[45])

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[46]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below.

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[44]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, II, 71-9; *cf.* Schapera, 405-7, 222 ff.).

[45]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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ears that he differed from a horse. On such a one Absalom may have mounted for his last ride.[97])

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I have observed in the case of the hippopotamus, an enormous beast whose nature is to inhabit land and water alike, that he moves his upper jaw, a peculiarity he shares with the crocodile. They say also that the fat of this animal boiled and drunk is a cure for various diseases.

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On the snout of a boar with terrible tusks that was taken by hunters I have seen a horn with a backward curve not above a finger in length. On other specimens I have seen two such horns. Furthermore I have seen at least three specimens of an underground boar unknown to Europeans and commonly called earth-pigs (ant-eater). Each of them weighed over one hundred pounds, and had large donkey's ears, a long snout, and for the rest in head, bristle and body resembled a boar, save that its tail was thick, projecting, tapering, and ended at a length of two feet in a sharp point. This creature is armed with no teeth, but has tremendous knife-like claws, four on the front paws, five on the back, with which it protects itself against all attack. With these it also digs a hole for itself, now in one place, now in another, on rising ground. This hole usually faces East, and has a narrow entry barely big enough to admit the animal; it then slopes gently down and continues in a straight course for several cubits, widening out more and more until at the end it forms a vaulted spherical chamber big enough to hold a man. When the ant-eater is hollowing out its den, it keeps casting out with its hind legs the earth that is scraped away in front by the fore-paws. In this cave it lies by day, but at night-fall it comes out in quest of food, feedling on ants or on their eggs, which it licks up by thrusting its thin tongue, which is a foot and a half in length, into a swarm of ants, or an ants' nest. Their diet is, I suppose, the reason that I found their flesh so tasteless and insipid. Some people tell me that they have seen specimens three times as big as I have described.

Experience has shown that the horses for domestic use which the Council imported from Persia and Java at a great price are long-lived, spirited, and excellent in every way[98]). They have thriven so well here and bred so fast that some of the settlers drive round in a coach-and-four,

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98) Horses were first imported into the Cape from Batavia in 1653; in 1688 they had increased so greatly in number that some were sold by public auction to the farmers, at an average price of 60 Rix. (the cost of 4 or 5 fine large oxen); in 1689, they had so far deteriorated in size and condition that some stud horses were imported from Persia to improve the breed (Theal, II, 94, 288, 301).

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch [144] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this [145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are ● 758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin 764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep, 177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

M7 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1668, writes about it as follows:—

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-4, 1654.

Cases of Hottentot women giving birth in the fields and cheerfully carrying the babe home in the evening or delivering herself in a warm cow stall (66), cannot be considered average. Sufficient number of

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867.)

cases of Boer women giving birth under equally primitive conditions while traveling are known, but that would not allow one to draw conclusions about the customs of our race. Birth among the Hottentots, as with us, occurs in orderly circumstances and is an event they prepare for carefully.

Whoever can, has an experienced midwife, even if she must come from far away. The Hottentots give this important woman various names. She is either the !kx̃o·ris, i.e., "she who catches the child (!kx̃oǂ)," or the ≠nũ·ris, i.e., "she who sits there (≠nũ)," waiting hours, even half a day until she can take hold. Corresponding to our chief midwife, insofar as she makes the decisions, is the *!kx̃ai·/naēaos, "the woman who cuts the umbilical cord."

Usually there are several women present at a birth and not merely as observers. When the first strong pains begin, the woman in labor lies on her left side. The women now group themselves, as far as I could determine, in the following way. One sits behind the woman in labor at the head of the bed and supports her shoulders and back with one knee to keep her in a half-upright, half-lying position on her side. Opposite the first sits a second woman who puts her right arm around the upper part of the woman's body. Her job is to bend the woman's upper body forward as soon as a pain begins, to hold the head against the breast and to place a cloth on the woman's mouth [219] so that she cannot scream out. It would mean the death of the child if the mother should lie on her back or stretch her legs. Her left leg, bent at the knee, lies flat on the floor. The right leg, also bent, is straight up, its thigh spread out as far as possible, its foot braced against the knee of the left leg. The third woman, who sits near the foot of the bed opposite the woman in labor, has two jobs. With her left hand she must hold the woman's leg in the position just described. Her right hand presses on the abdomen with spread thumbs against the uterus to control the progress of the delivery. The old woman, who takes her place opposite the third woman behind the woman in labor, has charge of the delivery. Her left

hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. 844
Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain.

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt 845
is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked.

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which 844
covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not.

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of [821]
a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?"

[220] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end at the cord. A span's width from the navel of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger), [804]
the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily.

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She [759]
is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl.

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly [787]
dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ga·baras (lateral clicking sound), our good luck caul.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard
[826] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *ǂop*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
• [759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *ǂurub*,
783 varicose veins, and */nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *ǂop* becomes */nau*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gai aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gai aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as *!op*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

759 the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

757 On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also [842 previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according 841] to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

752 The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the 752 bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice 304 in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 29 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.
[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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752 278 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and fæces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff-adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in [759] this way are known as */ao/ga aon*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *!op* diseases.

278 789 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, [823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, op. cit., 438–9; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 521.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

argument, be a good " blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; " there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai* aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloom, Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of " scientific " and " sympathetic " lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

*For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus :— D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or " fevers " they have been used to " work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's " life place " resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as " fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a " wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of " dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aie jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Toxicology.

825 757 The snake stone has been a famous antidote in all countries. The South Africans imported them from India, but few farmers could afford to purchase this remedy because of the expense. Barrow examined specimens and pronounced them to be pieces of firm bone charred round the edges leaving a white speck in the centre. When thrown into water, a snake stone caused bubbles to rise and this test was a proof of genuineness. It adhered to the snake bite, sucked out the poison, and was cleansed by soaking in water which it turned blue. Country people believed that it was obtained from the head of a snake. 825 The snake stone of the Hottentot is quite a different matter, though it also is believed to be part of a snake. A young Richtersvelder gave this description: "I saw a snake's light. If you see it afar off it looks like a person's fire, but I know that there are no people there. Go nearer, and then it is seen that the light walks about. Then I keep away. I have heard that if a snake's hole be closed with earth that the snake then bites himself to death. Next day the snake stone is found in front of the hole where he dropped it when he went away."

Sam, two hundred miles south of the last informant, says that at night a twinkle is seen on the rocks, and that is a snake stone; and it is seen because the snake is away at the river. Then, to procure the snake stone it is necessary to keep a good look-out, and to approach cautiously with a handful of beast dung, which is to be thrown so that it puts out the light. Thereupon the absent snake becomes blind and cannot see, and can only creep aimlessly to and fro. Next day the dung is picked up and the snake stone, which is the snake's strength, taken away. He is ordinarily a strong-tempered fellow, but after losing his stone he becomes weak, and cannot sit up to bite. The stone is used by the Natives together with bush medicines for poisonous swellings. Probably it is one of the numerous quartz crystals, loose or embedded in the rocks, which occur in profusion all over Namaqualand, and that reflect light at evening time.

278 759 Jacob Klaas, whose father was a full-blooded Nama, is the Poison Doctor for the Northern portion of Namaqualand. He learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been taught by his father. He states that a boy must be strong to begin with, that is, he must have a good constitution. His father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, and into them rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom that contained several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery." This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until the size of a pin's head was reached. Though now about forty years old, Jacob still takes his daily dose. The only venom

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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278 759

not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

752

The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

[224] 278 752

Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given as is the venom, to congeal the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipsweet or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

825 136

The gecko lizard, the D/ung D/ung, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

278 752

Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor head cloths.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kaboo, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In each case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [252]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] ●
They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [814]
Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [262]
are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kxuro-s.
A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/mu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hâs. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hâs, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ghôa. They often explain

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Cape Hottentots

the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *soloa*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Namas the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., [illegible].

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Cape Hottentots

and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden, by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 318-9; Wikar, "Beitrag aus . . . Plettenberg," 118-19; Olpp, "Aus dem Siegeszuge des Elias-Klosters," 46-7.
[2] "Uit den Oosten Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96-7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] "Reisebeschreibungen im Gross-Namalande," 203.
[6] "The Native," 149.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death, Burial, and Mourning

In dealing with the social, economic, and political life of the Hottentots, we have had occasion to notice in various connections ceremonies and beliefs of a ritual character. For example, all the observances and avoidances centring in the conception of *//aun*, as well as the rites and beliefs developed round hunting and war, really form part of the magico-religious or sacred aspect of Hottentot life. But they are so intimately associated with more profane activities that to discuss them separately would have been to divorce them from their proper context in native life, and thus to overlook their real significance. The beliefs and usages relating to death, on the other hand, lead more directly to a consideration of religion, since this supreme and final crisis in human life is one of the most important sources for the Hottentot conceptions of supernatural agencies.

The coming of death into the world is related by the Hottentots in a myth which varies but slightly from that told by the Bushmen. The Moon, it is said, once sent the louse to Men, saying, "Go to Men, and tell them, 'As I die and dying live, so you shall also die and dying live.'" The louse started with the message, but on its way was overtaken by the Hare, who asked on what errand it was bound. The louse repeated to him the message of the Moon. Then the Hare said, "As you are an awkward runner, let me take the message." With these words he ran off, and when he reached Men, he said, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die and dying perish, in the same manner you shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then he returned to the Moon, and told him what he had said to Men. The Moon thereupon angrily reproached him, saying, "Did you dare to tell the people a thing I did not say?" and taking up a piece of wood he struck the Hare on the lip. Since that day the hare's lip is split. There are several other variants of this myth, but in all of them the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon. Its flesh is consequently forbidden to men: "We are now angry with the hare," say the old

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hai /aun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The */gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hai /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nau*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–2 and Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wilser, "Beiträge zum Nama," 118–19; Bleek, *Report on the Past in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die Hottenten Reisebeschreiben über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 213.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 83–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 317–20 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 320–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 87.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

775 sons, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the //naos, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /*kai* /*nan*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /*kai* /*nan* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761] [753] Underlying this dread is the belief that the /*kai* /*nan*, the ghosts, cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through the ǂ*gui aogu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he [85] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, //*gâa oai*, /*uri* /*kêp* /*gâiba sa go ma*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the /*kai* /*nan* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek [illegible] I found the /*kai* /*nan* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289.
[2] Op. cit., 516. A similar custom indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii. 33-4.
[3] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Vedder, op. cit., 87.
[4] "The Nama," 133.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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urned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organised family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */kai /aun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Heave* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely identified with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaua* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13a
Nama
Bushmen FX10

who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die ältesten Religionen," 197.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conspicuously, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and covered the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heinah, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[682] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, " he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, " are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Naman, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it " cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hei /Kûn, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or ooze from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 284.
† *Ibid.*, p. 284.
‡ *Tsuni-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

753 774 761 the Naman, either themselves, or through the !Gèi Aogu, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Heí /Nûn, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Heí /Nûn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Heí /Nûn come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Heí /Nûn were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelzwart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, " //Gân osi, !uri ǂkóp gúiba ta go mu " (no flesh, a white bone alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.* Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Heí /Nûn that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water.

823 821 [753] The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Sarés, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Rooi Natie, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old //Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. " In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, ' Phu—u, hé re, taés ǂâ hã kun !kun !kun phu—u ' (Phu—u, *please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go,* phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in its path. ' This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Naman, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

* See p. 524.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928

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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or " fevers " they have been used to " work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's " life place " resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as " fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a " wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of " dooa," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aie jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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776
821
[761]

Heaven thickens and gathers its airy brows into a frown so that the thunder peals or the red bolt falls crashing down or lightnings flash, then they say the Great Chief is angry.[42]) Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme." Which words may be thus rendered: "Come! What are you doing? Dutchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen." These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

But when the sun shines clear, they say: "Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme." That is, "Great is that Chief who will give us white oxen." But these words they pronounce perhaps only when asked. Their ordinary worship seems to agree with almost all the pagans of antiquity, among whom the Egyptians were the first to adopt the opinion that the Sun and Moon are gods. To the Sun they offer this worship, that at his rising and setting they gaze on him with dreadful cursings[43]). Sometimes they sit down by a river and from the nearest clay they make whole mounds of little balls which, with a great noise, they hurl into the water: this they allege they do in honour of the sun. The moon, as has been said, they worship by dancing.

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[42]) Hahn quotes from Baar (1871) the following statement: "One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, when the day dawns, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens," upon which he comments: "This is nothing else but the *Tsui-||goab* worship" (*Tsuni-||goam*, pp. 66, 82); adding further on (*op. cit.*, 134) "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: 'Oh, Tsu||goa, All-Father'". In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Ten Rhyne is mistaken in regarding the "worship" he records as directed towards the sun; its object is rather *Tsui-||goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. (Cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 378 ff.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaña ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǀā, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǀhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunah. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁōra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǁgauna
775 ǁōra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
766 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǁgauna ǁora khoin.

838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if
[754] people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǁGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAnni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsûiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[171] is strange that the ǃGabe-Bushmen, the ǃAi-Bushmen, the ǃNunin, and especially among these the Heiǂguin (or wooden noses), all know ǁGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsûiǁgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sân and Khoikhoin. Tsûiǁgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǃGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǁb

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage"). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, *so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others* on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

") Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 261).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Inter hoc saevum corruptumque genus plerique vafra subtilitate polleni: ille tribus *Hottentotticis* locutus sum feminis, alteri *Asiae*, quae urbana, casta, eloquens, *Belgicam* ac *Lusitanicam* satis accurate callens linguam, plurima gentis hujus mysteria mihi aperiebat; alteri *Corneliae*, impiam cultus ignorantiam Christianismo mutavit, nostrati quodam nupta *chirurgo*, culpandam agit vitam, saepius exul; tertiae [1]) *Sarae* nomen fuit, quae desperabunda laqueo vitam finivit, quod quidam ex nostratibus ganeo, ut lasciviae liberius indulgeret, connubiale vinculum pollicitatus, promissa occidisset.

CAP. XV.

De Moribus.

[*]) Exlegus hi *Barbari* & cacoethi *Ethnici* haec tantum, in quae caecus naturae impetus eos unice impellit, imitantur: eundem in sedendo, quem matrum uteris inclusi foetus, modum tenent, in genua caput, ulnis complexum, incurvantes. Mulieris sexus contemtui illis est. Mortuos triduano ejulatu deplorant, maribus feminisque defuncti casulam circumsedentibus. Cadaver effossa inhumant caverna, & lapide tegunt. Singulis libidinibus deditis, a posteriori placet Venus; femina viro altius collocata in latus, marito cubiculari incubante astu: atque bestiarum more in mutuos ruunt amplexus.

[1]) De qua sup: quem saepius chirurgus dimovarat. (Concerning whom we above. She was the one *my* friend the surgeon dismissed.)

[*]) Degenerus humani ritus inopia de Africanibus Plin. lib. 5. c. 8. (Pliny in connexion with the Africans has described the ways of degraded humanity. bk. v. chap. 8.)

[**]) This must be the woman of whom Valentyn says (op. cit., 168): "In 1705 I spoke to an old Hottentot woman named Cornelia, who after living for many years in the house of the first Cape Commander, Simon van Slachenburg, went back again to her own people, where she still is. She spoke excellent Dutch, and apart from her native dress and animal skins was as civil and well mannered as to call forth astonishment. She then appeared to me somewhere between 80 and 90 years old, and could recall all the Cape governors by name." The description Ten Rhyne gives of her is more in keeping with the known reputation of five times of this woman, and I am inclined to believe that he has confused the two.

[**]) It is unfortunate for Ten Rhyne's reputation that he did not consult the official records before claiming to have met this woman. She committed suicide in December, 1671, almost two

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[20]; the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[21]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori*; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 213-18, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the surrounding reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood been respectably educated here by civilized burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reason, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'sabelt' [belt]. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation. . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentot was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a humbling of such abominations, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 16, 1671.) Three weeks later the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentot had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentot was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

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away from the spot, the people gathered hope that the patient would recover, but if it remained lying where it was, they abandoned both hope and any further treatment.[1]

In addition to these more or less standardised methods of divination, the Hottentots also place great faith in omens. Of these there are a great variety. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the wind, celestial phenomena, the beat of the pulse, nervous twitchings, forebodings—all these, according to Olpp, can have significance.[2] Some kinds of omen we have already described in connection with hunting, war, and the moon. Vedder records one or two others.[3] Many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and, above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, are regarded as precursors of death. Again, if the corpse of a living acquaintance or a relative appears to a person in a dream, "he has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate his dream, as by then the time for its realization will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly."

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The appearance of the mantis, again, is an omen of extreme good fortune. This little insect does not appear to enjoy the same reverence among the Hottentots as it does among the Bushmen, but the Namas believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it.[4] The Cape Hottentots, according to Graevenitzwick and Kolb, regarded it as a favourable omen of the highest significance.[5] If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, says the latter, the fattest ox belonging to the kraal was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and the fat, and wore the caul twisted about his neck till it rotted off, or until some other person was honoured in the same way by the mantis. The flesh of the ox was cooked, and the men or the women feasted upon it, according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into one of disaster and destruction. The insect, however, does not appear to have been prayed to (although in South Africa it is still popularly spoken of as the "Hottentot's god") nor does it figure at all in the mythology of the people.

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[1] Op. cit., 155. [2] *Native Peoples*, 30. [3] "The Herero," 155-6.
[4] Op. cit., 40. [5] Grevenitzwick, op. cit., 360-1; Kolb, op. cit., 13-6.

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 555 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstitions.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754] in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unabashedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775 their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves com- 764 pletely, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 778 and covered the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heinrich, who has already been mentioned, for this reason cemented his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones." 763

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or 764 paints at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 787 the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761 an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

//gurn-s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ'rus, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ĩa(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/boa/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/u-i aon-(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (//hã-, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui-//hã-/n) their life long. Each is the °//hã-ǂsab or the °/hõ-ǂsab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao-tse in the masculine and a-ǂkase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life.

[316] 8. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown.

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field.

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely.

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally commonly. (68)

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic bucho powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him.

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX).

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also each change in weather, calm, storm, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man.

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695 was listened to with undivided attention. The matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to
696 him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the headman, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The headman, as chief executioner, rushed towards the criminal and felled him to the ground
[694] with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men then violently attacked him until he was beaten to death.[1]

672 No distinction was made in the execution of this sentence according to the status, wealth, age, or sex of the criminal; the headman himself, if found guilty of such a crime, would be dealt with in the same
● [704] way. The body of the criminal, however, was buried with all the customary formalities observed in normal cases of death; his property was inherited as usual by his heirs, and no stigma attached to them as
691 a result of his crime and his fate. There is good reason for supposing
695 that this corporal punishment was not necessarily carried to extremes, but could be made more or less severe, according to the nature of the case and the decision of the council.

682 There was no appeal from the verdict of the kraal council, either
699 in civil disputes or in crimes. The main tribal council, consisting of the chief and the kraal headmen, dealt only with disputes between different kraals. It was summoned by the chief on receipt of any complaint, and its proceedings were conducted along the same lines as those of the kraal councils.

682 The description given above can hardly be regarded as exhaustive or even as entirely trustworthy. Its interest lies mainly in the comparison it affords with the conduct of trials among the Nama, about whose legal usages we have more adequate information.[2] The local kraal councils can deal with civil disputes and minor offences, and impose corporal punishments or fines; but there is always an appeal from their judgments to the main tribal council, to which all cases of importance are also referred as a court of first instance. No special distinction is made in procedure between civil and criminal
683 cases. The judges in all important trials are the elected councillors

[1] An eye-witness account of such an execution, in which four men were beaten to death, is given by Grubbe-Mackenzie, op. cit., I, 172–3.

[2] The fullest accounts are given by Winkler, "Ueber Rechtsverhältnisse und Rechte der Hottentotten," 170–6; Vedder, "The Nama," 140–1; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 272–7; cf. also Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 308; von François, Nama und Damara, 201; Winkler, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 304–5; Reports on the Natives of S.W.A., 13–4 passim.

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Hommoxes, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hai /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The */gei aops* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hai /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nun*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native terms of the words are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909, and Schultze, *Hottentot and Kaffirdom*, 1928, p. 3; translated variations in Wikar, "Beskrijving van het Hottentotsland," 1778-1779; Moritz, *Reisebericht über die Reise in S. Afrika*, 1859-1873; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die Grossen Hottentottischen Stämme D.S.W.A.," 1907, p. 173.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 83-4; Hoernlé, "Social Values of Water among the Hottentots," 1919-20 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 1920-1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 80.

[4] "Social Values of Water," 1921.

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might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly, according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated." Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called *//gauna //oa khoin*, i.e. people who died the *//gauna* death.[2]

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers. When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission, never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation or to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was common and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Namas that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of *//Gaunab*, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them."[5]

Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites.

[1] Cf. Grant, p. 266.
[2] Op. cit., 86.
[3] *Voyages des Cours Hollandois*, 133.
[4] Grandidier, "Ue. Sur. Ouest," 741; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 378; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 208; Alexander, "Recollections on Cape Mountains," 1837; Thom, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 40–1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133–4 Pringle, *Narrative Hott-Africa*'s, 204
[5] Op. cit., 86; cf. 70.

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Among the Cape Hottentots, according to some of the old writers,[1] a person when in the last agonies of dying was surrounded by his friends and relatives, who wailed and writhed in lamentation, the outburst of grief reaching its climax as soon as actual death had occurred. The body while still warm was bent so as to bring the head between the legs, and in this position it was wrapped and tied up in the karos worn by the dead person during life. Dapper and, perhaps following him, Sparrman state that the corpse was sometimes buried quite nude, but this is contradicted by all other writers.

Burial took place soon after death, if possible on the same day, or at latest on the following morning. There were no special burial grounds or recognized grave-yards. Immediately after the death had taken place, the head of the kraal, with several of the men, went out to look for a suitable spot, where the grave was at once made. It took the form of a deep hole, in one side of which was hollowed out a special niche for the reception of the body. Sometimes they did not trouble to dig a grave, but selected a convenient cleft in a rock or the hole of some wild animal instead.

The body meanwhile was prepared for burial in the manner noted. When everything was ready, three or four men were appointed by the kraal head or by the relatives of the deceased to carry it in their arms to the grave. It was never taken out through the door of the hut, but through an opening specially made for the purpose by removing part of the mat-covering at the back. While this was going on, all the inhabitants of the kraal not concerned with the funeral preparations gathered before the hut, and squatted in front of the entrance, men and women apart, all lamenting loudly. As soon as the body was brought out, they followed it in two separate groups to the place of burial, still lamenting and wailing. Here the body was stuck into the hole or lowered into the grave, and placed in a sitting position in the niche. The grave was then filled in with earth, and afterwards covered over with a heap of large stones and branches, so as to prevent wild animals from getting at the body. Apparently no objects of any kind were placed in or on the grave. Fritsch, it is true, says that the possessions of the dead person were buried with him, but this is denied by most of the other writers.

[1] The description here given is based mainly upon Kolb, *op. cit.*, 171-8, supplemented from Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaansche Gewesten*, Amsterdam, 1668, Sparrman, *op. cit.*, i, 337-8; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 130-1; Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 370; Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 399.

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His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

The series of rites connected with death and burial among the Naman have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /nau, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /nau, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /nau, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /nau and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Schoppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood[3]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, *op. cit.*, 318–27; Rider and Elbers, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, I (1910), 109–31; Hoernlé, "The Ceremonies of Incest," 19–61; *id.* after Alberton, "Social Organisation and Certain Ceremonies," 205; Rider, "The Nama Hottentots," 222; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 99–100; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 108.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 77.

[3] "Beerdigung von Kommunalleuten" in Meinhof, *op. cit.*, 150–51, 220.

[4] Loc. cit.

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over the bosom. The body is then wrapped and sewn up in skins, whose hairy side, strewn with *buchu*, is turned inwards. The face remains free till shortly before burial, when it is covered with a bit of skin which has been set aside and which is now loosely stitched to the others.[1] Biden and Kling add that in these more degenerate days the body may sometimes be sewn up in old bags, if obtainable, and a small amount of salt is placed on its chest, "to prevent it from decomposing."[2] Burial takes place as a rule on the afternoon following the day of death. Till then the corpse is left alone lying on the ground skins in the hut, while the relatives, neighbours, and friends spend the whole night together outside the hut singing.

A suitable spot is selected in the vicinity of the kraal, where a grave is dug in the sand by means of a gemsbok horn and a roughly-made wooden shovel. The grave is about three feet broad and six deep, with a long narrow niche along one side. The body is taken out of the hut through a special opening made for the purpose at the back, and is carried to the grave by the deceased's relatives and friends. Arrived at the graveside, one of the women, according to Biden and Kling, is appointed to approach the body and ask a relative whether the deceased gave drink to others when he was alive, i.e. whether he was a good person. "Whereupon all the women reply 'da' (yes), and the deceased is praised even if there is no cause why he should be praised. All the women arise and walk towards the grave and sprinkle *buchu*-leaves on the body."[3] The body is then lowered into the grave by means of ropes, and two men climb in after it to push it into the niche. According to Schultze, it is laid here flat on its back, with the grave itself on the right hand side and the head facing west.[4] Biden and Kling, and several of the older writers, state however that it is placed in a squatting position, with the head always facing east. This certainly seems to have been the posture desired in earlier times.[5]

The niche is closed in with thick bushes or with twigs and stones which cover the whole floor of the grave. Large flat stones are next placed over these in such a way that no ground can fall upon the body. The grave is then filled in, everybody present picking up handfuls of earth and sand which they throw in. Finally a mound of stones is heaped up over the covered grave, the customary explanation being that this prevents wild animals from getting at the corpse. These mounds are often raised very high. A big stone, planted upright

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, p.18. [2] *Op. cit.*, 1929.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 1929-a. [4] Lau, 380.
[5] Biden and Kling, *loc. cit.*; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 67.

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764 in the heap and projecting about a foot or so, indicates the head end of the grave; occasionally also the gemsbok horn used in excavating the grave is placed in this position. Everybody adds a stone or twig to the mound, which is afterwards strewn with *kucha*. Any relative or friend of the dead person unable to be present at the funeral will also, on visiting the kraal, go to the grave and place something of the sort on the mound. Cold water is likewise thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. "The reason given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the 'seventies of last century was that it 'cooled the soul of the deceased'."[1]

765 When the people come back from the grave, all the inmates of the kraal, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, which is placed in front of the dead man's hut. Cold water is also sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. The explanation given for this washing is that the people would get sick if they did not do so, and the cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.[2] Meanwhile, the dead man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood into one or more pots.[3] The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others, all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and mixed with a certain herb, and then is stirred about with a chopper, which has been heated red hot, in order to make the mixture rise. The immediate relatives of the dead man—men, women and children—collect round the pots and cover their heads with their karosses so that they perspire. Then an old man, related neither to the deceased nor to the widow, takes potsherds and makes a line on the stomach of each person—" to prevent their getting pains from eating the food." The flesh which has been cooking is now eaten by the relatives only, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. These rites—the sweating, the putting on of the black line, and the eating—are all done in the dead person's hut. It may be noticed here that the removal of the

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 277; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 113.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.
[3] The description which follows is taken from Mrs. Hoernlé's statement in "The Conception of Sin", loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui ||Goab* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Namas, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui ||Goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.[1]

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and his dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui ||Goab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *||Gaunab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui ||Goab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui ||Goab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi Eibib's* graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a few handfuls," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

[1] Op. c., 130-9.

Hannah said some of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly 755
enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this 757
local lily has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent,
(somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging [824]
he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the
root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process
takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to
do the same when I received a piece but all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not
itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes 783
place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of
life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "If a Hotten-
tot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'anderemakon' is performed by
killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to
the circumstances of the family"*. This may be a feast similar to the one in which
all partake when the Saxain leaves her kharé first.

The purification of the mourners after a death. The series of rites connected with 768
death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described.
They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many
of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old
writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite
definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and
that the camp or kraal was moved. My informants state that in the earlier days of their
recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays
the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish
Bay, and one while I was in Berseba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet 764
where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is
done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the
larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband
who has died, the wife becomes 'taes,' but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also
to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and to a lesser degree all members of
the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purifica-
tion rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

* Kolben's Reminiscences. A translation from the High German by Medley: London, 1738, p. 210. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Nuremberg, 1719).

which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gkoab is mixed in with it. A chopper, //p, which has been heated red hot in the fire is then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man "— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins so that they perspire (roupe). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potjiherk and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says Uxamtin. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potjiherk. Some informants say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

How long the widow remained lean, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Cornelis and others, it was done sometimes after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would on no account take the path through the valuable karee plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleansed from head to foot with *//oaup or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

* Some of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 555 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754] in secretly, removedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775 their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of elders as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves con- 764 jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 778 and covered the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heinab, who has already been mentioned, for this reason ordered his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- 763 son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as forerunners of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one accidentally, or 764 points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 787 the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761 an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
539 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

197 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender
[64] body, often weakened by disobedience and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[45] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
788 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
● 764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep,
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and set stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. H. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1668, writes about it as follows:—

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive environmental conditions on to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Tupinaes of Wabia Bay and the Bawitkaya of Fraschetain, and probably among all the Tarrau, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hastened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and their near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off. But we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other mourners is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Namas is the /Hei /Nis, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* Ibid., p. 324.
† Ibid., p. 325.
‡ Theoph. Hahn, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-khoi, T. Hahn, p. 111.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Buchu barosma, Letolina. Natna fish (Tyndale). P/shaou (name given to writer). Two varieties known in Nama as D/shaou, D/khouas or Haas buchu, and P/kabouris. Considered by Hottentot to possess great virtues in curing disorders, and rarer forms are valuable to the Native. In powder used for dusting, for fire and sunburns. Baby powder made of D/shaou kept in tortoise shell puff box, roasted with fat and dropped in ear for earache. Powder also mixed with C/ghoonabi, an acacia thorn archer, and then considered a high class powder. The second rate powder used for babies was mixed with ground acacia thorn bark, and is named O/kai. D/shaou Buchu is roasted with oil and fat, mixed with mother's milk and dropped into the ear for earache. P/shaou is rare and valuable, and a thimbleful is worth from a sheep to an ox. It is obtained in mountainous districts and when used is pounded and tied in a cloth over which hot water is poured. Is this a method due to exercise of economy?

P/thou dauoop, or sweet honey, a sticky soft-leaved sweet tasting plant, is also used for powder making.

The thorn tree archer was put to many uses. The Bushmen used its ashes to blacken his face. To-day an oil not unlike saiyapat is expressed and used for rheumatic troubles.

Xghoris or Xhoris, which means "smells strong," is a plant so far not identified. The whole plant is ground up and strewed on dead bodies, and is also applied to the living body when it has an unpleasant odour. This powder is also used as a snuff to keep away the smell of the dead "so that it doesn't strike in."

Bitter Roots. Many roots are known to-day under the name of bitterbosch, or bitter wortle, that is, bitter bush or bitter root. The chief are the blue bush, *Pegarea pallens*, *Pteronidium undulatum* (*Asclepias crispa?*) and the Sand Bitter bush, a tall bush found in the mountains. These are so much used by the present white population that the Afrikaanse name has quite ousted the Nama one. The blue-bush root is also known as the black root, the wonderful emetic-purgative. These roots are powdered and boiled, and the decoction is used for pains in the stomach; if used for diarrhoea, then the stems of the plant are included. The liquor so prepared is greenish in colour and is exceedingly bitter, with a *Nux vomica* type of bitterness.

Daggas. Two species are recognised: wilde dagga, *Leonotis leonuris*; and klip dagga, *Leonotis ovata*. Groenekloof mentions its use. The powdered leaves, he said, were made into a little cake no bigger than a Billabalor, a coin about the size of a modern shilling, which the Hottentots chewed, even as the Indians and Chinese chewed opium. In 1780 its use, mixed with tobacco introduced by the Europeans, is mentioned. A decoction of the roots is used for headaches and for bronchitis. An ointment made from raw fat and pulverised dagga

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

Death.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very long-lived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[*]).

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[**]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[***]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

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*) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the knees he were during life, and then buried (Schapera, op cit., 280 ff.)

**) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, op cit., 72).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[*]; the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a base Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[**].

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the bier of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practise the rite of Venus *a posteriori*; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their animal embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but the report, unfortunately, has long so far ground here in [illegible]. It is republished in Moodie's Records, pp. 233-34, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the exact circumstances of the most juvenile suicide. The story is the oldest journal entry most of the surrounding inhabitants of the town, but is undeniably interesting to family [illegible]. This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain damsel, [illegible] about 14 years old, who had come for early childhood from [illegible] Netherlands, and had since her early childhood been [illegible] by civilized, [illegible] servitude amongst the Dutch, learning the language, and trained in [illegible] customs, had without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the dining part of a certain burgher by means of her [illegible] band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no outside were found on the body, so that she died from [illegible]. . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female deceased was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a [illegible] of such abominations, placed with the head in a tub, and hanged between thieves' and Kaffir." (D., Dec. 12, 1671.) Three weeks later the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the tub on which the female Hottentot had been hanged had been taken down and taken away. Careful inquiry [illegible] to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, [illegible] evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentot was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

10: Grevenbrook F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

The eldest son succeeds to the position of chief, and makes it his object to imitate his father's life and character. The interment takes place beside the road not far away. The dead man is wrapped in his karross and put sitting on his haunches in a deep trench with his knees moved up to his chin; thus, in the position he occupied as an embryo in his mother's womb, he is entrusted to the lap of earth.[*] The interment is accompanied by loud wailings and groanings and beatings of the breast from those who have attended the funeral or gathered as spectators; and there is also to be heard the keening of the official women mourners who with forced tears and heavy sighs accomplish the due formalities, hymning the praises of the dead man while deep sobs interrupt their funeral dirges. A mound of stones forms the monument to the departed; one or two lofty poles or posts are erected upon it for a memorial; and a funeral feast forms the last act of the tragic drama.

As they withdraw from the tomb they pray for the dead man that his bones may rest in peace, and they beg and beseech him not to injure man or beast. And whenever they pass his grave, a branch is plucked near by, or a plant pulled from the earth, to strew upon it, and they cast themselves upon their faces and bewail the dead man's fate, reminding him of the public good and asking him how he can lie there hid amid their tears and lamentations instead of rising from the dead to resume the care of his people. Since his departure from this life all things have gone headlong to the bad; let him now pity their unmerited distress and come to the help of his suffering people. Thus praying they depart from the tomb.

An offender against the state is cast headlong into a cave or wild beast's den as into a dungeon. Nobody sheds a tear for him, and they crush him with curses and stones.

Immediately on their return from the funeral they wash themselves in a neighbouring stream or pool. Then they all sit in a circle on the floor of a hut and the eldest among them makes water on them as a festival bath. Then, as a special sacrifice, a sheep or ox is slain, and, reserving whatever they find in its stomach or bowels, the superstitious creatures sprinkle themselves, their cattle, and the hut with it. Finally all the flesh is devoured in a funeral feast.[**]

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[*] Compare Herodotus, iv. 71, on the burial of the Scythian king. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus, ii. 6, on the burial of Osiris.

[**] The washing and sacrificial feast after the funeral are practised by both Hottentots and Amakhosa, but the sprinkling to which C. refers is a Hottentot custom only.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

774 ments. He very soon turns against himself, by stating that the Khoikhoi *must* believe in a Supreme, but very powerful and fiendish Being, from whom they expect rain, thunder, lightning, cold, &c.; and he adds that various Colonists had told him *that the Khoikhoi curse at the thunder*, calling him "Gutseri and !Gaunari," and "throwing something at the lightning and thunder.—(Sparrmann, German edition, p. 196. Compare in the sequel the hymn to the Thunder and to the Lightning with this statement.)

775 Sparrmann also makes mention of those mysterious cairns. He describes their size to be three to four feet in diameter. This is the general size of those Heitsi-eibib cairns we meet with in Great Namaqualand. He searched in vain in one of those stone heaps for curiosities and antiquities; all he found was a few pieces of wood (p. 549).

The Graves of Heitsi-eibib.

● 766 The learned Dr. Liechtenstein, who travelled in 1803
767 with the Dutch Commissioner de Mist through the Colony, gives a few but very valuable remarks. Liechtenstein and party were travelling in the Eastern Province Outeniqualand, and the field cornet Rademeier was with them to show the road. "The well-informed Rademeier," says Liechtenstein, "who had offered himself to show us the road for some distance, drew, not far from the road, our attention to the grave of a Hottentot, who, according to the general tradition of this people, long before the Christians had immigrated into these parts of the world, had been considered to be a great doctor and a wise man, and whose memory was honoured by the custom, that each Hottentot who passed by threw a fresh branch of flowers on the grave. We actually saw some half-dried branches which might have been thrown there only a few days ago. The grave consisted of a heap of stones about twenty to thirty yards in circumference.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

It is interesting that this circumstance, which had not 764
been "observed by former travellers, serves as a proof 769
of the higher culture to which the Gonaquas had developed before the other Hottentots, because it was in their country to which this territory belonged. Afterwards we often found such graves towards the borders of Kafirland, but never have I met with anything of the kind in other parts of Africa."—(Liechtenstein, German original edition, p. 349.)

Afterwards the travellers came to the Camdeboo, and Bruintjeshoogte, and Liechtenstein continues his journal, saying: "Before it became dark we passed a narrow spot in the mountain, which is called the '*Israelitische kloof*' (the Pass of the Israelites). Here are various large grave-mounds which are heaped up with stones, and the first colonists in their pious simplicity believed that these were monuments left by the children of Israel who passed here on their wanderings through the desert to "Canaan."

Liechtenstein again, speaking of the Ama-||khosa-Kafir, 776
says: "Amongst the ||Khosa there is no trace of a religious worship. They believe in a Supreme Being, who has created the world; but, according to Dr. van der Kemp's assertion, there is no name for it in their language. But they have "adopted a name from the Gonaquas (a Khoikhoi tribe) and they call God now *Thiko*. The Gonaquas, however, call him *Thsuke*, which word, according to van der Kemp, means '*the one who inflicts pain*,' and from some Kafirs I heard it also pronounced *Thsaqua*."—(Liechtenstein, vol. i. p. 410.)

To this I may add, that Edmund Sandilli, the son of the late Sandilli, who is now a prisoner at the convict station in Cape Town, told me that they use *u-Ti ||go* for God, a word they borrowed from the Hottentots.

The Kafirs evidently have also taken over the custom 769?
of which Liechtenstein speaks, p. 411: "There are 764
spots which nobody will pass without adding a stone, a

14:Plate L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX13 Homeoset PX13

branch, or a handful of grass. They themselves do not know the reason of this practice; but these spots are very likely the graves of persons of high reputation, whose bodies pious superstition desires to protect from being injured by wild animals; and therefore every one who passes by enlarges the stone heap by adding new stones and branches."

Tsui-!goab.

Van der Kemp, a missionary, who died at Bethelsdorp (Eastern Province) about 1811, has published a Catechism in the Hottentot language. Unfortunately nothing but the title of it, which was written in the Eastern Gonaqua idiom, has been handed down to us; and in this title appears the word *Thaiddwe*, for God, undoubtedly the same as "Tsiti!goab of the Nama, Tsu!goam of the !Kora, and Tsiqua or Tigoa and Tanqoa of the Cape Hottentots.

Further, Appleyard in his Kafir Grammar, p. 13, gives a short outline of the !Kora language, and notes the name God in Khoikhoi, as follows:

"Hottentot: Tsees'koap.

Namaqua: Tsees'koap.

Koranna: Tshu'koab, and says in a footnote: "This is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived their u-Tixo, a term which they have universally applied, like the Hottentots, to designate the Divine Being, since the introduction of Christianity. Its derivation is curious. It consists of two words, which together mean the *wounded knee*. It is said to have been originally applied to a doctor or sorcerer of considerable notoriety and skill amongst the Hottentots or Namaquas some generations back, in consequence of his having received some injury in his knee. Having been held in high repute for extraordinary powers during life, he appeared to be invoked even after death, as one who could still relieve and protect;

14 Hahn I.-5 (ca. 1879-1880) 1881 FX13 Hereroen FX13

and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabi- 776
tants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western
Cape Colony.

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this
Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great power-
ful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had
plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors
of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon
rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who
possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of
their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the
graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the
deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib
conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed
his people. He was very clever and wise, and could
foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst
the Bondle-Zwart, or ǂGamiǂnas, I heard the following
story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied,
among the ǁHaboben, ǁKharogei-khoin, and ǁO-gwia.

Heitsi-eibib's battles with ǂGama-ǂgorib ǁHaǂ-tgui-tgoa,
ǂAmoi and the Lion.

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ǂGama-ǂgorib, 778
ǁHaǂ-tgui-tgoib and the Lion lived on the other side, on
three roads, in the middle (between him and his people).
There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And
these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent
for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a
rumour why they did not come. He then started to look
after them, and came first to the place of ǂGama-ǂgorib.
But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally
does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another).
ǂGama-ǂgorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-
eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare
was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to
ǂGama-ǂgorib: "I have come to look after my people."
But on the place of ǂGama-ǂgorib there was a hole, and

buy again milk-goats and cows, that our little ones may 765
live."

"But your father is dead" I said; "how will he hear?"

"Yes, he is dead," she answered, "but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grand-parents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours."

Is there a difference between this woman and Napoleon 767
III., who, like the old kings of France, was so eager to play the part of the Eldest Son of the Church, and who was certainly addicted to ancestor worship, if the recently published will of April 14th, 1875, is genuine? "We must remember," writes the Emperor, "that those we love look down upon us from Heaven and protect us. It is the soul of my great uncle which has always guided and supported me. Thus will it be with my son, also if he proves worthy of his name."—(*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1875); *Vide* Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 261.)

Another custom, which also proves that the Khoikhoi 769
believe that the person in the grave is not quite dead, is that of throwing water on the grave shortly after the burial. When asked why they do this, they say, in order to cool the soul of the deceased. The grave is also called ǂkoe—*i.e.*, "the unhappy, discontented;" ǂkoe signifies "dissatisfied." If, for instance, an ox is slaughtered, the cattle can be seen to hold a gathering at that spot, throwing up dust with their horns and feet, and the bulls especially commence roaring like lions. Then the Khoikhoi say: Gomas ta ǂkoe, the cattle are dissatisfied—*i.e.*, they protest against the death of their comrade. Another word is ǂnoiim, which also means, to protest, but in a very energetic way.

wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68)

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas, Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they threw aromatic buchu powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him.

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX).

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also each change in weather, calm, storm, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[309] [895] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [785] [751] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [854] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, *op. cit.*, 884 *ff.*

[2] Walk, *op. cit.*, 884; *cf. also* Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 40–1; Wikar, *op. cit.*, 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Howitt, "The Conception of Sons among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

½ [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

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The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the eldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

765 ● [514]

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *knobs*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

765 768

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

765 [766]

[1] Gustav Mohlenfels, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, I, 229.

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His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

The series of rites connected with death and burial among the Naman have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of *//nau*, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are afflicted, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes *//nau*, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes *//nau*, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become *//nau* and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Schoppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood [3]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, *op. cit.*, 316–17; Bleek and Kling, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, II (1910), 223–5; Hoernlé, "The Conception of Soul," 79–81; *cf.* also Alexander, "Beobachtungen im Great-Namalande," 205; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 333; Schultze, *Zum-Kalahari-Hottentotten*, 99–100; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 206.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 77.

[3] "Beerdigung von Kommandeuren," in Meinke, *op. cit.*, 1916, 144.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

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in the heap and projecting above a foot or so, indicates the head end of the grave; ceremonially also the grounbok horn used in excavating the grave is placed in this position. Everybody adds a stone or twig to the mound, which is afterwards strewn with ducks. Any relative or friend of the dead person unable to be present at the funeral will also, on visiting the kraal, go to the grave and place something of the sort on the mound. Cold water is likewise thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. "The reason given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the 'seventies of last century was that it 'cooled the soul of the deceased'."[1]

When the people come back from the grave, all the inmates of the kraal, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, which is placed in front of the dead man's hut. Cold water is also sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. The explanation given for this washing is that the people would get sick if they did not do so, and the cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.[2] Meanwhile, the dead man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood into one or more pots.[3] The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others, all the different families who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and mixed with a certain herb, and then is stirred about with a chopper, which has been heated red hot, in order to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the dead man—men, women and children—collect round the pots and cover their heads with their karosses so that they perspire. Then an old man, related neither to the deceased nor to the widow, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person—" to prevent their getting pains from eating the food." The flesh which has been cooking is now eaten by the relatives only, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. These rites—the sweating, the putting on of the black line, and the eating—are all done in the dead person's hut. It may be noticed here that the removal of the

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 577; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 113.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.
[3] The description which follows is taken from Mrs. Hoernlé's account in "The Conception of Sin", loc. cit.

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head from the place of death, a mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Namas. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their annihilation the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation.

The widow takes no part in the rites just described—" she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become /nas, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains /nas Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, " The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, " so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, " so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow takes the contents of the animal's stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes in front, scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying " let there be plenty of milk ". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony.

[1] Cf. Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxxvii; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 227.

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If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//abus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleansed by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this all the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Nama by several names—most commonly as */hai /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hai khais*, "fawn-coloured people," or *aobo khais*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gaunab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 89.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 507, 519.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

Death.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very long-lived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]).

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the karosse he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, op cit., 340 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, op cit., 72).

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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[77]; the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a base Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[78].

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the bier of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practise the rite of Venus a posteriori; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Then after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their animal embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reproduced in Moodie's Records, pp. 210-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicide. The entry in the official journal omits most of the accompanying reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had given her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilized burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in higher manners, but, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'rabelt' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentot was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominations, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 12, 1671.) Three weeks later the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

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Nama

Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we disliked to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being ǂGamab, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the /hai /nun, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The /gei aops or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Namas considered that all sickness was caused either by ǂGamab, or the /Hai /Nun, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain trivial observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of !nam. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wikar, "Beytrag aus van Plettenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Bushman Folk-lore in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die Absolute Entschränkung über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 113.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-ǁGoam*, 83–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 317–21 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 320–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 83.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

might be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes to be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly, according to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated." Such people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called *//gauna //oro khoin*, i.e. people who died the *//gauna* death.[2]

There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already noted among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their fate. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers. When old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest son or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission, never refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the suffering old person from the miserable condition to which he is reduced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the kraal, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed day, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied by an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose at some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small quantity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation or to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]

This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there is ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was common and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of *//Gaunab*, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them."[5]

Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites.

[1] Cf. above, p. 266.
[2] Op. cit., 88.
[3] *Vergeldings der Groote Hoffenung*, 133.
[4] Grevenbroek, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 241; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 358; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 418; Alberti, "Beobachtungen im Caffer-Namalande," 265; Shaw, *Memorials of S. Africa*, 40–1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133–6 Pilaski, *Hoogduytsen Zuid-Afrika's*, 334.
[5] Op. cit., 86; cf. 74.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
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The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the oldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *kacha*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 209.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Africa FX17

S H 845 847 766 H 854

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[11]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H 847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[12])

231

If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

224 252

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[11]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1699): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 234).

H 766 847

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation :

Iis was born at Saron (*!khoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See " History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Iis* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Khris*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gaxnaob ta !naue o, ina /hobab !naue-ina !khaib dibae, ina haikwa !narae, ina /harub !anibae, ina /kha: //o:b ǂ=nammi xa xamie, ina //na:ba //goiiie, ina /nai /haruba /hlu kx'aomme, ina /hu:ba thurue.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Teteb* and *Iis*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Teteb* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Teteb* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 316

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

[End] PLATE IV.

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Site of Saron Mission Station.

766

The Grave of Johannes Links.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaña ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǂâ, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǀhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁõra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǂgauna
775 ǁōra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
766 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǂgauna ǁora khoin.

838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of [754] their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǂGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAuni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsūiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It [171] is strange that the ǂGabe-Bushmen, the ǂAi-Bushmen, the ǂNunin, and especially among these the Heiǂguin (or wooden noses), all know ǁGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsūiǁgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sān and Khoikhoin. Tsūiǁgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

Syphilis claims many victims. 000

Although probably based on superstitious fear, the custom of the Hottentots of destroying a hut after a death has occurred in it and rebuilding it somewhere else on new ground is of great practical hygienic value. 768

Capitulum II

The Hut and Handicrafts

A. The Hut

The hut, o·mi, of the Hottentots is characteristic of nomadic housing. 342
It is airy, yet protected against wind and sun, light in weight, [228] simple in material and in construction and therefore easy to take down, pack up and rebuild in another place.

1. Material and Construction

a) The framework of the hut is best made of thorn tree wood because of its elasticity. Next to be used is the more brittle hakjes (Acacia detinens Burch.) thorn. Other woods are used only as a last resort. [824]

The dome shape of the hut demands that the framework of the hut have a definite curve.* The freshly polled and trimmed branch (about

*This curve is the basis of a Hottentot designation for rainbow as tertium comparationis: */a·bi!ha·/nab, i.e. "rain hut-pole."

5 centimeters across at the base) is placed flat on the ground. One end and the middle are weighted down by heavy stones. The free end is bent and braced against a stone block and kept in this position until the wood has dried and therefore stays bent. Or they place the branches in bundles upright in the ground, tie the free ends together, bend them down and hold them with a strap which is anchored to the ground. [Picture. Framework of a Hut].

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)-1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the oldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *buchu*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 209.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

It may be noticed here that the removal of the
kraal from the place of death, as mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Naman. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their recollection the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation.

The widow takes no part in the rites just described—" she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become */nau*, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains */nau* Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, " The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, " so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, " so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fre[illegible]e. The next morning the widow takes the contents of [illegible]'s stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes [illegible] scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying " let there be plenty of milk ". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony.

[1] *Cf.* Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxxvii; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 227.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Narna

Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this !nomI hêip has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, (somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same when I received a piece lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hottentot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'andersmaken' is performed by killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to the circumstances of the family"[2]. This may be a feast similar to the one in which all partake when the ǂaxaia leaves her kharú ǒms.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described. They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp or kraal was moved. My informers state that in the earlier days of their recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish Bay, and one while I was in Berseba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes !nau, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purification rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

[2] Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley,' London, 1738, p. 313. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Nuremberg, 1719).

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[171] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gànab is mixed in with it. A chopper, *!ôp*, which has been heated red hot is
[412] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man [a]— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[302] so that they perspire (*suaqn*). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the woman, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potblack. Some informers say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[593] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

● 768 How long the widow remained !nau, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Gottlief and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
[784] on no account take the path through the valuable !naras plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the
[278] purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleaned from head to foot with ≠houp or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

[a] None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground !naras pips, goats' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with !naop, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the */drap*, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "*delba /aba*", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaχais.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by !Kabes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "*Xaré dama kaure ≠aba ≠abare*", "don't get thin, get fat like the ≠aba onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xaré dama kaure ≠aba ≠abare", and, filling the water pot, *//ho-ǂs*, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlief gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and *//ubus*[2] juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //gurûs, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //gurûs. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dabi and //ganab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become !nau, and have to be dealt with similarly.

* * *

I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

[2] A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[1] [i.e. A young marriageable woman. See cat. 116, pp. 72 ff. – Analyst]

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Tara-daob*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or ta means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler;* the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tās (contracted from gautaras), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xam|hās, who ruled the Cauquas (|Khauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xam|ha, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-|Khauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is *Xam|ha-b* and the mother is ‡*Arises*, the sons are—

1. ‡Ariseb geib—*i.e.*, ‡Arise the big one, or the oldest ‡Arise.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naoan /Hans	My ancestors' territory
/Gaise /khai loa te te	Run nicely to meet me
aibe mase	I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hai /Nan* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Nama", 319–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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to encroachment upon the territory of another. There is unfortunately no other record of such usages to be observed when visiting a strange place, or linking up the occupation of land with supernatural agencies. Whether similar usages did exist among the Cape Hottentots, but have escaped observation, or whether in the case of the Naman, and especially of the Orlams, European ideas had completely overshadowed them in practice, cannot now be determined. Certainly the great freedom with which the Hottentots appear to have wandered from place to place, from their own territory into that of another tribe, does not argue in favour of any pronounced dread of the ghosts haunting such places, nor does the undoubted fact that disputes over the possession of land were frequent.

All the land claimed by a tribe was the common property of that tribe. It could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it the property of the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable. In the early Cape Records several instances are noted of land having been "sold" to the colonists by Hottentot chiefs. It is more than probable that such "sales" were looked upon by the natives themselves not as alienation but as the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase money" as analogous to tribute paid for this use. Even in more recent times, when the concepts of sale and purchase had become generally familiar to the Hottentots, the alienation of land to other tribes or peoples was extremely rare. The chief had no right to dispose of the land or of any portion of it without first obtaining the consent of the families under his rule, and the purchase money had to be divided equally amongst them.[1]

Every member of the tribe had a right as such to the use of its land, water, and grazing for himself, his family, and his stock. He could move freely over the tribal lands, and erect his hut wherever he pleased, without restriction or interference by the chief or anybody else. These rights, however, were merely those of usufruct, and in no case implied full ownership to the exclusion of others.[2] The only instance recorded of recognized private ownership of land or its resources occurs even to-day in the Nara bushveld of the Kuiseb regions behind Walvis Bay. Here each Topnaar family has an hereditary claim to certain */nara* bushes and their fruit. Trespass by other members of the tribe is reported to the chief and dealt with by him; but if the

[1] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 675, 684; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75–6; Vedder, "The Nama," 144; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 350.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 197.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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821 775 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat, etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm, or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place, are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the putrefying body.[1]

769 782 775 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people. The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep" at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered, 'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps, that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise not from the "soul", as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse, since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

[1] Op. cit., 317.
[2] Op. cit., 85, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112–13.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hahn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Stygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 19; Gravenbroeck, op. cit., 371; Hahn, op. cit., 46–8 (quoting Sparrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 45. [4] Op. cit., 225.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 168.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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773 778 stones"; whereas Biden and Kling use the term "heidje eibib" in regard to all graves, although speaking also of a specially large "heidje eibib" near O'okiep. Hahn says that branches are thrown only on the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, not on any others, which appears also from Alexander's remarks. Vedder, again, "was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stones, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty." He, therefore, concludes that these heaps were originally beacons set up by the Bushmen at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, that is, where there were old paths, and that later, when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, these boundary marks appeared to the Hottentots as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.[1]

769 778 773 Whatever the origin of these heaps, it is at least certain that the Hottentots regard them as the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, add stones, branches, and other objects to them, and pray at them to *Heitsi Eibib* for success in hunting, much cattle, and other benefits. We have previously noted that ordinary graves are also added to in this way, and that people will sometimes go to pray at the graves of the parents. This suggests that *Heitsi Eibib* is in some way connected with the ancestors. One is inclined, therefore, to look upon him either as a traditional hero of the past, round whom a series of legends have collected, or possibly as a mythological ancestor living much the same sort of life as the Hottentots themselves did. He certainly does not appear to be a personified nature deity of the same kind as *Tsui ||Goab*. And it may be added here, that in translations of the Bible and other religious works into the Hottentot languages, the name *Tsui ||Goab* is by some writers used as a rendering for "God", whereas *Heitsi Eibib* never is. This in itself indicates how different were the native conceptions of these two figures.

773 776 In the mythology of the Hottentots *Tsui ||Goab*, as we have seen, appears as a great tribal hero, many of whose people are killed by the evil chief *||Gaunab*. *Tsui ||Goab* goes to war with *||Gaunab*, and finally destroys him by giving him a blow behind the ear; but

[1] Op. cit., 132; cf. *idem*, "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der . . . Buschmänner," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, I (1925–6), 11–22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

B H 771 171 821

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

B H 771 171 769 776 [192]

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Hawa* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

B H [191]

B H 771 171 776 761 821

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gauab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon- 782 535
light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up 178
here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking o pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama 771
religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged [754] in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than 775
their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves con- 764
jointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place 775
and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying per- 763
son, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or 769
points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of 787
the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of 761
an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called " the
782 little heart-tree " is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called " Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 ments. He very soon turns against himself, by stating that the Khoikhoi *must* believe in a Supreme, but very powerful and fiendish Being, from whom they expect rain, thunder, lightning, cold, &c.; and he adds that various Colonists had told him *that the Khoikhoi curse at the thunder*, calling him " "Gutseri and ǂGaunazi," and "throwing something at the lightning and thunder.—(Sparrmann, German edition, p. 196.) Compare in the sequel the hymn to the Thunder and to the Lightning with this statement.)

778 Sparrmann also makes mention of those mysterious cairns. He describes their size to be three to four feet in diameter. This is the general size of those Heitsi-eibib cairns we meet with in Great Namaqualand. He searched in vain in one of those stone heaps for curiosities and antiquities; all he found was a few pieces of wood (p. 549).

The Graves of Heitsi-eibib.

764 The learned Dr. Liechtenstein, who travelled in 1803
769 with the Dutch Commissioner de Mist through the Colony, gives a few but very valuable remarks. Liechtenstein and party were travelling in the Eastern Province Outeniqualand, and the field cornet Rademeier was with them to show the road. "The well-informed Rademeier," says Liechtenstein, "who had offered himself to show us the road for some distance, drew, not far from the road, our attention to the grave of a Hottentot, who, according to the general tradition of this people, long before the Christians had immigrated into these parts of the world, had been considered to be a great doctor and a wise man, and whose memory was honoured by the custom, that each Hottentot who passed by threw a fresh branch of flowers on the grave. We actually saw some half-dried branches which might have been thrown there only a few days ago. The grave consisted of a heap of stones about twenty to thirty yards in circumference.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

It is interesting that this circumstance, which had not been observed by former travellers, serves as a proof of the higher culture to which the Gonaquas had developed before the other Hottentots, because it was in their country to which this territory belonged. Afterwards we often found such graves towards the borders of Kafirland, but never have I met with anything of the kind in other parts of Africa."—(Liechtenstein, German original edition, p. 349.)

Afterwards the travellers came to the Camdeboo, and Bruintjeshoogte, and Liechtenstein continues his journal, saying: "Before it became dark we passed a narrow spot in the mountain, which is called the '*Israelitische kloof*' (the Pass of the Israelites). Here are various large grave-mounds which are heaped up with stones, and the first colonists in their pious simplicity believed that these were monuments left by the children of Israel who passed here on their wanderings through the desert to "Canaan."

Liechtenstein again, speaking of the Ama-||khosa-Kafir, says: "Amongst the ||Khosa there is no trace of a religious worship. They believe in a Supreme Being, who has created the world; but, according to Dr. van der Kemp's assertion, there is no name for it in their language. But they have "adopted a name from the Gonaquas (a Khoikhoi tribe) and they call God now *Thiko*. The Gonaquas, however, call him *Theuke*, which word, according to van der Kemp, means '*the one who inflicts pain*,' and from some Kafirs I heard it also pronounced *Thauqua*"—(Liechtenstein, vol. i. p. 410.).

To this I may add, that Edmund Sandilli, the son of the late Sandilli, who is now a prisoner at the convict station in Cape Town, told me that they use *u-Ti ||go* for God, a word they borrowed from the Hottentots.

The Kafirs evidently have also taken over the custom of which Liechtenstein speaks, p. 411: "There are spots which nobody will pass without adding a stone, a

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

769 764 branch, or a handful of grass. They themselves do not know the reason of this practice; but these spots are very likely the graves of persons of high reputation, whose bodies pious superstition desires to protect from being injured by wild animals; and therefore every one who passes by enlarges the stone heap by adding new stones and branches."

Tsûi-||goab.

776 Van der Kemp, a missionary, who died at Bethelsdorp (Eastern Province) about 1811, has published a Catechism in the Hottentot language. Unfortunately nothing but the title of it, which was written in the Eastern ǃGonaqua idiom, has been handed down to us; and in this title appears the word *Thuickwe*, for God, undoubtedly the same as [17] Tsûi||goab of the Nama, Tsu-||goam of the ǃKora, and Tuiqua or Tigoa and Tanquoa of the Cape Hottentots.

Further, Appleyard in his Kafir Grammar, p. 13, gives a short outline of the ǃKora language, and notes the name God in Khoikhoi, as follows:

[18] Hottentot: Tsoei'koap.

Namaqua: Tsoei'koap.

Koranna: Tshu'koab, and says in a footnote: "This is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived their u-Tixo, a term which they have universally applied, like the Hottentots, to designate the Divine Being, since the introduction of Christianity. Its derivation is curious. It consists of two words, which together mean the *wounded knee*. It is said to have been originally applied to a doctor or sorcerer of considerable notoriety and skill amongst the Hottentots or Namaquas some generations back, in consequence of his having received some injury in his knee. Having been held in high repute for extraordinary powers during life, he appeared to be invoked even after death, as one who could still relieve and protect;

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Heitsi-eibib ǁKhāb, ǂGama-ǂgorib, Tūsib and ǀAub, the Serpent.

769 Captain James Alexander, later Sir James Alexander, had, no doubt, a very fascinating way of gaining the confidence of the natives. The Namaquas even now speak of him in the highest terms, and praise his social and familiar habits. An old Namaqua said to me of him "ǀAva-khoĭ khemi ko tsā ǀhūb ke,"—That man had the flavour of a Redman,—meaning to say that the English traveller knew how to fraternize with them.

Alexander's observations, therefore, we must consider very valuable. He was the first to supply us with specimens of Khoikhoi folk-lore. In these pages we can only reproduce his notes on the mythology and religion of the Namaquas:—

"These Namaquas," says Alexander, "thought that they came from the East. In the country there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones on which had been thrown a few bushes; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap. They mutter, 'Give us plenty cattle.'"—(Alexander, "Expedition of Discovery," i. 167.)

821 "There is a strange story about the moon which is a little better than their usual ignorant notions. The moon, they say, wished to send a messenger to men, and the hare said that he would take it. 'Run, then,' said the moon, 'and tell men that as I die and am renewed, so shall they also be renewed.' But the hare deceived men, and said, 'As I die and perish, so shall you also perish.' [262] Old Namaquas will not therefore touch hare's flesh; but the young men may partake of it—that is, before the ceremony of making them men is performed, which merely consists in slaughtering and eating an ox or a couple of sheep."

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

among the Khoikhoi, we should come to the conclusion of the existence of such a belief, from the custom that they bury their dead with the face towards the east. To them also our "Ex oriente lux" had a deeper meaning. Peschel, in his "Races of Man," p. 259, correctly remarks: "Again, if we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb. The meaning of this significant custom is, that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth." The graves are covered with stoneheaps and branches of thorns to prevent the hyenas devouring the bodies.

That the pre-historic myth-makers thought very much about the riddle of a future life, we have seen in the myth of the Moon, who sent the Hare to men with the message of immortality.

This feeling of a future life is not as dim as some ethnologists and travellers and missionaries like to represent it. I shall refer to what I experienced myself.

769 Once I met on the outskirts of the Kalihari a party of Namaquas in an ox waggon, which belonged to a woman of rank (Geikhoin), who was with the party. I knew her very well, for she had treated me very hospitably when I once stayed at her kraal. I was very much surprised to find her so far away from her home, and asked: "What brings you into these waterless hunting grounds; since when are women going to shoot game?"

"My dear friend," she said, "don't make fun, I am in great distress; we lost a great number of sheep and cattle through the drought and the Bushmen, and I am going to the grave of my father, who died in the hunting fields; I am going to pray and weep there; he will hear my voice, and he will see my tears, and he will give luck to my husband who is now out ostrich-hunting, so that we can

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

buy again milk-goats and cows, that our little ones may live."

"But your father is dead'" I said; "how will he hear?"

"Yes, he is dead," she answered, "but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grand-parents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours."

Is there a difference between this woman and Napoleon III., who, like the old kings of France, was so eager to play the part of the Eldest Son of the Church, and who was certainly addicted to ancestor worship, if the recently published will of April 14th, 1875, is genuine? "We must remember," writes the Emperor, "that those we love look down upon us from Heaven and protect us. It is the soul of my great uncle which has always guided and supported me. Thus will it be with my son also if he proves worthy of his name."—(*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1875); *Vide* Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 261.)

Another custom, which also proves that the Khoikhoi believe that the person in the grave is not quite dead, is that of throwing water on the grave shortly after the burial. When asked why they do this, they say, in order to cool the soul of the deceased. The grave is also called ǂaus—*i.e.*, "the unhappy, discontented;" ǂau signifies "dissatisfied." If, for instance, an ox is slaughtered, the cattle can be seen to hold a gathering at that spot, throwing up dust with their horns and feet, and the bulls especially commence roaring like lions. Then the Khoihoi say: Goman ta ǂau, the cattle are dissatisfied—*i.e.*, they protest against the death of their comrade. Another word is ǂauăm, which also means, to protest, but in a very energetic way.

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This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

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There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Naman: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Naman, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., ii, 42; Hahn, op. cit., 39–40 (quoting Plütschau and Vogel).
[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie*, part v, 158 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38).
[3] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 50–1.
[4] "Rapport aan den Heere van Tulbagh," 56. [5] Olpp, op. cit., 25.

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there were people,[1] but no other myths connected with it have been recorded similar to those found among the Cape Bushmen.

The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. "One would almost believe that a great calamity had befallen a kraal," writes Hahn, "such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking."[2] The same dread significance is attached to the eclipse of the sun. Like that of the moon, it is believed to herald much sickness and even death. Other celestial phenomena are also ill omens. The appearance of the Aurora australis or of a comet threatens war and death—"we are overpowered by //Gauna," say the people, "war is approaching, we are going to die"—while a shooting star indicates that sickness will spread among the stock, and the people on such occasions move to another locality, and implore the star to spare them.[3] The stars, as we have seen, are said to be the eyes or the souls of the dead; but there is no mention of prayers for food or rain to either them or the sun such as are found among the Cape Bushmen. It may be noted, however, that a religious dance is held at the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset, when prayers are offered to *Tsui //Goab* for rain.

Supernatural Beings

Apart from the invocation of the Moon, the religious cult of the Hottentots seems to have centred mainly in the worship of Heroes, derived partly from animistic beliefs, partly from a personification of the natural forces producing rain. Of the beliefs and observances connected with these beings we have much fuller information, and it is apparent that they played a more prominent part in the religious life of the people than did the Moon. Three names stand out in Hottentot ritual and mythology: *Tsui //Goab*, *Heitsi Eibib*, and *//Gaunab*. All three, it will be observed, are masculine in form, as is also the name for the Moon, *//Khab*.

Tsui //Goab is the great Hero of the Nama and other Hottentot tribes. The name is usually translated "sore (or wounded) knee", from *tsu* or *tsui*, sore, wounded, and *//goab* or *//khoab*, the knee. Its origin is told in the following myth: "*Tsui //Goab* was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 387. [2] Op. cit., 131; cf. ibid., 89.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 426–7, 428–9.

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from whom all the Khoikhoi tribes took their origin. But *Tsui //Goab* was not his original name. This *Tsui //Goab* went to war with another chief, *//Gaunab*, because the latter always killed great numbers of *Tsui //Goab*'s people. In the fight, however, *Tsui //Goab* was repeatedly overpowered by *//Gaunab*, but in every battle the former grew stronger; and at last he was so strong and big that he easily destroyed *//Gaunab* by giving him one blow behind the ear. While *//Gaunab* was expiring he gave his enemy a blow on the knee. Since that day the conqueror of *//Gaunab* received the name *Tsui //Goab*, 'sore knee' or 'wounded knee'. Henceforth he could not walk properly, because he was lame."[1]

This derivation is discredited by Hahn, who interprets the name as "the Red Dawn". His reasons are chiefly philological, elaborated under the influence of the mythological theories current in the middle of last century and associated mainly with the name of Max Müller. But he adduces three other considerations: that the Korana believe *Tsui //Goab* lives in the Red Heaven or Red Sky; that another mythological personage whom he equates with *Tsui //Goab*, *!Eixa|kha-//nabiseb*, "The Man whose body has a brass-coloured backbone," is addressed as "Thou who paintest thyself with red ochre"; and that "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face towards the East: O, Tsui//goa, All-Father."[2]

Still another interpretation of the name, given by Kroenlein in his Nama-German dictionary, is the "painfully-invoked one", from *tsu*, painful, difficult, and *//goa*, to pray earnestly. Commenting upon this, Schultze, who himself accepts the first derivation, remarks caustically: "I believe that on this point the missionary Kroenlein has given the philologist Kroenlein a blow from behind!"[3]

Tsui //Goab is said to have been a great chief, a notable warrior of great physical strength, and a powerful magician.[4] According to Nama belief, he first made the rocks or stones from which the ancestors of the Hottentots came,[5] while the Korana say that he made the first man and woman.[6] He could do wonderful things, which no other man could do, because he was very wise; he could tell what

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. Other variants of the same myth are given by Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 258; Wuras, in Appleyard, *Kaffir Grammar*, 13, and in Hahn, op. cit., 61–2.
[2] Op. cit., 122–4.
[3] Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, 329 s.v. "*Tsu-//goab*"; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 447.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 48, 50, 62 (quoting Moffat and Wuras, loc. cit.); Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 28.
[5] Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104.
[6] Hahn, op. cit., 62, 105. For a similar belief held by the Cape Hottentots, cf. Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.

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771 773 would happen in future times; he died several times, and each time he rose again. "And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. *Tsui //Goab* gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."[1] Another of Hahn's informants, speaking of the origin of his tribe, said: "That very thing, the *//Habobe*, has been made by *Tsui //Goab* in this country, and */Khub* [Lord, another name for *Tsui //Goab*] has made us, and has given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow."[2] He is ubiquitous, and the people take oaths by him, "thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil"; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they use his name in the form of an exclamation: "*Tsui-//Goatse* !"[3]

773 796 On certain occasions *Tsui //Goab* is worshipped openly as the rain-giver. Hahn, as we have just seen, says that the Naman leave their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and invoke him. This is not mentioned by any other writer; but there is further evidence of worship directed towards him. The missionary, George Schmidt, who worked among the Hessequa, one of the Cape Hottentot tribes, from 1737 to 1744, has left on record a short but very important description of one of their religious ceremonies. "At the return of the Pleiades these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones in their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors. The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, etc.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"[4] *Tiqua* is an early form of writing *Tsui //Goab*; and the prayer shows clearly that he is here regarded as the god of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

Tsui //Goab is also invoked by the Naman, at the great annual rain-making ceremony, *guri ǂab* ("yearly killing"), which is the most

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. [3] Ibid., 64.
[2] Vedder, "The Nama," 130; Hahn, op. cit., 62; Schultze, op. cit., 447–8.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 43; quoting *Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of */;Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Bushmen FX10

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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua*. Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 535 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771 [754]

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another. 775

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conjointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again. 764 776

Heisib, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of *rising* from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death. 763

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he 769 787 761

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

arborem. 9. ad [n]) casas anserinas. 10 ad [o]) flumen latum. 11. ad paradisum, locum propter amoenitatem ita appellatum: ubi ex argillaceae terrae, aquas inquinantis, copia magna boni laticis inopia est. 12. Ultimo denique ad [p]) concharum sinum, qui cxxxvi. circiter leucis a *Propugnaculo* distat.

CAP. XIX.

De modo saltandi.

Tripudiis, quae miris gesticulationibus exercent, summopere gaudere videntur: cum, si vel minimus in illis religionis sensus sit, illam saltationis ritu maxime peragant. Quamprimum enim luna exsurgit, undique concurrunt. Mares prono corpore pedibus fortiter pulsant humum, unisono, sed vel remissione vel intentione, ejulatu boantes, vultu semper aeque gravi; ubi feminae circumsedentes maribus plaudunt canentes. Quod si forte in nostratium aedibus *speculum* offendant, ridiculo gargalismo animum titillant, propria cum *Narcissa* delectati forma, mimicis gestibus in effusos dissolvuntur saltus, ut saepe defessi prosternantur; sicuti saepius ab *Hottentotto* juvene, in nostro hospitio famulante, conspexi.

CAP. XX.

De Religione.

Barbara licet & plane brutalis haec *natio*, ut inter eas [q]) gentes, quae legem etiamsi non habent, naturae quae legis sunt, faciunt, recenseri non possit exiex. Attamen *summi* cujusdam *Entis* vel leviculam cognitionem habere videntur, saepe de *supremo* quodam *Capitaneo* memorans:

n) de ganse krallen.
o) brede rivier.
p) Mossel-baey.
q) Roman. cap. 2.

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*I take this to be a mistake for Kafferkuils rivier. Mossop (V.R.S. 12, Appendix C) identifies Caffer Kuils rivier (doubtfully) with Palmiet Rivier in the Caledon district, which suits this passage. Mossop's notes to his translation of Schrijver's journey to the East (*op. cit.*) give the best information available on this whole itinerary. (E.F.)

[r]) Most of the early writers on the Hottentots state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking. None of them, however, declare explicitly that the Hottentots worshipped the moon, except for Kolb, who says that they looked on the Moon as their visible

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

River;* (5) to Knoflocha Krallen; (6) to Botter River; (7) to Rivier Sonder Ryndo; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragun's Boom; (9) Ganse Krallen; (10) Brede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charm, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 136 *leucae* distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they most show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, lustily chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fixed expression of seriousness on their faces; the women sit round in a circle clapping and singing.*1)

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is numbered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

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God, which they called *Gounja*, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Ross and Marais, in 1783, also record an invocation to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in association with the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the Moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 378-6.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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ffection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant ound of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A isobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond eform he puts away.

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If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a resent of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is astructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the east; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it hat his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, he husband gives the same commands to her as when cknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough o be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst rom a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins he cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, ogether with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[36]) The

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omen lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; hey are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is n my judgment the reason for the smallness of the opulation.

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They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of ll good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, he moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. t seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men nd beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of isasters of every kind.[37]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness.

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[The women stand up and part their legs to make water; he men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[38])] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet

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[755]

they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

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[37]) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Naman use the terms *sores* for the sun, and //*kaub* for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *zoaib*.)

[38]) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Goedt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damoh* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating to the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gebo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gaib*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 60–2. [3] Ibid., 126.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 520. [4] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 226.

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hā!, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [262] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (*/ai·ǂadai·b) or cooled (*/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (*/kǂabib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, */ũdaib. */ũdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still unpopulated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then be ashamed of it?

262 [177 773]

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with

262 222 137

* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called ǂkʔai·ran) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *ǂgũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classfy *!gao·beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ǂha·ʔob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194] roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with milk to a porridge. 252

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with peculiarly turned leaves (called ǂgarib), is supposed to have given its 262 222 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now [582] apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

2: Schapera E-4,5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Birth

Pregnancy

The ideas of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception do not appear to have been specially investigated. The fact that in cases of premarital pregnancy the girl's lover is expected to marry her, and in any case has a claim to the child, seems to indicate that physiological paternity is recognized. But there is no concrete information that the Hottentots are acquainted with the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. In their mythology we even meet with a few instances in which women have conceived without having connection with a man. Thus it is told that on one occasion, when some young girls had gone out to fetch firewood, one of them took a kind of sweet juicy grass, chewed it, and swallowed the juice. As a result she became pregnant, and was delivered of a son, Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth.[1] An instance of this kind, however, can, owing to its mythological character, hardly be interpreted as reflecting the normal beliefs of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception.

On the whole there seems to be a general desire among the people to have children. A barren woman, as we have seen, is looked down upon, and may even have to suffer the mortification of seeing her husband take a concubine. There are also various indications of rites specially designed to secure the birth of children. Graevenbroeck and Kolb, in their descriptions of the Cape Hottentot marriage ceremonies, both state that the person officiating publicly expresses the wish that the young couple will have offspring; and similarly the slaughter of only female animals for the Nama marriage feast is interpreted as due to the desire that the marriage may prove fruitful. Wikar, again, mentions that a barren woman will have recourse to a magician, who strokes her on the abdomen with pieces of horn and wood, and also smears her there with the contents of his medicine horn. Moreover, an ewe heavy with lamb is slaughtered, and the woman must carry the amnion of this unborn lamb on her back, like a child. Also, according to Schinz, women during confinement (*sic*) must eat only goat's flesh in order to promote their fertility.[2]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 69. Another myth of the same kind relates that Heitsi Eibib was born as a young bull of a cow impregnated by eating grass (ibid., 68. The original Nama text is given in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 177).

[2] Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 104; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death, Burial, and Mourning

In dealing with the social, economic, and political life of the Hottentots, we have had occasion to notice in various connections ceremonies and beliefs of a ritual character. For example, all the observances and avoidances centring in the conception of *!nau*, as well as the rites and beliefs developed round hunting and war, really form part of the magico-religious or sacred aspect of Hottentot life. But they are so intimately associated with more profane activities that to discuss them separately would have been to divorce them from their proper context in native life, and thus to overlook their real significance. The beliefs and usages relating to death, on the other hand, lead more directly to a consideration of religion, since this supreme and final crisis in human life is one of the most important sources for the Hottentot conceptions of supernatural agencies.

The coming of death into the world is related by the Hottentots in a myth which varies but slightly from that told by the Bushmen. The Moon, it is said, once sent the louse to Men, saying, "Go to Men, and tell them, 'As I die and dying live, so you shall also die and dying live.'" The louse started with the message, but on its way was overtaken by the Hare, who asked on what errand it was bound. The louse repeated to him the message of the Moon. Then the Hare said, "As you are an awkward runner, let me take the message." With these words he ran off, and when he reached Men, he said, "I am sent by the Moon to tell you, 'As I die and dying perish, in the same manner you shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then he returned to the Moon, and told him what he had said to Men. The Moon thereupon angrily reproached him, saying, "Did you dare to tell the people a thing I did not say?" and taking up a piece of wood he struck the Hare on the lip. Since that day the hare's lip is split. There are several other variants of this myth, but in all of them the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon. Its flesh is consequently forbidden to men: "We are now angry with the hare," say the old

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hei /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The *!gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gauab*, or the */Hei /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of *!nau*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 448–9; translated versions in Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 85–6; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 517–21 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 520–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 87.

[4] "South-West Africa," 27.

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This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

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There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Naman: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Naman, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., II, 42; Hahn, op. cit., 39–40 (quoting Plötschau and Vogel).
[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie*, part v, 158 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38).
[3] *Vergelijkinge der Gunna Hoffnung*, 50–1.
[4] "Rapport aan den Heere van Tulbagh," 56. [5] Olpp, op. cit., 25.

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there were people,[1] but no other myths connected with it have been recorded similar to those found among the Cape Bushmen.

The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. "One would almost believe that a great calamity had befallen a kraal," writes Hahn, "such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking."[2] The same dread significance is attached to the eclipse of the sun. Like that of the moon, it is believed to herald much sickness and even death. Other celestial phenomena are also ill omens. The appearance of the Aurora australis or of a comet threatens war and death—"we are overpowered by //Gauna," say the people, "war is approaching, we are going to die"—while a shooting star indicates that sickness will spread among the stock, and the people on such occasions move to another locality, and implore the star to spare them.[3] The stars, as we have seen, are said to be the eyes or the souls of the dead; but there is no mention of prayers for food or rain to either them or the sun such as are found among the Cape Bushmen. It may be noted, however, that a religious dance is held at the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset, when prayers are offered to *Tsui //Goab* for rain.

Supernatural Beings

Apart from the invocation of the Moon, the religious cult of the Hottentots seems to have centred mainly in the worship of Heroes, derived partly from animistic beliefs, partly from a personification of the natural forces producing rain. Of the beliefs and observances connected with these beings we have much fuller information, and it is apparent that they played a more prominent part in the religious life of the people than did the Moon. Three names stand out in Hottentot ritual and mythology: *Tsui //Goab*, *Heitsi Eibib*, and *//Gaunab*. All three, it will be observed, are masculine in form, as is also the name for the Moon, *//Khab*.

Tsui //Goab is the great Hero of the Nama and other Hottentot tribes. The name is usually translated "sore (or wounded) knee", from *tsu* or *tsui*, sore, wounded, and *//goab* or *//khoab*, the knee. Its origin is told in the following myth: "*Tsui //Goab* was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 387. [2] Op. cit., 131; cf. ibid., 89.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 426–7, 428–9.

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from whom all the Khoikhoi tribes took their origin. But *Tsui //Goab* was not his original name. This *Tsui //Goab* went to war with another chief, *//Gaunab*, because the latter always killed great numbers of *Tsui //Goab*'s people. In the fight, however, *Tsui //Goab* was repeatedly overpowered by *//Gaunab*, but in every battle the former grew stronger; and at last he was so strong and big that he easily destroyed *//Gaunab* by giving him one blow behind the ear. While *//Gaunab* was expiring he gave his enemy a blow on the knee. Since that day the conqueror of *//Gaunab* received the name *Tsui //Goab*, 'sore knee' or 'wounded knee'. Henceforth he could not walk properly, because he was lame."[1]

This derivation is discredited by Hahn, who interprets the name as "the Red Dawn". His reasons are chiefly philological, elaborated under the influence of the mythological theories current in the middle of last century and associated mainly with the name of Max Müller. But he adduces three other considerations: that the Korana believe *Tsui //Goab* lives in the Red Heaven or Red Sky; that another mythological personage whom he equates with *Tsui //Goab*, *ǂEixa|kha-//nabiseb*, "The Man whose body has a brass-coloured backbone," is addressed as "Thou who paintest thyself with red ochre"; and that "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face towards the East: O, Tsui//goa, All-Father."[2]

Still another interpretation of the name, given by Kroenlein in his Nama-German dictionary, is the "painfully-invoked one", from *tsu*, painful, difficult, and *//goa*, to pray earnestly. Commenting upon this, Schultze, who himself accepts the first derivation, remarks caustically: "I believe that on this point the missionary Kroenlein has given the philologist Kroenlein a blow from behind!"[3]

Tsui //Goab is said to have been a great chief, a notable warrior of great physical strength, and a powerful magician.[4] According to Nama belief, he first made the rocks or stones from which the ancestors of the Hottentots came,[5] while the Korana say that he made the first man and woman.[6] He could do wonderful things, which no other man could do, because he was very wise; he could tell what

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. Other variants of the same myth are given by Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 258; Wuras, in Appleyard, *Kaffir Grammar*, 13, and in Hahn, op. cit., 61–2.
[2] Op. cit., 122–4.
[3] Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoi-Khoin*, 329 s.v. "*Tsu-//goab*"; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 447.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 48, 50, 62 (quoting Moffat and Wuras, loc. cit.); Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 28.
[5] Wikar, "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104.
[6] Hahn, op. cit., 62, 105. For a similar belief held by the Cape Hottentots, cf. Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 469.

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771 would happen in future times; he died several times, and each time
773 he rose again. "And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. *Tsui ||Goab* gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."[1] Another of Hahn's informants, speaking of the origin of his tribe, said: "That very thing, the *||Habobe*, has been made by *Tsui ||Goab* in this country, and */Khub* [Lord, another name for *Tsui ||Goab*] has made us, and has given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow."[2] He is ubiquitous, and the people take oaths by him, "thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil"; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they use his name in the form of an exclamation: "*Tsui-||Goatse* !"[3]

773 On certain occasions *Tsui ||Goab* is worshipped openly as the
796 rain-giver. Hahn, as we have just seen, says that the Naman leave their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and invoke him. This is not mentioned by any other writer; but there is further evidence of worship directed towards him. The missionary, George Schmidt, who worked among the Hessequa, one of the Cape Hottentot tribes, from 1737 to 1744, has left on record a short but very important description of one of their religious ceremonies. "At the return of the Pleiades these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones in their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors. The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, etc.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"[4] *Tiqua* is an early form of writing *Tsui ||Goab*; and the prayer shows clearly that he is here regarded as the god of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

Tsui ||Goab is also invoked by the Naman, at the great annual rain-making ceremony, *guri ǂab* ("yearly killing"), which is the most

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. [3] Ibid., 64.
[2] Vedder, "The Nama," 130; Hahn, op. cit., 62; Schultze, op. cit., 447–8.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 43; quoting *Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12.

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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsûi //goaxa!	Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Abo ixa,	Father of our Fathers,
Sida ixa!	Our Father!
//Nanaba /aviro,	Let stream the thunder cloud,
Ba xuna tiro,	Let our flocks live,
Eda sida tiro;	Let us also live, please;
‡Khabaxa gaxa goreb	I am so very weak
//Gâs xun,	From thirst,
/Ao xun;	From hunger;
Ba xuriba aoxa.	Let me eat field fruits.
Saxa gaxa xuna sida ixaxa,	Art thou not our Father,
Abo ixaxa,	Father of our Fathers
Tsûi //goaxa?	Thou Tsui //Goab?
Eda sida gaxgaoxiro,	That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based mainly on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May, 1922), pp. 3–4; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 27–8, and "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 515–16.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Eda oide //khare /khaixire,	That we may bless thee,
Abo ire,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Side /khare,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsui //goaxa!	Thou, Tsui //Goab!

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goaxa,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions."

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abob*, father, and */khub*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Nanub*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurub*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Nanub*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourrou* (*/Gurub*).[3] The cloud */Nanub* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 58.

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let rain"[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gai*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

!Gurub is !Gaos	The Hymn of the Thunder
!Nanuseep!	Son of the Thundercloud!
!Gorib-khai, !Gurubes!	Thou brave, loud-speaking !Gurub!
!Oaos gakare,	Talk softly, please,
!Hawib t'aes a-kâ-aenasi;	For I have no guilt;
!Ubasen	Let me alone! (Forgive me!)
!Oaoxpo aoiga.	For I have become quite weak.
!Gurubes!	Thou, O !Gurub!
!Nanuseep aoaos!	Son of the Thundercloud!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrus* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thakwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khab*, i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui ||Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tsuib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narus, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129-30. [2] Ibid., 59-60. [3] Loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 91-2. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, II, 135.
[6] "Redmen," *Aoa-khaib*, is another name used for themselves by the Namas, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *Aoa-khaib*, "black men," and the Europeans or "white men" *Aoti-khaib*.

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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the
821 rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ka /kubo ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Naoab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 322. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of */nun*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui ||Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui ||Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui ||Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Haigamab*, *Heiseb* or *Kabib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heitsi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," *passim*; Idem, "South-West Africa," 29.

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773 from the roots *hei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heitsi Eibib* is *Heigeib*, Great Tree, from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, big.[1]

Heitsi Eibib is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Naman all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through
[825] mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.[2]

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
778 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.[3] This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, mutter the following prayer:—

[782]

O Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!

[1] Op. cit., 132–4.

[2] Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 73–82; Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, 307–8; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 465–6; Vedder, in Hahn, op. cit., 64–73; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama Sprache*, 172–7 (Nama texts); Vedder, "The Nama," 132–6.

[3] Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 349; Alexander, op. cit., i, 167; Bleek, op. cit., 76; Kidd, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 69, 136.

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Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui ||Goab* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Naman, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui ||Goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.[1]

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and has dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui ||Goab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *||Gaunab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui ||Goab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui ||Goab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi Eibib's* graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a few bushes," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

[1] Op. cit., 130-5.

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773 stones"; whereas Biden and Kling use the term "heidje eibib" in regard to all graves, although speaking also of a specially large 778 "heidje eibib" near O'okiep. Hahn says that branches are thrown only on the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, not on any others, which appears also from Alexander's remarks. Vedder, again, "was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stones, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty." He, therefore, concludes that these heaps were originally beacons set up by the Bushmen at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, that is, where there were old paths, and that later, when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, these boundary marks appeared to the Hottentots as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.[1]

769 Whatever the origin of these heaps, it is at least certain that the 778 Hottentots regard them as the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, add stones, 773 branches, and other objects to them, and pray at them to *Heitsi Eibib* for success in hunting, much cattle, and other benefits. We have previously noted that ordinary graves are also added to in this way, and that people will sometimes go to pray at the graves of the parents. This suggests that *Heitsi Eibib* is in some way connected with the ancestors. One is inclined, therefore, to look upon him either as a traditional hero of the past, round whom a series of legends have collected, or possibly as a mythological ancestor living much the same sort of life as the Hottentots themselves did. He certainly does not appear to be a personified nature deity of the same kind as *Tsui ||Goab*. And it may be added here, that in translations of the Bible and other religious works into the Hottentot languages, the name *Tsui ||Goab* is by some writers used as a rendering for "God", whereas *Heitsi Eibib* never is. This in itself indicates how different were the native conceptions of these two figures.

773 In the mythology of the Hottentots *Tsui ||Goab*, as we have seen, 776 appears as a great tribal hero, many of whose people are killed by the evil chief *||Gaunab*. *Tsui ||Goab* goes to war with *||Gaunab*, and finally destroys him by giving him a blow behind the ear; but

[1] Op. cit., 132; cf. idem, "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der . . . Buschmänner," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, I (1925–6), 11–12.

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though destroyed in this way //*Gaunab* comes alive again, and one form of the myth tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. The name //*Gaunab* is nowadays translated by "Devil", and owing to missionary influence has exactly this significance for the natives; but Hahn derives it from //*gau*, to destroy, annihilate, and therefore interprets it as "the destroyer, the one who annihilates."[1]

It is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of what the Hottentots originally understood by //*Gaunab*, especially as the information relating to him is rather scanty. Graevenbroeck says of the Cape Hottentots that they believed in a first forefather *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*, and a god of the underworld *Damoh*.[2] Valentijn, who had access to Graevenbroeck's manuscript, enlarges somewhat on the latter being. The Hottentots, he says, spoke of a "Spectre whom they feared very much, Somsoma", as well as of *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, "a Devil, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often persecuted them, but in carefully examining this, it is nothing but their somsomas and spectres."[3] *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, Vedder suggests, "is evidently an attempt to spell the word //*Gauab*."[4] The linguistic identification seems rather far-fetched, but at least the attributes *Dangoh* has in Valentijn's description definitely connect him with //*Gaunab*.

Kolb uses the word *Counia* for "God, or the Great Chief", and also mentions "another chief, somewhat lesser in power, called *Touquoa*, from whom some of them had learned witchcraft; he never does good to the people, but always harm. They must, therefore, fear him, show respect to him, and serve him. This they do by slaughtering in his honour sometimes a sheep, sometimes also a fat ox, whenever they perceive that great misfortune is threatening them."[5] It is evident, from what has already been said, that Kolb has confused the two names, and that the attributes he ascribes to *Touquoa* (*Tsui* //*Goab*) really belong to *Counia* (//*Gaunab*). This appears also from a curt statement by the missionary, George Schmidt, about the Hessequa: "They have no religion or rites, and they believe only that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call Tui'qua. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name Gauna, but they do not care much about him."[6] Wikar, again,

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 125; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 319.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.
[3] Loc. cit. [4] "The Nama," 130.
[5] Op. cit., 52–3; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 41–2.
[6] "Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung," 275.

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But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damoh* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating on the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gebo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gaiš*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 61–2. [3] Ibid., 126.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," p. 520. [4] *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 226.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

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Pleiades, on account of their thick cluster of stars, are called by the name */hũseti* or */kxũseti*, derived from the verb */hũ* to assemble, or are otherwise known as */ao /gamiroti*, "Hoar-frost stars," since at the time when they become visible the nights may already be so cold that hoar-frost is found in the morning.

Of these stars Hahn gives the following myth, which he names "The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women".[1] "The /Khunuseti (Pleiades) said to their husband, 'Go thou and shoot those three Zebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home.' And the husband went out with only one arrow, and he shot with his bow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed the Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, and the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. And because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there he sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger. And the /Khunuseti said to the other men: 'Ye men, do you think that you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, we defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed game."

In explanation Hahn states[2] that Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the husband of the myth, and the */Khunuseti*, or Pleiades, are his wives. His bow is *w w* Orionis; his sandals, *//haron*, are *e* and δ of the Hyades; his kaross is *θ* and *γ* of the Hyades; δ, *e*, ζ, Orionis are the zebras, */goregu*, and Leo is the Lion. The arrow */ab* is marked by *i*, *d*, *c*, Orionis, of which again it is called *//naus*, the arrowhead, and *c* is the opposite end, where */ams*, the feather is fixed.

The gleam of the Milky Way and of the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentot of the weak glow of the embers of a hearth fire. The former is therefore known as *tsaob*, Ember, the masculine singular ending reflecting the large slender shape of the constellation, and the latter as *tsoro*, Embers (fem. dual), the ending reflecting the clumpy form and the smallness of the constellation. The Magellanic Clouds are also called *xam /kxarakxa*, "the two lion testicles." Of single fixed stars Schultze heard only Sirius named, as the "Side Star", */naus /gamirob*. Two other names of stars are recorded by Hahn: *mura*, "the two eyes," for α and β Centauri, and *xami di mura*, the eyes of the lion, for μ 1 and 2 Scorpionis.[3] It will be remembered that he also speaks of the stars as the eyes of the deceased.

The calendar of the Hottentots[4] is based on the change of the

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 74. [2] Ibid., 108–9. [3] Ibid., 109 [4] Schultze, op. cit., 369–73.

strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil" in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Iqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-762 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions 535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious 178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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The other name for Sarés, the whirlwind, is //Gãuab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gãuab. In the mythology of the people //Gãuab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Nama and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gãuab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be, //Gãuab is also connected with the /Heí /Nũn, in fact, /Gãunagu in the plural is simply another name for /Heí /Nũn, and old David Zwartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Heí /Nũn were simply //Gãuab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Heí /Nũn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Heí /Nũn or //Gãuab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that those precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Náon, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:

'Tí //Náoxan !Hutse, (My ancestors' territory),

!Gũise !khoí !óa te re, (Run nicely to meet me),

Then all would have been well."

eibe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

pactaeque societatis signo, manus invicem sociant: sed hic sinistram, ille dextram jungit: quod miratus, hujusque novitatis mihi causam rimanti inquirentique, *malum hunc accolam finitimumque gravem scaevam esse, sinistram qua viribus praepollet noxiosissimamque in fidei pignus obtulisse* nervosè paratissimèque argutulus attendenti respondet Barbarus: qui porrò scissitanti (sic) scrutantique mihi, quo nomine apud ipsos Supremum numen veniat: continuò mirabili genealogia ultimae originis adjicit *Khourrou* vel *Thikkwa*: inferum autem *Damoh* appellari: ab hoc Summo Deo, *Noh* primum hominem, ejusque conjugem *Hingnogh* creatos: hosque sanguinis sui ultimos auctores humanum genus, majoresque suos uxores ducere, liberos tollere, poligamiae, paci et concordiae studere, alium non laedere, suum cuique tribuere docuisse, hisque similia praecepta, infra succincte narranda tradidisse, non irrediculè infit: amboque reconciliati, cum donis tamen et cum bona gratia dimittuntur.

In alterutrius territorio thermae reperiuntur, quas exopinatò cives nostri trajecturi, tabulis asseribusque suorum curruum constravere, eosque sive halitu bullientis ferventisque aquae, sive earundem exhalationum acrimoniâ ambesòs, et colore aliquatenus mutatos invenerunt, perpauci(s)que passibus inde, geminas scaturigines aquae jugis gelidaeque, pari modo, quo majores nostri Aquis grani Balnea detexere, an aeque lavacro salutifera, hactenus popularium nostrorum negligentia in perspicienda rerum naturâ ignoratur. Aliaque majoris ponderis scitu factuque facilia dignissimaque eorundem negligentia inexplorata aut omissa, sordidè gazis, scelerum invitamentis, inhiantibus spreta jacent, dum ut assolet,* et hominum nostrorum natura ita comparata sit, ut publica privatis illiberalibusque lucris postponant: hinc aegritudinis nostrae stirpes!

* I suspect some words have been dropped here in the MS. The phrase *dum ut assolet* makes no sense as it stands.

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21) *Khourrou* = *!Gurub*, the thunderer, another name for *Tsui-//goab* (= *Thikkwa*, *Thikkwa*), the great Hottentot rain god. *Damoh* is probably an attempt to spell the name *//Gaunab*, who figures in Hottentot mythology as an evil chief, and in the beliefs of the people as the source of all evil. (See Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, passim; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 376-89). The myth of mankind's origin given by G. is apparently not found among the modern Naman, but Hahn (*op. cit.*, 105) quotes from Wuras a Korana myth of a similar nature. "The old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsui-Koab had made two persons, a man

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friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. [576]
I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damoh*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practice polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[21]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

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In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[22]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

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Kauima, ostrich feather, and a woman *Hau na maos*, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (Kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

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[22]) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Soc.* 5, pp. 60 ff.

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I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.[75]) 301 302 S 576 521

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these veldkoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast. H 291 H 262

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.[76]) There is a gleam of sense in their words. S H 773

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net. H 264 513

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the 000

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other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs." S 576 521

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horridioresque transalpinis, et qui introrsum degunt, non inficior. Hi quippe addictius regnantur, suoque regulo cum vitae et necis, jurisque dicendi potestate armato gaudent, quem summa veneratione prosequuntur, ejusdemque caritate flagrant: qui jura subditis de plano, sine judiciorum litiumque anfractu, parte utraque auditâ, ex aequo et bono reddit, ejusque decreto stant, et imperio, legibus institutisque cordati viri, nullâ parendi morâ, nemine obstrepente, tanquam numini, ad amussim obtemperant. Ex idoneo auctore habeo, quod ejus pedibus quum tugurio, veluti palatio degreditur, seque in publico conspici patitur, mattas stragulasque in magnificentiam substernant.

Si quis filius familias à patre acerbè vapulasse, seque ad sanguinem usque caesum queritur: causa cognita, convictus vaccam districtus calidiorque pater, spectatae integritatis judici, aequabilitatem juris exercenti, multam pendit: qui ubi dijudicandae controversiae, fortè nimium intricatae et obscuritate involutae, imparem se censet, ingenii sui viribus diffisus, concilio finitimarum gentium regulorum convocato, conciliandi causa considet, dicamque Princeps apolectis juxta secum ventilandam decidendamque exhibet: quorum calculo, pluriumque suffragio, partes tanquam magno justitiae et indulgentiae in subditos (semper fermè regentibus similes) documento, acquiescunt: hincque obsequium in Principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus, praecipuè cum subditorum gratia et leges aequantur.

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[76]) "They deduce their origin," said the *Stapenisse* crew, "from a certain man and woman, who grew up together out of the earth and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer" (Molsbergen, iii, 62; Moodie, 431). A somewhat similar story is found among the Zulu and Tswana tribes even now. I do not know the other version, according to which the ancestors of man descended out of the sky.

[77]) This refers of course to the Bushmen (Sonquas), and not to the Hottentots.

[78]) Some details in the following passages are based upon the written records of the *Stapenisse* crew; but a good deal has been added, either from oral information or from G.'s own idea of what is fitting.

[79]) The *Stapenisse* record merely says: "They are obliged to submit their disputes to the King, who, after hearing the parties,

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The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsūi|goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (|lamab, trade, |lamagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-|khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǀAmas tribe), and of the |Khomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-ǀhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǀ*Khūseti* (|Khunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǀ*goregu* the Zebras, *a* Orionis *χami*, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *torob*, from *toro*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǀgari-b, ||gob, ǀē-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǀgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǀgamteb, Lion-killer, ||Otsātamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu||ōb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

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other missionary who attempted " the difficult task of 777
translating the Bible into Khoikhoi.

Knudsen, however, changed the Khoikhoi Tsûi-||goab into Elob, taking it from the Hebrew Elohim; while for Devil he left the name of the evil-doer ||Gañab. The word Elob is now generally used wherever the Gospel is preached in Great Namaqualand, but it has not supplanted yet the old Tsûi-||goab.

Knudsen possessed a great natural talent both for languages and ethnology. To this it is due that he has provided us with some very remarkable legends, which give us a good insight into the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi; and his notes are of great value, not only because they confirm what has been stated by former travellers and missionaries, but because they have been collected amongst Khoikhoi (the ǃAmas, or ǃAmaquas, of the "Cape Records") who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, from Berg river all along the west coast to the mouth of Olifants river. When Knudsen came amongst them they had "left the colony just twenty-seven years. The tribe during that time could hardly have exchanged the old Cape idiom for the Namaqua, as, with very few exceptions, they had not intermarried with Namaqua women.

I am therefore justified in saying, that in the following 773
notes we have some religious relics of the so-called Cape Hottentots. Knudsen's account now runs thus: "Heitsieibib or Kabib was a great and celebrated sorcerer among the Namaqua. He could tell secret things, and prophesy what was to happen afterwards. Once he was travelling with a great number of people, and an enemy pursued them. On arriving at some river he said, 'My grandfather's father, open thyself that I may pass through, and close thyself afterwards.' So it took place as he had said, and they went safely through. Then their enemies tried to pass through the opening also, but when they were in the midst of it, it closed again upon them and they perished."

773 "Heitsi-eibib died several times and came to life again. When the Hottentots pass one of his graves, they throw a stone on it for good luck."

"Heitsi-eibib could take many different forms. Sometimes he appeared handsome, very handsome, or his hair grew down to his very shoulders; at other times it was short again."

"At first they were two (Heitsi-eibib and ǂGama-ǂGorib). One (ǂGama-ǂGorib) had made a large hole in the ground and sat by it, and told passers by to throw a stone at his forehead. The stone, however, rebounded and killed the person who had thrown it, so that he fell into the hole. At last Heitsi-eibib was told that in this manner many people died. So he arose and went to the man, who challenged Heitsi-eibib to throw a stone at him. The latter, however, declined, for he was too prudent; but he drew the man's attention to something on one side, and while he turned round to look at it, Heitsi-eibib hit him behind the ear, so that he died and fell into his own hole. After that there was peace, and people lived happily."

The Death of Heitsi-eibib.

It is said that when Heitsi-eibib was travelling about with his family, they came to a valley in which the naisin-tree was ripe, and he was there attacked by a severe illness. Then his young (second wife, ǂkris) wife said, "This brave one is taken ill on account of these raisins; death is here at the place." The old man Heitsi-eibib, however, told his son ǂUrisib (the whitish one), "I shall not live, I feel it; thou must therefore cover me, when I am dead, with soft stones." And he further spoke, "This is the thing which I order you to do. Of the raisin-trees of this valley ye shall not eat, for if ye eat of them I shall infect you, and ye will surely die in a similar way."

His young wife said, "He is taken ill on account of the

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raisins of this valley. Let us bury him quickly and let us 773 go."

So he died there and was covered flatly with soft stones, according as he had commanded. Then they went away from him. When they had moved to another place, and were unpacking there, they heard always from the side whence they came a noise as of people eating raisins and singing. In this manner the eating and singing ran :—

"I, father of ǂUrisib,
Father of this unclean one,
I who had to eat these raisins and died,
And dying live."

The young wife perceived the noise came from the side where the old man's grave was, and said, "ǂUrisip, go and look!" Then the son went to the old man's grave, where he saw traces which he recognised to be his father's foot-marks, and returned home. Then the young wife said, "It is he alone; therefore act thus :—

Do so to the man who ate raisins to the windward side.
Take care of the wind, that thou creepest upon him from the leeward,
Then intercept him on his way to the grave,
And when thou hast caught him do not let him go."

He did accordingly, and they came between the grave and Heitsi-eibib, who, when he saw this, jumped down from the raisin-trees and ran quickly, but was caught at the grave. Then he said :—

"Let me go! for I am a man that has been dead that I may not infect you!" But the young wife said, "Keep hold of the rogue!" So they brought him home, and from that day he was fresh and hale."—(*Vide* Bleek, "Reynard the Fox," p. 80.)

The evidence of Francis Galton and Charles Anderson on the subject corroborates what has been given in the foregoing, but contains nothing new. I therefore make no quotations from them. During my wanderings

773 amongst the Namaquas, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-ǂgoab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-ǂgoab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-ǂgoab, Tsûi-ǂgoab, and Tsuni-ǂgoab in Namaqua; and Tsû-ǂgoam, Tsûi-ǂgoam, Tsûi-ǂkloob and Tsûi-ǂgoab amongst the ǂKora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-ǂgoab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
533 the ǂGami-ǂaun in the ǂKharas Mountains, amongst the ǂHaiǂkom or so-called Veltschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ǂKharas, and by the Gei-ǂKhous, ǂO-goia, and the ǂAunin of the ǂKhomab Mountains
[531 East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
539] Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a ǂgui—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

533 "*Tsûi-ǂgoaba!*
539 Thou, oh Tsûi-ǂgoa!
Aba-tsa!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida tsa!
Thou our Father!
ǂ*Nonaba ǂgoiba!*
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud!
Ka "*gona tsiba!*
Let please live (our) flocks!
Ida aida tsiba!
Let us (also) live please!
ǂ*Khaiǂaba gom gona!*
I am so very weak indeed!
ǂ*Gâs goa!*
From thine!

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533 Leave me alone! (Forgive me!)
539 *‡Oätago χuige!*
For I have become quite weak—*i.e.*, I am quite stunned, I am quite perplexed.
ǀGuruta!
Thou, oh ǀGuru!
ǀNanus ǂata!
Son of the Thundercloud!

[535] Another song-dance I saw performed in the following manner:—There was a *solo*, sung by a person who played the part of the lightning; the other part being represented by the inhabitants of a kraal, of whom a member was supposed to have been killed by the lightning.

ǀNabas di ǀgria.
The dance-song of the Lightning.

Chorus: *ǀAibe ǁnuris ǀnanus!*
Thou Thundercloud's daughter, daughter-in-law of the Fire.
Ti ǀgâba go ǀgamas!
Thou who hast killed my brother!
ǀGaisa gum ǂâ ǀna ǁgoeo!
Therefore thou liest now so nicely in a hole!

Solo: *ǀGâisa ta go as ǀgâba a ǀgam.*
(Yes), indeed, I have killed thy brother so well!

Chorus: *ǀGâisa gum ǂâ ǀna ǁgoeo.*
(Well) therefore thou liest (now) in a hole.
"*‡Goreb khemi go ǀuanas.*
Thou who hast painted thy body red, like ‡Goro!
" *Som-ǀguba ‡naba tamas!*
Thou who dost not drop the "meness."
"*‡Eχa|khe|nabiab aose!*
Thou wife of the Copper-bodied man!

773 An old ǁHabobe-Nama, by the name of ‡Kχarab, who had great-grand-children, and told me that he had big grown-up children when the Mission Station, Warmbad,

was destroyed, 1811, by Jager Afrikaner |Hõaǂarab, 773 said to me: "Tsũi-|goab was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib, from whom all the Khoikhoi tribes took their origin. But Tsũi|goab was not his original name. This Tsũi|goab went to war with another chief, |Gaunab, because the latter always killed great numbers of Tsũi|goab's people. In this fight, however, Tsũi|goab was repeatedly overpowered by |Gaunab, but in every battle the former grew stronger; and at last he was so strong and big that he easily destroyed |Gaunab, by giving him one blow behind the ear. While |Gaunab was expiring he gave his enemy a blow on the knee. Since that day the conqueror of |Gaunab received the name Tsũi|goab, "*sore knee*," or "*wounded knee*." Henceforth he could not walk properly, because he was lame. He could do wonderful things, which no other man could do, because he was very wise. He could tell what would happen in future times. He died several times, and several times he rose again. And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. Tsũi|goab gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."

"Tsui|goab lives in a beautiful heaven, and |Gaunab lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of Tsui|goab." I could not for a long time understand what was meant by the two heavens, and could not help thinking that we had here some Christian ideas transferred into the Hottentot mythology. But the worthy Rev. Wuras, of Bethany, Orange Free State, Superintendent of the Berlin Mission, who has been now more than fifty years amongst the |Korana, writes to me in a letter, dated Bethany, Orange Free State, July 9, 1879, that the Koranas always told him *Tsui|goab* lived in the *Red Sky*

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773 and ǂGaunam in the *Black Sky*, and those two Beings fought together in former times, and Tsûi‖goab received a blow at his knee from ǂGaunam. Tsûi‖goam was a great chief and sorcerer among the ǂKora, and possessed numbers of cattle. Mothers also used to tell their children to beware of ǂGauna, as he is a great evil-doer, who could kill them.

In the following chapter, where we will trace all the names back to their workshop, we shall see what Tsûi‖goab has to do with the *Red Sky*. The Koranas again say that Tsûi‖goab made the first man, and that the snake was together with the first man on the earth. The person from whom the Rev. Wuras heard this was a man far over hundred years of age. Although this note savours much of the second chapter of Genesis, I repeat it here because throughout the Khoikhoi territory the belief is extant that in every fountain is a snake."

772 776 To return to Trûi‖goab, I have to remark that, wherever I met colonial Khoikhoi or Namaqua, whether Christians or heathens, the word *Tsui-‖goatse* is used interjectionally, as we say, "*good God*," or simply "*God, what will become of me?*" &c., either as an expression of surprise or anxiety—viz., "*Tsu-‖goatse, who will help me?*" or "*Tsu-‖goatse, what have I done, that I am so severely punished?*" But it is also used as a formula of imprecation, thus:—"Tsu-‖goatse, sats ǂguitsa ǂan, ǂhaviota hâ ǂkheiǂ," "Oh, Tsu-‖goa, thou alone knowest that I am without guilt," or "ǂKtta ta khami dire, χavets ni Tsûi-‖goabe ǂ an." "Do what you think, but you will know—i.e., find out Tsui-‖goab" [that he will see your doings, that he will punish you]. Here we have a very clear instance that Tsu-‖goab is looked at as the avenger, similar to the Dawn, Saranyu in the Vedahs. In the following chapter we shall discuss this point more closely, when we enter on the original meaning of the name Trûi‖goab.

776 Here it may not be out of place to mention an incident I experienced on a journey in Great Namaqualand.

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and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabitants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western Cape Colony.

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed his people. He was very clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst the Bundle-Zwart, or ǀGamiǂnus, I heard the following story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied, among the ǁHabobes, ǀKharagei-khois, and ǁO-geis.

Heitsi-eibib's battles with ǂGama-ǂgorib ǀHaũ-ǂgai-ǂgaib, ǂAmab and the Lion.

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ǂGama-ǂgorib, ǀHaũ-ǂgai-ǂgaib and the Lion lived on the other side, on three roads, in the middle (between him and his people). There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a rumour why they did not come. He then started to look after them, and came first to the place of ǂGama-ǂgorib. But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another). ǂGama-ǂgorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to ǂGama-ǂgorib: "I have come to look after my people." But on the place of ǂGama-ǂgorib there was a hole, and

●773all the people who passed this place were thrown by ǂGama-ǂgorib into this hole, and so they perished. ǂGama-ǂgorib challenged Heitsi-eibib, and said: "Come, let us play the "ǂHi-game."

And first Heitsi-eibib was thrown into the hole. But he spoke to the hole, and said: "Hole of my ancestors, heave up your bottom a little, and give me a lift, that I can jump out." The hole obeyed, and Heitsi-eibib jumped out, and ǂGama-ǂgorib could not prevent it. They played a second match, and Heitsi-eibib was again pitched into the hole, but ǂGama-ǂgorib was exhausted. Again Heitsi-eibib said: "Hole of my ancestors, give me a lift that I may jump out." The hole heaved up, before ǂGama-ǂgorib could prevent Heitsi-eibib from jumping out. And they played a third match, and Heitsi-eibib pitched ǂGama-ǂgorib into the hole, by giving him a dead blow behind the ear, and the air resounded ǂap!

And ǂGama-ǂgorib perished there. And Heitsi-eibib spoke again to the hole: "Hole of my ancestors, heave up your bottom, that my children may come out." And the hole raised the bottom, and all the children of Heitsi-eibib came out. And Heitsi-eibib cursed the Hare: "From this very day I curse thee; thou shalt not carry any more messages; thou shalt not eat during the daytime; thou shalt only be allowed to eat during the night, and then only will your voice be heard."

Thus he cursed the Hare, and the Hare ran away into the field, and still runs up to this day.

Heitsi-eibib started for ǀHaũ-ǁgai-ǁgaib's kraal. He arrived there, but he did not greet the master, and passed on. And he was called by the messenger, and that messenger's name was ǂAmab. But Heitsi-eibib refused. And he was again called. The second time he went up to the kraal of ǀHaũ-ǁgai-ǁgaib. Heitsi-eibib greeted the man and sat quietly down. And the man said: "What is the news?" Heitsi-eibib answered: "I have no news." Again, ǀHaũ-ǁgai-ǁgaib said: "Where art thou going to?"

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And he answered: "I am going in search of my people." 773
And on the place of ǃHaũ-ǂgai-ǂgaib there was also a hole. And ǃHaũ-ǂgai-ǂgaib had a stone on his forehead. This stone he always gave to people passing his place, and telling them to throw the stone at him; and if they threw the stone at this man's forehead, it jumped back from there, and struck the man who threw it, so that he fell into the hole and perished. Heitsi-eibib was very clever, and knew all this, for he was a great sorcerer. The other then told him to take the stone and throw it. But Heitsi-eibib said: "Shut thine eyes, and I will throw." And when the other shut his eyes, Heitsi-eibib, instead of throwing the stone at the man's forehead, hit him with it behind the ear, and killed him at once. The man fell into the hole and perished. And Heitsi-eibib cursed the messenger ǂAmab, and after he had given him a good flogging he said: "From this day thou shalt not be any more a messenger."

From here Heitsi-eibib started for the place of the Lion, who lived on a tree. He arrived there, but was not called. He passed, and then returned to the tree and asked the white Vulture (ǃUrikoras), who looked after the house of the Lion: "Where is thy Lord the Lion?" ǃUrikoras said: "I do not know; perhaps he has gone this way to hunt." The Lion, however, lived on the tree, where he had his nest. So Heitsi-eibib took the fire-drill (doro-heib), and made fire and destroyed the tree. And he said: "From this day the Lion shall not live any more on a tree; he shall now walk on the ground. And thou, white Vulture, thy voice shall not be heard any more from this day." And the Lion had no messenger from that day.

The end of this story is told by the ǂAunis, in the following version:—The Lion and Heitsi-eibib were, in the commencement, on very good terms. And the Lion's son one day came to the water, where Heitsi-eibib's daughter was, to fetch water. And he insulted the girl. The girl went to the father and complained. Heitsi-eibib

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773 said: "I am now tired of the impudence of the Lion and his children, and I am not going to suffer from them any more. They have killed enough of my people. The Lion, however, had "wings, and he used to fly high into the air, and when he saw game or people, he came down like lightning from the sky and killed all the cows, and feasted on them the whole night. In the morning he tried to fly home, but on account of being too lazy and heavy from feasting on the meat of the game, he could not fly, and had to walk home through a narrow pass in the mountain. Here Heitsi-eibib lay in ambush, and waited for him, and came unexpectedly down from behind the rock, and cut his wings off. From that day the Lion is without wings, and has to walk on the ground. And since that day there is enmity between Heitsi-eibib's people and the Lion's children.

Heitsi-eibib's Birth.

There was grass growing, and a cow came and ate of that grass, and she became pregnant, and she brought forth a young bull. And this bull became a very large bull. And the people came together one day in order to slaughter him. But he ran away down hill; and they followed him to turn him back and to catch him. But when they came to the spot where he had disappeared, they found a man making milk tubs (ǁhoeti). They asked this man, "Where is the bull that passed down here?" He said, "I do not know; has he then passed here?"

And all the while it was he himself who had again become Heitsi-eibib.

Another Legend of Heitsi-eibib.

On another occasion people slaughtered a cow. And Heitsi-eibib became a pot. And the people filled the pot with meat and fat, and made a fire. But the pot absorbed all the fat; and when they took out the meat there was no fat in the pot.

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Heitsi-eibib's Graves.

His graves are generally to be met with in narrow passes, between two mountains, on both sides of the road. Those who pass by throw pieces of their clothes, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or flowers, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, and stones, on those graves. And this they do to be successful on their way. They generally, if hunting, mutter the following prayer:—

Oh, Heitsi-eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi-eibib!

Sometimes honey and honey-beer is left as an offering at his graves. The Namaquas say that if he returns from his walks over the "*veldt*, in the evening, he is glad to see that they still honour him.

He gives the Khoikhoi good advice, and tells them how to kill the Lion's children and other wild animals. He also prevents danger befalling men, if they honour him.

Another Legend of Heitsi-eibib's Birth.

On another occasion young girls went out to fetch firewood, and one girl took a ǀhobe-ǀgā (a kind of juicy sweetish grass), chewed it, and swallowed the juice. And she became pregnant from this juice, and she was delivered of a son, who was very clever, and she called that boy Heitsi-eibib. And all the other young women came and helped her to nurse the child, and he soon became a big man.

Heitsi-eibib and his Mother.

Once on an occasion the mother and other friends of hers were travelling. And her boy was very naughty

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773 and fretful, and his mother had to stop, while her friends were going on. She went on again and carried him, when he again was naughty, and dirtied himself and his mother. And she had to clean him. In this way he went on, until the other women were out of sight. Then he suddenly became a big man, and forced his mother to the ground, and committed incest. . . . . (In Khoikhoi the word is Xai-si, cum matre coïit.) After this he again became a baby, and when she came to her mother, she put him down on the ground, and did not take any notice of him. At last her mother said: "Don't you hear your child crying?" The daughter said: "I hear; but let big men help themselves, as big men do."

|Gurikhoisib's or Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion.

The first man, whose name is ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb, came with all the animals together on a flat rock in the ǂGoũ||gami River to play the "||Hũs-game. ǂEiχa|kha-||nabiseb had lost all his beads, and said to the Baboon, "Go thou, and fetch all my copper beads which I have in reserve at home." The Baboon went, and when he came to the house of ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb the dogs attacked him, and pulled him to the ground. There was the mother of the man, the mistress of the house, but she did not care to interfere, and the Baboon nearly fainted. After a while she called the dogs, and took the Baboon into the house, and put herbs on his wounds, and healed him. She also gave him milk and *amientjes*. He sat awhile and looked round and saw the skulls of various animals as trophies fastened on the poles of the hut. Then ǂEiχa|kha||nabiseb's mother gave to the Baboon copper beads, and he brought them to the man who played the ||hũs with the Lion. There was the Leopard, there was the Golden Jackal, there was the Hyena, there was the Red Cat, there was the Wild Dog, and there were all the Snakes. All looked at the game. The Baboon delivered the copper beads, and ran away and sat on the top of a

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rock, and cried down to all the animals, "In ǂEiχa|kha|nabiseb's house I have seen the skulls of all the animals." 773

"What bitch's son," said |Gurikhoisib, "has the courage to drink the thunder-rain-water of !Khubitsaos? Towards the side of !Khubitsaos I see the thunderstorm raining." The Lion said: "I shall run towards !Khubitsaos, and I should like to see who will prevent me from drinking it?" "I will," said ǂEiχa|kha|nabiseb. And both parted in anger. When it became dark the man arrived at his mother's kraal, and he put his weapons in order; he poisoned his arrows with fresh poison, and he sharpened his spears. And his mother anointed him with butter which had been melted over the fire; she took it from the sacred tub, and she sprinkled sweet-smelling Buchu on her son, and "*gare*-ed him, to encourage him. The next morning he went to !Khubitsaos, where the Lion lay waiting for him under a large mimosa tree. At first he let the dogs drink. After they had done drinking he told them to keep watch on the movements of the Lion. And he kneeled down, and he washed at first the sweat off his brows and out of his eyes, in order to see clearly, and then he drank of the water, throwing it with two fingers into the mouth, so that he also could watch the Lion. Since that day all Namaquas when in the *veldt*, drink the waters of the ponds and fountains in this manner. Eiχa|kha|nabiseb got up, took his arrows, and drove them into the Lion; he took his spears, and drove them into the Lion; he shouted at his dogs, "Ari !kho, Ari !kho," and the dogs attacked the Lion and pulled him down. The Lion was exhausted, and could hardly breathe; he was half dead from the loss of blood, which also soiled the water. The Man at last called his dogs, collected his spears and arrows, and went home. And his mother[a] took the *calabash* with sour milk and poured for him, and she smeared him with fresh-roasted butter and *gare*-ed him:

773 Gei khois-ǒatse!
Gomas khema gōtse,
Gei ǁgana ǁnau$_{\chi}$atse,
ǀAva ǁgotse,
Gei-ǀava-ǁgos ǒatse!
Ti daiĕ go ātse-!
ǂOũse ta go daisi tamatse!

Thou son of a great woman,
Thy body looks like a *cow's body;
Thou big acacia with large branches,
Thou red Bull,
Thou son of a red she-Bull (*i.e.*, of a heroine)!
Thou who drankest my milk!
Thou whom I did not give the breast slowly (*i.e.*, thou whom I nursed very carefully, and gave much milk).

And she sprinkled him with sweet-smelling Buchu.

And the Lion's mother sat up late until the evening-star had set. And she sent her messenger, the Jackal, to ask at ǀGurikhoisib's kraal after her son. And the Jackal went, and when he approached the kraal he heard from afar the melodies of the reed-dance, and the girls singing and praising the deeds of ǂEi$_{\chi}$aǀkhaǁnabiseb.

Tiǁā$_{\chi}$atse,
Gei ǂnuvisa ǂgomtetse!
My sweetheart,
Thou daring one!

"Aisē!" said the Jackal, "there are great rejoicings! One can smell the fat dropping into the fire; the smell and smoke of the flesh of fat ewes lies over the kraals. And ǂEi$_{\chi}$aǀkhaǁnabiseb's dogs can eat fat, and I must tie the belt round my empty belly."

He went back to the mother of the Lion, and told her what he heard, and she said: "Call the Leopard and the Hyena, and let us be off to ǀKhubitsaos. Let them take digging-sticks to dig a grave for my child." And they

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went; and towards the dawn, when they came near the 773
pond of ǃKhubitsaos the Lion awoke, and he was shivering from the cold, and he raised his voice:

"Aisē'! tū', tŭ tū', tŭ tū' tŭ, tū' . . . . . děrĕ ǁKhuǃnomab ke tă-te, tă-te, tă-te, tă-te . . . . . hă."

"Alas! tū . . . . ." (imitation of the Lion's voice) "the Son of the Mimosa" (or, Mimosa-root) "has con——quered me!" (again imitation of the Lion's voice).

He said it with a mournful and tremulous voice, like one who is expiring. His mother said: "Hark! that is the voice of my son." And she went and found him in the agony of death, and his eyes were broken.

And she wept:

"Did I not tell thee, my son,
Beware of the one who walks quite straight,
Who has sharp spears and poisoned arrows,
Whose dogs' teeth are like poisonous arrow-heads?
Thou son of the short-eared one,
Thou yellow child of the Liontail,
Why didst thou not listen to what thy mother told thee?"

And there he died, and they buried him. And they returned again to ǃAvasab; and when they passed the kraal of ǁGurikhoisib, he shouted: "Has the son of the short-eared one not drunk enough of the water of ǃKhubitsaos, that his mother walks alone over the fields?" And the girls of ǁGurikhoisib's kraal said: "No; he has become ill on account of drinking too much of the water at ǃKhubitsaos. It is no water for jackals; only big men can drink that water without taking ill."

Since that day all Khoikhoi will kill the Lion's children wherever they meet them; and the Lion also, if he finds a man unawares, will kill him, to revenge the death of his great-grandfather.

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The [51]Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women.

773 The |Khunuseti (Pleiades) said to their husband, "Go thou and shoot those three Zebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home." And the husband went out only with one arrow, and he shot with his bow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed the Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, and the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. And because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there he sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger.

And the |Khunuseti said to the other men: "Ye men, do you think that you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, we defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed game."

What an old Namaqua told me of ||Gaunab.

Some people say thus: The Rainbow (Tsavirub) has been made by ||Gaunab. The Rainbow is a fire which he has kindled. My grandfather also called the Rainbow "|*Aib*" (i.e., *fire*). He said that ||Gaunab deceives the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. And my grandfather said that then people are called ||Gauna-||ō-khoin (*i.e.*, devil-dying-people. These ||Gauna-||ō-khoin we also call Sobo-khoin or |Hai-|nūn (*i.e.*, people of the shadow, or ghosts, fawnfeet, people with a fawn-colour). Formerly the Namaquas used to leave old and aged people in the kraal with some food and water; and they shut the kraal, that no wild animals could enter, and there the people died the devil's death (||gauna-||ō). And such people were not buried, but were devoured by the vultures. Even rich people, who had food enough, getting afraid of the witchcraft of which they supposed aged people to be possessed left them behind in the kraal.

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What the same old Khoikhoi told me about the Pleiades.

If the Pleiades set in a thundercloud—*i.e.*, covered by a thundercloud—then they call this cloud the ǀnū-ǀauib ǀnanub. ǀNūb is a certain mythological Being, who makes in the winter the hoar-frost, and this hoar-frost they call ǀNub di χouba, the excrement of ǀNūb.

Superstitions and Charms.

In giving the fragments of the Khoikhoi religion and mythology our chapter would be incomplete if we omitted what we know of the superstitions of the Khoikhoi. No religion is without superstition, and there is hardly a man, be he the most radical freethinker, who, if he only carefully observes himself, would not find that on more than one occasion he has been influenced by superstitious fear. If anything proves that we are linked in an unbroken chain to primæval men, and that our religious ideas are rooted in the past, this fact, that the most cultivated mind cannot rid itself of superstition, should convince us of such a connection.

Goethe, who makes Faust say:

"From faith her darling miracle hath sprung,"

certainly speaks from experience. Superstitions, no doubt, are like belief in miracles, because they do not explain events naturally. And as long as man exists on this earth, and hearts crave for an explanation of the wonderful works of the Invisible, so long will there be religious faith with superstition as her darling child. Even where the religious ideas have been developed to the purest conceptions of the Invisible, the heart clings stubbornly to some old superstition, because we imbibed it with the mother's milk: "No nation has yet completely purified itself from superstition—that is to say, from the remnants of earlier religious notions."

And where the religious sentiments of a race are still

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are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.

Heitsie-ibib, however, is full of tricks, and his character is not altogether blameless. The sacred legend accuses him of the same crime as that for which Hippolytus and Œdipus have become famous.

It is impossible to deny that the story of Heitsie-ibib committing rape on his mother, taken in its literal meaning, is very repulsive, and not at all in accordance with the code of morals and decency among the Khoikhoi. The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called "Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry of indignation against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom was cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged.

The myth of Heitsi-eibib and his mother is certainly not of a recent date; it could not even have been formed at the time when those abstract words "humanity, purity, truth, faith, self-respect, friendship, love, decency," and many more of those beautiful abstract expressions with which the Khoikhoi abounds, were formed. It is one of the oldest mythological relics brought down to us, like an erratic block, and shows that there was a period, below the first layers of culture, when the feelings of morals and decency among the Hottentots were still a *tohu wabohu*, similar to a period in the primitive history of our own race.

The Namaqua, from whose lips I gathered that legend, told me that when he heard it from his grandfather, the

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old man was of opinion that the story was a very repulsive one. Such things were not done now. This shows us that the story must be a very old one. But if we take the trouble to divest it of the repulsive crust which language and mythology in their natural decay have formed around it, we shall find this old myth intelligible, and discover a meaning in the most meaningless, and a taste and a flavour in the most insipid.

A few pages back, I identified *Heitsi-eibib* with the moon. If we now transfer this legend from the earth to the sky, we shall soon discover that it is nothing else but an illustration of what passes in the journey of the moon from the first quarter until it is the full moon, and back until it is the last quarter.

At first Heitsi-eibib is a baby, and his mother carries him on her back in the Hottentot fashion. A look at the evening sky, when the crescent disc of the moon appears almost above, or on top of the sun, no doubt gave rise to the idea of a mother carrying her child. He is dirty like a helpless child, and the mother who carries him receives a share of the filth. This we translate into our language: The sun sinks into the hazy horizon, into the banks of mist, her face is no longer clear, it becomes dusk, even small patches of clouds appear before her. Then, when the other people are absent, *Heitsi-eibib* gets big, and throws his mother to the ground, and covers her. In our modern style we should say: Every day the moon grows bigger until we have the full moon; the stars are not to be seen, they are absent in the daylight. At the full moon, when that planet has reached her greatest size, the sun sinks immediately below the horizon, her light disappears, and the glorious light of the moon rules now on earth, where formerly sunlight ruled.

Heitsi-eibib then becomes small again, he resumes his former childlike appearance, his mother does not take notice of him, she throws him aside. This, again, everybody can observe how, from full moon to the last

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quarter, the moon loses in size, until at last nothing of ||Khāb is to be seen. His mother, the sun, has thrown him away.

I have, in the preceding pages, also drawn a comparison between *Tsūi||goab*, the Dawn, and *Heitsi-eibib*. In Greek mythology we meet with a similar interpretation of the changes produced in Nature by the rising and setting sun. Œdipus marries Jocaste (the Dawn), after he has killed his father Laios (the Night). Still more striking is the similarity of ideas in the myth of Hippolytus and Phædra, when compared with Heitsi-eibib and his mother. Delbrück has most ingeniously endeavoured to prove this legend to be the explanation of the phenomenon we see passing every month in the sky, between moon and sun.

The Khasias in North-western India have also brought sun and moon into connection, accusing him of being inflamed with love for his step-mother, the sun, who throws ashes in his face. And for this very reason it is that we see the spots in the moon.

The Esquimo also accord to the moon an unnatural love for his sister the sun, who smears some mud over his face to frighten him away.

On the Isthmus of Darien we also meet with the superstition that the so-called man in the moon is guilty of incest with his sister.

The various ideas which different nations have entertained about the moon, and also about the so-called man in the moon, are very curious. It is impossible to give here a survey of all the superstitions and legends of this kind. The most interesting may, however, here find a place. It is very peculiar that the moon and the hare are brought into connection in various parts of the world. Besides the Khoikhoi, the Herero, a Bantu nation in South-west Africa, have a superstition, that, if it is the last quarter of the moon, Omueze uanos' ombi—that is, the moon—has burnt the hare (Hahn, "Hererogrammatik," p. 155). In Germany

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171 (Westfalia, Soester Börde) the country people say, that if a
773 hare screams in the daytime, he is asking food from the moon. Adolf Bastian tells us somewhere that the Japanese see in the moon a rabbit pounding rice in a mortar. The late Hans Conon von der Gablentz, the great commentator of Ulfilas, showed me a drawing of a Chinese coin, on which was to be seen a hare sitting under a bush, and the moon above it.

Benfey, in the "Panchatantra," relates an Indian fable, according to which Indra puts the hare into the moon (Benfey, "Panch.," 1,348, 2,549). The Roman Catholic missionaries, Hue and Gabet, travelling in Central Asia, came to a city where the feast of the moon-cakes was celebrated. Their host, a disciple of Buddha, gave to each of them a cake on which the likeness of a hare and the moon was imprinted. In the Hitopadesa, the hare represents himself to the king of the elephants, as the messenger of the moon. In fact, one of the Sanskrit names of the moon is *çaçin*, "the one with the hare" (*vide* Benfey, "Sanscrit-English Dictionary," çaçin and çaça-dhara). The god of the moon is often represented sitting in a carriage drawn by two antelopes and having a hare in his hand. The natives of Ceylon also pretend to see a hare in the moon. In Saxony an old nurse told me that a hare was to be seen in the moon. Also, if a child is born with a split lip, or a so-called hare-lip, in Northern Bavaria and in Westfalia, and in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, the nurses will ascribe it to the influence of the moon. Shakspeare evidently must have known also some of these superstitions regarding the moon, when Caliban says to Stefano, "I have seen thee in the moon!" Be this enough. It would, indeed, fill a small volume to enumerate all the various ideas each nation entertains about the moon.

[Garnbeh.

006 This name of Heitsi-eibib is a mere local appellation

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Kuma

might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, "he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that in society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, "are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Namas, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it "cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Namas is the /Hei /Khoa, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

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* *Ibid.*, p. 364.
† *Ibid.*, p. 365.
‡ Vedder, *The Supreme Being of the Khoi Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 115.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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753 the Namas, either themselves, or through the !Oáti Aogu, the
•774 medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the
761 people with regard to the dread of the /Hoï /Nûn, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hoï /Nûn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Hoï /Nûn come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Hoï /Nûn were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelswart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "/Gâo oai, !uri ǂkûp /gûiba ta go mu" (no flesh, a white bone alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.* Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hoï /Nûn that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water.
§23 The next instance of the protective use of water will make the
§24 first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Sarin, comes swirling
[153] through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Rooi Natie, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Phu—o, lê re, taie hâ hâ kun !kun !kun phu—o' (Phu—o, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, phu—o) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in the path." This expression, phu—o, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Namas, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

* See p. 324.

wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68)

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic buchu powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him.

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX).

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also such things as rainbow, sun, moon, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man.

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the //naos, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naoxa /Hawa
N'oaba Hui ku a ra
aba mama

My ancestors' territory
Pass kindly to meet me
I am your flesh.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The [illegible] the dangers of, namely, the hostile /Hai /Nau [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Hottentots", 119-20.

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775 769 to encroachment upon the territory of another. There is unfortunately no other record of such usages to be observed when visiting a strange place, or linking up the occupation of land with supernatural agencies. Whether similar usages did exist among the Cape Hottentots, but have escaped observation, or whether in the case of the Naman, and especially of the Orlams, European ideas had completely overshadowed them in practice, cannot now be determined. Certainly the great freedom with which the Hottentots appear to have wandered from place to place, from their own territory into that of another tribe, does not argue in favour of any pronounced dread of the ghosts haunting such places, nor does the undoubted fact that disputes over the possession of land were frequent.

423 425 All the land claimed by a tribe was the common property of that tribe. It could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it the property of the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable. In the early Cape Records several instances are noted of land having been "sold" to the colonists by Hottentot chiefs. It is more than probable that such "sales" were looked upon by the natives themselves not as alienation but as the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase money" as analogous to tribute paid for this use. Even in more recent times, when the concepts of sale and purchase had become generally familiar to the Hottentots, the alienation of land to other tribes or peoples was extremely rare. The chief had no right to dispose of the land or of any portion of it without first obtaining the consent of the families under his rule, and the purchase money had to be divided equally amongst them.[1]

423 Every member of the tribe had a right as such to the use of its land, water, and grazing for himself, his family, and his stock. He could move freely over the tribal lands, and erect his hut wherever he pleased, without restriction or interference by the chief or anybody else. These rights, however, were merely those of usufruct, and in no case implied full ownership to the exclusion of others.[2] The only instance recorded of recognized private ownership of land or its resources occurs even to-day in the Nara bushveld of the Kuiseb regions behind Walvis Bay. Here each Topnaar family has an hereditary claim to certain */nara* bushes and their fruit. Trespass by other members of the tribe is reported to the chief and dealt with by him; but if the

[1] Wuthow, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 671, 684; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75-6; Vedder, "The Nama," 144; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 350.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Schinz, *Namaland and Kalahari*, 193.

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773 761 [265] Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy 761 them," or to the */hei /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people ● 775 or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. 754 The */gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hei /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft 761 practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow auto- 784 matically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nun*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

761 It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

[784] Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other 766 mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 448–51; translated versions in Wilser, "Beiträge aus dem Piesenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Report on the Bushmen in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die Hottentotten-Kolonisation über D.S.W.A." 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 63–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 177–82 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 180–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 63.

[4] "Social Value of Water," 177.

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765 763 [304] If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

● 778 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, fromwhich it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hai ǂan*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hai khoin*, "fawn-coloured people" [illegible] "people in the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gaunab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Nagor Pioneers*, 29.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 83, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 502, 509.

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Hahn: *//naũa //gauna te ni*, I will hear it, if I am a *//gauna*." "This means," says Hahn, "if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand."[1] There is no doubt, moreover, that the mythical being *//Gaunab* also is intimately linked up with the ghosts of the dead. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, in fact, insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. "The names are two," he said, "but the thing is one."[2] This close connection between *//Gaunab* and the ghosts of the dead is a point to which we shall have to recur.

The question now arises whether all dead people become ghosts of the same sort, or whether some distinction is made in their fate according to their circumstances in life—sex, age, social status, manner of death, etc. On this point there is very little concrete information. Schultze states that people who die tranquilly also live mildly in the dreams of the survivors, whereas a man dying in great agony or raving madly appears to the living at night as a terrible phantom.[3] This implies a distinction similar to that found among some of the North-Western Bushmen between "good deaths" and "bad deaths", and suggests that only the ghosts of the latter are to be dreaded. There is, however, no other mention of this particular distinction, and, as we shall see, it appears that all ghosts are dreaded as a rule. Hahn, again, states that some people are said to die from the influence of *//Gaunab*, and these are called *//Gauna //ōra khoin*, "people who died the *//Gauna* death." "Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by vultures and hyenas, they are also considered *//gauna //ōra*."[4] He does not say, however, if the ghosts of such people are regarded as in any way different from those of people who die ordinary deaths and are buried, nor is there anything to indicate that they are more dreaded.

The ghosts are thought to hover over the graves or to come from them; in general, that is, they linger round the locality where the death has taken place. This point was made long ago by Kolb in discussing the Cape Hottentot beliefs concerning the dead. The people fear, he says, that the dead may return and molest them. For this reason, when anybody has died, they all remove from the locality, believing that the dead person only haunts the place where he has died. Only if anything is taken from the hut of the dead person will his ghost follow them and trouble them.[5] The Naman, as we have

[1] Op. cit., 83.
[2] Op. cit., 83-4.
[3] Op. cit., 322.
[4] *Namaland and Kalahari*, 327.
[5] Op. cit., 60-3; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 338.

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775 seen, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the */hei /nun*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the */hei /nun* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761 753] Underlying this dread is the belief that the */hei /nun*, the ghosts, cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through the *ǂgei aogu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he [787] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, *//gán oxi, /uri /kóp /gúiba ta go mu*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, whose people are alone the */hei /nun* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the */hei /nun* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289. [2] "The Nama," 133.
[3] Op. cit., 318. A similar instance indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii, 35–6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 87.

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their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2]

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals.

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Opp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */kas*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *kä-kä-kä*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 81. [3] Op. cit., 224–5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jakhals) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 32.

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Kling. Olpp unfortunately does not state who the "certain people" are, who are befriended in this way. The Naman, however, believe that the *!gei aogu*, magicians, are somehow in contact with the */hei /nun*, although we are nowhere told how this contact is established. If, therefore, the belief that the */hei /nun* may take the form of the */has jackals* is accurately reported by Biden and Kling, one would suppose that the people referred to by Olpp must be the magicians. But this is only conjecture.

Some light is thrown upon this medley of beliefs, as well as upon the other manifestations of the ghosts, by certain facts which Schultze records about *//Gaunab*.[1] To him *//Gaunab* is merely a mythical being ("Fabelwesen"), and he does not connect the name either with the personage figuring so prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naman, or with the ghosts of the dead. *//Gaunab*, he says, has the faculty of assuming human and animal form at will. The Naman conceive of him as having human shape, with ribs drawn over the flesh, and with feet the length of arms. "As quickly as a flame shoots up out of the glowing embers and then sinks down," said one of his informants, so quickly does *//Gaunab* come at night into a hut and steal a child. He hastens with his captive to a hole which he has dug in the loose soil, and rides on the child until it is stifled in the dust. By day he can also take on the form of a klipbok, jackal, or any other animal, which does not flee from men, since it is invulnerable; but in human shape he appears only in the distance, as in spite of all disguise he can be recognized by his facial features.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that these facts must be interpreted as referring to the ghosts. The word *//gaunab* itself is used for a ghost; the human shape which this "mythical being" is said to possess may be compared with the form in which ghosts appear to people in dreams; the abduction and stifling of a child in a hole is equivalent to saying that the ghosts drag their victims off to the grave; and the invulnerability of *//Gaunab* in animal form is paralleled by the beliefs relating to the */has jackals*. The latter, if this identification is accepted, must therefore be regarded not as a form in which all ghosts become reincarnated, but rather as one of the forms they may assume at will. There is no ground for supposing that the Hottentots have a definite doctrine of reincarnation or transmigration of the soul such as is implied in the account given by Biden and Kling.

[1] Op. cit., 452-6.

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To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarás*, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarás*, the whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */hai /nun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forbode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze,

[1] Op. cit., 519-20. [2] "The Nama," 135. [3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 518-19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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821 775 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat, etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm, or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place, are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the putrefying body.[1]

769 782 775 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people. The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep" at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered, 'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps, that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise *not from the "soul"*, as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse, since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes [521] certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

[1] Op. cit., 327.
[2] Op. cit., 83, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112–13.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hahn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, as passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Scygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 19; Grevenbroek, op. cit., 371; Hahn, op. cit., 46–8 (quoting Spurrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 45. [4] Op. cit., 225.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *kounnaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [753] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Saris*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hei /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gunagu* in the plural is simply another name for */hei /nun*, and even the term *//gaub* in the singular may be used for 791 a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Namas are considered in some way connected with the */hei /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hei /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 169. [2] Op. cit., 91, 94.
[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 500.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Bushman F810

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

B H 771 171 821

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

B H 771 171 769 775 [H?]

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hai /aua* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Hawe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

S H [901]

B H 771 171 775 769 821

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaua* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Bushmen FX10

who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 1924; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 1915.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:— 769 782

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring.
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability. [171] 776

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb. 773

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various 773 778 [175]

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 535 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771 [754]

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another. 775

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves communally, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again. 768 778

Heinib, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death. 763

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he 769 787 761

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Horsemor FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have had luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǂGaunagu (masc. plur.), ǂHaitsugu (masc. plur.), Sebekhoin (com. plur.), and ǂHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǂNoha ǂgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǂgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǂHaitsub ke ǂi, Fawufoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǂhauasa. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǂGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǂgau, ǂgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǂgauna ǂkha khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǂgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Homemade FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǂgoasa
777 khîra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
787 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
784 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǂgoasa ǂkra khoin.

936 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of
[788] their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witch-craft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

778 It is, therefore, not strange that ǁGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAoni-Xoms, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsitsigoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[778] is strange that the ǂGabe-Buainun, the ǂAi-Buainun, the ǁNamin, and especially among these the Hei‖gnin (or wooden noses), all know ǁGaunna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsitsigoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGaunna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between this and Khoikhoin. Tsitsigoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

14:Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1581 FX13 Horsetor FX13

himself down, always moves to the side. This is certainly nothing else but the lightning, whose nature it is never to go in a straight line, but always to go out of the original course. We previously stated that the ǂGurikhoisib was also called ǂEixaǂkhaǂnabiseb, and we interpreted this name with Lightning. ǂGurikhoisib is a good Being, but ǂGamaǂgurib is a bad Being, and so is ǂGeinaan.

We need not be surprised at such idiosyncrasies in mythology, and especially in the so-called *lower mythology*. This is only a repetition of the maxim that the religious sentiment of mankind originally saw in Nature the working of demons; and that only after a higher state of culture the idea of a good Being is developed. After the evidence produced, we must admit that the Khoikhoi mythology, although it bears in many respects comparison with the myths of Greece and Eran, must be classified with the *lower mythologies*, for the simple reason that the Khoikhoi language has not yet left the agglutinative stage.

Ghosts and Spectres—ǂHaitsaan and Sore-khoin.

The ghosts and spectres are called ǂHaitsaan, fawn-feet, or Sore-khoin, men of the shadow. These words are of a very simple etymology. As to fawn-feet, ǂHaitsaib, we also say in German, *ein fahles Gespenst* or *fahl wie ein Gespenst*.

ǂHattsoiǁgaib, ǂAmab and ǂGaa.

ǂHattsoiǁgaib and ǂAmab are also mythological personæ, but their derivation is not quite clear to me. The name, ǂGaa, the hare, which certainly has nothing to do with ǂgâ, to mourn, as some interpreters explain it; rather it may be derived from ǂga, to oppose, to go against somebody, to meet.

ǂKhouanti, the Pleiades.

It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of

said (in the pret. participle): "They are predicting death (°/gu/a, vb.) for me (tita)." and cut (!gao'ka) their throats (domi). But the younger one (dhutama) said: "Oh (ŋ), they (-ti, personal suff.) have eaten (!ū "to graze") themselves full (//ā): for that reason indeed (gum---a) the goats talk that way!" But while (hĭa) he spoke thus, (ti, with the personal suff. of the subj.), the other had already (toa, caus. pass.) with the throat-cutting. Then they took (ŭ) the meat (//gana) and went away (!gĭng).

And they came (ti) to (doba) Boers. But these poured (tsore) out (xu) rice and ordered (gai) the two of them (-ixuĭ, suff. in the dat.-acc.) to pick it up (ui ixuaĭ). But while (hĭa has the personal suff. of the subj. in the apodosis) they were picking it up, white (!uri) crows (gorete) came (/kxĭ) and helped (hui) them pick it up, and the sack (//hâna) became full (toa "to become finished"). - - - - - - - - -

Here the narrator stopped and, without any evident connection with the preceding, continued:

Then the father (ĭha) of the girl (kxtofu) whom the snake (/aob) had taken as a wife (!gama) said: "Run and (ĕ, with the personal suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) go to the kraal (//gĭn) of the snake in order to fetch (ĭha) me (te, suff.) my (ti) child (ĭaua)."

And he got there at the time when the snake was gone (/kxai) and questioned (ui) [the girl]. She said: "He [that is, the snake] will (aĭ) come right away (/kau)." Then he asked her: "Where (make, with the personal suff.) does his (//e)ĭn, personal pron., di gen. particle) strength (/gaisa) sit (dhĭi)?" "In (ai) the forehead (!ûi) sits (dhĭna) his (ĭ, originally a vb.: "to belong": now a pos. ending) strength," answered the girl.

[447] And when the snake came (hĭ, with the personal suff.) he transformed himself (gui, vb.) into an ant (dhuharu-b) and climbed (ûui, "to wander," !aba "to climb up") upon his forehead and sucked (/gom) out (dhi) his (ĕ, root of the pos. pron., -ba personal suff. of the possessor) strength, took (pret. participle) the girl and went home (//aru).

d) Haruiaibeb Myth

538 Hui-tsiai-heros is the Hottentot name for the group of folk tales about a hero of former times, to whom, just a few decades

538 77%

ago (66), they still erected grave mounds in remote districts (cf.

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus. Bd. XII, 1867).

"burial cumouh," p. 317) in the form of stone heaps upon which a passerby placed a stone or twig in the hope that he might be rewarded by finding a good path and water.

If the hypothesis should be confirmed that the Hottentots at a later date transplanted Haitsiaibeb to the sky as the moon (78), then the

78. Th. Hahn. Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

moon myth (Folk tale XXX) would also have to be included in this group. The text that I heard narrated deviates from the one published by Th. Hahn in that the louse that is caught by the hare in his story is missing in mine.

Attempts have been made to interpret a legendary figure that the Hottentot calls tsŏ//gaib as an expression of an idea of God; Kroenlein (57) translates this supposed Hottentot god-concept as "the

57. J. G. Kroenlein. Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

one who is difficult (tsŏ-) to entreat (//gam)." According to my conviction such a derivation is linguistically inadmissible. For the first word stem, as I have convinced myself again and again, is not tsŏ-, but rather tsŏ-ʔ, as it occurs in tsuʔi-"to wound." Older authors have indeed heard and written down not tsŏ//gaib, but tsuiʔgaib. Since in the formation of compound words the accent that was characteristic of the single word is frequently lost in favor of the new word accent (see p. 362), it cannot be determined whether the second root of our word is //gam "to entreat" or //go- as "know." But according to all that is known about the meaning of tsŏ-ʔ, the latter interpretation is by far the most probable. I believe that in this point the missionary Kroenlein was a bad influence on the linguist Kroenlein, and on the basis of my

own text I concur with Th. Hahn's derivation, according to which ǂn-ǂgaub signifies something like "wounded knee": the designation for a hero who is wounded in the knee in battle. It is quite another question whether this hero, as is suspected, is identical with the above-mentioned Haitsiaibeb.

In view of the great veneration that is paid to ancestors, it is understandable that the Hottentot swears by the name of "Wounded Knee": "uǂ-ǂ//gua-ao !" [448] I have also often heard the exclamation of astonishment corresponding to our "my God!": "uǂ-ǂ//guaxa !"

In Folk tale XXXI there figures as an enemy of mankind a being that the Hottentots designated to me as "ǂgâ-ǂgari-b because he is supposed at one time to have hurled (ǂgari-) people head over heels abruptly ("ǂgâ-ǂ, vb.) down into a pit, until the jackal stopped his actions. The monster then arises from death and boasts of his immortality. But I suspect that the text published by Bleek (in which Haitsiaibeb figures as the savior and the immortal) is the older one and I therefore heard only vague memories of the now almost forgotten group of tales about Haitsiaibeb.

In tales I heard the "Hurler" himself called only "ǁû-ǂnaeb's father." I ran into his proper name, however, once in a figure of speech by which a Hottentot was protesting about a hard jostling: "ǂgâ-ǂgaribis ge gama a ǂha-/ma-ba !" "May you be knocked down by the Hurler!" (the final i in ǂgaribis is equivalent to ge "by," "-s "you," ge [as potential particle, gama makes the curse a sort of commission to the monster, a is a present particle, ǂha-/m "to knock down," -ri means as much as "against" in "to bump against," ba pass. particle).

[Text omitted]

Translation of XXX

The Moon and the Hare

The moon (//kx'ôã) sent (ǂâ, probably in the narr. pass. see p. 388. ka demon. particle, i auxiliary vb.; verbal particle of the

539 (gai, narr. pass.) the people (kxoēse) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aēhe) and throws (ao) them down (ǂui) into (!ue) the pit and sets (!kxā) them on fire (ǂuhi "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (ti) a person comes (/kxi), he chases (!kxoē) after (ti) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -i) round about (//uamihe, vb.) the pit and shoves (ǂhā) him down into (ǂgā "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gui tsi) the jackal came, after (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (ǂkxau) himself (-sen, refl. particle) with fat (//noihe) and had made himself wet (/ā ǂā); and the two of them (-kxa, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (ǂkxaun) and fell (//ui) down (//gona) [himself] and burned up (kxaa). Then the jackal went home (//kxu, vb.).

But the other dies (//ā) and comes to life again (!gā) and eats (ǂā) from the Nara bush and [sings]: "Bury (//kxā) me (te, suff.), won't you (re), me, Urieb's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gai, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nara bushes." "I (-te, suff.), Urieb's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

e) Animal Tales

538 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming
855 themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to
976 wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gāna-b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being seeps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hastens with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gāna-b can also assume animal form. [401] Such a klipspringer, jackal or

whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the transferal of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of stupidity; with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases where it is joined with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII). In these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as in the adventure of the jackal with the Boers (XXXIX), the sly fox is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment. When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI), the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft. But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impertinently and conceitedly (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too domineering with the flamingo family (Folk tale XLIII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

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Ede ǂâbe ǁKhowe ǂKhaiǂoro,	That we may know them,
ǂKe tara,	Them Father of our Fathers,
Ede ǂKhaiǂoro,	Them, our Lord,
Tsûi ǁgoam!	Them, Tsui ǁGoab!

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolising the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-ǁGoam,	
Let the clouds rain,	
So that we may live joyfully;	
Let the field-food grow,	
So that we may find nations."	

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui ǁGoab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *ǂkhab*, father, and */khab*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Namab*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurub*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Namab*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui ǁGoab*) and *Khouwwa* (*/Gurub*).[3] The cloud */Namab* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 6. [2] "The Native," 171.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 389; Valentijn, op. cit., vol. v, 178, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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let rain"[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a /gui, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

Khoeso se /Gurib	The Hyena or the Thunder
/Khoesoreso!	Son of the Thunderbird!
/Gurib-khâi, /Gurises!	Thou hyena, loud-speaking /Gurib!
/Gurib gubiroa,	Talk wildly, please,
/Khaiti /gure a-kâi-sesenti,	For I have no guilt;
/Gurises	Let me alone! (Forgive me?)
/Gurigu /gubiro.	For I have become quite weak.
/Gurises!	Thou, O /Gurib!
/Khoeso sesenti!	Son of the Thunderbird!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" /Khoerum (i.e. /Gurib, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" Thabbe or Thik-qua (i.e. Tsui //Goab), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [/Khab, i.e. Tsui //Goab] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of Tsui //Goab. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to Tsuib before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Nunnup, the Bushmen guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuiseb, in the bed of the Kuiseb River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuiseb. 'Before any Bushman,' said Nunnup, 'digs for water at Kuiseb he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narra, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Nunnup if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Bushman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Helm, op. cit., 129-30. [2] Ibid., 19-20. [3] Leo, 181.
[4] Op. cit., 30-1. [5] Foundations of Discovery from the Journals of Settlers, 8, 119.
[6] "Bushman," Jan-Khâi, is another name used for themselves by the Namas, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call Jan-Kholes, "black men," and the Europeans as "white men" Jan-Khâis.

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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oup is the
821 rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ka /haka ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Namab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
776 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Natives," 320. [2] Op. cit., 84, 139.

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773 stones"; whereas Biden and Kling use the term "heidje eibib" 778 in regard to all graves, although speaking also of a specially large "heidje eibib" near O'okiep. Hahn says that branches are thrown only on the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, not on any others, which appears also from Alexander's remarks. Vedder, again, "was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stones, as Heitsi was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty." He, therefore, concludes that these heaps were originally beacons set up by the Bushmen at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, that is, where there were old paths, and that later, when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, these boundary marks appeared to the Hottentots as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.[1]

769 Whatever the origin of these heaps, it is at least certain that the 778 Hottentots regard them as the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, add stones, 773 branches, and other objects to them, and pray at them to *Heitsi Eibib* for success in hunting, much cattle, and other benefits. We have previously noted that ordinary graves are also added to in this way, and that people will sometimes go to pray at the graves of the parents. This suggests that *Heitsi Eibib* is in some way connected with the ancestors. One is inclined, therefore, to look upon him either as a traditional hero of the past, around whom a series of legends have collected, or possibly as a mythological ancestor living much the same sort of life as the Hottentots themselves did. He certainly does not appear to be a personified nature deity of the same kind as *Tsui ||Goab*. And it may be added here, that in translations of the Bible and other religious works into the Hottentot languages, the name *Tsui ||Goab* is by some writers used as a rendering for "God", whereas *Heitsi Eibib* never is. This in itself indicates how different were the native conceptions of these two figures.

773 In the mythology of the Hottentots *Tsui ||Goab*, as we have seen, 778 appears as a great tribal hero, many of whose people are killed by the evil chief *||Gaunab*. *Tsui ||Goab* goes to war with *||Gaunab*, and finally destroys him by giving him a blow behind the ear; but

[1] Cp. cp., 730; cf. Alber, "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der .... Buschmänner," *I. A. E. F.*, xiii. Ant. Jour., i (1921-2), 111-112.

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though destroyed in this way *//Gaunab* comes alive again, and one form of the myth tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. The name *//Gaunab* is nowadays translated by "Devil", and owing to missionary influence has exactly this significance for the natives; but Hahn derives it from *//gu*, to destroy, annihilate, and therefore interprets it as "the destroyer, the one who annihilates."[1]

It is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of what the Hottentots originally understood by *//Gaunab*, especially as the information relating to him is rather scanty. Graevenbroeck says of the Cape Hottentots that they believed in a first forefather *Khourou* or *Thikkou*, and a god of the underworld *Damab*.[2] Valentijn, who had access to Graevenbroeck's manuscript, enlarges somewhat on the latter being. The Hottentots, he says, spoke of a "Spectre whom they feared very much, *Somsomma*", as well as of *Dangoh* or *Damah*, "a Devil, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often persecuted them, but in carefully examining this, it is nothing but their somsomas and spectres."[3] *Dangoh* or *Damah*, Vedder suggests, "is evidently an attempt to spell the word *//Gaunab*."[4] The linguistic identification seems rather far-fetched, but at least the attributes *Dangoh* has in Valentijn's description definitely connect him with *//Gaunab*.

Kolb uses the word *Gounia* for "God, or the Great Chief", and also mentions "another chief, somewhat lesser in power, called *Tsoquoa*, from whom some of them had learned witchcraft; he never does good to the people, but always harm. They must, therefore, fear him, show respect to him, and serve him. This they do by slaughtering in his honour sometimes a sheep, sometimes also a fat ox, whenever they perceive that great misfortune is threatening them."[5] It is evident, from what has already been said, that Kolb has confused the two names, and that the attributes he ascribes to *Tsoquoa* (*Tsui //Goab*) really belong to *Gounia* (*//Gaunab*). This appears also from a cute statement by the missionary, George Schmidt, about the Hottentots: "They have no religion or rites, and they believe only that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call *Tuf'qua*. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name *Gouna*, but they do not care much about him."[6] Wikar, again,

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 127; Rhenish, "Social Value of Words," 519.
[2] "Life and Customs [of]," 389.
[3] Loc. cit. [4] "The Bantu," 130.
[5] Op. cit., 204-5; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 47-8.
[6] "Some more [news] regarding the great Hottentot," 273.

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976 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *Aoxwaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [753] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witchcraft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khais*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarás*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hai /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gaunaqn* in the plural is simply another name for 791 */hai /nun*, and even the term *//gaunab* in the singular may be used for a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hai /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hai /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hai /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 1760. [2] Op. cit., pp. 86.
[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 500.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 60.

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But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Dawab* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertiliser, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolises the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating to the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gui oaga*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gui aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gui aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gubo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gui aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gui*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, op. cit., p. 41. [2] Ibid., p. 68.
[3] "Some Notes on Nama Customs among the Hottentots", p. 300. [4] *Namaland and Kalahari*, p. 428.

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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of //Gaua by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with //Gaunab. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with //Gaua, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term //Gaua has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding //Gaua, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of //Gaua as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that //Gaua must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui* //Goab, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 1924; W. Schmidt, "Die afrikanischen Religionen," 1930.

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Nama

abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui ||Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Eeab* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Maurin, by the Bushmen of Bamangwato. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *||Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *||gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *||Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *||Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui ||Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *The Bergdama*, I, pp. 193 ; Idem, "The Rain Ceremony," 60 pp.

S: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the most of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

3. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, tobacco and water. A Nama who drinks his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Ideas.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1700, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khoeiten and that they called the Evil one Dongo and Damab. They also told him of a divine being Tsiqua or Tsiqua and besides they feared a ghost called Semmeqa very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounja Tsiqua. In 1671 Dapper talks of the worship of Heitsiqua or Heitsiba, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1736-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tsi-Iqua. According to Wuras the Koranas worshipped Gukuab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 717 776

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs.
One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his
way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears
the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the
German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damob is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gamab. //Gamab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not im-
possible that this name could have been the name of their
God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language
when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being
//Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Sesa tribe who stand in
close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure
and language are concerned, call God //Gamab. It might
be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen
god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite
in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of
the time. But Khoeroe seems to be an attempt to write
the Nama word !Khob in French spelling. This word means
"Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common
custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tsi-Iqua, Cakuab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known
in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by
"wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero,
known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his
knee in a struggle against an enemy. Heaven evidently means
the cloudless sky and firmament or Someone will then be the
Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-
//Goab—wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth
has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him
the qualities of //Gamab—the devil. He is ubiquitous and
they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard
him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery
of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise
they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the
exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Korana the
tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief
of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly.
The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as
the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing
fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-
owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a
calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and
the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:— 769 770

My Tsui-//Goaxa,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thee.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability. 771 776

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heitsib. 773

Heitsib is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various 773 774 775

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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[illegible] 78

Governments.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kaabequas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Gorinhaikonas or Wolvemen, the Great and Little Kackebirjquas and the Hessaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Hessaquas, are under a king[1].

Religion.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them 't Gounja[2], who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him: for why, say they, should they pray to this 't Gounja, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow slowly and their cattle and sheep grow abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[3]. First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

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[1] On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. 16.

[2] This word is identified by Meinhof (Forsch./Gram. p. 27) with the Nama /Gaunab, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits 't Gounja are those of the rain god /Gaunab. The alleged concept of additional explanation is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connection with the powers of nature.

[3] The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Nama until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have refused to acquire themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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River;* (5) to Knofloche Kraline; (6) to Bokker River; (7) to River Sander Rynde; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragett's Boom; (9) Canon Kraline; (10) Breede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charms, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 130 leucæ distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they must show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, lustily chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fond expression of seriousness on their faces; the women all round in a circle clapping and singing.*)

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is considered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

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God, which they called Gounja, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Rose and Mentz, in 1781, also stated an connection to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in connection with the fact that the chief Hottentot superstitiously prayed to the moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, op. cit., 354-6.

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000 ubi enim corrugat aeria frontem ejusdem coelum, ut tonitrua magiant, vel frendentia rutilent fulmina, fulgurave praemicant, inquiunt illi, summus ille Irotas est Capitaneus. Tum ubi quis ex illorum amicis in bello a nostris occiditur, aliqua superstitiosa aliquis ejusdem necis intentatur minis, haec corrupto *Belgicismo* affatur: Dat is doet: Wat maken? Duytsman altyt kallem: Ieke Hottentota doot makem: Manky doot, Ieke struck nae onse gruis Kapiteyn toe, die man my nem witte Boetie geme. Quae ita verbotenus Gonantur latine: *Ape! quid facitis? Belgae semper absunt; Ego interficiam Hottentottos; Eja occidite! Ego si moriar, statim ad summum nostrum Capitaneum proficiscar. Vir ille mernet albis domabili bobus.* Illi quippe sacra armentorum ornamenta ille habentur: ubi vero serenus micat aether, dicunt: Strvaz com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boetie geme; h.e. *Optimus est ille Capitaneus, albis qui nos impertiit bobus.* Sed haec fortasse pronunciant rogati. Aut ordinarius eorum cultus cum omnibus fere antiquis gentilibus, quarum primi in ea sententia fuere *Aegyptii*, in hoc convenire videntur, ut [*]) *Solem* & *Lunam* pro *Diis* suis habeant. *Soli* hunc cultum deferunt: [**]) illum orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur; quandoque ad flavium consident ex proxima argilla totos glomerorum examina confingentes, quos magno cum strepitu in aquam projectant, idque, ut illi praetexunt, in *Solis* honorem. *Lunam* vero, ut dictum saltando venerantur.

[*]) videatur Plato in Cratylo &c. (See Plato, Cratylus, etc.)

[**]) vt. Plinius lib. 5. cap. 8 de Atlantibus. (As Pliny, bk. 5, chap. 8, says about the Atlantes.) (His words are: "solem orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur". R.F.)

[**]) Similar statements are made by such reliable authorities as Valentyn and Kolben. The former speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Kounnoo* (i.e. ! Gorab, the Thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thakoo* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui-||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, If it thunders, the Great God is angry with us." Almost verbally the same was said to Kolben by an old Hanoa man: "The people say, If it is thundering, the Lord is speaking: he is scolding them." (Quoted by Schapera, op. cit., 361.)

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Heaven thickens and gathers its airy brows into a frown so that the thunder peals or the red bolt falls crashing down or lightnings flash, them they say the Great Chief is angry.[a]) Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentota doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme." Which words may be thus rendered: "Come! What are you doing? Duitchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen." These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

But when the sun shines clear, they say: "Bravas com Kaptieyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme." That is, "Great is that Chief who will give us white oxen." But these words they pronounce perhaps only when asked. Their ordinary worship seems to agree with almost all the pagans of antiquity, among whom the Egyptians were the first to adopt the opinion that the Sun and Moon are gods. To the Sun they offer this worship, that at his rising and setting they gape on him with dreadful cursings[a]). Sometimes they sit down by a river and from the nearest clay they make whole mounds of little balls which, with a great noise, they hurl into the water: this they allege they do in honour of the sun. The moon, as has been said, they worship by dancing.

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a) Hahn quotes from Baar (1871) the following statement: "One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, when the day dawns, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens," upon which he comments: "This is nothing else but the Tsui-||goab worship" (Tsuni-||goam, pp. 46, 82); adding further on (op. cit., 134) "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: 'Oh, Tsu||goa, All-Father'". In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Ten Rhyne is mistaken in regarding the "worship" he records as directed towards the sun; its object is rather Tsui-||goab, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. (Cf. Schapera, op. cit., 378 ff.)

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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OOO pactaeque societatis signo, manus invicem seciant: sed hic sinistram, ille dextram jungit: quod miratus, hujusque novitatis mihi causam rimanti inquirentique, malum hanc avulsam *Thikkwaeque* gravem aversum esse, *sinistram* quo viribus praepollet noctuinstemaeque in *fidei* pignus obtulisse nervosè paratissimèque argutulus attendenti respondet Barbarus: qui porrò attendanti (sic) servientique mihi, quo nomine apud ipsos Supremum numen veniat: continuò mirabili genealogia ultimae originis adjicit *Khourrou* vel *Thikkwa*: Infernum autem *Damoh* appellari: ab hoc Summo Deo, *Noh* primum hominem, ejusque conjugem *Hingnogh* creatos: hosque sanguinis sui ultimos auctores humanum genus, majoresque suos uxores ducere, liberos tollere, poligamiae, pari et concordiae studere, alium non laedere, suum cuique tribuere docuisse, hisque similia praecepta, infra succinctè narranda tradidisse, non invidiosè infit: amboque reconciliati, cum dona tamen et cum bona gratia dimittuntur.

In alterutrius territorio thermae reperiuntur, quas exopinato cives nostri trajecturi, tabulis[a] asseribusque suorum currum construxere, eosque sive hastis bullientis ferventisque aquae, sive earundem exhalationum acrimonia ambesis, et colore aliquatenus mutatos invenerunt, perpaucisque passibus inde, geminas scaturigines aquae jugis gelidasque, pari modo, quo majores nostri Aquis grani Balnea detexere, an aeque lavacro salutifera, hactenus popularium nostrorum negligentia in perspiciendis rerum naturâ ignoratur. Aliaque majoris ponderis scitu factuque facilia dignissimaque eorundem negligentia inexplorata aut omissa, sordidâ gaza, scelerum invitamentis, inhiantibus aprvis jacent, dum ut assolet,[a] et hominum nostrorum natura ita comparata sit, ut publica privatis illiberalibusque lucris postponant: hinc segritudinis nostrae stirpes!

[a] I suspect some words have been dropped here in the MS. The phrase does not assolet makes no sense as it stands.

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776 773 [a]) *Khourrou* = !Gorab, the thunderer, another name for *Tsui-//goab* (= *Thikkwa*, *Thikkwa*), the great Hottentot rain god. *Damoh* is probably an attempt to spell the name *//Gaunab*, who figures in Hottentot mythology as an evil chief, and in the beliefs of the people as the source of all evil. (See Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, passim; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 376-89). The myth of mankind's origin given by G. is apparently not found among the modern Namaqua, but Hahn (*op. cit.*, 108) quotes from Wuras a Korana myth of a similar nature. "The old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsui-Koeb had made two persons, a man

19: Grevenbrook F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to misbehave as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khoorrow* or *Tikkoa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damob*. By this Supreme God were created *Nuh* the first man and *Hingeogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practise polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[1]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and hoops from their waggons, and these they found to be water like and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same chalybeates; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[2]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk: they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kankou, ghirih Sotiko, and a woman. *Hra* an *Hoan*, yellow copper. He gave them awa, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the body, a staff with a club (*Kiri*), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

[2]) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1718, published in *V. R. Inst.* 5, pp. 60 ff.

14:Hahn 1-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[Koranaland, where Haiti-eibib has changed names, and 781
the worship is offered to [Gaurdeb or Tsui-[goab.

Worship of Tsui-[goab (Dawn), [K'hab (Moon) and Haiti-eibib (Dawn-true).

Dapper, as early as 1671, speaking of the Khoikhoi 778 ●
at the Cape of Good Hope, says: 821

"They know and believe that there is *One*, whom they call Aamma or eemma (*i.e.*, in Nama or [Kora [dawn, Answer), who sends rain on earth, who makes the winds blow, and who makes the heat and the cold. . . . .

"They also believe that they themselves can make rain, and can prevent the wind from blowing . . . .

"It appears also that there is a certain superstition about the new moon. For if the moon is seen again (the new moon) they crowd together, making merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, and singing; clapping their hands[together, and also murmuring some words (singing hymns). . . . .

"Nay, their women and children are seen to kneel before erected stones and bow before them."—(O. Dapper, "Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Afrika." Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 626, 627.)

Haiti-eibib, or Tsui-[goab, Worship.

Nicolas Witsen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, communi- 779
cates to his learned friend Jobst Ludolf, in Germany, the following interesting letter, dated Cape of Good Hope, February 19, 1691, forty years after the landing of Governor Jan van Riebeeke at the Cape:

"[K]ilkaamma vir aliquot annorum cum aliquot Hottentotis, qui pro sua erga ipsum familiaritate docebant nihil distinctum de [K]ai eibmas Deum certum aliquem' esse caput omnes seu pugni magnitudinem haberet; grandi cranium esse et deducto in latitudinem corpore; auxilium vero eius implorari tempore fame et aquae exterie aut alterius cuiuscunque necessitatis. Unum

[illegible] L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 [illegible] FX13

776 sunt solere caput Dei omnipotentis tanta veluti (terroris) Buchu et aliis suave olentibus herbis, chlato quoque eidem sacrificio non vile. Ex quo dictum intelligi cuperem est, Hottentottos colere etiam aliquem ° Deum!

Thée-Qoua, Tsharo-b, and Hlounnuh.

Valentyn, a very trustworthy authority, who was a man of high education and of a classical training, and who had an eye to observe what many others overlooked, tells us in the fifth volume of his great work "Kourtyke Beschryving van Choromandel, &c. &c., vol. v. p. 109: "I heard from the chieftains and various others that they call '*Gaf*' in their language not only the '*Great Chief*,' in saying, if it thunders, the *Great Chief* is angry with us; but they generally call '*God*' in their language *Thaloue* or *Thée-goua* (Tsée-Qoua); but the *Supreme Ruler* they call *Khouvoua*; the *Devil*, *Dangoh* and *Dawah*; a *Spectre* whom they fear very much, *amaama*." And p. 151 our author continues: "I must say, that I really observed many things amongst them which looked like religious worship. . . . .

776 "It is certain, when the new moon reappears, they
§21 have that whole night a great merry-making and clapping of hands. They also, ten or twelve of them, sit on the banks of a river together, and throw some balls or dumplings, made of clay, into the water. . . . . It also is certain that I often heard them speaking of a *Great Chief* who dwells on high, whom they call in their own language *Thilloue* or *Thaloue*, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning. They also knew of a *Devil*, whom they call *Dawah*, a black shirt, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often prevented them; but in carefully examining this, it is nothing else but their *amaamas* and *spectres*. Some of them also call the Supreme, *Lord* (Nama (Khib) from which it is evident that they believe in more than one "Khouvoua."

Valentyn then continues telling us that he had a conversation with a Hottentot who had been trained by the Dutch chaplain Hermanus van Kalden, and he (Valentyn) found the man well informed about the Christian religion and discovered in him such an understanding of religious matters that it was quite a pleasure to hear him speaking. As for Valentyn, he touched on his return voyage from the East Indies, in 1705, at the Cape. He had been a minister of the gospel in Amboina, &c., for more than twenty years, and took a great interest in native customs and manners, of which he had acquired a great knowledge.

Khih, the Moon, and Khih, the Lord.

The missionaries Plüschau and Ziegenbalg, sent by the King of Denmark, Frederic IV. to India in the beginning of the eighteenth century, touched at the Cape, where they had an opportunity of intercourse with the Hottentots (Khoikhoi).

They saw how the natives danced in the moonlight and clapping their hands together. They asked whether they worshipped the Moon? The answer was, that they could not exactly say this, but it was the old custom of their ancestors to do so. *They worshipped a Great Chief.*—(W. Germann, Ziegenbalg und Plütschau, Erlangen, 1868, pp. 62.)

Khih, the Moon, and Khih, the Lord.

Another traveller of the seventeenth century, Wilhelm Vogel, tells us about the Khoikhoi he met at the Cape: "Of God or Heaven they know very little or nothing, although one can observe that they have some worship of the moon. At new moon they come together and make a noise the whole night, dancing in a circle, and while dancing they clasp their hands together. Sometimes they are seen in dark caves, where they offer some prayers, which, however, a European does not understand. While doing this they have a very curious behaviour, they turn

14:Hahn L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hamaman FX13

§21 their eyes towards the sky and one makes to the other a cross on the forehead. And this is, perhaps, a kind of religious worship."—(Wilhelm Vogel, "Ostindianische Reise," p. 67.)

‖Khâi, *the Moon*; *Tsûi-‖gaeb, the Dawn*; ‖Khâi, *the Lord*; ‖Gaunab, *the Destroyer*.

776 We now come to the worthy German Magister, Peter Kolb, whose reports have been repeatedly doubted by European writers, but without any good reason. Any traveller or missionary who is well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Bergdamaras, a black tribe in Great Namaqualand, which entirely has adopted Namaqua manners and language, and which preserved those elements even much better than the Namaquas themselves, will endorse the greater part of Kolb's book on the Hottentots. The good and kind-hearted old Magister bore no hatred against the natives, and he is a great admirer of their simple and unvarnished manners. He has paid special attention to the religion and worship of these savages, and his observations on this subject deserve well to be noticed. Kolb quotes first from other authors, and gives last, but not least, his own observations:—

"Sanr, an officer of the Dutch Government (p. 157), distinctly says: 'One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, 'when *the day dawns*, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens. From this one may conclude that they must have some idea of the Godhead.'"—(Peter Kolb, p. 406. German edition. Nürnberg, 1719.)

From Father Tachard, Kolb also quotes: "These people know nothing of the creation of the world . . . . . nothing of the Trinity in the Godhead . . . . *but they pray to a God*."—(Kolb, p. 406.)

The contemporary of Kolb and Ziegenbalg, was also a Danish missionary, Boving, who says: "*There are some*

14 Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

rudera and traces of an idea (perception) of a God. For 776 ●
they know, at least the more intelligent among them, that there is a God, who has made the earth and heavens, who causes thunder and rain, and who gives them food and skins for clothing, so that also of them may be said what St. Paul says, Rom. i. 19."—(Kolb, p. 406.)

Kolb's own experience runs thus: "It is obvious that all Hottentots believe in a God, they know him and confess it; to him they ascribe the work of creation, and they maintain that he still rules over everything and that he gives life to everything. On the whole he is possessed of such high qualities that they could not well describe him. . . . . Then our author continues, that nobody has given better information on the subject than the above-mentioned Böving.

"Because the station of a chief is the highest charge, therefore they call the Lord '*Gounia*, and they call the moon so, as their visible God. But if they mean the Invisible, and intend to give him his true name, they call him Gounia Tiqûaa—*i.e.*, the God of all gods. He is *a good man and does not do any harm to them*, and therefore they need not be afraid of him!" Kolb affirms that his own experience, gathered during a long residence among 776
the natives, is, "*that the K'hoikhoi give the moon the name* 821
of the Great Chief." He had observed how they performed dances in honour of the new moon, and how they address the moon in singing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk." In offering this prayer they look towards the moon.

After our author has described the whole performances, and all the rites connected with the religious worship of the Hottentots, he exclaims: "And who now dares to deny that this dancing, singing, and offering invocations at the time of the full moon and new moon, is not a religious worship!" (P. 412.)

I need not quote any more authorities on this subject

14:Hahn L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1981 FX13 Homeman FX13

771 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, who promises men immortality.

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of his power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, !gui-eaga) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the !Gauna worship of the ‡Aoni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to !Gauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Tsoquoe*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaquas believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also !Gaunab, as they call the Enemy of Tsûi-îl goab.

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

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"Once on an occasion," says Kolb, "a Hottentot 778
‡Kamma, whom I caught in the act of dancing and singing round such a spot, told me, that he, on a journey, slept at this place, and was not devoured by a lion who approached him during the night at a few yards distance only. He, the Hottentot, could not help thinking that a saint (ghost) inhabited the spot, and had protected him, and he considered it his duty not to forget this 'kindness.'" (P. 419.)

Tsĕti-‖gnuā, and ‡Khanootī, the Pleiades.

The first Khoikhoi missionary, George Schmidt, was 321
sent in 1737 by the Moravian Mission to the Cape. He settled amongst the Hessequas, a tribe inhabiting the present Caledon district, on the banks of the Zonderende River. The place formerly called Baviaanskloof, now Genadendal, is still occupied by the United Brethren.

"At the return of the Pleiades," says Schmidt, "these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones on their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors.

"The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, &c.), xiontjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"—(*Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12. and Burkhard's "Missionsgeschichte," Africa, vol. ii. p. 9.)

Tsĕti-‖gnuā.

In the Appendix to his Travels, De Jong, commander 776
of a Dutch vessel, who spent a considerable time at the Cape, quotes from George Schmidt's reports, and says: "They have no religion or rites, and they only believe

14 Stats L-4 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

774 that there is a Lord, whom they call Tsi'qua. They also believe in a devil, to whom they give the name Gouna, but they do not care much about him."—(De Jong, "Reisen nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung," Hamburg, 1803, vol. i. p. 274.)

‡Ai-âib, *the Moon, and* ‡Khaib, *the Lord.*

775
121 By order of the Dutch Governor, Ryk van Tulbagh, an expedition was undertaken to the Great Namaquas, which reached as far as the Kamob river, about lat. 27°. In the "Journal of Hop the commander of that expedition, we find the following remark: "Their (the Namaqua) religion chiefly consists in worshipping and praising the new moon. The men stand in a circle together and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, and the women, clapping hands, dance round the men. They continually sing in a praying manner, that the last moon had protected them and their cattle so well, and they hope the same from this new moon. The Cabonas (very likely the ‡Hobona *or* ‡Haiobon) whom we met, praised the moon, particularly that *he* (in Hottentot the moon is masculine) had brought them into contact with a nation from whom they had received so much kindness. Although these were the only ones, *we also observed that they had some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Chuyn* (the Name ‡Khâb *or* ‡Khamâb), and who is great and powerful. For if they want to express that something is beyond their conception, then they say it is a work of 'Chuyn.'"—("Hop's Journal," pp. 88, 89.)

Hoan-oâb, ‡*Gaunal, and* ‡*Gurul.*

609 We should have expected that the Swedish travellers, Thunberg and Sparrmann, men of great learning, would have been able to give us more particular information about the religion of the Khoikhoi. It, however, appears that their great learning on the one side made them underrate the natives. On the other hand, the natives, as sensitive as

14.Helm L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Permanent FX13

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 659
rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterise the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who tra- 718
velled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, "threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.) "Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) 825
the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hotten- 776
tots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hauteur.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-

14:Psalm 1-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 ments. He very soon turns against himself, by stating that the Khoikhoi *must* believe in a Supreme, but very powerful and foolish Being, from whom they expect rain, thunder, lightning, cold, &c.; and he adds that various Colonists had told him *that the Khoikhoi curse at the thunder*, calling him "Gotsgri and Hoesasi," and "throwing something at the lightning and thunder.—(Sparrmann, German edition, p. 196. Compare in the sequel the hymn to the Thunder and to the Lightning with this statement.)

778 Sparrmann also makes mention of those mysterious cairns. He describes their size to be three to four feet in diameter. This is the general size of those Heitsi-eibib cairns we meet with in Great Namaqualand. He searched in vain in one of these stone heaps for curiosities and antiquities; all he found was a few pieces of wood (p. 549).

The Graves of Heitsi-eibib.

764 The learned Dr. Lichtenstein, who travelled in 1803
769 with the Dutch Commissioner de Mist through the Colony, gives a few but very valuable remarks. Lichtenstein and party were travelling in the Eastern Province Outeniqualand, and the field cornet Badenaier was with them to show the road. "The well-informed Badenaier," says Lichtenstein, "who had offered himself to show us the road for some distance, drew, not far from the road, our attention to the grave of a Hottentot, who, according to the general tradition of this people, long before the Christians had immigrated into these parts of the world, had been considered to be a great doctor and a wise man, and whose memory was honoured by the custom, that each Hottentot who passed by threw a fresh branch of flowers on the grave. We actually saw some half-dried branches which might have been thrown there only a few days ago. The grave consisted of a heap of stones about twenty to thirty yards in circumference.

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It is interesting that this circumstance, which had not 764
been observed by former travellers, serves as a proof 765
of the higher culture to which the Gonaquas had developed before the other Hottentots, because it was in their country to which this territory belonged. Afterwards we often found such graves towards the borders of Kaffirland, but never have I met with anything of the kind in other parts of Africa."—(Lichtenstein, German original edition, p. 349.)

Afterwards the travellers came to the Camdebos, and Breitzjakowgte, and Lichtenstein continues his journal, saying: "Before it became dark we passed a narrow spot in the mountain, which is called the '*Israelitische Kloof*' (the Pass of the Israelites). Here are various large grave-mounds which are heaped up with stones, and the first colonists in their pious simplicity believed that these were monuments left by the children of Israel who passed here on their wanderings through the desert to "Canaan."

Lichtenstein again, speaking of the Amo-(Khoen-Kafir, 776
says: "Amongst the (K)hoen there is no trace of a religious worship. They believe in a Supreme Being, who has created the world; but, according to Dr. van der Kemp's assertion, there is no name for it in their language. But they have "adopted a name from the Gonaquas (a Khoikhoi tribe) and they call God now *Thiko*. The Gonaquas, however, call him *Thoko*, which word, according to van der Kemp, means '*the one who inflicts pain*,' and from some Kafirs I heard it also pronounced *Thoopoo*."—(*Lichtenstein*, vol. i. p. 410.)

To this I may add, that Edmund Sandilli, the son of the late Sandilli, who is now a prisoner at the convict station in Cape Town, told me that they use *u-Tixo* for God, a word they borrowed from the Hottentots.

The Kafirs evidently have also taken over the custom 767
of which Lichtenstein speaks, p. 411: "There are 768
spots which nobody will pass without adding a stone, a

14/Vol. 1-6 (ca. 1875-1880) 1881 PX12 Hammond PX19

769 breath, or a handful of grass. They themselves do not
769 know the reason of this practice; but these spots are very likely the graves of persons of high reputation, whose bodies pious superstition desires to protect from being injured by wild animals; and therefore every one who passes by enlarges the stone heap by adding new stones and branches."

Tsui-//goab.

● 775 Van der Kemp, a missionary, who died at Bethelsdorp (Eastern Province) about 1811, has published a Catechism in the Hottentot language. Unfortunately nothing but the title of it, which was written in the Eastern Cape-Dutch idiom, has been handed down to us; and in this title appears the word *Thsiddow*, for God, undoubtedly the same as "Tsui//goab of the Namas, Tsuigoam of the //Kora, and Tsiqua or Tigua and Tsaqoam of the Cape Hottentots.

Further, Appleyard in his Kafir Grammar, p. 13, gives a short outline of the //Kora language, and notes the name God in Khoikhoi, as follows:

"Hottentot: Tsui'khoap.

Namaqua: Tsui'khoap.

Koranna: Tsiu'khoab, and says in a footnote: "This is the word from which the Kafirs have probably derived their u-Tixo, a term which they have universally applied, like the Hottentots, to designate the Divine Being, since the introduction of Christianity. Its derivation is curious. It consists of two words, which together mean the *wounded knee*. It is said to have been originally applied to a doctor or sorcerer of considerable notoriety and skill amongst the Hottentots or Namaquas some generations back, in consequence of his having received some injury in his knee. Having been held in high repute for extraordinary powers during life, he appeared to be invoked even after death, as one who could still relieve and protect;

14/Bible 1-6 (ge. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermann FX13

and hence in process of time he became reverent in *idea*[776] to their first conceptions of God."

Tsûi ǂgoab and ǁGaunab.

Leonhardt Ebner, a missionary who had worked amongst the famous Afrikaander tribe or "ǁKe-ge-tein, as they style themselves, whose chief was at that time *Jager Afrikaner* ǁKai-ǁgaub (Cattle), in South Namaqualand, gives for God the expression *Supoop*, he says it also means a "*new bow*," (p. 340). The following are the results of Ebner's researches concerning their religious ideas:—"They did not know of a God, but they believed in a devil, whom they called Gaûab (i.e. ǁGaunab). This ǁGaunab fights with an old man, who is much more clever and wiser than himself. Because this old man could not bear any longer the wickedness of ǁGaunab, he made a deep hole and planted sharp-pointed sticks at the bottom of it. And one day this old man challenged ǁGaunab for a fight to this hole; and because ǁGaunab was not as strong as this wise old man, the old man threw him into the hole, where he perished. Rejoicing over this victory, the people slaughtered a big fat sheep."—(Ebner, "Reise nach Süd Afrika," Berlin, 1829, p. 237.)

Here I may say that the Rev. Schmelen, missionary of the London Missionary Society amongst the Namaquas, married a pious half-caste Hottentot[a] woman, who assisted him in translating the four Evangelists and a Catechism. For God he always employs, like Van der Kemp and Wuras, the expression Tsuiǂkwap (i.e., Tsûi ǂgoab), and for devil Kamap (i.e., ǁGaûab, or ǁGaunab). This is a clear proof that Schmelen, who spoke the Namaqua language fairly, must have clearly understood from his wife and other natives that, according to their idea, *Tsûi ǂgoab* was the *Supreme Good Being*, and that ǁGaunab was his opponent, nay, the *Supreme Bad Being*. We must most sincerely regret that Schmelen has not left some notes on the Hottentot religion to future generations.

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776 My father was an intimate friend of his, and often told me how well acquainted Schmelen was with the customs and manners of the Namas. In fact, he was a white Nama. He was an enthusiastic and zealous missionary, without suffering from fanaticism as so many missionaries do. I believe there is still a manuscript Hottentot dictionary of his somewhere in existence. He himself told my father that he had worked out a comprehensive dictionary with the aid of his wife.

We come now to the worthy Dr. Moffat, the Nestor among the still living old missionaries. He commenced his work in about 1815 amongst the above-mentioned Afrikander tribe, and he also undertook a journey towards the centre of Great Namaqualand.

In his "Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa" he says:—"While living among the Namaquas I made many inquiries respecting the name they had to denote the Divine Being, but could not come to any satisfactory conclusion on the subject, though I had the assistance of Afrikander (the chief) in my researches. The name they use is Tsui'Goap, or as some tribes pronounce it Tû'Goap." . . . . . In my journey to the back parts of Great Namaqualand I met with an aged coroner or doctor (Igaiseb) who stated that he had always understood that Tsûi-Igoab was a notable warrior of great physical strength; that in a desperate struggle with another chieftain he received *a wound in the knee*; but having vanquished his enemy, his name was lost in the mighty combat which rendered the nation independent; for no one could conquer the Tsûi-Igoab (wounded knee). When I referred to the import of the word, '*one who inflicts pain*,' or *a sore knee*, manifesting my surprise that they should give such a name to the Creator and Benefactor, he replied in a way that induced a belief that he applied the term to what we should call the devil, or to death itself; adding, that he thought death, or the power causing death, was very sore indeed. To

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him, as to many others, this Tsui-Goab was an object 776 ●
neither of reverence nor love. During tremendous thunderstorms which prevail in that quarter, and which it might be supposed speak to the mind of man with an awful voice, I have known the natives of Namaqualand "shoot their poisoned arrows at the lightning in order to arrest the destructive fluid." (Compare the foregoing quotations from Sparrmann.)

It is exceedingly to be regretted that men like Van 777
der Kemp and Moffat, who had an education superior to their brethren, did not succeed in collecting sufficient detailed accounts on the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi. It is painful to think that a certain religious narrow-mindedness prevented them from seeing the spark of true religion and faith which was still left in the heathen's heart. It is indeed advisable for all missionaries to learn from St. Augustine, "*What is now called the Christian religion has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh: from which time the true religion which existed already, began to be called Christian.*"

Missionaries are too apt to treat the religions of heathens as *devil's work*, as *inspirations of Beelzebub*, and they do not hesitate to express this to their converts; nay, they even "ridicule and expose their superstitions and religious manifestations. Hence the fear of a savage to communicate the sacred feelings and yearnings of his heart, especially to a man who is sent to destroy them.

Moffat tells us that he had the chief, Africaner, to assist him, and still he could not arrive at a satisfactory result. Africaner was a convert, and how now, if he himself felt ashamed of communicating what he was bound to consider a foolish and absurd superstition. He was a chief, and did not like to make an unfavourable impression; at least, he took very good care not to make a fool of himself.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

778 last watering-place, *without first having made an offering* and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him; and I asked him what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisip.

"'Before any Bushman,' said ǂNumeep, 'digs for water at Kuisip, he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the ǃnaras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare, as an offering to Toosip, the [776] old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip.

"'No; I have never seen him, nor has anybody else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great " Redman, with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai, nor has he a wife.'

"'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?'

"'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbock, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 125.)

Here we have the most open-hearted confession of a Namaqua (Khoikhoi) who was in great anxiety. The human heart is always more communicative when in sorrow and troubles, especially among savages, whose manners, like those of children, are still very simple and natural, and not dictated by the rules of an absurd etiquette and fashion.

Heitsi-eibib, Kabib, Heigeib, and ǂGama ǂgorib.

797 About the year 1842, the missionary work amongst the Namaquas was commenced more vigorously, chiefly by missionaries of the Rhenish Mission. The Rev. Knudsen has left us a translation of St. Luke, up to this date unsurpassed in style and correctness by any

773 amongst the Namaquas, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-||goab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-||goab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-||goab, Tsûi-||goab, and Tsuni-||goab in Namaqua; and Tsû-||goam, Tsûi-||goam, Tsûi-||khoab and Tsûi-||goab amongst the |Kora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-||goab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Bavianns Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among 533 the |Gami-‡nus in the ||Kharas Mountains, amongst the ||Habobes or so-called Veltschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ||Kharas, and by the Gei-||Khous, ||O-geis, and the ‡Aunis of the |Khomab Mountains East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the 539 Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a |gei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

533 "*Tsûi-||goatse!*
539 Thou, oh Tsûi-||goa.'
Abo-tse!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida tse!
Thou our Father!
|Nanuba |atire!
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud!
Ẽa ᵐxuna ãire!
Let please live (our) flocks!
Ẽda sida ãire!
Let us (also) live please!
‡Khabeta gum goroẽ!
I am so very weak indeed!
||Gãa χoo!
From thirst!

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773 and ||*Gaunam* in the *Black Sky*, and those two Beings fought together in former times, and Tsûi||goab received a blow at his knee from ||Gaunam. Tsûi||goam was a great chief and sorcerer among the ǀKora, and possessed numbers of cattle. Mothers also used to tell their children to beware of ||Gauna, as he is a great evil-doer, who could kill them.

In the following chapter, where we will trace all the names back to their workshop, we shall see what Tsûi-||goab has to do with the *Red Sky*. The Koranas again say that Tsûi||goab made the first man, and that the snake was together with the first man on the earth. The person from whom the Rev. Wuras heard this was a man far over hundred years of age. Although this note savours much of the second chapter of Genesis, I repeat it here because throughout the Khoikhoi territory the belief is extant that in every fountain is a snake."

772 776 To return to Tsûi||goab, I have to remark that, wherever I met colonial Khoikhoi or Namaqua, whether Christians or heathens, the word *Tsui-||goatse* is used interjectionally, as we say, "*good God*," or simply "*God, what will become of me!*" &c., either as an expression of surprise or anxiety—viz., "*Tsu-||goatse, who will help me!*" or "*Tsu-||goatse, what have I done, that I am so severly punished!*" But it is also used as a formula of imprecation, thus:—"Tsu-||goatse, sats ǂguitsa ǂan, ǀhaviota hâ ǀkheis," "Oh, Tsu-||goa, thou alone knowest that I am without guilt," or "ǂEtts ta khemi dire, χavets ni Tsûi-||goaba ǂ an," "Do what you think, but you will know—*i.e.*, find out Tsui-||goab" [that he will see your doings, that he will punish you]. Here we have a very clear instance that Tsu-||goab is looked at as the avenger, similar to the Dawn, Saranyu in the Vedahs. In the following chapter we shall discuss this point more closely, when we enter on the original meaning of the name Tsûi||goab.

776 Here it may not be out of place to mention an incident I experienced on a journey in Great Namaqualand.

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We were on the outskirts of the Kalihari, about latitude 776
26°, and wanted to go to a Mission-station in westerly direction. The distance to our next water was calculated three days' hard riding with the ox-waggon. We, however, had made the calculation without the host, because, after three days, we found ourselves still another twelve hours from the water. We had only for ourselves a little water in a cask, which, however, was almost consumed. In the night before the fourth day we lost our road, and it was only after some hours that we discovered our mistake. If we had to pass another twenty-four hours like this, not one of us would have seen the next day. Even in the night the air appeared to come from a hot oven. I scolded the guide, a raw heathen from the ǂHabobe tribe, angrily for his carelessness, and asked, "What have you done? to-morrow we will be eaten by the jackals and vultures. Who will now help us out of this trouble?" The man coolly answered: "Tsûi-ǂgoab gum ni huidao"—"Tsûi-ǂgoab will help us." I: "What nonsense, you and your Tsûi-ǂgoab are both stûpid fools!" He: "Amase ti ǂhûkhoitse, ǂêib ni hui,"—"Truly, Master, he will help." In the morning, about nine o'clock, we reached the water. After we had quenched our thirst, and were relishing a cup of coffee and a pipe, and talking over our troubles, laughingly, my guide said, "Ti ǂhûtse ǂarits ke ko ǂgamte-‡gao hã, χaveb ke Tsûi‖goaba ko ‡khãtsi, tsi ǂeîb ko nesiri hui ǂkheisa mû-ǂants ko ǂnai?"—"My dear Master, yesterday you could almost have killed me, but the Lord refused you (to do so), but have you now convinced yourself that the Lord has helped?"

We require no further evidence to see what the rawest Namaqua, with all his heathendom, means by Tsûi-ǂgoab.

But still it may not be uninteresting to hear the evidence of another Hottentot.

The famous ǂNanîb, who fell so bravely in the battle of ‡Hatsamas, when surrounded by the treacherous tribe of the ‖Gau-ǂgôas, who simply out of spite made common

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●776cause with the Damaras against their own flesh and blood, before he received the finishing stroke, was called upon to turn a Christian, and answered, "*Never*; my Tsūi||goab is as good as your Christ." He was strongly opposed to missionary work, and considered the missionaries to be a set of mischief-makers. His brother, ǀHaiguχab or ǂArisimab, the present chief of the ||Habobes, is as bitter an enemy of the missionaries as he was himself. With this younger brother I had once a conversation about the origin of his tribe, when he told me: "That very thing, the ||Habobe, has been made by Tsūi-||goab in this country, and ǀKhūb has made us, and given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow; and if we ask payment for our grass and water, we do the same what you white people do in asking payment for your lead and powder."

As to Tusib, about whom I quoted from Sir James Alexander in the preceding pages, I have the following from a Namaqua, an old ǂAuni. Very heavy thunder-clouds were towering above the horizon. We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. "Ah," he said, "there comes *Tsūi ||goab* in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by *Tusib*." I asked him what he meant by *Tusib*? He answered, "When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke ǀhūba ra ǀgū. Tusib covers the earth.*" This reminds one of 2 Samuel xxiii. 4, "And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springeth out of the earth by *clear shining after rain* or the *splendour of the rain*."

A second good Being who bears all the characteristics ascribed to Tsūi||goab is Heitsi-eibib. He is adored

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and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabi- 776
tants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western Cape Colony.

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors [123 342]
of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the [764]
deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed his people. He was very clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst the Bundle-Zwart, or !Gami‡nus, I heard the following story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied, among the ||Habobes, |Kharagei-khois, and ||O-geis.

Heitsi-eibib's battles with ‡Gama-‡gorib !Haũ-!gai-!gaib, ‡Amab and the Lion.

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ‡Gama-‡gorib, 773
!Haũ-!gai-!gaib and the Lion lived on the other side, on three roads, in the middle (between him and his people). There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a rumour why they did not come. He then started to look after them, and came first to the place of ‡Gama-‡gorib. But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another). ‡Gama-‡gorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to ‡Gama-‡gorib: "I have come to look after my people." But on the place of ‡Gama-‡gorib there was a hole, and

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which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaũa ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǀã, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǀhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁõra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

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776 775 761 766 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǁgauna ǁōra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǁgauna ǁora khoin.

838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if [754] people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǁGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAuni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsūiǁgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It [771] is strange that the ǀGabe-Bushmen, the ǀAi-Bushmen, the ǀNunin, and especially among these the Heiǂguin (or wooden noses), all know ǁGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsūiǁgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between Sān and Khoikhoin. Tsūiǁgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

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22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǃGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geilāb

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always language—it always meant something originally," and *"that it is the essential character of a true myth, that it should be no longer intelligible."*—Max Müller.

"The facts of language, however small, are historical facts, and require an historical explanation." Therefore, I shall try in the sequel of this chapter to give for each mythological name a rational and etymological explanation, inasmuch as I do not care to have these myths considered a conglomerate of meaningless and insipid tales.

In the growth and change of the Khoikhoi mythology we find an analogy to the growth and change of mythology among the Aryan nations. Amongst the Khoikhoi also, as amongst the Aryans, there was a "tendency to change the original conceptions of divine powers, to misunderstand the many names given to those powers, and even to misinterpret the praises given to them. In this manner some of the divine names were changed into the half-divine."[2]

Tsûi||goab.

I shall begin with that name which calls forth even to-day the deepest feelings of devotion and reverence in the heart of a Khoikhoi. *Tsûi||goab*, originally *Tsuni||goam*, was the name by which the Redmen called the Infinite. Modern translators and interpreters, such as serve on mission stations, generally explain it, "*Sore or wounded knee*," from *tsû* or *tsûi*, wounded, sore, and ||goab or ||khoab, the knee. And I myself, some ten years ago, have in a controversial paper,[4] "Der Hottentotische Tsûi||goab und der Griechische Zeus," been in favour of this explanation. After a more careful study of the matter, however, I have now good reason to discard my former opinion, and to replace it, as I hope, by a more reasonable explanation, based on the method of sound etymological investigation. For if the former translation were correct, and if this name by

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which the Infinite is invoked were so transparent as to demand such an interpretation, Tsûi||goab could not be a mythological being, but simply a person who acts a part in some common fable. Let us therefore try a new analysis.

The word is composed of two independent roots, *tsu* and *||goa*. *||Goa* means to walk, to go on, to approach, to march on, to come on. Now in Khoikhoi it is exactly the same whether I say, *mu-b* or *mu-m*, seeing-he, he-sees, or *mu-b*, *mu-m*, the-eye—*i.e.*, the-seer, the-seeing-one. The same, there is no difference whether I say, *||goa-b*, *||goa*-m, coming-he, approaching-he—*i.e.*, he comes, he approaches —or whether I say, *||goa-b*, *||goa-m*, the-approaching-one—viz., day, or the morning, the dawn; or if I say, *||goa-b*, *||goa-m*, the-going-one, the-walking-one—*i.e.*, the knee.

We have in Khoikhoi the following words:—*||Goa-b*, the morning, the daybreak; *||goa-b*, the knee; *||goara*, the day dawns, it dawns, it is dawning. Metaphorically *||goa* means also "*to pray*," because it is an old Khoikhoi custom to go out away from the house as soon as the first beams of the dawn shoot up in the East, and to kneel behind a bush to pray. The original "*||goatara, |gore ta niga*," "I go out to pray" (|gore or |gure, to pray), has dwindled down into "*||goatara*"—*i.e.*, "I go," *I pray*, just as our "*I wish you a good morning*," has collapsed into "*Good morning*," and even "*Morning*."

It is now obvious that *||goab* in *Tsûi||goab* cannot be translated with *knee*, but we have to adopt the other metaphorical meaning, *the approaching* day—*i.e.*, the dawn.

We come now to the root *Tsû*. It meant originally "what is sore, what is wounded, what is hurt, what is painful." Derivative forms were *tsuni*, *tsûi*, and *tsû*. Now, among the Nama-tribe generally, *tsû* and *tsûi*, mean "sore, wounded, hurt, affected with a wound, or with pain; while *tsû*, a more dilapidated form of *tsuni*, has a

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196 776 metaphorical meaning, "unpleasant, difficult, troublesome, painful." This, however, is not the case in all Nama dialects; sometimes the two words are promiscuously pronounced and applied. From this tsū, by reduplication, is formed a verb, tsū-tsū, to hurt a person, and ǂnou-tsū-tsū, to hurt a person by beating, or, as we say, *to beat a person black and blue.*

The colour of a wound is *red*, especially of a fresh wound received in a battle, and thus *tsu* can signify *red*, just as *|ava* or *|aua*, "red," meant originally *bloody*, blood-coloured (*|au-b, blood*). *Tsu|goab* or *Tsūi||goab* therefore, verbally translated, is *the-red-morning, the-red-daybreak*—*i.e.*, the *dawn.*

This etymology is strengthened by the following circumstances:—First, I have said in the second chapter that the ǀKoras believe *Tsūi||goam* to live in the Red-Heaven or Red-Sky. Then, in the next pages will be proved that ǂ*Eiχa|kha||nabiseb* and *Tsūi||goab* are identical, and in the Hymn of ǂ*Eiχa|kha||nabiseb* is said of him, "*thou* who painteth thyself with *red ochre.*" And, third, when the *day dawns* the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: "Oh, Tsu|goa, All-Father." We are also told that the Khoikhoi, especially their women, paint themselves with red ochre, if they offer prayers at the cairns of Heitsi-eibib (Dapper, Witsen).

Here, as it often happens in mythology, as well as in our daily life, a person is often called after the abode or place he inhabits. We have in our Colony names as *van Breda, van Gent*, &c., meaning originally certainly nothing else, but *the man of Breda, the man of Gent.* In the same manner the ancient Khoikhoi in their yearning after the Infinite transferred the name of his supposed abode upon Him who thrones on high. Hence the origin of the name *Tsūi||goab* for the Supreme Being.

776 The myth now tells us that *Tsūi||goab* is the avenger of men, and that he kills ||Gaunab, the evil-doer. He

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also can see what is going to happen in future; he is a seer, a prophet. In the Vedic mythology Saranyu, the Dawn, is also the avenger, and can also predict what will happen. The Germans have still the proverbial saying:—

Es ist nichts so fein gesponnen,
Es kommt doch endlich an der Sonnen.
(Nothing is so finely spun,
It must come before the sun.)

The Sanskrit *Saranyu* or *Dyaus* has etymologically certainly nothing to do with the Khoikhoi *Tsûi‖goab*, and certainly the one is not derived from the other. And still, in a certain sense, *Dyaus* or *Saranyu*, and *Tsûi‖goab* stand in very close connection, according to the maxim that the human mind all over the world is the same, and consequently will use certain striking phenomena in Nature as a base for the same figure of speech.

Other names for the Infinite among the Khoikhoi are *ǀKhûb*, *Tusib*, *ǀNanub* *ǀGurub*, *Heitsi-eibib*, *‖Khâb*, *ǂEiχa-ǀkha‖nabiseb*, and *ǀGurikhoisib*. Of these we shall treat hereafter. As *Tsûi-‖goab* is always mentioned in connection with his opponent, or better with the demon *‖Gaunab*, we shall have at first to deal with him, and to analyze his name, and then we shall see how mythology set to work, generation after generation, until it produced the legend with the variations recorded in the preceding chapter.

‖Gaunam.

If the name of Tsûi-ǁgoab only fills the mind of a Khoikhoi with joy, gratitude, and veneration, the name of *‖Gaunab* always confers to him the idea of pain, misery, and death. The root ‖Gau means to destroy, to annihilate, to mangle; from this we have the derivative ‖gaurà, bad, spoiled, worthless, infected; ‖gaub, destruction, ruination, annihilation; hence *‖Gaunab*, the destroyer, the one who annihilates.

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116 Who was now, according to the idea of the ancient
776 Khoikhoi, the destroyer? Certainly nobody else but the night, *Tsuχub*. We have the root ||ǒ, and from this the following derivatives:—||ǒ, to die; ||ǒm, to sleep; ||ǒ-b, death, illness, disease, ||om-s, sleep, ||oreb, guilt, sin, what is liable to death, crime; ||oreχa, wicked, sinful, guilty, criminal. Now, the night makes the people fall asleep or to die (||ǒ ||*om*), to be in a death-like state. The Khoikhoi say that ||Gaunab lives in the black heaven or black sky. The night sky, however, is the black sky. Consequently the black sky, at whose approach men ||o, die, or ||om, *sleep*, is the night sky—that is, ||*Gaunab*, the destroyer.

It will now be obvious that originally the words ||*Gauna* and *Tsûi*||*goa* were intended for nothing else than to illustrate metaphorically the change of day and night. Then the words Tsûi||goa and ||Gauna came down to the following generations, whilst their original meaning was lost. Mythology and religious sentiment stepped in at once and set to work. There was the belief of a power which sends its blessings to the earth to benefit men. Man died every evening, and the dark night covered him; the approaching dawn opened his eyes to new life, he felt refreshed. He turned his eyes towards the East, and saw the sky red, blood-red, sore like a fresh battle-wound. Blood had been spilled, a battle had taken place; so he fancied in his simple puerile way of thinking; and as he came to life with the dawn, what was more natural than that his mythological instinct invented the story of a battle between ||*Gaunab*, who lives in the black sky, and Tsûi ||goab, who lives in the red sky, in the dawn? Tsûi||goab was now a hero, who had received a wound at his knee. The rosy dawn was exchanged for a lame, broken knee.

776 Every tribe, every clan, every family, naturally has an ancestor, and if his name is lost, the myth-forming power very soon will invent one. Such ancestor, naturally enough, is a hero, who does wonderful things.

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Tsûi-||goab, the giver of all blessings, *the Father on high*, 776
All-Father, the avenger, who fought daily the battle for his people, thus was identified with the ancestor of the tribe whose name was forgotten. Hence we have the ancestor-worship growing together with the worship of the Infinite —that is, *vice versâ*, *Tsûi||goab*, the dawn, became the mythical ancestor of the Khoikhoi.

Each tribe afterwards ascribed to this hero such qualities as were peculiar to, and popular among, themselves. And as there are other powers in Nature which also bestow blessings on men, like the rain, the thunder-storm, the moon, the wind (especially the rain, wind, the sun, the clouds), and as these powers also have been personified, it was only quite natural that they are either identified with the Supreme Being, or that they are considered as emanations or relations of his. Therefore it is that this Being must have a wife, |Urisis; a son, |Urisûb, like every human father, grandfather, and hero. Hence we find, not only among the Khoikhoi, but among all other, especially the higher, mythologies, a real Olympian genealogy.

|*Khaub*

Tsûi||goab is also called |*Khaûb*. This is the general 196
term with which a chief, a ruler, a rich man, a master, is 576
addressed. If *Tsûi||goab* is the father and ruler of the 776
Khoikhoi he must be rich (|*Khâ*) and powerful. |Khûb signifies the Lord, and is derived from the root |*Khâ*, to be laden with something. A pregnant woman is a |*khâi* or |*khawi taras*—*i.e.*, a laden, a burdened woman. A rich man has always been an influential man, a ruling man; hence it is that |*Khâ* has adopted the meaning to rule, to be a lord. *Tarib||nabi ra |khâ?* (who is king there? or, who rules there?) has become identical with *Tarib ||nabi ra gao-ao?* (*gao-ao-b*, king, chief).

This brings us to the next point, to show how, in the 776

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capacity as *ǀKhūb, Tsūi‖goab* is identical with *ǀNanub*, the thunder-cloud, and *ǀGurub*, the thunder.

ǀNanub.

ǀNanub is in Khoikhoi the *thunder-cloud*, and shows the root *ǀna, to filter, to stream.* It means especially that kind of streaming which a man can observe if he digs for water in the sand of a periodical river. That filtering and streaming together of the water from various sides is *ǀnā.* Therefore, *ǀNanub* is the filterer, the pourer, or, to speak in South African Dutch, "'de Zuiverwater," an expression which well applies to the nature of the rain-pouring cloud.

ǀGurub.

ǀGurub, on first sight, makes the impression of being an onomatopoeticon, imitating the sound of the thunder; but this is only a delusion. The root of ǀgurub is ǀgū, which means to cover, to envelop (in German, umhüllen, verhüllen, bedecken). The following will plainly show what the Khoikhoi understand by the word *ǀgū.* I once had bought ostrich eggs, some of which were already on the point of breaking open and producing chickens. I did not like to destroy the rest, and asked the Namaqua who had given them to me how to hatch them, when he said: *ǀGiri-ǂnams ǀkhats ni ǀgūte* (You must *cover* them with a jackal caross). Also the skin or cloak which the women wear round the lower body for the purpose of covering it, is called *ʔǀgubib, the coverer.* From this, *ǀgu* again, two mountains in Great Namaqualand are called *Geitsi-ǀgubīb* (Great ǀGubīb), and ǂKharisi-ǀgubis (Little ǀGubis). The Geitsi ǀgubīb is a crater-shaped mountain, without being of volcanic origin. *ǀGurub* therefore means the coverer, and was one of the names of the thunder-cloud *ǀNanub*, which covers the sky. A savage believes, that if it thunders, somebody is speaking out of the cloud, or the cloud itself is speaking.

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In the same way as the Infinite was called the Dawn, Tsūi||goab, now the Thunder, in the same manner, accepted the name of the thunder-cloud, for his abode, and hence he was called |*Gurub*. In the Rigveda the cloud is also called vritra—*i.e.*, the coverer—and Vritra is also the name of the demon slain by Indra. Here, quite independently from the Khoikhoi, the ancient worshippers of Dyaus have developed almost the same idea. In the Rigveda, it says, that Indra with the Maruts (winds) fights Vritra, who keeps the sunlight from the earth.—(*Vide* Benfey, "Sanskrit Dictionary," p. 895; and Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," pp. 50, 95, 132.)

One often hears the following sayings among the Namaquas:—|*Nanub ga |guruo, ob ge geise ni ||na*—that is, if the cloud is *covering* (rising from the horizon, and towering one above the other towards the zenith), then it will pour down very much. And again: |Nanub ga |homgu ei ||goeö, on ge khoing, |nanub ge |homga ra |gū-‡gā (or |guru‡gā), tira mi. If the thunder-cloud lies on the mountains, then the people say the clouds *envelop* the mountains. And again: |Avi-||aib |nati ge |khunusete |nannbi ra |guru-‡gūhe. In the rainy season the Plaiades are enveloped by the thunder-cloud. All these sayings clearly show the true meaning of |Gurub, that it originally meant the *coverer*; and only in the course of time, when this first meaning was forgotten and lost, by the agency of the myth-forming power, it assumed the meaning, the *thunderer*. That there is still a recollection of the first meaning is quite certain. An old Namaqua said to me once, after a heavy thunderstorm had passed over the country: "|Gurub ke geise ko |avi," meaning, "the thunder-cloud has rained very hard."

Here the original meaning crops up again. For |*Gurub ra |avi* is generally said, |*Nanub ke ra |avi*, or |*Nanub ke ra tā*, the cloud is raining. The cloud, |*Nanub*, is often implored thus:

|Naputse|

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776 Sida ǃKhutse!
776 ǁAvire or ǁavi geire!
(Oh Cloud, our Lord, let rain, or simply, rain then!)
And in the preceding chapter, ǃGurùb is called, in a hymn, ǃ*Nanumatse*, thou son of the cloud. Consequently there is no doubt left as to ǃNanub and ǃGurub.

Identity of Tsûi‖goab and ǃGurub and ǃNanub.

776 It is not necessary now to enter into any further analysis in order to identify ǃNanub and ǃGurub with Tsûi‖goab, lest we should become very tedious in our explanations. I will briefly point out the most essential parts of comparison and similarity. Tsûi‖goab, ǃNanub, and ǃGurub, are all in the same manner implored, "*let rain.*" ǃGurub especially is addressed, "*not to speak too angrily to men;*" who else, then, can he be than the All-Father, Tsûi‖goab, who scolds his children? Valentyn, as we saw in the second chapter, also quotes both names for the same god, *Tsuiqua* (*Tsûi‖goab*), and *Gourrou* (ǃ*Gurub*). Leibniz ("Collectanea Etymologica," Hannover, 1717, p. 377), always uses the name *Thoro*, for God, which is nothing else than ǃGuru; t' generally being applied by those ancient travellers and writers to express the click, or a click with g, h, k.

ǁKhâb, Heitsi-eibib, ǃGurubeb and Tsuiǂ.

776 ǁ*Khâb*, originally ǁKhami, still in ǃKora, ǁKhâm, is derived from the root ǁ*Khâ, the same, again*; for instance, the pronoun ǁkhâb, the same, and words like ǁkhaba or ǁkhava, again, in return; ǁkhara, to punish, to revenge—that is, to do to a person the same that he has done to others; ǁkharas, punishment, retaliation; ǁkhai, to turn, to bring back—for instance, ǁkhai gomaba, turn the ox; ǁkha-ǁkha, to teach, to train—*i.e.*, to turn over and over again, to turn a person again and again, until he learns to go the straight course; all these derivatives come from the radix, ǁKha. As I pointed out some pages back, there is no difference in Khoikhoi if I say mû-b, be-seen, or 'nûb, the eye—*i.e.*, the seer—and ǁgoa-b, he walks, or

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‖goa-b, the knee—*i.e.*, the walker; in the same way there is no difference if we say ǂ‖Kha-mi, ‖Kha-m, or ‖Khā-b, he-is-returning, or the return-er—that is, the moon. When after a few dark nights the silver crescent of the moon appeared again on the western horizon, the ancient Khoikhoi would say, "*Ah, there he is again.*" And when, in the course of time, the pronoun of the third person had also accepted the office of a sex-denoting classifier or article, then the predicative, ‖Kha-m or ‖Khā-b, he-returns, he-is-there-again, became the appellative, ‖Khāb, or ‖Khām, the returner *par excellence*. When even this meaning was lost, the next generation beheld ‖Khāb as a *nomen proprium* of the moon.

The resemblance between ‖Khām, the Moon, and Tsūi‖goam, the Dawn, are very striking. We said in the second chapter that the moon promises immortality to men, and when they were deceived by the hare, he is also the avenger, punishing the latter. Tsūi‖goab every morning gives life to men, and from the battle with ‖Gaunam he received a wound; also the hare scratches the moon's face. Of Tsūi‖goab it is also said, like the moon, that he often dies and rises again. He (Tsūi‖goab) being a person of supernatural powers can take all kinds of shapes, he also can disappear, or become suddenly invisible. It is the same again with the moon, who assumes different shapes, and sometimes disappears altogether. The disappearing of the moon is called ǁ, to die; on the dying or disappearing of the moon, especially if there be an eclipse of the moon, great anxiety prevails. One would almost believe that a great calamity has befallen a kraal, such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen the people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertakings. Does it not sound to us as if we hear the old Psalmist praying:—

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776 Have mercy upon me, O God—
821 Cast me not away from thy presence;
Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation!

That the Moon is identical with Tsûî|goab, as the "Lord of Light and Life," can, after these explanations, be no longer doubtful. And it is also obvious from the antiquated and obliterated nature of the name itself, that the Moon was already worshipped as *the Visible God* of the Khoikhoi before their separation.

816 776 We come now to Heitsi-eibib. As to him, the etymology of his name offers considerable difficulty. Generally, interpreters translate it "prophet," "foreteller," "the one who can predict what will happen." And this translation or etymology is based on cutting Heitsi-eibib up into two words—*Heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order; and *eibe*, before, beforehand, previously. Consequently Heitsi-eibib would mean the foreteller, the prophet. Here, again, as we remarked in the analysis of Tsûî|goab, if the word Heitsi-eibib is so transparent as to be so easily explained, the whole mythology in regard to him would collapse into a meaningless and insipid fable. We therefore must look for a more satisfactory and rational explanation.

To the linguist it will be quite clear that only two roots, *hei* and *ei*, are contained in the word *Hei-tsi-ei-bi-b*; all the other syllables are suffixes. *Hei* means everything that belongs to the *wood or shrub line*, anything that has a wooden nature. We have thus hei-b, a pole, a stick, a staff, a collection of trees (German, *Gehölz*); hei-s, fem., a tree, and hei-l, a tree in general, a piece of wood, or a shrub. From this *hei* we have derivatives like *hei-χa*, rich in wood, full of shrubs, full of trees; heitsi or heisi, wood-like, having the appearance of a tree, (as adjective derivative), and heirab, the juice of the mimosa tree (gum arabic). But there is also a verbal derivative, *hei-si*, to send a stick (from hei, stick, and si, to send)—that is, to order, to send a message. This *si*, to send, must not be mixed up with *si*, suffix pronominal

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and suffix adjective, which is identical with our *ly*. With *si*, to send, the following compounds are formed:—*Asi*, to cause to drink; *asi gomana*, *bring the cattle to* the water, let the cattle drink; *daisi*, to nurse, *i.e.*, to cause the child to drink, to put the child to the breast. Thus, to come back to *Aeisi*, it signifies, originally, to send a stick, a staff, and then, to send a message, to order. Chiefs, if they send a man with a summons to another person, give the messenger, as a credential, their staff, the emblem of their power; hence the name heisi-aob, the staff-bearing man—*i.e.*, the messenger. The man summoned is simply touched with the staff and he has to follow immediately. Here, however, we have not to do with the verbal derivative *hei-si*, to order, but with the adjective derivative heisi, or heitsi, wooden, wood-like, having a tree-like appearance. For we have the form *Heitsi*-eibib, and not Heisi-eibib. Only the adjective suffix *'tsi* can change into *si*, and *vice versâ*, but the verbal form *si*, to send, could never change into *tsi*. Thus, we have Geitsi|gubib (masc. sing.), name of a mountain, and ‡Kharisi|gubis (fem. sing.), also a name of a mountain; |gûtsi|gubib (masc. sing.), the male frog; |gûsi|gûbis (fem. sing.), the female frog; aitsi|gûbib (masc. sing.), the male bat; aisi|gubis (fem. sing.), the female bat. But *asi*, to cause to drink, or *daisi*, to cause to suck—*i.e.*, to nurse, or *heisi*, to send a message—could never be transformed into *âtsi*, *daitsi*, *heitsi*, maintaining the same meanings as verbs. Therefore *Heitsi* in *Heitsi*-eibib is the adjective derivative suffix for the masculine gender, and the only correct translation therefore is, *tree-like, or similar to a tree*.

The fact also that the other and shorter name of *Heitsi-eibib* is *Heigeb*, Great-Tree (from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, great), forces us to translate *Heitsi* into *tree-like*. In the sequel we shall see that this *Heitsi-eibib* is identical with |*Gurilbeinib*, whose other name is ‡Ei|kha|nabiseb. And of this person the Lion, in our second chapter,

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196 776 says: ||*Khâ‖nomaŏ*, *Mimosaroot* has killed me. And besides, on the graves of *Heitsi-eibîb*, as we have had repeatedly occasion to show, branches of trees, pieces of wood, and flowers are strewn as an offering.

These evidences are strong enough to defend our position against any insinuation in favour of the translation "to send a message."

We have now to analyse the meaning of *eibe* or *eibi*. *Eis* or *eib* means the surface—for instance, *|hub-eib*, earth's-face, orbis terrarum; *eis* or *eib* also means appearance, likeness; for instance, ||eîb *eibe* ta ho‡ui tama, I do not find out his appearance—*i.e.*, I do not identify him, I do not know him. Then we have the names *See-eis*, *|Hom-eib*, *‡Khoa-eib*, *Asiχa-eibib*, all containing the root *ei*, with the meaning face, appearance, likeness. Consequently the only correct translation of *Heitsi-eibîb* is, "the One who has the appearance of a tree," and this tree is the magnificent *Dawn-tree*. When, especially in our latitudes, we look towards the East at daybreak, who, if he has any love for the grandeur of Nature, does not admire those beautiful beams and rays shooting up from a central point like the gigantic branches of a magnificent tree.

776 The points of comparison between Heitsi-eibîb and Tsûi‖goab and ||Khâb are here again very striking, and leave no doubt as to their being identical. All three come from the East, and this is why, as already stated, the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the deceased are also placed towards the East, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess waggons place them in such a position, that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Khoikhoi, when asked for the reason why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsûi‖goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi-eibîb*, came from the East." Both are invoked as "*Father*" or "*All-Father*." Every prayer commences *Sida* Itse, or Abo-Itse. Both

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are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear. 776

Heitsie-ibib, however, is full of tricks, and his character is not altogether blameless. The sacred legend accuses him of the same crime as that for which Hippolytus and Œdipus have become famous. 773 835

It is impossible to deny that the story of Heitsie-ibib committing rape on his mother, taken in its literal meaning, is very repulsive, and not at all in accordance with the code of morals and decency among the Khoikhoi. The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called "Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilised races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry of indignation against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom was cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged.

The myth of Heitsi-eibib and his mother is certainly not of a recent date; it could not even have been formed at the time when those abstract words "humanity, purity, truth, faith, self-respect, friendship, love, decency," and many more of those beautiful abstract expressions with which the Khoikhoi abounds, were formed. It is one of the oldest mythological relics brought down to us, like an erratic block, and shows that there was a period, below the first layers of culture, when the feelings of morals and decency among the Hottentots were still a *tohu wabohu*, similar to a period in the primitive history of our own race. 773

The Namaqua, from whose lips I gathered that legend, told me that when he heard it from his grandfather, the

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This same of Heitsi-eibib is a more local appellation 776 196
in use among the ǃ Kora of the Middle Orange River and the River of ǁHaintas. An old ǃKora at the convict station, Cape Town, told me that ǃGarubeb often died and rose again; that on his grave are strewn branches and stones; that he was a great chief, and possessed plenty of cattle. The etymology of the name does not offer great difficulty. ǃ*Garu* means *spotted, tufted.* ǃGā is grass; ǃgaru, therefore, is what grows in *tufts*, like grass. Here, in South Africa, it is a characteristic of the grass that it does not equally cover the whole ground, but that it stands about in tufts. Evidently the word ǃ*gamirob* comes from the same root, ǃ*ga*, from which ǃgarubeb, and ǃgarub, the leopard (the spotted one), derive their origin. Stars mean accordingly *the dots, the points*, those who stand *in tufts*. The myth says also that Heitsi-eibib's mother became pregnant in swallowing the juice of a certain grass. We can now either translate ǃGarubeb, *the grass-man*, or *the spotted-one*. I am, however, more inclined to adopt the latter interpretation, and that for the following reason:—In the preceding pages I have shown the identity of Heitsi-eibib with ǁKhāb, the Moon. A look at the moon's spotted face explains easily the name, ǃgarubeb, the spotted-one. Whether the ancient Khoikhoi saw in the spots of the moon a great many grass tufts, I cannot say, but it is not impossible.

Tūsib.

Tūsib is also a local name for Tsūi-ǁgoab, or, better, ǃNanub. Tū means *to rain*. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the *green shining* colour over the earth (*vide* note in second chapter, Tūsib).

ǃ*Gurikhoisib and* ǂ*Eiχa*ǁ*kha*ǁ*nabiseb.*

Like Heitsi-eibib, ǃGurikoisib, or, as he is also called, ǂEiχaǁkhaǁnabiseb, defends the Khoikhoi against evil-

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doers, especially against the Lion. The etymology of |Gurikhoisib offers no difficulty. |*Guri* means *single, only, alone.* Khoi-si-b derives from the root *KHOI*, meaning *man*; with the suffix *si* it has a more collective meaning, like *mankind*; therefore, |Gurikhoisib, means the only man, the first man, primitive man. Here the worship of the Supreme Being and ancestor-worship have become amalgamated.

The name ‡Eiχa|kha|nabiseb consists of three words —‡eiχa (from ‡ei), brass-like, |kha, body, and |nabiseb, the back-bone; thus the whole name conveys the meaning: "The man whose body has a brass-coloured back-bone." This is the lightning, who descends from heaven (|homi), or from the cloud (|nanub) to the earth. Here we have, perhaps, the explanation why the Khoikhoi women on certain occasions anoint themselves with red ochre, and also for the purposes of worship make marks with red ochre (torob) on certain sacred stones and cairns.

I remarked previously that we have reason to believe that there was among the Khoikhoi also a period when *human* sacrifices formed a part of their offerings. They still cut off a finger. I shall not be surprised if continued investigations corroborate the idea that the painting of the sacred stones with red ochre was merely an act to replace the cruel offering of human blood by a simple symbolical ceremony. It may also be that the red lightning, in killing a man, and thus demanding blood, might in the commencement have led to human sacrifice; and that the red colour of the lightning and the bloody sacrifice together afterwards introduced the use of red ochre or other red paint into the worship of the Khoikhoi. I have already quoted in the second chapter from Ludolf's "Commentary," p. 228, "Uxores solere conspergere caput dei *terra rubra*." In place of this terra rubra (red ochre, *tōrob*), they also use frequently the red tannic juice of the Acacia giraffæ.

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The Ostiaks, when they kill an animal, rub some of the blood on the mouths of their idols. Even this seems at length to be replaced by red paint. Thus the sacred stones in India, as Colonel Forbes Leslie has shown, are frequently ornamented with red. So also, in Congo, it is customary to daub the fetishes with red every new moon.—*Vide* Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," p. 270.

ǃUrisîb and ǃUrisis, Tsēb and Sūris.

The myth tells us that ǃUrisîb is Heitsi-eîbib's son. The root of this word is ǃū, as it is still preserved in the ǃAi Bushman, where it originally means the egg, and white. Certainly the word ǃū served, in the second instance, to express the colour *white*, and the ostrich egg, of which the contents are eaten, of which the shell serves as a water-cask, and of which the Bushman makes his ornaments, is *white*. Here in our myth is ǃUrisis, the Sun, the white one; but as the shape of the *Sun* is round, and as its colour is white, it is not unlikely that it was originally called *the egg par excellence*. According to the Khoîkhoi custom of giving the son the name of the mother, the son of ǃUrisis was *ǃUrisîb—i.e.*, Tsēb, the day, the daylight. ǃUrisis, the white one, however, is again called *Suris*, the Sun. Suris gives the root *su*, to broil, to be hot; Soris or Suris, therefore, means the broîling-one, the heating-one, the inflaming-one. Derivative forms from *sū* are *sūi*, to boil, *sūs*, the pot, or the boiling instrument. *Sureb* or *soreb* (masc.), *sores* (fem.), the lover, the sweetheart, the one who is inflamed—viz., with love, or who inflames with love; *Soregu*, to court, to fall in love, to be in love.

It is now obvious that ǃUrisis is Soris, the wife of Heitsi-eîbib Tsūi‖goab, the Dawn, and that the son of this marriage bond is ǃUrisîb—*i.e.*, Tsēb, the Day, or Daylight. The etymology of the word *tsē* is very obscure, and will never be unveiled. I have searched in vain for a satisfactory explanation, and, failing in this, I addressed

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Mr. Krönlein, a missionary who pretends to have some knowledge of the Khoikhoi. He told me that he derives *tse* from *gei*, to grow, to develop. This is quite unscientific, as there is not a single instance in the Khoikhoi idioms of the *g* changing into *ts*. It seems that the original root is quite lost, and so is its meaning. I shall, however, make some suggestions of my own, that perhaps may lead those who still labour among the Khoikhoi on some track. We have numerous instances in Khoikhoi that *ia* contracts into *e*; and we have also the fact that *ts* has worn off into *s*; again, we have the instance that *e* and *i*, in forms like *bi* and *be*, or *si* and *se*, are promiscuously used. If we now reconstruct *tse* we shall get the form *tsia*; tsia then becomes *tsē* or *tsī*; and *tsī* becomes *sī*. Now we have in Khoikhoi the verb *sī*, to come, to arrive, to approach. I have, in the analysis of the name Tsūi||goab, shown that ||goa means to come, to approach, and here we have only in tsēb another form, which in meaning is identical with ||*goab*, the approaching one—viz., day. I wish, however, to be clearly understood; this derivation is a mere suggestion, and nothing more, but I claim for it a greater possibility than one would claim for such an etymology as is offered in *tse* from *gei*.

‡*Gama*‡*gorīb*.

Almost identical with ||*Gaunab*, the opponent of *Tsūi||goab*, is ‡*Gama*‡*gorīb*. The etymology of this name offers great difficulty. ‡*Gama*, from the root ‡*gā*, signifies to sink down, to fall down, to drop, by sinking down to enter the ground; but it is also transitively used to throw down, to put into the ground, to plant. ‡*Gori*, again, from the root ‡go, *to go to one side, to jump out of the way, to give road*. For instance, if a person meets another, the one will say to the other, ‡*go*, make room, give way, go to one side; therefore ‡Gama‡gorib is *the one who in falling down, or throwing*

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himself down, always moves to the side. This is certainly nothing else but the lightning, whose nature it is never to go in a straight line, but always to go out of the original course. We previously stated that the ǀGurikhoisib was also called ǂEiχaǀkhaǁnabiseb, and we interpreted this name with Lightning. ǀGurikhoisib is a good Being, but ǂGamaǂgorib is a bad Being, and so is ǁGaunam.

We need not be surprised at such idiosyncrasies in mythology, and especially in the so-called *lower mythology.* This is only a repetition of the maxim that the religious sentiment of mankind originally saw in Nature the working of demons; and that only after a higher state of culture the idea of a good Being is developed. After the evidence produced, we must admit that the Khoikhoi mythology, although it bears in many respects comparison with the myths of Greece and Eran, must be classified with the *lower mythologies,* for the simple reason that the Khoikhoi language has not yet left the agglutinative stage.

Ghosts and Spectres—ǀHaiǀnun and Sobo-khoin.

The ghosts and spectres are called ǀHaiǀnun, fawn-feet, or Sobo-khoin, men of the shadow. These words are of a very simple etymology. As to fawn-foot, ǀHaiǀnuh, we also say in German, *ein fahles Gespenst* or *fahl wie ein Gespenst.*

ǀHaũǀgaiǀgaib, ǂAmab and ǀ̃Oas.

ǀHaũǀgaiǀgaib and ǂAmab are also mythological persons, but their derivation is not quite clear to me. The same, ǀ̃oas, the hare, which certainly has nothing to do with ǀoã, to mourn, as some interpreters explain it; rather it may be derived from ǀ̃oa, to oppose, to go against somebody, to meet.

ǀKhunuseti, the Pleiades.

It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ! //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ! ǂkxaraga ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

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A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ! //goabats gye nĩ fũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question. [777]●

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kxoma gai //goaga (e)Ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ! //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (ǂnũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement. 516

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women. 516 853

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the 516

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" ǂnũǂhum, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [841]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [777]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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845 M90 845 847 562 777

others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

845 (304

In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 520; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 242; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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881 574 may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

881 535 Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxais* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till [777] in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *buchu* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

881 Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tards*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *buchu* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young [784] cow calving for the first time, the *aba tards* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nau*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

881 783 Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tards*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tards* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wikar, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 17; Alexander, loc. cit.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[15]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[16])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[17]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 821 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, *who promises men immortality.*

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of less power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, !gai-aogu) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the ||Gauna worship of the ‡Auni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to ||Gauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Touqūoa*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaquas believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also ||Gaunab, as they call the enemy of Tsūi-|| goab.

[111]

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die. 844 372

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful. 224 372 777

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station, Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success. 224

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâbeb*, "the one which lives in a hole." 823 825

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year. 825

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally seen*, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaña ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǀã, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǃhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁõra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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773 from the roots *hei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heitsi Eibib* is *Haigaib*, Great Tree, from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, big.[1]

Heitsi Eibib is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Naman all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through
[825] mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.[2]

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
●778 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.[3] This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, mutter the following prayer:—

[787]

O Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!

[1] Op. cit., 130–4.

[2] Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 73–82; Kidd-Lloyd, in Macdonald "Die Sitten Reinhardtschen Bastards D.S.W.A.," 1911, 213; Hahn, op. cit., 64–73; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama Sprache*, 171–7 (Nama texts); Vedder, "The Nama," 132–4.

[3] Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 349; Alexander, op. cit., i, 167; Bleek, op. cit., 76; Kidd-Lloyd, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 69, 134.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui ||Goab* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Naman, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui ||Goab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.[1]

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and has dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui ||Goab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *||Gaunab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui ||Goab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui ||Goab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi Eibib's* graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a few bushes," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

[1] Op. cit., 130-3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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773 stones"; whereas Biden and Kling use the term "heidje eibib"
778 in regard to all graves, although speaking also of a specially large
"heidje eibib" near O'okiep. Hahn says that branches are thrown
only on the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, not on any others, which appears
also from Alexander's remarks. Vedder, again, "was interested to
know whether there were really human remains under these often
stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing
of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stones, as Heiseb
was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however,
found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed
empty." He, therefore, concludes that these heaps were originally
beacons set up by the Bushmen at those places where strangers used
to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, that is, where there were old
paths, and that later, when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country
for the new immigrants, these boundary marks appeared to the
Hottentots as graves, which were revered as the graves of their
own ancestors by piling stones on them.[1]

769 Whatever the origin of these heaps, it is at least certain that the
778 Hottentots regard them as the graves of *Heitsi Eibib*, add stones,
773 branches, and other objects to them, and pray at them to *Heitsi
Eibib* for success in hunting, much cattle, and other benefits. We
have previously noted that ordinary graves are also added to in this
way, and that people will sometimes go to pray at the graves of the
parents. This suggests that *Heitsi Eibib* is in some way connected
with the ancestors. One is inclined, therefore, to look upon him
either as a traditional hero of the past, round whom a series of legends
have collected, or possibly as a mythological ancestor living much
the same sort of life as the Hottentots themselves did. He certainly
does not appear to be a personified nature deity of the same kind
as *Tsui ||Goab*. And it may be added here, that in translations of
the Bible and other religious works into the Hottentot languages,
the name *Tsui ||Goab* is by some writers used as a rendering for
"God", whereas *Heitsi Eibib* never is. This in itself indicates how
different were the native conceptions of these two figures.

773 In the mythology of the Hottentots *Tsui ||Goab*, as we have seen,
776 appears as a great tribal hero, many of whose people are killed by
the evil chief *||Gaunab*. *Tsui ||Goab* goes to war with *||Gaunab*,
and finally destroys him by giving him a blow behind the ear; but

[1] Op. cit., 132; cf. Idem, "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der . . . Buschmänner," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, I (1925–6), 12–22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hiseb*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

3:Hoernié E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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things, because !nau without some individual or group of individuals being !nau. This 783
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly !nau and none 888
but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262]
one realizes that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realizes how strongly this !nau influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes !nau certain things also become !nau. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is !nau. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the !nau person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The !nau fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a !nau person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became !nau, but every 778
!nau person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Hottentot witch doctor, or *!gûi-dop*, never touches [791]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Berseba in the time of his grandfather, when [683]
a *!gûi-dop* who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become !nau, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her *!gûi*, or petticoat, when she was !nau.

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and 789
pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to 782
extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the [171]
Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, 776
the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a 773
certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in 773
a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could 778
change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than [175]
once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Knokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitai-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 *b.* The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-

782 535 178 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin. 821 789

They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[85]). 821 789

They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[86]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[87]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation. 534 778

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as /khais, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185. 534

[87]) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1655 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[33] Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 000 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two 782 distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[34] Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no [782] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under 291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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33) Probably the Berg R.

34) A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 323 ff.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsûi‖goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (‖amab, trade, ‖amagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-‖khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the !Amas tribe), and of the !Khomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-!hoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the *!Khâseti* (‖Khunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or *!goregu* the Zebras, *α* Orionis *χami*, the Lion, *α* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *torob*, from *toro*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (!gari-b, ‖gob, !ê-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or !gainob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-!gamteb, Lion-killer, ‖Otsâtamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ôb, Destroyer of heroes, &c, Names of places

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 821 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, *who promises men immortality.*

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of less power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, ǃgai-aogu) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the ǁGauna worship of the ǂAuni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to ǁGauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Touqūoa*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaquas believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also ǁGaunab, as they call the enemy of Tsūi-ǁgoab.

[177]

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

"Once on an occasion," says Kolb, "a Hottentot 778
||Kamma, whom I caught in the act of dancing and singing round such a spot, told me, that he, on a journey, slept at this place, and was not devoured by a lion who approached him during the night at a few yards distance only. He, the Hottentot, could not help thinking that a saint (ghost) inhabited the spot, and had protected him, and he considered it his duty not to forget this kindness." (P. 419.)

Tsūi-||goab, and |Khunuseti, the Pleiades.

The first Khoikhoi missionary, George Schmidt, was 82|
sent in 1737 by the Moravian Mission to the Cape. He settled amongst the Hessaquas, a tribe inhabiting the present Caledon district, on the banks of the Zondereinde River. The place formerly called Baviaanskloof, now Genadendal, is still occupied by the United Brethren.

"At the return of the Pleiades," says Schmidt, "these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones on their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors.

"The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, &c.), nientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"—('*Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12, and Burkhard's "Missionsgeschichte," Africa, vol. ii. p. 9.)

Tsūi-||goab.

In the Appendix to his Travels, De Jong, commander 776
of a Dutch vessel, who spent a considerable time at the Cape, quotes from George Schmidt's reports, and says: "They have no religion or rites, and they only believe

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 ments. He very soon turns against himself, by stating that the Khoikhoi *must* believe in a Supreme, but very powerful and fiendish Being, from whom they expect rain, thunder, lightning, cold, &c.; and he adds that various Colonists had told him *that the Khoikhoi curse at the thunder*, calling him "Gutseri and ǂGaunazi," and "throwing something at the lightning and thunder.—(Sparrmann, German edition, p. 196. Compare in the sequel the hymn to the Thunder and to the Lightning with this statement.)

778 Sparrmann also makes mention of those mysterious cairns. He describes their size to be three to four feet in diameter. This is the general size of those Heitsi-eibib cairns we meet with in Great Namaqualand. He searched in vain in one of those stone heaps for curiosities and antiquities; all he found was a few pieces of wood (p. 549).

The Graves of Heitsi-eibib.

764 769 The learned Dr. Liechtenstein, who travelled in 1803 with the Dutch Commissioner de Mist through the Colony, gives a few but very valuable remarks. Liechtenstein and party were travelling in the Eastern Province Outeniqualand, and the field cornet Rademeier was with them to show the road. "The well-informed Rademeier," says Liechtenstein, "who had offered himself to show us the road for some distance, drew, not far from the road, our attention to the grave of a Hottentot, who, according to the general tradition of this people, long before the Christians had immigrated into these parts of the world, had been considered to be a great doctor and a wise man, and whose memory was honoured by the custom, that each Hottentot who passed by threw a fresh branch of flowers on the grave. We actually saw some half-dried branches which might have been thrown there only a few days ago. The grave consisted of a heap of stones about twenty to thirty yards in circumference.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

On the 3rd of August the waggon went on to Aneip (ǀAn-ǂeib) or Wetfoot, and I went out of the way, with Jan Buys and two or three men, to see a hole which was supposed to be inhabited by Heije Eibib, or the Devil, and was the wonder of the country."—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 250.) 778

Again: "This water-place was called Kuma Kams (Goma-ǁgams), or the water of the beast tribe, and near it was a heap of stones, eight yards long by one and a half high, *in a cleft between two eminences*, which the Namaquas said was a heap over their deity Heije Eibib (Heitsi-eibib). . . . .

"I turned aside to get water at the fountain, 'Ahuas, or blood (ǀAus). In this was said to dwell a snake, which guarded it; but, strange to say, when the fountain was reached it was found to be dried up, and a water-snake, about six feet long, brown above and yellow below, lay dead beside it. The Namaquas immediately cried out, 'Some one has killed the snake of the Fountain of Blood, and it is therefore dried up.' Not far from the Fountain of Blood a young Bushman and his wife was met, and the woman accused her husband of having committed a great crime. She said that the day before they had drank at 'Ahuas, and the Bushman, seeing the snake there, killed it. He excused himself by saying that he was a stranger in that part of the country, and did not know that the snake he had killed at the edge of the water was the snake of the fountain. 778 825

"'Ahuas was not the only fountain in Namaqualand which was superstitiously believed to be preserved by a snake. It was singular enough that it should have dried up immediately [28] after the death of the snake.

"[27] Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of [28] dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisip, in the bed of the Kuisip River, near our 778

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

778 last watering-place, *without first having made an offering* and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him; and I asked him what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisip.

"'Before any Bushman,' said ǂNumeep, 'digs for water at Kuisip, he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the ǁnaras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare, as an offering to Toosip, the [776] old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip.

"'No; I have never seen him, nor has anybody else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great [80] Redman, with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai, nor has he a wife.'

"'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?'

"'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbock, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 125.)

Here we have the most open-hearted confession of a Namaqua (Khoikhoi) who was in great anxiety. The human heart is always more communicative when in sorrow and troubles, especially among savages, whose manners, like those of children, are still very simple and natural, and not dictated by the rules of an absurd etiquette and fashion.

Heitsi-eibib, Kabib, Heigeib, and ǂGama ǂgorib.

797 About the year 1842, the missionary work amongst the Namaquas was commenced more vigorously, chiefly by missionaries of the Rhenish Mission. The Rev. Knudsen has left us a translation of St. Luke, up to this date unsurpassed in style and correctness by any

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naonun /Hutsa — My ancestors' territory
/Gaise !khoi !oo ts re — Run nicely to meet me
aike mutse — I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hai /Nun* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Naman", 519–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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233 morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

231 262 The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little [281] importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

231 The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of */nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound [783] to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We [782] have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

231 782 Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 262–4. [2] "The Conception of Isaas," 73. [3] Op. cit., 62–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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animal is eaten by the old men, the young men are given the blood and the entrails, and the women feed upon the broth. After the meal each group apart spends the rest of the day and the following night in singing and dancing. "These are acts of atonement for their offences against *Gounja*, and which they trust will render *Gounja* propitious to them and their cattle." If the distemper ceases after this ceremony, the people become wild with joy, believing that "*Gounja*" is pleased with their offerings. But if it does not immediately cease, they either lay the blame upon the sacrificer or suppose that their offerings were not good enough. Another old man is then selected and the ceremony repeated in the same way, fatter sheep being slaughtered. Or else it is decided that the sheep have caught the disease from some ill quality of the pasture; and if this opinion prevails the settlement is immediately removed elsewhere.

The other ceremony consists in driving the sheep at certain times through the smoke of a fire. Early on the day determined upon, the women milk the cows and bring the milk to the men, who must drink it all. The women themselves may not drink of it, nor even spill any drop, lest the whole procedure prove ineffective. When it has all been consumed, some of the men go to bring the sheep together to the place where the rite is to be performed, while others busy themselves in preparing the fire. This is made in the open, and thickly covered with green branches, so that a dense cloud of smoke is produced. When the sheep then come up, a number of men range themselves closely in a long row on both sides of the fire; and the animals are driven through this lane. As soon as one has been forced through, the rest follow, jumping over the fire and passing through the smoke. Great jubilation is raised when everything has passed off successfully, for it is believed that now all will be well. The explanation Kolb claims to have received was that this custom originated in the fear that predatory animals, especially wild dogs, would come among the flocks and work havoc. To prevent this occurring, said his informant, the sheep are driven through the smoke, for as long as its smell clings to them the dogs will keep away. Long experience had taught the ancestors of the people that this measure effectively protected the sheep, and it was therefore still kept up among them.

This particular ceremony does not appear to have been noted by any other writer, and it is difficult to decide how far Kolb's

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2]

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals.

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Olpp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */has*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *hâ-hâ-hâ*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 84. [3] Op. cit., 224–5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jackal) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 30.

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821 775 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat, etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm, or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place, are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the putrefying body.[1]

769 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people. The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn ●782 and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on 775 the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep" at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered, 'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps, that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise not from the "soul", as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse, since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like [821] a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

[1] Op. cit., 317.
[2] Op. cit., 85, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112–13.

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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hahn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Steygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 191; Grevenbroeck, op. cit., 271; Biden, op. cit., 46-8 (quoting Lichtenstein and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Biden, op. cit., 47. [4] Op. cit., 225.

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This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heisi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

Now *Heisi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heisi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 168.

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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsui //goanse!
Aba ba,
Kaba ba!
//Khamaka ka-aba,
Ba-anse aba,
Kaba aba aba;
//Khabeta gaia gaiaa
//Gaia ana,
Aba ana;
Aba anabasa anase,
Ba-a gaia anse aba ka-ana,
Aba ana,
Tsui //goanse!
Aba aba gaiaganaba,

Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Father of our Fathers,
Our Father!
Let storms the thunder shroud,
Let our Rocks Rot,
Let us also live, Father;
I am so very weak
From thirst,
From hunger;
Let me not fold hands,
Art thou not our Father,
Father of our Fathers
Thou Tsui //Goab?
That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based entirely on the accounts given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, 3, No. 2 (May, 1929), pp. 3–11; cf. idem, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 27–8, and "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 513–26.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Eke aisa //khawa ||khaisiba,	That we may bless thee,
Aba ina,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida khawa,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsui //goaba!	Thou, Tsui //Goab!

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goam,	
Let the clouds rain,	
So that we can live joyfully;	
Let the field-food grow,	
So that we can feed ourselves."	

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *aisab*, father, and */khaib*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Namab*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurib*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Namab*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourrwa* (*/Gurib*).[3] The cloud */Namab* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4. [2] "The Native," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 178, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 58.

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let rain"[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gei*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

!Gurub se /Gaos	The Hymn of the Thunder
!Nuuseneni!	Son of the Thundercloud!
/Gui-khoi, /Gurusen!	Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru!
/Oase gakere,	Talk softly, please,
/Khoiti t'am o-kh-ommi;	For I have no guilt;
/Khoiye	Let me alone! (Forgive me!)
/Oaxoge ongo.	For I have become quite weak.
/Gurusen!	Then, O !Guru!
!Nuuse ooase!	Son of the Thundercloud!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrus* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thakwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khab*, i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui ||Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tsuib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Nama, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Bushman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 109-30. [2] Ibid., 77-80. [3] Leo, 181.
[4] Op. cit., 50-1. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, II, 121.
[6] "Bushman," *Saan-khoi*, is another name used for themselves by the Hottentots, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *Saan-khoin*, "black men," and the Europeans or "white men" *Aub-khoin*.

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753 776 782 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 776 821 Mrs. Hoeralé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanib*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 776 773 796 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 751 784 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 322. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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773 from the roots *hei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heitsi Eibib* is *Heigeib*, Great Tree, from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, big.[1]

Heitsi Eibib is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Naman all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through
[825] mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.[2]

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
778 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.[3] This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, mutter the following prayer:—

[782]

O Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!

[1] Op. cit., 132–4.

[2] Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 73–82; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz "Die Missions Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1915, 213; Hahn, op. cit., 64–73; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama Sprache*, 172–7 (Nama texts); Vedder, "The Nama," 132–2.

[3] Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, i, 349; Alexander, op. cit., i, 167; Bleek, op. cit., 76; Kleinschmidt, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 69, 134.

strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil" in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Iqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and 784
pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to 782
extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the [171]
Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, 776
the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a 773
certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in 773
a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could 778
change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than [175]
once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 6. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-762 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions 535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious 178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 535 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771 [754]

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another. 775

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conjointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again. 764 775

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death. 763

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he 769 787 761

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[682] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

823 271 782 Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1835-7, Vol. II, p. 125.
* *Tsuni ||Goam*, p. 77.

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† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 126.
* *Tsuni ||Goam*. p. 77.

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133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[23]) Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 000 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two ●782 distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[24]) Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no [782] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under 291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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[23]) Probably the Berg R.

[24]) A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 353 ff.

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South Nguni FX17

000 Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis diis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, desuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum lympham oliâ ex proximo fonte, aut torrente haustam effundit, mox mediis mapalibus sedens, gnatum corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tum demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecaneo sacrificio sibi abscindit, eosque inibi in terram defodit; ulti[illegible] hospites lautè prorsusque prolixe accipiuntur, [illegible]beraliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro papâ, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim assolet, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram malam duobus suis dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam trimulus Afer stipem à me petens, impetratam continuo matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam pusionis bucculam attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me coram suaviata. Hinc una alterave ovicula, et ubi sponsi opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam bos harioli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta alicui spinturnicio aut antistitae scientiâ moribusque caeteris conspectiori, veneriis tyrociniis, Junoniisque officiis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus sponsum demulceat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra constent, edocet; demum ei pedes felle caesae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecto, sub quo haec sacra peraguntur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, haruspex aut Flamen nudos neogamos, verendis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, eorundemque vestes unctor

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[21]) I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the AmaXhosa; I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

[22]) The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

S H 751 782

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[31]) next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

S H [304]

S H 201

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

H 585

H [864]

After the wedding[31]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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H 585

and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

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Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

It is very probable that it is from their own ancestors the native priests learned the practice of slaughtering victims large and small in the case of sickness, marriage, and the ratifying of treaties. H 782

It is difficult to say, and they themselves do not know, whence they got the custom of celebrating merrily under the full moon feasts of ablution, purification, purgation, betrothal, and others, and of varying these jollifications and the licensed holidays and sports of marriage festivals with regular funereal dirges of mourning women and banquets for the dead, and of performing various rites and covenants. H 821 796

An opinion that obtains among our Africans,[41]) a superstitious belief which infects the race, is that nobody departs this life by disease, by destiny, by a natural death, but they believe that all are taken off by poison, except those who fall at the hands of the enemy, or are torn by wild beasts, or bitten by snakes, or stung by some other poisonous animal. Consequently when someone dies after an illness it often happens, among those who live near Natal, that they consult a soothsayer (more properly a false-sayer) and ask him who removed the dead man from among them by poison. The witch-doctor then denounces somebody, just as it comes into his head, at the bidding of hope, annoyance, anger or jealousy. Whoever this Calchas accuses on a false charge of an imaginary crime, be he father, son, brother or other near relative, friend or neighbour of the deceased, him straightway, never doubting the witchdoctor's word, without examining into the case or making any further enquiry, unheard, undefended, they hale away to punishment, and, prolonging his torture, naked, on his back in the public road, with his hands and feet bound and buried in the earth, they expose him to the rays of the sun, to the chill of night, to the mockery and insults of spectators and passers-by, till he be worn out by them, and sometimes upon his belly they put a nest of red ants, which gnaw the flesh of the living man, when, after innumerable tortures he dies in hideous agony. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!* S 761 791 754 683

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41) This description of witchcraft and its punishment is again taken almost verbatim from the accounts given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa (cf. Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 63). Condensed as it is even in the original, the description is on the whole very accurate. Soga (*op. cit.*, 180) describes a form of punishment of sorcerers identical with that mentioned in the text, and gives additional details (omitted by G.) which are also mentioned in the "Stavenisse" accounts.

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Cape Hottentot

Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.[61] A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us.

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognised as such.

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.[62] His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house.

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books.

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described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, op. cit., 134).

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Nama

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[64]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean. 752

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like appleskin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[65]) 757 782 [824] [574]

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[66]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below. 824 278 821

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[64]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, II, 77-9; *cf.* Schapera, 406-7, 288 ff.).

[65]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

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length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.[73] 323

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly water-tight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture). 285 415

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.[74] Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea; their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is. 29 30 755 782

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures. 301

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell. 293 291

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[73] The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǂGaunа, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǂGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnua, on the banks of the Geiǂib

14:Hahn L-8 (ca. 1870-1890) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 doors, especially against the Lion. The etymology of
196 ǂGurikhoisib offers no difficulty. ǂGuri means *single, only, alone.* Khoi-si-b derives from the root *KHOI*, meaning *man*; with the suffix *si* it has a more collective meaning, like *mankind*; therefore, ǂGurikhoisib, means the only man, the first man, primitive man. Here the worship of the Supreme Being and ancestor-worship have become amalgamated.

The name ‡Eiχs(khai)nabiseb consists of three words —‡eiχs (from ‡ei), brass-like, ǂkha, body, and ǁnabiseb, the back-bone; thus the whole name conveys the meaning: "The man whose body has a brass-coloured back-bone." This is the lightning, who descends from heaven (ǂhomi), or from the cloud (ǁnanub) to the earth.
[762] Here we have, perhaps, the explanation why the Khoikhoi women on certain occasions anoint themselves with red ochre, and also for the purposes of worship make marks with red ochre (tsoab) on certain sacred stones and cairns.

● 762 I remarked previously that we have reason to believe
802 that there was among the Khoikhoi also a period when human sacrifices formed a part of their offerings. They still cut off a finger. I shall not be surprised if continued investigations corroborate the idea that the painting of the sacred stones with red ochre was merely an act to replace the cruel offering of human blood by a simple symbolical ceremony. It may also be that the red lightning, in killing a man, and thus demanding blood, might in the commencement have led to human sacrifice; and that the red colour of the lightning and the bloody sacrifice together afterwards introduced the use of red ochre or other red paint into the worship of the Khoikhoi. I have already quoted in the second chapter from Ludolf's "Commentary," p. 228, "Uxores solere conspergere caput dei *terra rubra*." In place of this terra rubra (red ochre, *tsoab*), they also use frequently the red tannic juice of the Acacia giraffæ.

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the /aoros and nuros are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the /aoros, and hence are often known by the tribal name of /Naroasis. 222 252 262

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism. 264 [262] 574

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *soloa*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any man associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Namas the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives. 264 [462] [184] [341 783]

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men 262 761

[1] Op. cit., [illegible].

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606 various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *ses*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence
607 of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g.
587 be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed." A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elapsed since the death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

587 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special
● 783 remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible
784 a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as */nam*, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 23; Schrader, op. cit., 322 sq.; Kolbe, op. cit., 245. The statement of the Swedish naturalist Thunberg, who visited the Cape in 1772, that Hottentot men, when more than 8 years older, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is also duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he will have her or not. ("Reppore non dan . . . Hanno High Tellough," 77.)

[2] Kolbe, op. cit., 240.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inua among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, 8 (1924), 77-9.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become /aas, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain /aas, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and /naup (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in small balls.

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587 off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

783 Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily
784 life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

The Conception of */nau*

783 This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition
784 rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," pp. 67–9. These rites are also referred to, under the name "ondersnaeden" (i.e. "circumcision") by Kolb, *Vergelykye der Groote Hoffnung*, 55 sqq., and by Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Pierneberg," 93–4, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

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already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. Since, however, a */nau* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become */nau*, only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life, and no longer fear anything, are qualified to deal with him. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition; they alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the community. But not any old man or old woman will do; it must be one having the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by the recent loss of husband or wife. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease, and preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease—the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of "initiation" varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth, marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises—remarriage, boys' puberty ceremonies, reception into the rank of hunters, treatment of diseases regarded as */nau*, etc.—a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The */nau* person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the "essence" of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one part is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person.

Next follows a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. During this time certain other things become */nau* in relation to the */nau* person. First of all there is the fire in the hut in which he is secluded. This fire must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the hut and the renewal of the fire. During all this time, moreover, nothing must be cooked at the fire, nor must anyone come near it who

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might increase the peril in which the *!nau* person finds himself. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The *!nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a *!nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes *!nau*, but every *!nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the *!nau* person also become *!nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the *!nau* person and persons who can no longer become *!nau* may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

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[1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of *!nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the sacramental meal in which only the bride and women already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these transition rites (*andersmaken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Graevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women eat apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Graevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in 828 the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 514, 523–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

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fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of *!nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever *!gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 54.

881 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering
574 animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ǂap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ǂap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to
[841] take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating
[843] woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarás* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions,
[535] regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined.
881 Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of
783 purification rites takes place.

First, during the day, the *aba tarás* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axa /uip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarás* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying
[291] off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-kaross slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-kaross* (lit. breeches-kaross) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarás*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 524). In the earlier version ("Conception of Isaas," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the *!nau* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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881 574 may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

881 535 Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxais* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till [777] in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *buchu* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

881 Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tarás*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *buchu* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young [784] cow calving for the first time, the *aba tarás* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nau*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

881 Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tarás*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries 783 together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tarás* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wikar, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 17; Alexander, loc. cit.

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water. The *aba tarás* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again */nau*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them */nau*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 87 (also quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schinz, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water," 524–5.

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., I, 114.

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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vaillant, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of *!nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

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Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

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No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

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[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 147, 206–7.
[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 42.

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881 in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape
885 Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The
[192] word *kutsire*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is
• [783] examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

881 The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description
514 of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59–60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.

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can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *doro-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*doro*) and eat in the company of the other men of the camp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *doro* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *doro* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *doro* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *doro* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Andersson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Albrecht, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 118.

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since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone "who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks" would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Naman the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *doro* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually ate apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Huwe* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 224.

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233 morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

231 The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the
262 poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little
[281] importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

231 The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of */nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound
[783] to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We
[782] have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

231 Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots
782 specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 162–4. [2] "The Conception of Sin," 73. [3] Op. cit., 62–3.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends [783] and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that
621 the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

The series of rites connected with death and burial among the Namas have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /nau, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /nau, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /nau, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /nau and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Schoppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[3] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood[4]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, op. cit., 316-17; Rüdin and Eling, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, 8 (1919), 119-31; Hoernlé, "The Conception of Sin," 79-81; cf. also Alberstein, "Religionsbegriffe der Ganse-Namakwa," 107; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 111; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 99-100; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 216.

[2] Op. cit., 79.

[3] "Beerdigung von Kommandodraft," in Meinke, op. cit., 1906, 144.

[4] Loc. cit.

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It may be obtained here that the removal of the kraal from the place of death, as mentioned by Kolb and the other writers on the Cape Hottentots, does not now take place among the Namas. Some of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants stated that in the early days of their recollection the hut of the dead person was always moved to some other part of the camp,[1] whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all; and this latter point Mrs. Hoernlé was able to confirm from personal observation.

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The widow takes no part in the rites just described—"she doesn't belong to the man's family," said one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants indignantly in reply to a question. But from the moment the death has taken place she has become /nau, and must observe the restrictions attendant upon this condition. How long she remains /nau Mrs. Hoernlé could not ascertain. According to some informants, several days may elapse between the burial and the final cleansing, while on the other hand the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. During the interval, whether it is long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is thoroughly cleansed from head to foot with moist cowdung, then her whole body is rubbed with a mixture of fat and red mineral powder, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it, and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." She also puts on a complete set of new clothes. All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her," and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely." The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow takes the contents of the animal's stomach, and together with the old woman, who goes in front, scatters them over the cattle kraals, saying "let there be plenty of milk". Then follows the milking of a cow, the fetching of wood, and finally the reintroduction to water, all as in the case of the girls' puberty ceremony.

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[1] Cf. Shaw, *Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society*, 1821, p. lxxviii; Schultze, op. cit., 227.

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If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

778 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, from which it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hai /nun*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hai khoin*, "fawn-coloured people," or *sobo khoin*, "people of the shadow"; and also as *//gounagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gounab*, and *//Gounab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gounab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Among Primitive Peoples*, 39.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 83, 149; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 517, 519.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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The early writers speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *tsi*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving this latter treatment are *//auas*, paralysis, *//kais*, "fever," *!urub*, varicose veins, and */aemis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *tsi* becomes */aeu*, and the treatment adopted to restore him to [illegible] is that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Loeber, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 431 ff., iii, 98, 316 ff.; Moffat, "Kaushlaanas . . . the Namas," 870; Schapera, op. cit., 99; [illegible] Campbell, op. cit., 219–26; Sebastian, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 6, 583–4 passim.

[2] "Conception of Insanity among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Sebastian, op. cit., 223.

a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gui aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gui aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gui aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as *//ap*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 423, 434.

3: Hoevell E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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nations. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Berseba Hottentots, a very capable man 115
who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed
to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much
impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable
his people to be at less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was there-
fore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the state-
ments of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke
willingly of what he knew.

Common characteristics of all transition rites among the Hottentots. All periods of 796
crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admir-
able illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage."
There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his prepa-
ration for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A per-
son in such a crisis acquires a characteristic unknown in the group to which he has
hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore
exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and
remain.[1] But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and
other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclu- [783]
sion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be
unclean. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that
group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired,
in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there
is a difficulty, for a lone person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him,
he might also become lame. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the 796
crises and strains of human life and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and 888
evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. None but very old men,
and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called
upon to restore the lone person to the community. But not any old woman or old man
will do. It must be one who has the same characteristic as the lone person. Only a
widowed person can safely deal with one bane by recent loss of wife or husband. Only
one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from
such disease. Preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary
qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better.

Institution or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, 796
we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

[1] "Take care of himself", in this special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual
himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

716 marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognised, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by resolving the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises, a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The taau person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'amaxoo' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in remarriage, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the rank of hunters, in the treatment of diseases which are regarded as taau, etc. For diseases the injection of the amaxoo seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of crises is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the taau person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the taau person and persons who can no longer become taau may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

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783 555 Some details concerning the state of taau. It has already been mentioned that there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attaching to taau. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and, there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power as long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if times be hard and he is rather a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and only in which inanimate

[1] Cf. p. [illegible]. [2] For such a cleansing the word //oaxa is used.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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things, become !nau without some individual or group of individuals being !nau. This 783 888
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly !nau and none but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262]
one realizes that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realizes how strongly this !nau influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes !nau certain things also become !nau. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is !nau. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the !nau person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The !nau fire must be reported, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a !nau person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became !nau, but every 778
!nau person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Hottentot witch doctor, or *!ghi-dop*, never touches [791]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Bersaba in the time of his grandfather, when [683]
a *!ghi-dop* who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become !nau, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her *!gha*, or petticoat, when she was !nau.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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881 with her too. First a visit is paid to the cattle kraal where sáp is strewn on all the male animals, also on the trees and bushes which they pass by. This was great luck, said one old man to me, and the day after such a girl had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land; "now the white men have come, the rain has ceased, and the people are miserable." Then a cow is milked with the help of the old woman. If possible this is a young cow calving for the first time. The old woman supports the girl's arm while she milks. This milk is !nau, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity. Next a visit is made to the spring. The girl carries her water pot, (*//ko-ás*) on her head. Arrived at the spring, the woman with a branch from a tree strikes the water, scattering it over the girl. She then rubs the girl's legs and arms with clay (*≠goáb*), fills the pot, and places it on the girl's head. The girl is then free to draw water as she pleases.

Hahn[18] states that when the relatives appear for the feast at the end of the seclusion, her nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of the heifer which has been killed, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish. Further,[19] [842] the girls who have come of age must after the festival run about in the first thunderstorm quite naked, so that the rain pours down and washes the whole body. The belief is that this causes them to be fruitful and have many children. He says he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.

881 783 When men are giving an account of this puberty ceremony for women, the chief thing they lay stress on is the */nau dáip*, i. e., the milk obtained from the first milking by the girl who has just come out of the khart óms. Indeed, it was in this context that I first lit on the word !nau and all it means. Gottlief had been describing the ceremony from his point of view, and when he mentioned the !nau dáip and the serious consequences which would follow if any man were inadvertently to drink it, I asked him what !nau meant and he burst out: "What is absent from this !nau? Everything is !nau, or used to be; warriors returning from a battle were !nau, a sick man is !nau, a widow," etc. etc.

783 Should anyone infringe any of the !nau injunctions during these puberty rites, some sort of sexual disease would beset him, and this could only be prevented from proving fatal, if he were able to persuade the abé tarás to inoculate and so free him. The method of this inoculation, which is much the same wherever it occurs, will be fully described in the next section.

[18] T. Hahn, loc. cit. [19] Cf. Idem, Tsuni //Goam, p. 87.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this !nomi hêip has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, (somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same when I received a piece lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hottentot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'andersmaken' is performed by killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to the circumstances of the family"[2]. This may be a feast similar to the one in which all partake when the ǂaxais leaves her kharú ǂns.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described. They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and that the camp or kraal was moved. My informers state that in the earlier days of their recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish Bay, and one while I was in Berseba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes !nau, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also to perform certain rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purification rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

[2] Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley, London, 1738, p. 213. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Norimberg, 1719).

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ/b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ/b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ/b, sa ĩ/b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is °õ!gã/ //gũ/s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation °abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as °ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called °sirõ·s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as °a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called °bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u/i·b and /u/i·s in the third person.

The wife is called °!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called ǂaẽ.s.

[562] /u·/iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·/igukǂa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u/iaob //goe!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 785

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!" 784 789

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation. 601

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister *gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister *dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father *mĩgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father *mĩ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister *o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother *o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother *ais gais or *gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother *ai·ros or *ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the 604

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *sou*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g. be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed." A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elasped since the death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as */nau*, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 23; Schultze, op. cit., 301 sq.; Kohler, op. cit., 345. The existence of the levirate among the Namas was noted as far back as 1761 by Roos and Marais, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport aan den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 77.)

[2] Kohler, op. cit., 340.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Isaos among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, II (1918), 73–7.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then laps blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and *nap* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls.

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587 783 784 off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

The Conception of *Inau*

783 784 This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," pp. 67–9. These transitional rites are also referred to, under the name "undermachen" (i.e. "observation") by Kolb, *Vergebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, ii 295, and by Wikar, "Beitrag aus den Hoern von Paternberg," 93–4, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

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lready possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order 783
hat he may have a normal place in the community once more. Since,
owever, a */nau* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing 784
ith him, who might also become */nau*, only persons who have
assed through all the stresses and strains of human life, and no
nger fear anything, are qualified to deal with him. None but very
ld men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition;
ey alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the com-
unity. But not any old man or old woman will do; it must be
ne having the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a
idowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by the recent loss
f husband or wife. Only one who has had a given disease and been
ured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease, and
referably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other
ecessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the
isease—the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the
ethod of "initiation" varies according as the crisis is one of two
nds. In childbirth, marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites,
e new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the
ecessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by
ceiving the man or woman into the new group to which he or she
ow belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental
eal in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In
e other group of crises—*remarriage, boys' puberty ceremonies*,
ception into the rank of hunters, treatment of diseases regarded as
u, etc.—a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary.
he */nau* person has first to be identified with the new group by
efting some of the "essence" of that group into him. This is
ne by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying
th the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one part is
ariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the
ficiating person.

Next follows a period, more or less prolonged, of complete 783
clusion. During this time certain other things become */nau* in 784
ation to the */nau* person. First of all there is the fire in the hut 372
which he is secluded. This fire must never be allowed to go out,
r must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification
the hut and the renewal of the fire. During all this time, moreover,
thing must be cooked at the fire, nor must anyone come near it who

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783 might increase the peril in which the */nau* person finds himself. Thus
784 pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut.
372 All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The */nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a */nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes */nau*, but every */nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the */nau* person also become */nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, *and of it none but the /nau person and persons who can no longer become /nau may partake.* Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

[586] [1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of */nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the ceremonial meal in which only the bride and woman already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these ceremonies (*ende-maken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Grevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women are apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Grevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

t, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters 846
e hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects [876]
f this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in
is hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the
irth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period
f seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in
arm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only
en is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may
ot be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and
iends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, 851
celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially
it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. 844
it they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying 846
rth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot
transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of 783
ld water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period 784
seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters
e hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water,
well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—
these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies
sociated with the conception of *!nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general
alysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a
ramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who
ve borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a
st to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the
th ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar,
wever, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions
which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1]
e gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's
n data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet
en published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. 845
ch a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might 781
come a clever *!gui aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 30.

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The latter? they

gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba tarda*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */nau*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other */nau* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba tarda* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Ed.]

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may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxis* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *ducku* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tarde*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *ducku* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *aba tarde* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is /*nun*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tarde*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tarde* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," para. quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Khoisanland*, 17; Alexander, loc. cit.

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water. The *oba xarib* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again /*nun*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them /*nun*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Nama find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, p. (also quoted by Hoernlé): cf. Schütz, loc. cit.
[2] Hoernlé, 'Value of Water,' [illegible]

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /aa*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /aa*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *endermachas* in which

[1] Ibid., 195. [2] "The Nama," 156. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., I, 114.

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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("bläst") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beiträge zum Leben von Pfennborg," 103–4, 94.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Hottentotten," 9.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama (Hottentotten)," 44–5.
[4] From a remark towards by Hahn (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 24) it is the magician (*goi aob* who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

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"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Namas. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Halm corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Nama circumcision rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is obscure certain that Olpp has confounded the order of the rites.

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can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *dove-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*dove*) and eat in the company of the other men of the tapp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *dove* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *dove* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *dove* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *dove* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Anderson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Alberdie, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, 308-9; cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, 118.

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since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone " who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks " would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Namas the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the slow men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually are apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have yet nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Heaxo* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Reisebeschreibung ins Innere Hottentotlands," etc.

841 626 conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home closely to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

626 784 The non-fulfilment or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of /uses. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct intervention on the part of the community.

626 Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganized social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to satire, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive[1]; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishments, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its subdivision or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been 626 developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among 771

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy them," or to the */hai /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. The */gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hai /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow automatically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nun*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lobdichterei der Hottentotten*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Hottentott und Buschmann*, 448–9; translated versions in Wilms, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde," 118–19; Bleek, *Bushmen and Their Lore in S. Africa*, 69–73; Rheinallt Jones, in Hoernlé, "Die primitive Rechtsordnung der D.S.W.A.," 1915, p. 163.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 63–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 233–42 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 1919–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 81.

[4] "Social Value of Water," 237.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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765 His whole account, indeed, leaves much to be desired. Its main points of interest, perhaps, are the usages preliminary to burial, the purification ceremony afterwards and the funeral feast, and the abandonment of the locality. The description of the funeral itself is very sketchy, and unfortunately no other writer gives further details.

178 The series of rites connected with death and burial among the
769 Nama have been more fully described,[1] but as found at present they
783 have undergone some disintegration. "They have been telescoped,
784 as it were, into one another," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "so that often enough as many of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial." These rites fall into the category of those associated with the conception of /nau, and in them the sacramental meal and the cleansing are still of importance. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the larger family circle of the deceased. If it is a husband who has died, the wife becomes /nau, but his relatives—brothers, sisters, parents—also have to perform certain special rites before the ceremonial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of the kraal who take part in the proceedings. Similarly, if a woman dies her husband becomes /nau, while her own blood relatives perform certain other rites; and when a child has died both parents become /nau and have to undergo the usual rites associated with this condition.

764 As soon as a death has taken place, the body of the person is prepared for burial. Formerly according to a description given by Scheppmann, the hands were crossed over the breast, and the head bent forward between the legs, which were sharply folded at the knee. The body was then fastened together and wrapped in skins.[2] Hahn adds that before the body was wrapped up in this way or sewn up in skins, the son of the dead man first killed a goat and smeared the body of his father with the blood[3]—a practice not mentioned by other writers. Nowadays the eyes of the dead person are closed, then the body is washed by old women, and stretched flat on its back; the arms lie along the sides, and the hands, palm downward, are folded

[1] The principal authorities are: Schultze, *op. cit.*, 316–77; Büttner and Kleinschmidt, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Hottentots," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, II (1911), 229–51; Rautanen, "The Conception of Sin," 79–81; *cf.* also Alexander, "Religious Ideas of the Cape Hottentots," 205; Büttner, "Die Namaquas-Hottentotten," 121; Schapera, *Khoisan Tribes and Laws*, 99–100; Vedder, *Bantu and Bushmen*, 208.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 79.

[3] "Totenbestattung und Totenopferkult," in Meinhof, *op. cit.*, 1906, 144.

[4] Loc. cit.

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753 776 782 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 776 821 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /khabi ra /ga*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Namab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 776 773 796 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 751 784 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," p. 100. [2] Cp. *ib.*, 64, 130.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of *!nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui !Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui !Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui !Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigum*, *Heitsib* or *Kaiser*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Heitsi derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentot," *passim*; idem, "South-West Africa," 89.

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The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Namas died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is /aisoa, "sickness," which they regard
[824] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *tsy*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
● 789 this latter treatment are //aoxas, paralysis, //kais, "fever," *tsorub*,
783 varicose veins, and /aoxis, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *tsy* becomes /aon, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Lichtenstein, "The Bloody Medicine of the Hottentots," 1930; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, II, 230 ff., 251, 308, 311 ff.; Walton, "Koranderskloof . . . Past History," 1941; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 1930; Schapera, op. cit., 1930; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 6, 1923, p. 1000.

[2] "Conception of Sore among the Hottentots," 1919.

[3] Cf. Schapera, op. cit., 1930.

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a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary /nau restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut closed away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the /gui aob) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, mention the calling in of the /gui aob in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the /gui aob also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as //ga, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433 ff.

[681] [641] [643] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the old turtle takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the khaxi //aes, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is lean and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must forsake for the [709] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the khaxi //aes. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

[681] [635] As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[681] First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the lean fire, and is cleaned[1] with moist cow dung (*a*hoap) and lumps from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the dye /urip.[2] The old turtle smears the *a*hoap all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, *a*hoap and /urip, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole where no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old ones. Meantime a cow has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the old turtle. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the khaxi //aes. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the old turtle and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the old turtle takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use timber lucifers nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[3] The fire thus lit is now no longer lean. *N'amaki dama ke oros*[4], *orike tari ungi ni oroyo* ("now the

[1] //*ae ai*khoa, "the cleaning before going out".

[2] Literally "dye dirt".

[3] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, p. 57.

[4] *o-da*, "fine" or "right", e.g., *oros oros* "the right path".

587 After the ceremony, the guests coming to greet the couple, give them beads or bracelets, or other similar small gifts. These presents are called *do nis*."

[764] The meat of the lgio which *nis* is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has undergone a similar ceremony, except that pregnant women, menstruating women, and their husbands, may not come to the house where any cutting has been done, otherwise its efficacy is lost. If any unqualified person were to eat of this meat he would die. The newly married couple may eat only of the flesh, not of the pluck.

Until the wounds are healed, and the two persons can be //ku, they remain here, and may touch neither water, nor the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. She herself must not eat the flesh of the //nas ("pelvis") and when the bones are quite clean and bare, she ties them together and hangs them up in the rafters of the hut above the fire, where they may get the smoke. According to some informants, they are left there as long as the hut stands; according to others, they are removed later when the fire is renewed, and thrust into the hole of some animal.

When the cuts have healed, the man and wife are changed by the old woman in a manner similar to that in which the young girl was changed.[2] A complete change of clothing must be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets. Finally the animal's tail is taken, threaded on a //aeib ("sinew") which has been saved from the animal, together with the knuckle bone (!ubeyis) of a hind leg. The whole is tied round the woman's waist. It either remains there until it falls off of itself, or it is taken off after it has become black, and buried with the pubic bones in an animal's hole.

Next the couple must be reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of life. The woman is helped to milk just as the young girl was.[2] She is taken to the water in a similar way, and she must be reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire, which has not been used for cooking since the day of the ceremony. The old woman supports the bride's arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, and finally helps her to lift the pot from the fire. She then removes the fire and lights a fresh one just as was done for the fiancée. When the bride first goes to gather wood, the old woman goes in front of her, striking the ground as she goes with a thorny branch, "to prevent the bride from being pricked with thorns." The first pieces of wood gathered must be given to the old woman. Then at last all is well.

The man has to be reintroduced to the cattle herd as well as to cold water. The night before this ceremony some branches of the doti "camelthi," and the //gnuti[1] tree are cooked in water. This water is taken next morning and with it the cattle and

[1] Lit. "throw in the fire".

[2] Called the Hoerni Among by the Dorob.

[2] [See vol. II-B, p. 72.—Analyst]

[2] [See vol. II-B, p. 79.—Analyst]

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[17] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb called //gûnib is mixed in with it. A chopper, //ip, which has been heated red hot is
[442] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man "— men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[303] so that they perspire (soqe). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to the women, takes potûbeb and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent their getting pains from eating the liver", says Amanie. The sweating is done in the dead person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potûbeb. Some informants say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the case which I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[513] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained here, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according to Cornîlel and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged for some reason to go from the shore to Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
● [779] on no account take the path through the valuable leaves plants, but would go by the desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleansed from head to foot with a lump
[578] of, on the Orange River, with a lotion made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

* None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

843 they frequently manage her. During the last months before
the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother.
The elder relatives of the mother function as midwives and
are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however,
846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and
diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The
851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days
581 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum-
843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the
642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and
European names are very general lately. The midwife who
assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two
goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced
by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a
871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from
their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight
many a fight with the parents, who do not realize that, in
order to make progress, the child has to attend classes
regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to
employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much
more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for
it than that he should attend school. But a change has
taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to under-
stand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance
to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation
sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the
occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the
rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated
and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine
members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in
families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is
given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from
a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during
the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the
girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that
•[794] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk
from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest
she imperil the herd.

[794a] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison
which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with
[795] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the
harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual
diseases amongst men.

573 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names.
576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by
their names unless they prefer to call the little ones-lings
" Little Father " or " Little Mother." But children are not
allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," ǂgîbes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added.

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (ǂgaʔe) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "ǂgaʔaǂhaʔas. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "ǂkhîn/ǂhaʔas/mi, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with egg. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw.

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense.

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Koranas said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *qui-ab*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*marching round*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ima* //*ae*) and shaking their buttocks (*!kare khoradi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*kaka kwara p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (//*kwa-ka*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 787 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that ceremonially there was a *kind of* "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. [94] Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain.

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt [95] is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked.

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which [97] covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not.

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of [92] a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?"

[98] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end of the cord. A span's width from the navel [99] of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger) the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily.

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She [79] is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl.

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic [78] gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ge-kaxa (laughs clicking sound), our good luck coal.

The magic box is also the Hottentot's poison supply. Whereas 754
hillypost fat possesses only healing properties, the other ingredients are 755
said to have a poisonous effect when secretly mixed with the enemy's tobacco or smeared on the bit of his pipe.

The box is also a soothsaying apparatus. A thread is placed in the 787 ●
fat. The end which sticks out of the closed box is lighted and held to- 755
wards the wind. The direction of the smoke is followed by the Hottentot, if he does not know where he should look for a runaway cow or a lost companion. If he wants to catch up with a companion on the way to a meagre water hole so that he can water his oxen first, he ties a knot in the thread and lights it. Just as the glimmering fire goes out and is stopped, so his companion is supposed to be stopped until caught up with. Whoever has the reputation of controlling events in this way, is usually highly regarded as a doctor. Besides conscious deceit, medi- 755
cinal magic has many procedures which are based on faith and perhaps work by suggestion. Pains in the head and limbs are charmed away by two rather large glass beads, !gei-/ia-/nus, which serve only this purpose. A thread is tied firmly around the head and the two beads are placed close together in the middle of the forehead. If in the course of hours they slip far apart, then the pain has to be gone.

[227] A Hottentot woman ties a loin chain, //nu^i-b, made of round little pieces of ostrich eggshells around her own or her child's hips for pains in the abdomen.

The so-called "fright illness" of children which supposedly manifests itself by the child fainting for no particular reason, gets its name "gi!nu^s from the eland antelope, whose skin is highly prized as a cure for this illness. The skin is cut into small octagonal pieces and into strips 1/2 centimeter wide, dried, and made supple with eland fat. The cure consists in the following: a little piece of the skin, scarcely the size of a lentil, is turned to ash, pulverized with the fingernail, mixed into a swallow of milk, and fed to the child. The strap is bound around the child's breast as the illustration shows. When it falls off of its own accord several days later, the cure is considered successfully concluded. In the case that I knew about the magician received a goat in payment. [Picture. Fastening on the strips of the eland skin. In the neck region: Enlargement of the knot.]

Inadequate and irregular food, privations of all kinds, uncleanliness, 164
premature sexual intercourse and excessive use of alcohol and tobacco are the principal destructive forces from which the Hottentot's body suffers. Tuberculosis (//nuba-b) and venereal disease are extensive. Syphilis claims many victims.

wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68)

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic buchu powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him.

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX).

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also each change in weather, calm, storm, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man.

year 1905, in order to attack Kubub on the following morning. A series of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack. 726 209

The Hottentot also seeks him from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called "go-ho go-bo, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture. Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go-ho go-ho a-maē , kxo-ega go ǂoo-aē?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows. 726 787

A ring around the moon, "xoǂgi/o, (the moon is as though thrown, xo, in, ǂgi/, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occurred and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga-berab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet 197

77. W. H. J. Bleek, A Comparative grammar of South African languages. 2 Bände. London, 1862 und 1869.

1: Schuitema--ESEA N-8 (1965-1965) 1967 FX13 Homemade FX13
Name

726
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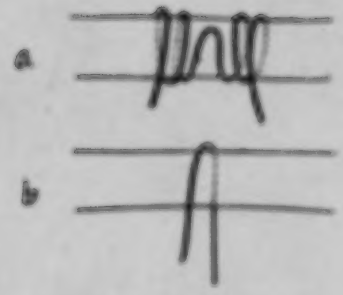

Figures a and b.

[p. 339]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gui /gui*, big brother, the latter as */gui-hommub*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, these ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] Zuni-Schanz, 77.
[2] Oppt, "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 41-2; Hahn, op. cit., 84-5; Schultze, op. cit., 283.
[3] Oppt, op. cit., 283.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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even dead, on the ground. The villor was not punished, and in some cases he also inherited the property of his unfortunate opponent.[1] 695

Another resort sometimes employed was divination. If the council was unable to decide the guilt of a person, the diviner, *ta ani*, was called in for assistance. He had with him two small strips of leather, *dara*, one with a copper head, the other with an iron head attached to the end. The former was regarded as male, the latter as female. These leather strips the diviner beat on the fist of his hand or on the ground, at the same time invoking the oracle with the words: *ani, ani, amun mi, hamire gun, ena mi aio /ne khom ui!* "Tell, speak, tell the truth, if you lie, then I will burn you in the fire!" Then he jerked the strips from his hand into the circle formed above him by the council with the litigants or the accused. The ends to which the heads were attached had to point towards the culprit. Wanderer explains the working of this method by the firm belief which the Namas even at the present time have in this oracle. The diviner, a skilled reader of men, carefully observes the litigants or the accused while busy with his strips. The real culprit, like all the others, believes in the efficacy of the oracle, and therefore cannot hide his apprehension, with the result that the diviner can readily recognize his man, and with a twist of his hand divert the strips towards him.[2] 695 787

The main penal sanctions among the Namas are flogging, fines, and death. A sentence of death can nowadays only be passed by the European administration and its duly-constituted law courts, to which all cases involving it must be referred. Punishment in the native courts is therefore confined to flogging and to fines payable as a rule in goats. There are no fixed rules for the degree of punishment, but certain pragmatic principles are observed. Offences against the community are more severely punished than those against individuals. Accidental misdeeds are not regarded as crimes; but unsuccessful attempts meet with punishment, while self-defence, although not sufficient ground for acquittal, produces amelioration of the sentence. Incorrigible offenders are expelled and their property confiscated; in the old days they might even be killed. The confirmed cattle thief has to expect harder punishment at every conviction, until ultimately the death sentence would formerly have been decided upon; nowadays the matter is then referred to the law courts of the Europeans. 681 [673]

[1] Op. cit., 170–71. cf. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 119–4.
[2] Op. cit., 173.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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726 781 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 787 [623] Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden singing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunab ge daka ka*, they say, "we are overpowered by *//Gaunu*"; and they commence to cry aloud, *tarú ai ka, //o ge ai*, "war is approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot [643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 559 [309] One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. "Bravery was highly admired," he says, "and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or */guiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xamo-/gamaob*, Lion-killer, *//Oaiiamaob*, The One who cannot die, *Angu-//ab*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as */Khami* and */Khamu*, Battlefield; */Kho-//ao-aus*, "You cannot catch me"; */Khoxoas*, the one last caught; */Kaixas*, peace; and */Haris-mas*, "I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, pp. 82; Schultze, op. cit., 339. [2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Knöll, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 32.
[5] Op. cit., 23-4

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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775 sons, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the //nasa, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /*kai* /*nasa*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /*kai* /*nasa* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761 753] Underlying this dread is the belief that the /*kai* /*nasa*, the ghosts, cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through the ?*gui oagu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, //*gâs oai*, /*uri* /*kûp* /*gâiba te go na*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, when people are alone the /*kai* /*nasa* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /*kai* /*nasa* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289. [3] "The Nama," 133.
[2] Op. cit., 518. A similar instance indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii. 35–6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 87.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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there were people,[1] but no other myths connected with it have been recorded similar to those found among the Cape Bushmen.

The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. "One would almost believe that a great calamity had befallen a kraal," writes Hahn, "such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking."[2] The same dread significance is attached to the eclipse of the sun. Like that of the moon, it is believed to herald much sickness and even death. Other celestial phenomena are also ill omens. The appearance of the Aurora australis or of a comet threatens war and death—"we are overpowered by *//Gauna*," say the people, "war is approaching, we are going to die"—while a shooting star indicates that sickness will spread among the stock, and the people on such occasions move to another locality, and implore the star to spare them.[3] The stars, as we have seen, are said to be the eyes or the souls of the dead; but there is no mention of prayers for food or rain to either them or the sun such as are found among the Cape Bushmen. It may be noted, however, that a religious dance is held at the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset, when prayers are offered to *Tsui //Goab* for rain.

Supernatural Beings

Apart from the invocation of the Moon, the religious cult of the Hottentots seems to have centred mainly in the worship of Heroes, derived partly from animistic beliefs, partly from a personification of the natural forces producing rain. Of the beliefs and observances connected with these beings we have much fuller information, and it is apparent that they played a more prominent part in the religious life of the people than did the Moon. Three names stand out in Hottentot ritual and mythology: *Tsui //Goab*, *Heitsi Eibib*, and *//Gaunab*. All three, it will be observed, are masculine in form, as is also the name for the Moon, *//Khab*.

Tsui //Goab is the great Hero of the Nama and other Hottentot tribes. The name is usually translated "sore (or wounded) knee", from *tsu* or *tsui*, sore, wounded, and *//goab* or *//khoab*, the knee. Its origin is told in the following myth: "*Tsui //Goab* was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 397. [2] Op. cit., 171; cf. Ibid., 89.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89; Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*, 408-9, 418-9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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of certain rain." He does not state who these "sorcerers" are, nor does he suggest any connection between them and the rain-making ceremonies previously described, so that although there seem to have been among the Hottentots special rain magicians, we cannot identify them with certainty or link them up with the */gui aops*, the known workers in magic.

From Schultze's brief account of Hottentot magic, it appears that the */gui aops* are also diviners.[1] A thread is inserted into the fat in the medicine horn. The projecting end is set alight and held against the wind, and the direction in which the smoke blows tells the distressed inquirer where he must seek his strayed cattle or lost companion. If he still wishes to overtake his comrade on the way, a knot is tied in the thread and the projecting end set alight. There, just as the flame is checked or extinguished on the knot, so will his comrade halt on the march until he comes up.

Other methods of divination are also employed by the Hottentots, but there is nothing to connect them certainly with the */gui aops*. One of these we have already met with in connection with the conduct of judicial trials, where as a last resort the diviner is called in with his beaded strips of leather to ascertain who is the real culprit. The method there described is found also among the OvaHerero and the Bergdama, and may have been taken over from one of these peoples, although this cannot be definitely asserted. Another method of divination, described to Mrs. Hoernlé, was done for a Hottentot, but by a Bergdama. The chief Christian Goliath of the Berseba Hottentots, Mrs. Hoernlé's informant, said that he had lost a mug and called in this Bergdama man to find out who had taken it. The man had three iron beads which he threw three times upon the ground. Each time one of the beads rolled in the direction of a certain hut, and when this hut was searched the mug was found there! Here, it will be noticed, an expert from another people was called in; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to believe that this may have been the case in most of the instances of divination by means of bone or bead throwing reported of the Hottentots. All her Nama informants denied that they themselves practised divination in this way.[2]

Kolb describes on hearsay a form of divination which he says was practised by the Cape Hottentots in cases of illness where medical treatment seemed to be of no benefit. A sheep was carefully flayed alive in such a way as to avoid excessive bleeding; if it then moved

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Communicated by letter, 25-9-1924.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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away from the spot, the people gathered hope that the patient would recover, but if it remained lying where it was, they abandoned both hope and any further treatment.[1]

In addition to these more or less standardized methods of divination, the Hottentots also place great faith in omens. Of these there are a great variety. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the wind, celestial phenomena, the beat of the pulse, nervous twitchings, forebodings—all these, according to Olpp, can have significance.[2] Some kinds of omen we have already described in connection with hunting, war, and the moon. Vedder records one or two others.[3] Many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and, above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, are regarded as precursors of death. Again, if the corpse of a living acquaintance or a relative appears to a person in a dream, "he has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate his dream, as by then the time for its realization will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly."

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The appearance of the mantis, again, is an omen of extreme good fortune. This little insect does not appear to enjoy the same reverence among the Hottentots as it does among the Bushmen, but the Naman believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it.[4] The Cape Hottentots, according to Grevenbroek and Kolb, regarded it as a favourable omen of the highest significance.[5] If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, says the latter, the fattest ox belonging to the kraal was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and the fat, and wore the caul twisted about his neck till it rotted off, or until some other person was honoured in the same way by the mantis. The flesh of the ox was cooked, and the men or the women feasted upon it, according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into one of disaster and destruction. The insect, however, does not appear to have been prayed to (although in South Africa it is still popularly spoken of as the "Hottentot's god") nor does it figure at all in the mythology of the people.

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[1] Op. cit., 133.
[2] *Angra Pequena*, 30.
[3] "The Nama," 133-4.
[4] Op. cit., 40.
[5] Grevenbroek, op. cit., 367-8; Kolb, op. cit., 13-4.

S: Vedder M-S (ca. 1910) 1928
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been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 838 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up the superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771 [754]

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another. 775

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conjointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and covered the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again. 764 776

Heinab, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death. 763

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he 769 787 761

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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Nama

769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies correctly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realization will have expired, failing
[432] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
762 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
smith-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, heads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Abstract.

Grevenbroek (1686) and Kolben (1786), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone cut of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Grevenbroek to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an underwater or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and lues cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and 231
tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or 411
any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike
attackers with javelin or arrows heartily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought 234
into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake 231
by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from
the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens,
tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes
a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate
beast and blows in.[17]) By this means the milk is made to
flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the 45
breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco,
and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a
few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which
they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of
most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, 787
as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them
suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if
darkness should surprise them in open country infested
with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in
the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[18])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads 825
them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be 777
of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship
them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack
one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry
it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety,
upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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17) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hottentotgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (op. cit., 416 f.). The modern Namaqua still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 243). [787]

18) Cf. Kolb, op. cit., 417 f.

14 Hatch 1-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hamamas FX13

221 to the north it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

223 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
● 717 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

224 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (Isevyah) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
826 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which we already met in Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then scream out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the breeding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden cutting pain, runs off. Then reynard approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

224 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game, into the air

14.Hottn 1-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are reported to come from Hoaxas, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to Hoaxas; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race. 309 171 753 774 782 896

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive." 827

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die. 825 761

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife. 835 787

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiiāb 351 [illegible]

16:Nama 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Natural FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed 624
that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not for- 931
given him. I afterwards made him a present of ammuni-
tion, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most
precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my
cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission 781
Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 273
1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower- 282
garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the
station; but honey-beer (‖kharis) was also made in
immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had
too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my
father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness,
and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad
use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy
moderately, that He never again will give you a year so
rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there
has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a
few years ago, I asked the old chief, ‖Naiχab of
Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some
honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and
your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell
him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat
honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad 821
omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will 787
certainly return home, and they say, "‖Gaunabi go daba
hâ," we are overpowered by ‖Gauna. They commence
to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ‖ō ge ni," war is ap-
proaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the
appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of
a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent
date, which show that the mythological power is still
alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (hnri-‡oab) is blowing,

121 177 the Namaquas say: "|Hôb ke ni hâ," or "Sunub ni hâ," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

125 177 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

179 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

132 34. Another most powerful charm is the Dulu, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This dulu is generally found in ant heaps. The dulu is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

177 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the !Gona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-|khosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the !|Khosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hähn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Stygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 19; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 371; Hähn, op. cit., 46–8 (quoting Sparrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hähn, op. cit., 45. [4] Op. cit., 225.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //A [illegible]ip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: "A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye huí te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams !na ni áo ǂgâ tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

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* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter, p. 418.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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How the Hottentots honour the Moon. [*After* Kolb.

[Facing P. 70]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

tot dat de wint het vel van boven neder heeft gewait; en als dan menen zy ydelijk dat de kracht van de wint op dat vel is gestuit.

Het schijnt evenwel dat zy eenigh waengeloof aen d'opkomende nieuwe mane zouden hebben: want wanneer die begint gezien te worden, zullen zy gemeenlijk met hele troepen t'haerwaerts keren, en den gehelen nacht met groot gejuich, zoo met dansen, springen, zingen en kloppen in de handen, als prevelen binnen 's monts, overbrengen.

Zy hebben dan ook een pot, met een velleken stijf overtrokken, van fatsoen gelijk hier te lande de vastel-avont rommelpotten, daer geduurig met de eene hant op geslagen wort. Daer is by hen noch een ander speeltuig in gebruik, met een snaer, op de wijze van een boog, met een gespleten penneschaft aen het een einde, daer zy dan mede op blasen, en klank geeft zonder strijkstok, doch geen hart geluit, niet tegenstaende zy sterk genoech met hunnen adem uitblazen en weder van gelijken ophalen: desgelijx ziet man by wijle vrouwen en kinderen voor opgerechte stenen knielende neerbuigen. Dan hebbende gene kerken, nochte houden de minste vergaderingen.

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[88]) This custom is discussed more fully below, p. 138.

[89]) The musical bow to which Dapper refers is the famous *!gouru*, an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies* v, 89-100, illus. The "rommelpot" is the instrument known to the modern Korana.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[85]).

They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[86]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[87]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

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as /khais, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185.

87) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1655 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

14:Hahn b-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

CHAPTER II.

The religious instinct should be honoured even in dark and confused mysteries.—SCHELLING.

SACRED FRAGMENTS AND RELICS.

IN this chapter I propose to give extracts from the accounts of former travellers as much as my own observations, reserving for my next chapter the inferences I have drawn from them.

Worship of Heitsi-eibib.

Corporal Müller, travelling with the Hottentot interpreter Harry along the False Bay, east of the Cape, in October, 1655, says:

"We were marching generally in a S.E. direction; after marching half an hour one morning we saw a strange proceeding of the Hottentot women on the side of our path, where a *great stone* lay. Each woman had a *green* branch in her hand, laid down upon her face on the stone, and spoke words, which we did not understand; on asking what it meant, they said, '*Hette hie*,' and pointed above, as if they would say, 'It is an offering to God.'"—("Sutherland Memoir respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans," vol. ii. p. 88.)

As will be seen from the sequel of this chapter, the word "*Hette hie*" is only a distortion of "*Heitsi-eibib*," and the form of worship, described here at the cairn, is nothing else but the Heitsi-eibib worship, as it is practised still up to this day all over Great Namaqualand and in

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

|Koranaland, where Heitsi-eibib has changed names, and 788
the worship is offered to |Garubeb or Tsûi-||goab.

Worship of Tsûi-||goab (Dawn), ||Khob (Moon) and Heitsi-eibib (Dawn-tree).

Dapper, as early as 1671, speaking of the Khoikhoi 776
at the Cape of Good Hope, says: 821

"They know and believe that there is *One*, whom they call *humma* or *summa* (*i.e.*, in Nama or |Kora |*homi*, *heaven*), who sends rain on earth, who makes the winds blow, and who makes the heat and the cold. . . . .

"They also believe that they themselves can make rain, and can prevent the wind from blowing. . . . .

"It appears also that there is a certain superstition about the new moon. For if the moon is seen again (the new moon) they crowd together, making merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, and singing; clasping their hands together, and also murmuring some words (singing hymns). . . . .

"Nay, their women and children are seen to kneel before erected stones and bow before them."—(O. Dapper, "Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa." Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 626, 627.)

Heitsi-eibib, or Tsûi-||goab, Worship.

Nicolas Witsen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, commu- 776
nicates to his learned friend Jobst Ludolf, in Germany, the following interesting letter, dated Cape of Good Hope, February 19, 1691, forty years after the landing of Governor Jan van Riebeeke at the Cape:

"Nobilissimus vir miscebat sermonem cum aliquot Hottentottis, qui pro sua erga ipsum familiaritate docebant nihil dissimulando '*se adorare Deum certum aliquem*' cuius caput manus seu pugni magnitudinem haberet; grandi eundem esse et deducto in latitudinem corpore; auxilium vero eius implorari tempore famis et anonae carioris aut alterius cuiuscunque necessitatis. Uxores

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 609
rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterize the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who tra- 788
velled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, " threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.)
"Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) 825
the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hotten- 776
tots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hauteur.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-

If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũʃb (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩʃb (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũʃb, sa ĩʃb, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is °õ!gãʃ//gũʃs, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation °abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as °ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called °irō·s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as °a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called °bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /uʃi·b and /uʃi·s in the third person.

The wife is called °!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called χaɛ.s.

[302] /u·ʃiaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·ʃigukχa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/uʃiaob //goɛ!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 789

not quarrel, but behaves properly, so the wind is warned not to throw the objects around so wildly that it has seized: "The brother-in-law is there!"

e) Nephews and cousins (direct and by marriage). The relationship of the children to the siblings and brothers-in-law of their parents is regulated in the following way. The children are called by name by them, but the children use others words in address as well as in conversation.

1. They call the older brother of the father and the husband of the mother's older sister °gai·dāb, i.e. literally "great (or old) father."

2. They call the younger brother of the father and the husband of the mother's younger sister °dā·daro·b, i.e. "little father" (-ro is a diminutive particle).

3. They call the elder sister of the father °mĩgyi·s.

4. They call the younger sister of the father °mĩ·gyiro·s.

5. They call the older brother of the mother and the husband of the father's older sister °o·meb.

6. They call the younger brother of the mother °o·mero·b; the husband of the father's younger sister o·meda·b.

7. They call the older sister of the mother °ais gais or °gai mās, i.e. as in No. 1, "great mother."

8. They call the younger sister of the mother °ai·ros or °ma·maros, i.e. "little mother."

The male Hottentot calls only the children of his sister nephew and niece, //nu/ri·b, -s. A female Hottentot has no //nu/ri·b or //nu/ri·s. There is no word to designate the children of her siblings. The way the children refer to her has been mentioned above.

Children of siblings address each other in the manner mentioned above for siblings. Only in one case did I see the terms of respect omitted between the children of two brothers.

[303] Between a woman's children and her brothers there is a relationship that (aside from the ties between parents and children) is considered by the Hottentots, the closest that can exist between two related generations. Whether this relationship has a background connected with the rights of inheritance I was not able to establish. I believe not. Whatever it is -- a naive, sympathetic rapprochement between the mother's brother and his nephews sometimes expressed by the uncle's consciousness of his duty to love the children of his sister, sometimes by the children's friendly feelings of dependence on the

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clear, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 524). In the earlier version ("Conception of Isaas," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the */nau* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

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rest along a route well known to them; and then, joined by several more horsemen and the bulk of the men on foot, the cattle were escorted in forced marches by the most direct route to Hoornkranz, the headquarters of the tribe. Most of the horsemen remained behind to keep back the OvaHerero who in the meanwhile had gathered together. In regulating these retirements Hendrik was a real master, and he seldom made a mistake. If there was a biggish village in the vicinity, he would keep its inhabitants engaged until he knew that the stolen cattle had been driven far ahead; then he disappeared as swiftly as he had descended, and he always flung obstacles in the way of pursuit.

In retreat small parties were often posted at various spots to check the advance of the enemy; or, if the country was flat, the grass was set on fire, and the men disappeared behind the clouds of smoke. There was no orderly withdrawal. After a defeat the troops would scatter apart, to come together again later in small bands. The appointed place of assembly was not directly in line with the scene of battle, but to the side, sometimes even to the rear of the enemy. Their knowledge of the place and their colour, as well as their swiftness on horse or on foot, enabled the Hottentots to find security; sometimes they even hid in the immediate vicinity, and they always, if possible, fled over stony ground, so as to avoid leaving tracks. At best the enemy might see in the distance horsemen and those on foot scattered over a wide surface between bushes and rocks; almost immediately afterwards all had disappeared, and effective pursuit was seldom possible.

Of the special usages connected with warfare, only a few isolated facts have been recorded. These almost all relate to what may be loosely termed war magic. "If a party goes out on warlike expeditions," says Hahn, "a crow's heart is burned and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this powdered heart is blown into the air, in the same manner their enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows." Elsewhere he mentions that the Korana have certain roots which they use as amulets. If a commando goes out, every man will put such roots into his pockets and into the pouch where he carries his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy will then have no effect, whereas his own will invariably prove destructive. Also, if they have carried off much booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat.

726 789 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 787 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished [821] driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dahe ha*, they say, " we are overpowered by *//Gauna* "; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ha, //o ge ni*, " war is approaching, we are going to die." [3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot [643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 554 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. " Bravery was highly admired," he says, " and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. [304] The priest or *!gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xama-!gamteb*, Lion-killer, *//Otsātamab*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ōb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as *!Khami* and *!Khams*, Battlefield; *!Kho-//oa-tes*, " You cannot catch me "; *!Khotoas*, the one last caught; *!Kxĭxas*, peace; and *!Huritamas*, " I am not afraid." [5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, op. cit., 339. [2] Schultze, loc. cit.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89. [4] Schultze, loc. cit.; Krefi, " The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52.
[5] Op. cit., 23–4.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a /naip*, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*/ga//goab*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," 521. Op. cit., 23, 24. [3] Ibid., 83.

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789 791 of certain rain." He does not state who these "sorcerers" are, nor does he suggest any connection between them and the rain-making ceremonies previously described, so that although there seem to have been among the Hottentots special rain magicians, we cannot identify them with certainty or link them up with the */gai aogu*, the known workers in magic.

787 791 From Schultze's brief account of Hottentot magic, it appears that the */gai aogu* are also diviners.[1] A thread is inserted into the fat in the medicine horn. The projecting end is set alight and held against the wind, and the direction in which the smoke blows tells the distressed inquirer where he must seek his strayed cattle or lost companion. If he still wishes to overtake his comrade on the way, a knot is tied in the thread and the projecting end set alight. Then, just as the flame is checked or extinguished on the knot, so will his comrade halt on the march until he comes up.

787 Other methods of divination are also employed by the Hottentots, but there is nothing to connect them certainly with the */gai aogu*. One of these we have already met with in connection with the conduct of judicial trials, where as a last resort the diviner is called in with his beaded strips of leather to ascertain who is the real culprit. The method there described is found also among the OvaHerero and the Bergdama, and may have been taken over from one of these peoples, although this cannot be definitely asserted. Another method of divination, described to Mrs. Hoernlé, was done for a Hottentot, but by a Bergdama. The chief Christian Goliath of the Berseba Hottentots, Mrs. Hoernlé's informant, said that he had lost a mug and called in this Bergdama man to find out who had taken it. The man had three iron beads which he threw three times upon the ground. Each time one of the beads rolled in the direction of a certain hut, and when this hut was searched the mug was found there! Here, it will be noticed, an expert from another people was called in; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to believe that this may have been the case in most of the instances of divination by means of bone or bead throwing reported of the Hottentots. All her Nama informants denied that they themselves practised divination in this way.[2]

Kolb describes on hearsay a form of divination which he says was practised by the Cape Hottentots in cases of illness where medical treatment seemed to be of no benefit. A sheep was carefully flayed alive in such a way as to avoid excessive bleeding; if it then moved

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Communicated by letter, 25-9-1924.

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There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gabo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gabo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [3] Op. cit., 367.
[2] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

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752 278 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and faeces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff- [159] adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in this way are known as */aob/gu aon*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *!op* diseases.

278 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great 789 variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, [823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, op. cit., 438–9; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 321.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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treating lupus, and consequently known as */nomi heip*, "lupus stick," must be treated with great deference. "When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not wholly disappear."[1]

Laidler has described at some length the herbal lore of the half-breed Naman of Little Namaqualand.[2] From the details he gives it appears that the principal ailments treated with herbs and roots are internal pains and fevers, classed together, he says, as "fires", and distinguished only by locality, certain women's troubles, flatulence as an entity, diarrhœa, and, among the accidental injuries, burns. In anæmias and weaknesses red substances are used, such as *Pelargonium anceps*, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are employed, several of his informants stated, because they are red, and the blood is red, and, therefore, they strengthen the blood; and, of course, when grown on red ground their value as drugs is increased enormously! All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. *Sutherlandia frutescens*, another red plant, was formerly used in decoction for washing wounds, and given as drink for fevers; nowadays it is used for consumption, chicken-pox, etc. *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, is considered a good poultice on bruises and cuts, and here again the colour appears to have been the chief attraction. Other decoctions for coughs and colds and fevers are made from the leaves of various Sages (*Salvia sp.*), as well as from the leaves of one species of wild olive, which are administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid. Other wild olives are used as sweating draughts, as is also *Grassula lycopodioides*.

Another species of wild olive is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and the leaves are also used as a plaster. Pains in the stomach are also treated with decoctions of *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens*; pains in the back are treated with *Boscia fœtida*; and shooting pains with *Passerina filiformis* or *Berkheya sp.* For toothache the people chew the alkaline

[1] "Conception of Ions among the Hottentots," 79.
[2] Op. cit., 494-5, 499-6; cf. for the Nauman of S.W.A., Schultze, op. cit., 123 ff., Nolte, op. cit., 650-2.

strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the word //Gaunab. //Gaunab still represents an evil spirit amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil" in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring.
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gauhab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gauab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Ab, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáma, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xorás, or Xorábes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgäb or ǂgäs, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garúb, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ăp, or vlei, and the !khowís, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garúb, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the ǂâi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa!nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

* "Geographische Bezeichnungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—65.*

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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789 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to
796 tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of such rains since the white man came into their country. I have given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,* and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could, gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this guriba ǂap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

182 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely important to the Naman, I wish to show that they believe it to
823 have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the powerful protection which society gives them. Thus the social character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Naman. Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown† writes: "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being." The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the necessaries of social life provided for him by others.

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* *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

† "*The Andaman Islanders*," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V. p. 264.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Kolben describes the operation of bleeding. First a thong was tied around the limb, and the vein opened below it. When enough blood had been drawn off, the incision was closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Alexander says that they were fond of bleeding, and the backs and sides of many were thickly scored with the knife. They were not over-particular about having a horn for cupping, the mouth frequently being used for that purpose.

The Nama cupping horn, as still in use, is a carefully prepared tip of ox horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is applied to the scarified skin and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established he bites the resin and so closes the aperture. The horn is left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. An exactly similar mode of using a similar instrument occurs in India.

Cupping is used for colics and pains in the stomach. The patient lies on his back and the horn is first applied dry, that is, over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified. If the pain moves to another area, the part is rubbed with hot fat and again cupped. If this fails, an infusion of herbs is given to drink. In the old days, cupping horns were carried to draw out the poison from arrow wounds, and also a little bottle or horn of oil with which to wash the injury, but scarification and suction applied by the mouth was also in favour. Scarification and cupping are also used for the relief of madness and epilepsy.

Preventive Medicine.

Preventive medicine was an important and extensive section of Hottentot medical lore and took the form of charms and incantations. When a child lost a milk tooth, he took the tooth, and standing facing the rising sun repeated the two lines:—

" P/gko c/gkoup Ba-ooe D/kooee
D/ghumba ma dae."

which may be translated, " Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth." The Dassie is the rock rabbit, so here there appears to be a double magical significance.

The remainder of the subject of charms, including those magic necklets to prevent attack by wild beasts or to prevent effect of witchcraft, can be considered correctly only in a separate article. But it is necessary to remember that there was no activity of Hottentot life which was not affected by signs, portents, charms or ritual, which he employed to foretell or warn of coming ill-luck, and which enabled him to prevent or remove the ill effects of them and of any other bad influence, whether induced by act of God or practice of witchcraft.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.[68]) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.[69])

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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[68]) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tusschen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

[69]) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 294).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king[43]). 619 622

RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them *'s Humma*[44]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to this *'s Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[44a]). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick 776 821 821 789

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[43]) On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. vi.

[44]) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama */homi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits *'s Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

[44a]) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Naman until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

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They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[85]).

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They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[86]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[87]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

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as */khais*, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185.

[87]) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1655 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Palmariae marium partes sunt pascere pecus, illudque curare, et contra leonum omniumque ferarum et hostium insultus tueri, quos certo ictu jaculó sagittâve (plurimum venenatis) feriunt.

Sub vesperam pastum pecus sepimento clausum, et anteriore sinistro pede loro vinctum, palo alligant, cujus distenta lacte ubera mulieres mulgent, et si quae vacca illud retinet (ut ferè sit) illico adest femina, quandoque etiam vir, qui ore admoto, podici tenacis bestiae inflant, quo medio invita lac mamma manare patitur.

Ex collo et in pectus pasceolum, et in illo spiculum, cultrum, nicotianum, tubulumque hauriendo ejus fumo, adhaec nonnulla frivola, cum uno alteroque dupondio, quae nostrates emunxere, et quod palmarium est, cum quodam ligno dactylidem non excedente, vice praebiorum propendentem, habens, hoc lignum averuncandis quibusque periculis, dum nox illos in latissimis leonibus anguibusque infestis campis, sub Jove frigido fruticeque dormire coactos deprehendit, salutiferum sibi pervigili excubatione, anili superstitione fingunt.

Pari credulitate de scarabeo quodam somniant, bonique ominis sibi augurantur dum illum tugurio insidentem vident, quem pro numine venerantur, nec patientur Europaeum illi insidiari, nedum illum laedere, sed leniter arreptum in deserta loca deferunt, illicque tuto deponunt, quo facto diem hunc hilarem sibi sumunt.

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[15]) This usage is also described by Schreyer (*op cit.*, 46). Even at the present day, among the Naman, if a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, someone may stand behind it and blow hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place (Schapera, *op cit.*, 295).

[16]) A similar use of amulets was already mentioned by Dapper (see above, p. 53) and is confirmed by most other early writers, as well as by more recent authorities on the Naman (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 394).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[15]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[16])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[15]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

7. To proceed in our account of superstitious customs
824 789 and manners, Dapper, in his description of Africa, p. 621, tells us:—"Some of them wear round the neck roots, which they find far inland, in rivers, and being on a journey they light them in a fire or chew them, if they must sleep the night out in the field. They believe that these roots keep off the wild animals. The roots they chew are spit out around the spot where they encamp for the night; and in a similar way if they set the roots alight, they blow the smoke and ashes about, believing that the smell will keep the wild animals off.

I had often occasion to observe the practice of these superstitious ceremonies, especially when we were in a part of the country where we heard the roaring of the lions, or had the day previously met with the footprints of the king of the beasts.

8. The Korannas also have these roots as safeguards with them. If a Commando (a warlike expedition) goes out, every man will put such roots in his pockets and in the pouch where he keeps his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy have no effect, but that his own bullets will surely kill the enemy. And also before they lie down to sleep, they set these roots alight, and murmur, "My grandfather's root, bring sleep on the eyes of the lion and leopard and the hyena. Make them blind, that they cannot find us, and cover their noses, that they cannot smell us out." Also, if they have carried off large booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat. Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped."

9. Another sort of shrub is called *ǀābib*. Herdsmen, especially, carry pieces of its wood as charms, and if cattle or sheep have gone astray, they turn a piece of it in the fire, that the wild animals may not destroy them. And they believe that the cattle remain safe until they can be found the next morning.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

10. The root of a shrub called !*Kharab* is taken and cut to pieces, and minced on stones. If one is hungry, he takes the dust and goes to his neighbour's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the *ho‡ūtes*, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub *‡abus* are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (‡gā||goeb), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, as far as I could ascertain, the northerly breezes are called tu‡oab—*i.e.*, rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not forgiven him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower-garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-beer (ǃkharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indigntion at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ǂNaiχab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will certainly return home, and they say, "ǁGaunabi ge dahe hã," we are overpowered by ǁGauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ǁõ ge ni," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (hnri-ǂoab) is blowing,

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821 787 the Namaquas say: "| Hûb ke ni hã," or "Smaub ni hã," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

825 787 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

789 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

832 34. Another most powerful charm is the Duba, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This duba is generally found in ant heaps. The duba is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

177 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the !Gona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-|khosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the !Khosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

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does not ask her directly for her consent, but *ouq*'s or "seeks her" in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, "if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him, he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bridegroom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, "praise men who seek wives, since to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered by a magician ("tovenaar"), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, 585
a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *suri* or magician of the camp now goes to the men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

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fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of */nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever */gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 94.

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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 320; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 319.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

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775 Kling. Olpp unfortunately does not state who the "certain people" are, who are befriended in this way. The Naman, however, [791] believe that the */gai aogu*, magicians, are somehow in contact with the */kei /nun*, although we are nowhere told how this contact is established. If, therefore, the belief that the */kei /nun* may take the form of the */has jackals* is accurately reported by Biden and Kling, one would suppose that the people referred to by Olpp must be the magicians. But this is only conjecture.

Some light is thrown upon this medley of beliefs, as well as upon the other manifestations of the ghosts, by certain facts which Schultze records about *//Gaunab*.[1] To him *//Gaunab* is merely a mythical being ("Fabelwesen"), and he does not connect the name either with the personage figuring so prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naman, or with the ghosts of the dead. *//Gaunab*, he says, has the faculty of assuming human and animal form at will. The Naman conceive of him as having human shape, with ribs drawn over the flesh, and with feet the length of arms. "As quickly as a flame shoots up out of the glowing embers and then sinks down," said one of his informants, so quickly does *//Gaunab* come at night into a hut and steal a child. He hastens with his captive to a hole which he has dug in the loose soil, and rides on the child until it is stifled in the dust. By day he can also take on the form of a klipbok, jackal, or any other animal, which does not flee from men, since it is invulnerable; but in human shape he appears only in the distance, as in spite of all disguise he can be recognized by his facial features.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that these facts must be interpreted as referring to the ghosts. The word *//gaunab* itself is used for a ghost; the human shape which this "mythical being" is said to possess may be compared with the form in which ghosts appear to people in dreams; the abduction and stifling of a child in a hole is equivalent to saying that the ghosts drag their victims off to the grave; and the invulnerability of *//Gaunab* in animal form is paralleled by the beliefs relating to the */has jackals*. The latter, if this identification is accepted, must therefore be regarded not as a form in which all ghosts become reincarnated, but rather as one of the forms they may assume at will. There is no ground for supposing that the Hottentots have a definite doctrine of reincarnation or transmigration of the soul such as is implied in the account given by Biden and Kling.

[1] Op. cit., 432–2.

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776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *kaunaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [753] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarts*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hai /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for */hai /nun*, and even the term *//gaunb* in the singular may be used for 791 a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hai /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hai /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hai /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 104. [2] Op. cit., 42, 86.
[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 520.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

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But *//Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui //Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui //Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *//Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui //Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui //Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *//Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *//Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Damob* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui //Goab* with the Red Dawn and *//Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui //Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertilizer, but also the creator, while *//Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolizes the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating on the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gai aogu*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gai aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gai aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gebo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gai aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gaib*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 62–3. [3] *Ibid.*, 126.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 540. [4] *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 226.

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755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylviidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the */gai aob* is to cure people who have
755 been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with the */hei /nun*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nun* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the */gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
823 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 29; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutz. KolZg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 320–1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a /naip*, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*/gu//goab*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," 322. [2] Op. cit., 23, 24. [3] Ibid., 83.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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of certain rain." He does not state who these "sorcerers" are, nor does he suggest any connection between them and the rain-making ceremonies previously described, so that although there seem to have been among the Hottentots special rain magicians, we cannot identify them with certainty or link them up with the */gai aogu*, the known workers in magic.

From Schultze's brief account of Hottentot magic, it appears that the */gai aogu* are also diviners.[1] A thread is inserted into the fat in the medicine horn. The projecting end is set alight and held against the wind, and the direction in which the smoke blows tells the distressed inquirer where he must seek his strayed cattle or lost companion. If he still wishes to overtake his comrade on the way, a knot is tied in the thread and the projecting end set alight. Then, just as the flame is checked or extinguished on the knot, so will his comrade halt on the march until he comes up.

Other methods of divination are also employed by the Hottentots, but there is nothing to connect them certainly with the */gai aogu*. One of these we have already met with in connection with the conduct of judicial trials, where as a last resort the diviner is called in with his beaded strips of leather to ascertain who is the real culprit. The method there described is found also among the OvaHerero and the Bergdama, and may have been taken over from one of these peoples, although this cannot be definitely asserted. Another method of divination, described to Mrs. Hoernlé, was done for a Hottentot, but by a Bergdama. The chief Christian Goliath of the Berseba Hottentots, Mrs. Hoernlé's informant, said that he had lost a mug and called in this Bergdama man to find out who had taken it. The man had three iron beads which he threw three times upon the ground. Each time one of the beads rolled in the direction of a certain hut, and when this hut was searched the mug was found there! Here, it will be noticed, an expert from another people was called in; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to believe that this may have been the case in most of the instances of divination by means of bone or bead throwing reported of the Hottentots. All her Nama informants denied that they themselves practised divination in this way.[2]

Kolb describes on hearsay a form of divination which he says was practised by the Cape Hottentots in cases of illness where medical treatment seemed to be of no benefit. A sheep was carefully flayed alive in such a way as to avoid excessive bleeding; if it then moved

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Communicated by letter, 23-9-1924.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born [887] children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 751 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare [439] these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 648 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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a special animal, a sheep or a goat, is slaughtered. The officiating person makes some cuts in the patient's body over the part affected. With a small horn he cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next he scrapes some dirt from his arm and mixes it with the blood, to which he also adds the ingredients of the vegetable medicines. This mixture he finally rubs into the cuts. Till these have healed the patient must observe the customary */nau* restrictions: he must remain in the hut, he must not touch anyone with his hands, nor must he touch cold water or the pots. When at last the cuts are healed, the officiating person cleanses him in the customary manner, he puts on a set of new clothes and gives the old ones to his attendant, the usual purification meal is held, and the fire in the hut cleared away and renewed. Finally the reintroduction to the duties of ordinary life takes place in the usual manner, and the patient is free to mix with other people once more.

No other writer on the Hottentots mentions this particular grouping of diseases. It is implied, however, in Laidler's statement that there is a classification into minor and major troubles; but he adds that the former are treated by the herbalists, while in the latter the first step is consultation with the "witch doctor" (i.e. the */gai aob*) who is usually himself also a herbalist.[1] He makes no reference to the fact, explicitly noted by both Mrs. Hoernlé and Schultze, that certain diseases can only be treated by people who have themselves had the disease and recovered from it. Many writers, as we have seen, corroborate the calling in of the */gai aob* in case of illness, and it would seem that one of his ordinary duties is to discover the source of the sickness. His method of doing so is nowhere clearly described, although Laidler vaguely mentions divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal. Where the patient is held to have been bewitched, the */gai aob* also undertakes to cure him. His treatment in such cases, in addition to the "extracting" of the foreign bodies thought to be causing the illness, is apparently similar to that employed in the diseases known as */op*, since, as we have seen, the dirt scraped from his body is an essential ingredient in any medicine he gives. It is obvious, from what has just been noted, that he does not undertake the treatment of every kind of disease.

All this implies that more than one class of persons may be called in to treat the sick and injured, the healer differing according to

[1] Op. cit., 433, 434.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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things, become !nau without some individual or group of individuals being !nau. This 783 888
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly !nau and none but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [262] one realises that the Hottentots will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realises how strongly this !nau influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes !nau certain things also become !nau. 783 First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is !nau. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the renewal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the !nau person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The !nau fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Hottentot hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the inmates of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a !nau person, and must be 783 kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became !nau, but every 778 !nau person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Hottentots, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Hottentot witch doctor, or */gâi-dop*, never touches [791] cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Berseba in the time of his grandfather, when [683] a */gâi-dop* who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become !nau, but these are a source of 783 danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her */gâis*, or petticoat, when she was !nau.

769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called "the
782 little heart-tree" is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called "Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

103 Names of places

and rivers up to this day tell us of battles once fought, such as *ǃKhami* and *ǃKhams*, Battlefield, *ǃKho-||oa-tes*, "You cannot catch me;" *ǃKhotoas*, the last one caught; ǂ*K*χ^{i}χ*as*, peace; *ǃHuritamas*, "I am not afraid." Other names again bear testimony to the love for dancing and singing, like *ǃGaī||nais* and *ǃGaī||nai*χ*as*, "Good, pleasant singing," ǂAχaīs, "Reed-dance." And even sentimental feelings seem to be as characteristic of them as of the writers of fashionable novels now-a-days. *||Ā||ōs*, "Dying from love," has probably been the scene of a very tragical love affair.

● 791 Prophets (gebo-aogu, *i.e.*, seers) could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan. We shall see hereafter that Heitsieībib, Tsu-||goab and the Moon, all were endowed with the power of prophecy.

196 I have already shown in the forms derived from *khoi*, that the Khoikhoi are able to form abstract words.

This distinguishes them most favourably from all the Bushmen tribes, and proves how high their mental development must have been before they emigrated from their primitive territory.

I shall give only a few specimens. ǂ*Eī*, to think, from ǂ*ani* to cut to pieces, to slaughter, hence, ǂ*eis* (ǂ*anis*), the thought; ǂ*eī-*ǂ*eī-sen*, to consider, to think over again; ǂ*eī-*ǂ*eī-sen-s*, the result of one's own consideration, idea, perception.

Ī, to appear, to shine; *ǂeib*, form, shape, likeness, appearance; *ǂa* and *ǂ*χ*a*, full of form, beautiful, pretty, handsome.

Sī, to come, to arrive; *sī* (from *sini*), to cause to arrive—*i.e.*, to send; *sisen*, to send oneself—*i.e.*, *to work*; German, *sich anschicken*.

Ā, yes; *ama*, true; amab, truth; amasīb, truthfulness, love of truth.

ǃNams, love, fondness; nam|namsa, fond, dear; ǃnam, to love.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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771 would happen in future times; he died several times, and each time
773 he rose again. "And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. *Tsui //Goab* gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."[1] Another of Hahn's informants, speaking of the origin of his tribe, said: "That very thing, the *//Habobe*, has been made by *Tsui //Goab* in this country, and */Khub* [Lord, another name for *Tsui //Goab*] has made us, and has given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow."[2] He is ubiquitous, and the people take oaths by him, "thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil"; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they use his name in the form of an exclamation: "*Tsui-//Goatse* !"[3]

773 On certain occasions *Tsui //Goab* is worshipped openly as the rain-giver. Hahn, as we have just seen, says that the Naman leave
796 their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and invoke him. This is not mentioned by any other writer; but there is further evidence of worship directed towards him. The missionary, George Schmidt, who worked among the Hessequa, one of the Cape Hottentot tribes, from 1737 to 1744, has left on record a short but very important description of one of their religious ceremonies. "At the return of the Pleiades these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones in their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors. The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, etc.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"[4] *Tiqua* is an early form of writing *Tsui //Goab*; and the prayer shows clearly that he is here regarded as the god of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

Tsui //Goab is also invoked by the Naman, at the great annual rain-making ceremony, *guri ǂab* ("yearly killing"), which is the most

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. [2] Ibid., 64.
[3] Vedder, "The Nama," 130; Hahn, op. cit., 62; Schultze, op. cit., 447–8.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 43; quoting *Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsûi //goaos!	Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Abo Itsi,	Father of our Fathers,
Sida Itsi!	Our Father!
|Nanuba |oviru,	Let stream the thunder cloud,
Ets xuna tiru,	Let our flocks live,
Eda sida tiru;	Let us also live, please;
{Khabasa gum guroû	I am so very weak
//Gîs xun,	From thirst,
|As xun;	From hunger;
Ets xurina amra.	Let me eat field fruits.
Sats gum nawa sida itsun,	Art thou not our Father,
Abo itsun,	Father of our Fathers
Tsûi //goaos?	Thou Tsui //Goab?
Eda sida gaugantsiru,	That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based mainly on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May, 1922), pp. 3–4; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 27–8, and "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 515–16.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Ede sida //khava /khaitsire,	That we may bless thee,
Abo itse,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida !khutse,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsûi //goatse !	Thou, Tsui //Goab !

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

> My Tsui-//Goatse,
> Let the clouds rain,
> So that we can live joyfully;
> Let the field-food grow,
> So that we can find onions."

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abob*, father, and */khub*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Nanub*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurub*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Nanub*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourrou* (*/Gurub*).[3] The cloud */Nanub* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1]
821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF ǂNAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

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The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of ǂGamí-ǂnûn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂÂunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of
[177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with
● [196] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂÂunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

[104] [1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. x indicates a guttural ch; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ¯ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˚ the high one. The sign . under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ˘ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

[p. 65]

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

114 perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these
101 people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form
[262] their present home, attracted thither by the famous !nâras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

124 The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle
181 of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

[196] The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now
115 among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[3] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂÂunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidised by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Âmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[3] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

matters. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Berseba Hottentots, a very capable man who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable his people to be at less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was therefore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the statements of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke willingly of what he knew.

Common characteristics of all transition rites among the Hottentots. All periods of crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admirable illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage." There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis acquires a characteristic unknown in the group to which he has hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and */hereisa*.[1] But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclusion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there is a difficulty, for a */nau* person may work untold *mischief* on anyone dealing with him, who might also become */nau*. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the community. But not any old woman or old man will do. It must be one who has the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by recent loss of wife or husband. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease. Preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, if we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

[1] "Take care of himself", in this special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

3: Hoerulé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

796 marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognised, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises, a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The !nau person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'essence' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in remarriage, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the rank of hunters, in the treatment of diseases which are regarded as !nau, etc. For diseases the injection of the essence seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of crises is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the !nau person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the !nau person and persons who can no longer become !nau may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

783 888 **Some details concerning the state of !nau.** It has already been mentioned that there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attaching to !nau. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power as long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if times be hard and he is rather a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and none in which inanimate

[1] ≠ã‖ã lit. "killing". [2] For such a cleansing the word //nuuts is used.

0776 The rites themselves. As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old exercises and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained as long as the Hottentots themselves remain; and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

[[76]]

881 Puberty ceremonies among women. In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called *khaxé* or /*kabeb*. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's oldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (*khaxé ǂnas*), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to Amanda, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the *khaxé ǂnas* myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, though past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the *khaxé ǂnas*, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the *abé tarés*.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. Were such a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the berries would scurvy up. Once in the *khaxé ǂnas* the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*ǂgobi*) and closely wrapped about with her *ǂnabas*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] Cf. T. Hahn, in *Globus*, vol. 11, 1867, p. 307.

[2] Abé, "to carry a child on one's back". *Tarés*, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Noma

Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where those different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Áb, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."[1] Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáma, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xoréa, or Xoréibes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgâa, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garób, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ēp, or vlei, and the !khowéa, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garób, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the gâi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa !nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

[1] "Geographische Beobachtungen in der Namaquatrabe," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königl. Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin*. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57–65.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

789 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to 796 tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of such rains since the white man came into their country. I have given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,* and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could, gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this guriba ‡ap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

182 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely 823 important to the Naman, I wish to show that they believe it to have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the powerful protection which society gives them. Thus the social character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Naman. Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown† writes: "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being." The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the necessaries of social life provided for him by others

* *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

† "*The Andaman Islanders*," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V. p. 264.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 782

It is very probable that it is from their own ancestors the native priests learned the practice of slaughtering victims large and small in the case of sickness, marriage, and the ratifying of treaties.

H 821 796

It is difficult to say, and they themselves do not know, whence they got the custom of celebrating merrily under the full moon feasts of ablution, purification, purgation, betrothal, and others, and of varying these jollifications and the licensed holidays and sports of marriage festivals with regular funereal dirges of mourning women and banquets for the dead, and of performing various rites and covenants.

S 761 791 754 683

An opinion that obtains among our Africans,[41]) a superstitious belief which infects the race, is that nobody departs this life by disease, by destiny, by a natural death, but they believe that all are taken off by poison, except those who fall at the hands of the enemy, or are torn by wild beasts, or bitten by snakes, or stung by some other poisonous animal. Consequently when someone dies after an illness it often happens, among those who live near Natal, that they consult a soothsayer (more properly a false-sayer) and ask him who removed the dead man from among them by poison. The witch-doctor then denounces somebody, just as it comes into his head, at the bidding of hope, annoyance, anger or jealousy. Whoever this Calchas accuses on a false charge of an imaginary crime, be he father, son, brother or other near relative, friend or neighbour of the deceased, him straightway, never doubting the witchdoctor's word, without examining into the case or making any further enquiry, unheard, undefended, they hale away to punishment, and, prolonging his torture, naked, on his back in the public road, with his hands and feet bound and buried in the earth, they expose him to the rays of the sun, to the chill of night, to the mockery and insult of spectators and passers-by, till he be worn out by them, and sometimes upon his belly they put a nest of red ants, which gnaw the flesh of the living man, when, after innumerable tortures he dies in hideous agony. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

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41) This description of witchcraft and its punishment is again taken almost verbatim from the accounts given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the Amelkhoon (cf. Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 62). Condensed as it is even in the original, the description is on the whole very accurate. Boga (*op. cit.*, 188) describes a form of punishment of sorcerers identical with that mentioned in the text, and gives additional details (omitted by G.) which are also mentioned in the "Stavenisse" accounts.

form of expression that also belongs to the Hottentots, as they have their own designation for it: //ha·ru. 20/152

Two women reached the opposite end of the scale of emotion and one of them sought me out to bandage her. In a fight her opponent had bitten her across the nose, in the neck and on the thumbs. 578/152

D. Nourishment

Let us now leave the Hottentot's body and observe what kind of care it receives in health and in sickness. A race that restricts itself to gathering the plants necessary to existence that grow wild in nature without having been led by the meagreness of this means of subsistence to attempt agriculture, is certainly at a low cultural level. Even where water lies right under the surface in river beds and may be reached by digging, and where fertile flood-lands with dried silt left by the river make gardening possible, as has been done by white men, the Hottentot has not been able to force himself to work systematically. Here and there they enclose a little piece of land with brush, call it !hana·b and plant in these "gardens" calabash gourds, aba·s, which they hollow out for butter jars, or they plant gourd fruit, b(e)ri·tsa/mab, an edible fruit, which is green with white spots and the size of a child's head, but they are quickly bored by such activity. At any rate it is only thanks to the constant influence of the missionaries if the Hottentot persists with his garden at all. 231 [222] [312] [415] [777]

From home training he knows only three activities that provide his food: gathering; hunting; and cattle raising. Later we will see how he has more or less perfected the two latter activities. Right now we will consider how he transforms the raw products, which we may assume as given, into food.

I. Animal Food

Animal food is supplied by the sea to the coastal Hottentots. Seal meat (cf. p. 41 ff.) [185] provides a highly-prized roast, especially when it is strong. The fat is not valued as highly, but it is still eaten. At the time of the seal hunt the coastal dwellers will go anywhere to get the offal. They even go out seal hunting 225 [262]

of neighborly love in regard to colored people. I was referred to the 648
Bible. I would not have taken their arguments from the Old Testament
[330] seriously, if they had not been presented so seriously and if they
actually had not been used in other places as a guide for their activities.
In the ninth chapter of Genesis Noah damns Ham's son Canaan and his
descendants to slavery. The Boers have extended this curse to all
Hamites and include the Hottentot in this category, looking upon him
as a born slave. Who is now the lord whom God has placed over them?
What the people of Israel were in the old covenant, Christ is in the new.
In the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Deuteronomy the extermination
of the Canaanites is ordered. So God has placed the Christian Boer as
the heir of Israel as lord over life and death of the cursed descendants of
Canaan down to the last generation (the natives of South Africa). The
Boer clings to this interpretation the more narrow-minded he is and the
greater his racial pride is. This kind of gospel is a cover for the more
liberal-minded that reveals most clearly what it is supposed to hide:
the unbounded egoism of the Boers, that left the Hottentot no alternative
than relentlessly to pursue a slow war to the death. Whoever had the
upper hand in such a situation acted and still acts where the power of
law is inadequate according to this concept.

c) The Hottentot entered a diametrically opposite relationship with 797
another class of white men, the representatives of the Christian missions,
which are maintained today in Great Namaland by the representatives of
the Rhenish missionary society of Barmen. Whoever reads the older re-
ports of this society can measure the difference between the present day
Nama-Mission and the one of fifty years ago. At that time service
among the Hottentots in this country without any government, where
there were many battles among the natives, was a sacrifice of the first
rank. Without any government protection the missionary threw himself
on the mercy of the people, following the restless tribes on their migra-
tions and sharing hunger and thirst with them. In order to keep in closest
touch with the people, the missionary did not even shy away from mar-
riage with a native girl. Gradually the opening up of the land led to the
establishment of permanent mission stations. The protection of the gov-
ernment gave new guarantees to life and property and today the mission
houses are the best and prettiest buildings in the country thanks to the
excellent trade schools of the missionaries. They are places not only of
work but also of comfort and, as I would like to emphasize with honest
gratitude, show the traveler friendly hospitality. [331] The swing towards

the better in the material conditions of life at the mission has certainly 797
contributed not a little to the solidifying of their prestige among the Hottentots. But even aside from this the Hottentot has a great measure of reverence and (when he does not have to fear shocking pious feelings) trust for the missionary in the knowledge that he has in him the best representative of his spiritual and bodily interest.

Only a blind enemy of the mission would fail to recognize the meaning of this bridge which Christianity has built for the peaceful understanding of two heterogenous yet interdependent human races and its importance for the cultural development of the country. But it is also as clear as day that the mission will become the curse of the land when it loses sight of the political or economic good of the country in a one-sided pursuit of clerical and hierarchical aims. For the most part this well-being depends on the extent to which the struggle of the various interests of the native and of the invading races can be peacefully regulated in proportion to the economic contributions of the competitors. This is a truth that is often ignored both by the humanistic utopian as well as by the apostle of power. It is necessary to picture the disasters of the native labor question in the Cape Colony in order to understand how economical it is to be able to combine one's interests with those of the native (even if it is only the despised Hottentot). The first condition is naturally an exact knowledge of the necessities of life and the ideas of the natives. As long as it is only the missionaries (with a few exceptions), who find it worthwhile to establish this contact on the basis of thorough studies, just so long the mission will have a high secular trump in its hand. It has played it successfully during the eighties in the Herero country and in Namaland, by disabling English influence in favor of German. (75)

75. C. v. François, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi, Berlin, 1899.

How do matters stand in spiritual affairs? Can the mission be satisfied with the successes in the Christianization of the Hottentots?

Older missionaries with whom I spoke gave a negative answer. The work of nearly a century should have ripened other fruit. To what extent a Hottentot is able to accept the spirit of Christianity so that it determines not only what he does not do but also what he does, could best be judged by an unprejudiced missionary. My own [332] rather sad experiences in this area have been confirmed too frequently for me to believe them to

be unfavorable and happenstance judgments which biased my general opinion. Although I generally mixed with those Hottentots who did not belong to the elite of the missions, I also avoided the lowest level which would have readily given me good reasons for the most pessimistic judgment. 797

Not the least part of the average Hottentot's judgment of Christianity is that it is an advantageous attribute of the white man. Just as he considers himself better in the white man's jacket, trousers and bright coat than his brother or sister in a skin apron, so he also sees his membership in the Christian church as a social accomplishment in keeping with the rank of modern Hottentot. This view is usually combined with disdain for the old customs of his people, even when they do not come in conflict with the new religion. One might accept this mutilation of the self if it were only the overzealousness of energetic resolution to elevate oneself to a new level. But the Hottentot is too lazy and also smart enough to see clearly the contradiction of Christian theory and practice in the social and private life of the white man (cf. folk tale XXVIII), to set himself different ethical ideals than those from the heathen era that at best still serve as the social norms of his own people: loving one's neighbor which for the Hottentot means reciprocal help, respect for age, restraint in regard to the property of others (if only in regard to that of other tribal members), these are all autochthonous commandments that coincide with those of Christianity.

The folk tales and the other imaginings of the Hottentots had perhaps so little in common with Christianity that the two could not be organically joined, as germanic heathen traditions were to Christianity. The moral principles and rules of conduct of the Hottentots that we have learned about are rooted in the tradition of folk customs. The loss of these folk principles along with the complete revolution in the economic basis of their existence since the dominance of the white man has left the Hottentots ethically ruined. Such destruction cannot be repaired with a Bible, catechism, hymnal, attendance at church, Sunday school, holy communion and classes in reading, writing and singing. That attempts have been made to reach such a goal by these methods, would never be held against the individual missionary who has dedicated his life to these people. [333] The harm lies in the system. Only he may bear the name of the Founder, whose whole life was a single great self-sacrifice, who is at least capable of the smallest sacrifice in the service of his fellow man, namely, of work, even though it be only for

himself and his family. In this sense few Hottentots have become Christians. The systematic education of the natives for work has been demanded often enough for economic reasons. But this seems to me to be an unavoidable religious requirement of the Christian mission. Work represents in Namaland, as in every colony, the only possibility that the native has to hold his head economically above the tide of the inrushing cultural stream. And experience has shown further that a primitive people that is economically demoralized is also morally demoralized because it is for sale for any service to the superior race for its own livelihood. Thus the requirement that the native be taught to work does not seem to the missionary a secularization of his duties but only points a way to a firm basis for his religious duties. Moreover the white population is more grateful for a Christian trained for work than for ninety-nine candidates for heaven that know the Bible well but don't want to work.

Whether it would prove successful to appoint a special official for native affairs according to the English model, whether such an official could work together with the mission in the execution of his duties towards a systematic training of the natives for work and towards an organized employment bureau and labor welfare, must be determined by a trial, if possible before the English employers have drawn our best workers away from us across the border. Then we will also see whether the Protestant or the Catholic mission is more vital in this area. In the future this decision may have consequences far beyond the bounds of the missions.

d) The relationship of the Hottentot to his German master. The Hottentot learns our language quickly, at least to understand it. He observes foreigners carefully and has the sense to hide his opinion. In all three points he differs to his advantage from the majority of our people. It cannot be held against the settler and the merchant that they show no interest in the difficult language. That an official can triple his influence over the natives when he masters their language is an old saw, but one would have run into enormous [334] difficulties applying the moral to the Hottentot language if one had ever thought of applying it at all.

There is usually only contempt felt for the Hottentots' language because of its clicking sounds. That can be harmless enough, but a large part of our countrymen are content with finding only the humorous aspects of the Hottentot and that is more serious. If the hundred little upsets are then added, which no one can avoid who has to depend on natives in his work, then all these feelings combine with the outward impression of a ragged, dirty fellow to a general opinion, which is unconcealed scorn.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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769 This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition
782 of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the
788 corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what
[773] these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

[773] Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

778 All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional
771 religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the
797 great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 721 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished " his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested; which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 178 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The ● [197] Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never
[465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
● 797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk
[824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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kitchen, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing. 262

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This "dacha" is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts. 273 276

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals. 273

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else. 276 272 262

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Lqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small "Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the 797 776

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab=wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab=the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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177 immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

177 797 3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelswarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently. 177 797

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 6 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the 177

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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751 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes
823 place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The
182 head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Hei /Nûn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life

754 The next example is a little different. In the old days, there
756 were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could
823 cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their [797] training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Hei /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by /!Gãuab,* or the /Hei /Nûn, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-/!Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bontas*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moos* as the scene of his activities. *Moos*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Batsuing Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moos*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Batsuing chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Mackeri* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moos* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-123.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-3; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Masson, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

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175 619 797 261

For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

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Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

175 619 797

To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Bhonas in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the natives nearly deserted.[20]

[164]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 619 721

Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

16 R. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
17 R. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
18 R. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
19 R. M. R. years 1848-1854.
20 R. M. R. 1850, p. 200
21 R. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
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175 69 648 readily granted.[39] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[40] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[41] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Mackabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[42] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[43]

175 69 648 ● 747 167 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotas and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[44] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[45] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[39] B. C. p. 290-3.
[40] B. C. p. 257.
[41] B. C. p. 324.
[42] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[43] B. C. p. 323.
[44] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[45] B. C. 325.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[89]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[90]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[91] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[92] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Koranas at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[93]

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[89] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-3.
[90] B. C. 213.
[91] B. C. 289.
[92] Anderson, *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[93] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[16] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[18] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[19] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[20]

175 Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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16. Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner*. Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
17. Imperial Blue Book. C. 2454-'79. p. 33.
18. Ibid, p. 34.
19. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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"Vaderlandsche of Buytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20¼, Lat. 29¼. 133

Wurm, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 293 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Ass (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂâi* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂâ'ib* and the reed-dance *ǂâ'ǂ-o/aî-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plettberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy kara" (printer's error for *gwa*, v. *infra*) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matini, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *ǂa:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*inaǂa:r ǂaammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*/hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka koowo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//hara:ha*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 787 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

778 last watering-place, *without first having made an offering* and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him; and I asked him what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisip.

"'Before any Bushman,' said ǂNumeep, 'digs for water at Kuisip, he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the !naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare, as an offering to Toosip, the [779] old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip.

"'No; I have never seen him, nor has anybody else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great ᵐ Redman, with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai, nor has he a wife.'

"'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?'

"'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbock, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 125.)

Here we have the most open-hearted confession of a Namaqua (Khoikhoi) who was in great anxiety. The human heart is always more communicative when in sorrow and troubles, especially among savages, whose manners, like those of children, are still very simple and natural, and not dictated by the rules of an absurd etiquette and fashion.

Heitsi-eibib, Kabib, Heigeib, and ǂGama ǂgorib.

● 797 About the year 1842, the missionary work amongst the Namaquas was commenced more vigorously, chiefly by missionaries of the Rhenish Mission. The Rev. Knudsen has left us a translation of St. Luke, up to this date unsurpassed in style and correctness by any

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

other missionary who attempted [a] the difficult task of 777 translating the Bible into Khoikhoi.

Knudsen, however, changed the Khoikhoi Tsûi-||goab into Elob, taking it from the Hebrew Elohim; while for Devil he left the name of the evil-doer ||Gaûab. The word Elob is now generally used wherever the Gospel is preached in Great Namaqualand, but it has not supplanted yet the old Tsûi-||goab.

Knudsen possessed a great natural talent both for languages and ethnology. To this it is due that he has provided us with some very remarkable legends, which give us a good insight into the religious ideas of the Khoikhoi; and his notes are of great value, not only because they confirm what has been stated by former travellers and missionaries, but because they have been collected amongst Khoikhoi (the ǃAmas, or ǃAmaquas, of the "Cape Records") who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, from Berg river all along the west coast to the mouth of Olifants river. When Knudsen came amongst them they had [b] left the colony just twenty-seven years. The tribe during that time could hardly have exchanged the old Cape idiom for the Namaqua, as, with very few exceptions, they had not intermarried with Namaqua women.

I am therefore justified in saying, that in the following 773 notes we have some religious relics of the so-called Cape Hottentots. Knudsen's account now runs thus: "Heitsieibib or Kabib was a great and celebrated sorcerer among the Namaqua. He could tell secret things, and prophesy what was to happen afterwards. Once he was travelling with a great number of people, and an enemy pursued them. On arriving at some river he said, 'My grandfather's father, open thyself that I may pass through, and close thyself afterwards.' So it took place as he had said, and they went safely through. Then their enemies tried to pass through the opening also, but when they were in the midst of it, it closed again upon them and they perished."

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Numerals.

Cui, one; *tem*, two; *nona*, three; *acka*, four; *corro*, five; *guichi*, six, etc.[61])

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They multiply these by the addition of others, always employing the same words, but linked to another. But if any of our countrymen understands these words when the Hottentots use them, he is certain to say that they cannot be recorded by the pen, so extraordinary is their pronunciation.

Written by

WILLIAM TEN RHYNE.

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[61]) This list may be compared with the following:—

Witsen (1691) (Cape Hots.). 1. K'qui. 2. K'kam. 3. K'ouna. 4. Hacka. 5. Kro. 6. Nanni. 10. Guissi.

Kolb. (1719) (Cape Hots.). 1. G'kui. 2. K'kam. 3. K'ouna. 4. Hakka. 5. Koro. 6. Nanni. 10. Gyssi.

Hahn (1875) (Nama). 1. |kui. 2. |kam. 3. !nona. 4. haga. 5. gore. 6. !nani. 10. disi.

Meinhof (1930) (Korana). 1. |ui. 2. |am. 3. !nona. 4. haka. 5. goro. 6. !nani. 10. tjisi.

Ten Rhyne's word for "six", *guichi*, obviously should be for "ten"; otherwise his list agrees fairly well with the rest.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.[92a]) It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye mansine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *mansine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*[92]), i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from one to ten as in use both among the Magosi and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochard[94]), skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

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[92]) In modern Xhosa, *i-Kaya*=home, domicile, and *amanzi*=water; *mansine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanzini*.

[94]) Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oordt in his Dutch trans. of C.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Molsbergen, iv, 297.)

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

		In Magotis	In Promontorio Bonae Spei
Mounje	unum		chiu
Mabile (media producta)	duo		kham
Matato (penult. longa)	tria		nhona
Seine vel Mane	quatuor		haka
Mesiano	quinque		kouru
Mestandato	sex		nanni
Nounje	septem		hunkou
Ulnane	octo		kheysi
Pete	novem		ghesi
Chiumi	decem		gissi
Chiumi mabile	viginti		khamgissi
Chiumi matato	triginta		nhonagissi

Mea sententia nostrates hic citius expeditiusque Hottentoticam addiscent linguam, quam Barbari Belgico commodè loqui sermone scient: more proh dedecus! praepostero, cum merito Belgas non latere deberet, quam firmum sit unionis vinculum linguae commercium, illudque esse ingens adminiculum populis in officio et quiete continendis: exemplo veterum Romanorum in suis provinciis, et cum maximè Hispanorum Lusitanorumque in utraque tam orientali quam occidentali India probatissimo; sed pudet scribere nostros plurimum ad opes et luxuriam magis, quam ad commodum utilitatemque publicam spectare, qui quum merito omnes curas, vigilias cogitationesque suas in Provinciae hujus salute configerent, discerentque ab Hispanis exemplo cum Jove coloniarum fundamenta jacere, sacranti-

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93) The Xhosa numerals are not listed in the *Stavenisse* accounts and must therefore have been derived orally from one of the survivors. Their modern forms (retaining the class prefixes as given by G.) are as follows: 1. omnye, 2. amabini, 3. amatatu, 4. ezine or amane, 5. emihlanu, 6. emfandatu, 10 ishumi, 20. mashumi (a) mabini, 30. mashumi (a) matatu. The words given for 7, 8, 9 do not correspond at all with the modern Xhosa forms, which are: isixenxe, isibozo and itoba respectively. (McLaren, *Kafir Grammar*, 68).

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10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Ngun: FX17

Among the Magosi	Mounje	one	At the Cape	Chiu
	Mabile (the middle syllable long)	two		Kham
	Matato (the penult long)	three		Nhona
	Seine or mane	four		haka
	Mesiano	five		kouru
	Mestandato	six		nanni
	Nounje	seven		hunkou
	Uinane	eight		kheysi
	Pete	nine		ghesi
	Chiumi	ten		gissi
	Chiumi mabile	twenty		khamgissi
	Chiumi matato	thirty		nhonagissi[25]

In my opinion the Dutch here will more quickly and expeditiously learn the language of the Hottentots, than the natives will acquire a good speaking knowledge of Dutch. This, alas, is the reverse of what ought to obtain. The Dutch ought to be aware how firm a bond of union a common language is, and how powerful a means it is of keeping peoples loyal and peaceful. We have the authoritative precedent of the ancient Romans, and more especially of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the Indias, east and west. But, I am ashamed to say, our countrymen for the most part pay more heed to gain-getting and soft living than to the public advantage and good. They ought to devote all their cares, all their thoughts, all their working hours to the well-being of this province; from the example of the Spaniards, who in such circumstances dedicate a church to Omnipotent God and know that all

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The Hottentot numerals correspond fairly closely to the modern Nama and Korana forms, except that, as usual, the clicks have not been indicated. The modern Korana numerals, as recorded by Meinhof, are as follows: 1. /ui, 2. /am, 3. !nona, 4. haka, 5. goro, 6. !nani, 7. hau-kx'u, 8. //xaisi, 9. guesi, 10. tjisi, 20. /am tjisi, 30. !nona tjisi. (*Der Koranadialekt*, 41.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 viduals of the same tribe do not form a plural at all from the same word, where another individual would do so. There is also a goodly number of substantives, which are not used in the plural, because they are of a collective nature. A dual exists only for the first personal pronoun.

802 As regards the numerals, it seems that the Bushmen languages have not developed them beyond *two*; some travellers speak of *three*; but this is evidently derived from the Khoikhoi word ǀnora or ǀnona for *those*.

The ǀAi-Bushmen, however, who inhabit the North Western Kalihari in the neighbourhood of Xaïtsēs, (west from Lake Ngami or N‖gami) count up to twenty, and for the sake of completeness I give these numerals here, as I have written them down from the mouth of three individuals of the ǀAi tribe.

	ǀAi-Bushman.	*Khoikhoi.*
One	ǀguiĭ	ǀgui
Two	ǀgam	ǀgam
Three	ǀnona	ǀnona
Four	geiĕ	haga
Five	ǀguim tsoum (*i.e.*, one hand)	gore
Six	ǀguisa	ǀnani
Seven	ǀgamana	hū (hūgu)
Eight	ǀnonadi	‖khaisa
Nine	ǀuitaĭ ‖gam	khoisi
Ten	‖ƀaiŭko	disi
Eleven	tamkhumtsū	disi ǀgui ǀkha
Twelve	ǀgamané	„ ǀgam „
Thirteen	ǀnonané	„ ǀnona „
Fourteen	‖khelsa	„ haga „
Fifteen	tsūba ‖ƀāe	&c. &c.
Sixteen	ǀgui naha ǂgana	
Seventeen	ǀgam naha ǂgana	
Eighteen	ǀnona naha ǂgana	
Nineteen	ǀgamsaragásara	
Twenty	tsutsarukēhā	

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

I was so struck with the novelty of this discovery, in finding a Bushman tribe which could count beyond three, that I repeatedly cross-examined those individuals separately. I however still maintain the suspicion that this system of numerals is not genuine Bushman counting, but that we have to ascribe it to the influence of the neighbouring Bakoba tribes of the Touga River, or to the influence of the Mashona of the Lake n‖Gami, who often used to extend their hunting expeditions westward as far as Xaïtses (Ghanze of Galton) and even to the jungles of ǀKhunobis (Tunobis of Galton and Anderson).

A remarkable feature of the Khoikhoi language is the decimal system of counting; a system not adopted from the Europeans, but which was established long before the Khoikhoi or Nomadic Hottentot branch split into tribes, and spread over the various parts of South Africa, as will be seen from the following schedule taken from various authors who lived and travelled among the different Khoikhoi tribes at different times:—

Witsen. Cape.	*Leibniz. Collect.*	*Valentyn. Cape.*
1691.	1717.	1705.
I. K'qui	—	kchui
II. K'kam	t?amma	k-ham
III. K'ouna	houna	n hona
IV. Hacka	haka	hoka
V. Kro	koro	kourou
VI. Nanni	nani	nanni
VII. Honcko	honko	honku
VIII. K'hyssi	k?heissee	kheyssi
IX. K'geessi	guissi	ghesi
X. Guissi	gissi	gissi

Kolb. Cape.	*Barrow. Eastern.*	*Lichtenstein.* ǀ*Kora.*
1719.	1797.	1805.
I. G'kui	quai	t'koei
II. K'kam	kam	t'kam
III. K'ouna	gona	t'norra

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	Kolb. Cape.	*Barrow. Eastern.*	*Liechtenstein.* |*Kora.*
	1719.	1797.	1805.
IV.	Hakka	haka	hakka
V.	Koro	gose	kurruh
VI,	Nanni	—	t'nani
VII.	Honko	—	honko
VIII.	Khyssi	—	t'kaissee
IX.	K'hessi	—	t'goissee
X.	Gyssi	—	diissi

	Schmelen. North-west Colony.	*Alexander. Great Namaqualand.*	*Knudsen. Great Namaqualand.*
	1814.	1834.	1842.
I.	Goei	'kooe	'gui
II.	Kam	'tain	'gam
III.	Nona	'oona	?'nona
IV.	Haka	haka	haka
V.	Kore	kore	gore
VI.	Nanni	'nanee	"nani
VII.	Hû	hoo	*hu
VIII.	'Kysa	'keisa	'khaise
IX.	Koïsi	koësé	khoise
X.	Disi	deesee	disi

	Vollner. Great Namaqualand. Red Nation.	*Tindall. N.E. Namaqualand. Wesley Vale.*	*Th. Hahn. Cape Town. |Kora Captive*
	1856.	1852.	1871.
I.	|Gui	ckui	|gui
II.	|Gam	ckam	|gama
III.	†Nona	qnona	|nona
IV.	Haga	haka	haka
V.	Goro	kore	kom
VI.	†Nani	qnani	|nani
VII.	Hû	hu	hongu
VIII.	||Khaisa	xkhaisi	||khaisa
XI.	Khoisi	goisi	kχoisi
X.	Disi	disi	dyisi

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Th. Hahn. Oudtshoorn, E. Prov. 1871.	*Th. Hahn. Bergdamara, North Namaqualand.* 1875.
I. ǀKui	ǀkui
II. ǀKam	ǀkam
III. ǃNona	ǃnona
IV. Haka	haga
V. Koro	gore
VI. ǃNani	ǃnani
VII. Hũgu	hũ
VIII. ǁKhaisi	ǁkhaisa
IX. Khoisi	khoise
X. Disi	disi

A ǂNuwi-Namaqua from the Kaokoveldt counted in the same way as the Great Namaquas.

This much we know of the time when the numerals were formed, that it must have followed the period when the Khoikhoi family had left the isolating stage, and their language availed itself of the aid of pronominal elements in order to form derivatives ǀGui, ǀga-m, ǃno-na, ha-ga, go-re, ǃna-ni, hũ-gu or hu-ni-gu, ǁkhai-si, khoi-si, di-si, all have the derivative-pronominal-suffixes, i, m, na, ni, gu, ga, re, si. We also know that the Khoikhoi could not have invented the numerals before their domestic and social condition made counting and taxing necessary. As long as they were hunters, there was nothing worth counting, but when they had taken to breeding cattle and sheep, they had to count (ǀgõa) their flocks, and the richest man was the most honoured man. Hence it is that ǀgõa, *to count*, is also used in the meaning, *to honour, to respect*, and ǀgõab means not only *the number*, but also *the honour, the respect, the regard*. "ǀGõahe tamata hã," will a Khoikhoi indignantly say, "I am not counted," that is, "I am not looked at," if he thinks that he is unfairly treated.

The meanings of some of these numerals are very clear. ǀGui, *one*, is the *single*, the *lonely* one. For

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902 196 instance, to know whether a man is by himself, one would ask, ǀGuriseb hã? Is he alone?

ǀ*Gam, two,* I derive from the root ǀka, ǀkha, ǀga, or ǂya, which is originally a post-position, meaning *with, "added," "contributed," in connection with.*

ǀ*Nona, three,* comes from ǀ*no-na-s* or ǀ*no-ma-s,* the *root,* the *radix* of a tree. In every plant the central root is the radical and strongest root. The same, the middle finger of every hand being the *root-finger,* it is obvious that this finger should have provided the name for the number *three,* because the natives count with the aid of the fingers; and whether they commence with the thumb or with the little finger, the central or middle finger always will turn out to be the *third* finger, and thus this finger became the symbol of the abstract number *three.*

Haga, four, I cannot venture to explain.

More interesting again is the derivation of *gore, five,* which means nothing else than the palm of the hand. The word *goreb,* for palm of the hand, is antiquated but still in use. I once told a girl to take a dish of food to her mother in return for milk which I had received, and told her to be careful and not to break the dish. She answered, "*Goreb* ǀna ta ni tani" (I will carry it in the [482] palm of my hand). This is the way in which the Khoikhoi girls always carry their milk-vessels. ²*Goreb* is also the Euphorbia candelabra, and shows at the distance the profile or appearance of a vertically stretched arm with the open hand. It is certain that both the 902 196 number *gore* and the *gore*-tree have derived the name 137 from goreb (also koreb), the open hand. It is also 103 certain that the number *gore* and the tree *kore* both are of the same age. The bark of this *gore*-tree has served [314] from the earliest times as the chief material for the manufacturing of the quiver. Places have received their names from the abundance of these trees. There is a Koreχas in the North-western Cape Colony; a ǀKora told me that he was born at Koreχas in the Free State;

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another Koreχas is in the ǀGami-ǂnus territory in Southern Namaqualand, and another Koreχas in the North-western Kalihari, between Gobabis and Ghanze. It is well known that the Euphorbia candelabra shows the most beautiful and gigantic forms in the Khalamba Mountains and in Sekukuni's country and the Hoogeveldt (Highlands) of the Eastern Transvaal. From this we may conclude, as the *gore*-tree does not grow in flats, but is, in very few exceptions, almost entirely confined to mountainous territories, that the Khoikhoi before they separated lived in a mountainous country. This circumstance allows us to account for the higher development which they received before their cousins, the Bushmen. It also points out to us the primordial "fatherland" of the Khoikhoi.

We come now to the number ǀ*nani*, *six*, where I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation.

Hũ or *hũgu* (originally *hunigu*) mean the "mixed ones," the "amalgamated ones," from *hũni*, to stir, to amalgamate. For instance, if milk is thrown into coffee, a man says, "Hunire eibe ots ni ǀgãise ã." "Stir at first" (that is, mix the coffee with the milk), "and you will drink nicely." Whether here the seven colours of the rainbow gradually flowing into one another originated the idea of the number seven I cannot tell, but I think it possible.

ǁ*Khaisi or* ǁ*khaisa*, *eight*, is very clear from the root ǁ*khai*, to turn; thus ǁkhaisi means "turning number"—*i.e.*, four is turning back again.

Khoisi, *nine*, is not intelligible. All I can say is, that it has with *khoib*, man, the root *khoi* in common.

Disi, *ten*, from *di*, to do, would give us the meaning "*done*," "*finished*." And the Khoikhoi now continued *eleven*, disi-ǀgui-ǀkha; twelve, disi-ǀgam-ǀkha—that is, ten-one-with, ten-two-with, &c. &c., or simply with striking off disi, ten, ǀgam-ǀkha, two-with, and so forth. Twenty is ǀgam disi, two tens; thirty is ǀnona disi, three

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tens, &c. Hundred, disi disi, ten tens, or gei disi, great ten. For thousand, ǀoa gei disi, full-great-ten, is now in use, but I am not in the position to decide whether it is of very recent date or not.

If we had nothing else but these numerals, it would be enough to excite our admiration for the intellectual achievements of the pre-historic Khoikhoi. These numerals are the oldest records of philosophical thinking among the Red-men, and rank their inventors with the ancestors of our own Aryan race *as far as mental power is concerned.* But fortunately there are some more fragments and relics which open to us a clear view into the social, domestic, and religious daily life of the primitive Khoikhoi. He was a Nomad, and possessed large herds of cattle and sheep. The cattle (*gomâs*) and sheep (*gûs*) were his riches (χûs). A rich man (gou-aob) was a fat man; he could afford to be fat (*gousa*), he could anoint himself with fat (*goub*). Therefore the word *gou-aob, fat-man*, is identical with ǂkhû-*aob, rich-man*, and both have now become the words by which rulers, kings, chiefs, masters, and lords are addressed; gou-aob, or gao-aub, being generally used for chief or king, and ǂkhu-aob for master or lord, sometimes simply ǂkhûb, in which form it is also used for the "*Lord in heaven.*"

Naturally the richest man had the largest family, he could afford to buy wives as many as he liked; to love, to court, is ǁâ, originally ǁ*ama*, which fuller form is still in use for *to buy, to barter.* This shows that the Khoikhoi bought their wives, and there must have been a remembrance of that custom still, when they first came in contact with the black Bantu races; for the Zulus have the same word ǁama for marrying—viz., buying a wife, a word which, from its click, shows the Khoikhoi origin.

It is now clear that the richest man became the most influential man, and gradually rose to the station of a chief. He could buy as many wives as he liked, and thus

hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. 847
Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain.

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt 845
is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked.

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which 849
covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not.

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of [921]
a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?"

[220] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end of the cord. A span's width from the navel of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger), [804]
the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily.

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She [791]
is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl.

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly [787]
dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ga-haras (lateral clicking sound), our good luck caul.

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 29th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b) Delivery. (//ora-s, giving birth, ǃna-ʔes, being born; one also hears the word ʔuʔbu-s, relief, hoʔs, getting. oa-s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I [578] have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 metres in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [216] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored [128] old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority.

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Of the individual fixed stars I heard only Sirius mentioned by Hottentots: it was called ǃna-/m/ga³mirob, and sometimes also ǃna/mina/ma, that is, "side star." I could not determine the significance of this word with any certainty, and only a supposition can perhaps be justified: "The Hottentot, as we have seen earlier (p. 61), calls the east wind ai-ǂo-ab, because it comes from "in front." Hence, if the east, as the point where the sun rises, is the front of the world for him, then north and [369] south would be the sides. From this conception it would be comprehensible that Sirius, the brightest star of the Northern sky of the Southern Hemisphere, is regarded as the "side star." Its partner in the southern skies would be Canopus.

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b) The time division of the Hottentots is based upon the change of the seasons, of the phases of the moon, and of the daily position of the sun.

α) They have, to be sure, the concept "year," guri-b, which refers to the period encompassing the seasonal changes, but they do not calculate according to years in our sense. I got the impression that they recall the age of their cattle according to calf and lamb periods. Their own age is of no interest to them, and if they perchance want to date something further back, then they use well-known local events (the outbreak of cattle plague, hostilities with neighboring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc.) as sufficiently general points of reference, from which they can then date a specific moment by figuring in the birth or size of the children in the family at that time.

β) The change of the seasons, ga-mage, determines the division of the whole year. They distinguish the following seasons:

1. An early spring. When with increasing warmth (ǃo-ba, vb.; also said of the early sun that warms the eastern sides of the rocks and bushes after a cold night) and independent of the rainfall the trees and bushes begin budding and, in good years, wintry early rains or early spring rains (cf. Climate, p. 154 ff.) revitalize the meadows, the blossoming time, ǃkyā-///aēb, or spring, ǀaba-b, has come. It begins as early as August and ends in October.

2. The season that the Hottentot calls //kyā-nab (in the Bergdamara dialect ǂoreb, that is, "the sun time") comprises the *first half of a* hot period, during which the so-called "little" rainy season occurs if the year is good. If these rains do not come or if they are sparse, as is usually the case, then the land remains extensively barren, without growth of grass and plants. This period of drouth, like the drouth itself, is called /kuru-b. The //kyā-nab of the Hottentots extends from October through

December and thus corresponds astronomically to the spring of the Southern Hemisphere. 805

3. The season upon whose abundance the welfare of the Hottentots primarily depends is called //ha/o·b (3, n.): we can call it the grazing season (since the word is also used in the same concrete sense as tib, "pasture"). It comprises the so-called "big" [370] rainy period of the year and the time immediately following, during which the fodder plants retain their greenness. It falls, generously estimating, between the months of January and April, hence into the southern summer and the beginning of fall.

4. The winter of the Hottentots, sao·b, comprises the cold season from May to August and therefore includes the last two-thirds of the fall and the first half of winter by astronomical calculation.

7) A more detailed organization of the year is based upon the observation of the phases of the moon. When, after the new moon, the crescent again appears (ǂkxani·, vb.) in the western sky, they consider the month //kxãb begun. For the Hottentot the phases of the moon are symbols of his own development and passing away (cf. Folk tale XXX): the crescent which is just appearing and still scarcely recognizable is called ᵒǂkxa/m//kxãb, ǂkxa/m with the meaning "unripe." The word is also used to designate a fruit which is prematurely born. [821]

The narrow glittering crescent in which the moon, as it were, comes alive (that is the original meaning of !gĕ), is called ᵒ!gĕ·go//kxãb.

The first two quarters have two names that are common to both of them. The first is ᵒgai·//kxãgai·ra//kxãb, "the moon that becomes big or old (gai)." The other name is ᵒgă/ai·ra//kxãb, "the moon that becomes clever (gă/ai)."

Thus, they cause the moon to increase in age and wisdom until it ripens into the full moon, ᵒgai//kxãb.

In the last quarters only the narrow crescent is characterized as ᵒ//ĕna//kxãb, "the dying (//ĕ, -na, participle of progressive action) moon."

Proportionately as our twelve months and the dates of the Christian festivals gain prominence, the Hottentots gradually forget the time reckoning of their ancestors. It is definitely established that they gave names to the individual lunations of the year in close connection to the change of the seasons. In Kroenlein's "Wortschatz" (57) Hottentot

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

designations can be found for nine of our months. I did not include the name for September because it is a word belonging to the Bergdamara dialect. Kroenlein's Hottentot February corresponds to the January of my calculations. Our calculations show considerable deviation only in the interpretation of the name for July, which I must requisition for October.

Of the four names of months that are new here, I have used the one listed under VII, because of its clear astronomical reference, as the reliable point of departure for a comparison of the Hottentot months with ours. [371] The Hottentot months, which were surely based upon naive observation of the moon phases and hence the time of a synodical month (29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes), can naturally be equated only approximately with the months of our calendar. The etymology of the names, which contain references to the meteorological character of the season, yields a valuable checking system as to whether or not the attempt to make such an equation is justified in the given case.

The placing of the months that have no such etymological reference to their position in the year was based solely upon native tradition; that is, in this case upon the information of an old woman whom I found to be reliable. After many unsuccessful attempts to cull any useful information from the unclear calendar conception of the natives of my acquaintance, I finally succeeded unexpectedly in finding the forgotten month names in the vivid memory of a 60 to 70 year old Hottentot woman. Without any hesitation or faltering she repeated twelve names to me in a constantly consistent sequence. When asked where she got this knowledge, she referred to her childhood. The possibility cannot be excluded that this duodecimal system of the months and their order had already been influenced by notions of the whites. Therefore, it has perhaps already become too late to penetrate here into the original ideas of the people. Then the following scheme may at least be preserved as the last attainable remnant of that which has been lost. -- The twelve months of the Hottentots and the parallel months of our calendar are thus the following:

I. ǂkxo-esao//kxãb (or ǂkxo-esao): "the moon that follows the ǂkxo-e-bush." This important grazing bush, a variety of Salsola (see p. 80), is supposed to have its main blossoming in the spring. Therefore, the first month of the southern summer follows (sao) it . . . . . January

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II. ǂgaǂma·ǂaeb . . . . . February

III. °!kχai tsãǂb: "when it begins (tsãǂ = tsoǂ, intransitive vb.) to get cold (!kχai)." The name designates a lunation in the transitional period from summer to fall. According to the accepted order it would correspond to our . . . . . March

IV. ǂgoro /nü·ǂseb: Older Hottentots, consistently and independently of one another, assured me that this referred to the [372] month of increasing cold when one sits so close to the fire that one's legs (/nüǂ-) get blisters (ǂgo·ro) . . . . . April

V. ǂnü·ǂ //kχãasa, "the black month." In the southern winter, the drouth period, the black branches of the bushes that have shed their foliage give the landscape its characteristic aspect (57) . . May

57. Ibid.

VI. /hai·//kχãasa . . . . . June

VII. °/kχũ·ǂ//kχãasa, that is, "the month of the Pleiades." For an observer at 25° Southern Latitude the Pleiades become visible in the second half of June. As it was mentioned earlier (see p. 368), the appearance of the Pleiades is of significance for the wanderings of the natives who are seeking tsam·a. Hence, it is understandable that they name the lunation from the month of June to July after this constellation . . . . July

VIII. hõaǂri·b . . . . . August

IX. !hoǂa·ǂga·eb, the month "when the leaves (ǂga·e-) are crooked (crinkled by winter) (!hoǂa·)." (57). . . . . September

57. Ibid.

X. gaiǂkχa·ni . . . . . October

XI. °/gõ·a!kχa·ni . . . . . November

XII. /hõ·ǂǂga·eb. When the fresh, young verdure

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sprouts from the old withered grass roots after the first plentiful rain, then the grass meadow (≠ga·eb, "leaves") seems to be checked (/hõ/, with a black and white checked marking) (see p. 265) . . December

[177] δ) The Hottentot became familiar with the division of time into weeks only as a day laborer in the service of the whites: he had to get used to paydays and holidays. His calendar for this purpose is a thin piece of wood, about 10 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide, into which seven holes have been burned. A thong is attached to one end, and the loose end of the thong is inserted successively through one of the holes, each of which designates a certain day of the week. The women like to tie the calendar wood to their necklaces by means of the upper end of the thong; the men like to wear it on their hats along with a fluttering ostrich feather. The primitive calendar is called bē·kgye hais, the "week wood" (borrowed from Dutch week).

[373] ε) The smallest unit of time measurement of the Hottentots is the day, tsēs, and the night, tsū·χub. They indicate the length of a journey by days and nights. //a·ri means both "tomorrow" and "yesterday."

The other distinctions they make do not refer to lengths of time but only to times of day. In this connection the many words for the time between day and night is striking, whereas in the day itself only noon, tsē!gā/b, is emphasized. This becomes understandable if one considers that the sun, with negligible exceptions, is visible all year long from early in the morning until evening. The Hottentot knows how to express specific hours as well as duration of time, with certainty and comprehensibly, by reference to the position of the sun.

Special designations are used only for the time at the beginning and at the end of the day.

1. °//go·a!a·roam is the dawn.

2. °!u·itsū·χubab is the dusk.

3. The bright time of day shortly before sunrise is called °kχai·//go·agab since this period of daybreak (//go·ab) is usually the most bitingly cold (!kχai).

4. The period of brightness immediately following sunset is called °/a ba/ho·bab, that is "the red twilight."

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5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," ᵒǂkχa·ǀm!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The ᵒ/u·iab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with out forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight ᵒtsũ·χub!gã·ǀb, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

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We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organized in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

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Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 315) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kχãǀb, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

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embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The fœtus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognized to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with upstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a */nau* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 213–17; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 226–7.
[2] "The Nama," 135.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 216.
[4] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 85.
[5] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," 648.

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Pleiades, on account of their thick cluster of stars, are called by the name */hũiseti* or */kxũiseti*, derived from the verb */hũ* to assemble, or are otherwise known as */ao /gamiroti*, "Hoar-frost stars," since at the time when they become visible the nights may already be so cold that hoar-frost is found in the morning. 821

Of these stars Hahn gives the following myth, which he names "The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women".[1] "The /Khunuseti (Pleiades) said to their husband, 'Go thou and shoot those three Zebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home.' And the husband went out with only one arrow, and he shot with his bow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed the Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, and the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. And because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there he sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger. And the /Khunuseti said to the other men: 'Ye men, do you think that you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, we defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed game.'" 821 773

In explanation Hahn states[2] that Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the husband of the myth, and the */Khunuseti*, or Pleiades, are his wives. His bow is ν ν Orionis; his sandals, *//haroa*, are ε and δ of the Hyades; his kaross is θ and γ of the Hyades; δ, ε, ζ, Orionis are the zebras, */gurega*, and Leo is the Lion. The arrow */ab* is marked by *i*, *d*, *c*, Orionis, of which again it is called *//naus*, the arrowhead, and *c* is the opposite end, where */aus*, the feather is fixed.

The gleam of the Milky Way and of the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentot of the weak glow of the embers of a hearth fire. The former is therefore known as *tsaob*, Ember, the masculine singular ending reflecting the large slender shape of the constellation, and the latter as *tsaora*, Embers (fem. dual), the ending reflecting the clumpy form and the smallness of the constellation. The Magellanic Clouds are also called *xaun /kauruku*, "the two lion testicles." Of single fixed stars Schultze heard only Sirius named, as the "Side Star", */naun /gamirob*. Two other names of stars are recorded by Hahn: *maru*, "the two eyes," for α and β Centauri, and *xaun di mura*, the eyes of the lion, for μ 1 and 2 Scorpionis.[3] It will be remembered that he also speaks of the stars as the eyes of the deceased. 821

The calendar of the Hottentots[4] is based on the change of the 805

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 74. [2] Ibid., 108-9. [3] Ibid., 109 [4] Schultze, op. cit., 369-73.

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805 seasons, the phases of the moon, and the daily positions of the sun. They are well acquainted with the concrete phenomenon of the year, */gurib*, as a single period of seasonal variation, but they do not reckon in years of this sense. The year, that is, is empirically given by them, but not limited in the abstract. Above all, it is not a calendrical and numerical quantity. They keep in mind the age of their cattle, which they reckon by calving and lambing periods. They have, however, no interest in their own ages. When they wish to date back somewhat further, well-known events, such as the outbreak of rinderpest, hostilities with neighbouring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc., furnish them with satisfactory points of control, from which, coupling them in particular instances with the birth of their children or the stature of these at the time, they can arrive at a date.

805 821 The major divisions of the year are the seasons, *gamagu*, of which there are four. In determining these the Hottentots seem to keep in mind the vegetation rather than the climate. They distinguish, first, early spring, (*/kxu//aēb*, blossoming-time, or */abab*, spring), which has come when with increasing warmth, independently of the rainfall, trees and bushes break into leaf, and in good years winter or early spring rains have revived the grass. It begins as early as August and ends in October. The following season, *//kxūnab* (in the Bergdama dialect *soreb*, " sun-time ") embraces the first half of the hot period, in which, when the year is good, the so-called lesser rains fall. If these are failing, or, as is usually the case, are scanty, the land is for the most part desolate, without grass or herbage. This time of drought is sometimes called by the same name as drought itself, */kxarub*. It prevails from October to December inclusive, and thus corresponds to the astronomical spring of the Southern hemisphere. The season upon the productiveness of which the welfare of the Hottentots most depends, *//kaob*, may be called the pasture season; it includes the period of the greater rains and the time immediately after this, when the fodder has not yet lost its freshness. It comprises, loosely speaking, the period January to April, thus corresponding to summer and the beginning of autumn. Winter, *saob*, or the cold season, lasts from May to August, and thus embraces two-thirds of the autumn and the first half of winter.

Further divisions of the year are based on observations of the moon. The month, known by the same name as the moon itself, *//kxāb*, begins when the crescent of the moon appears in the western sky. The phases of the moon symbolise to the Hottentot his own growth and decay.

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The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called *ǂkxum//kxāb*, *ǂkxum* meaning "unripe" in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon "revives", is called by a name with that significance, */gāgo //kxāb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gui-//kxūgaira //kxāb*, "the moon which becomes great or old (*gui*)," and *gaaira //kxāb*, "the moon which becomes wise (*gāai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as "the dying moon", *//ōra //kxāb*.

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows:—

I. (January) *ǂkxumm //kxāb*, "the moon which follows upon the *ǂkxum* (*Salsola*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gumm /aēb*, not translated.
III. (March) *Khasi aēb*, "when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *ǂgoro /aēb*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that "the legs blister".
V. (May) *ǂnu //kxāo*, the "black month," comes in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) *ǂkai //kxāo*, not translated.
VII. (July) *ǂkoa //kxāo*, "the month of the Plaisen," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *kaoxā*, not translated.
IX. (September) *ǂkoe ǂgaob*, the month "when the leaves are curled up" by the cold.
X. (October) *gui ǂkaoxi*, not translated.
XI. (November) *ǂgoe ǂkaoxi*, not translated.
XII. (December) *ǂke ǂgaob*, named from the fact that when, after the first productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young green shoots up, the meadows, *ǂgaob*, appear to be dappled, *ǂke*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsēs*, and the night, *tsīkaob*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsī /gāb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of

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805 821 night distinguished is midnight, *tsūxub /gāb*, " the back of the night." On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//goa /aroam* and */uitsūxubab* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named */kxai //goagab*, because about dawn (*//goab*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*/kxai*), and evening brightness, */aba /hobob*, the " red twilight ". " Little children's twilight," *ǂkxam-/goa-/hobob*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/goan*) are born. Afternoon, */uiab*, and morning, *//goagab*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, */uib*, and late evening, */oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

805 177 The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *bekgye hais*, " week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.

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is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Cotyledon Walchii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkheyra sp.*, powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the same reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, that its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox is given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

Star Lore and Calendar

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and medicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or less directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the cares of everyday life, there is little trace of organized conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen are, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, and, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of season and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force the attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not discuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives a valuable detailed description.[1]

From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies for the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

[1] *Namaland and Kalahari*, 364–73.

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but not much" than k. I have always heard this sound as k with a following χ and therefore write it that way.

r is rolled with the tongue, not made with the uvula.

s is pronounced weakly at the end of a word like the German sch in "Busch," "Bresche," but at the beginning of a word like the s in "salz," "Sonne," etc. often sharply as in the French "salon."

ts is pronounced as is German z in "Zahn," "Zunft" etc.

f and l are missing in the Nama language. When met with occasionally they occur in word stems borrowed from the Dutch: gurla·bigis, butterfly; f(a)la·migob, the flamingo, ff·lsib, the vuilziekte of the Boers (lues).

[364] B. Knowledge of Nature

820

What we learned (from our consideration of the sustenance and medicine, handicrafts, animal husbandry and hunting as well as from the portrayal of the land and climate) about the Hottentot's specific knowledge of the three realms of nature was that it derived more or less directly from material exigencies and had always been connected with them. The question now poses itself whether this knowledge also exists independently of the cares of daily life, that is, to what extent it can be regarded as the free expression of intellectual stimuli. It will be shown that despite all the intellectual agility of the Hottentot his knowledge of nature at no time rises to an even rudimentary form of natural science. Only in two fields can we recognize at least the striving for a certain continuation beyond the rudiments or for an organization of the factual data: in the field of biology (which even today is closest to the hunter and cattle owner) and -- almost lost once again to oblivion -- in the field of division of time, whose seasonal changes and deep influence upon animated nature both give the herdsman cause to think.

1. Flora and Fauna

[365] The Hottentot's knowledge of animals and plants will not be discussed here. The zoological and botanical classification of the material I collected must be finished before we can attain a clear picture of the matter. We would gain nothing by simply listing the native names.

§2 ●

Likewise, the good anatomical knowledge of the Hottentots can be better portrayed only after the biological basis has been worked out.

2. Astronomy

§21 §23

From childhood on the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way on his own out on the range. As a child he orients himself by means of close, familiar things like groups of bushes, trees, and rock formations. Later, when he undertakes longer migrations with his family in search of pasturage, he is compelled by the lack of rain in the land to help himself along from one water hole to the next. His migrations thus are composed of treks, of which each one has as its daily goal a relatively nearby spot that is determined by local conditions. Therefore the herder does not need to seek for his journey any points of orientation in the sky except the sun.

a) The starry sky therefore is little known to the Hottentot. It is an open question whether it was always this way or whether also in this field traditions have paled with the general decline of folk character.

α) The sun, so·res, gives the Hottentot, too, his points of orientation for distinguishing the points of the compass: the east is called ᵓsoresta//hai·//kχāb, that is, "the side on which the sun rises." The west is ᵓsorestaǂgā·//kχāb, "the side on which the sun sets."

I learned a common designation for north and south: ᵓsoreskŏ·!nab; for if one looks in one of these directions, the sun shines upon (!na) one's cheek (χŏb). I learned the words !kχa·bagab and /aba·s only as designations for the winds from the south and the north; in other parts (57) of

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

the country they may serve also for the designation of the abstract directions. But I consider this to be a later extension of the terms. Close contact with the Hottentots demonstrates how remote they are from all abstract concepts if the senses alone suffice. The sun itself, its rising and setting, the wind which blows from here or from there, the place to which they previously wandered--these are the elements of their geographical knowledge, and they suffice for mutual comprehension.

[366] The moon will be treated in connection with time calculation.

hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain. §47

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked. §45

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not. §47

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?" [821]

[220] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end of the cord. A span's width from the navel of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger) the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily. [804]

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl. [791]

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ga-baras (lateral clicking sound), our good luck caul. [787]

92

Likewise, the good anatomical knowledge of the Hottentots can be better portrayed only after the biological basis has been worked out.

2. Astronomy

92.1
92.3

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[366] The moon will be treated in connection with time calculation.

β) Among the stars, /ga/miroti, they are acquainted primarily with the two planets whose propinquity to the sun and regularly varying position in the morning and evening sky makes their observation quite obvious: Mercury and Venus.

The traveler in Namaland who spends the night under the open sky and to whose eyes Mercury is not dimmed by a long twilight as in our latitudes or from whom Mercury is not concealed by the morning fog -- this traveler knows the two precursors of the rising sun and their relation to each other. The following table, which Professor Otto Knopf in Jena kindly set up for me, may serve to orient people less familiar with local conditions. The most striking phenomena which have given rise to the native names for these planets, are indicated by an asterisk:

Venus, called //kya-nus, rises 1 1/2 to 3 hours before the sun; it moves (!gũũ) ahead (ai) of the sun and is therefore also called *ai!gũũs, the "precursor," the "voorlooper" of the Boers, our morning star. Another designation of Venus is *aogura//hã-b, that is, the star at whose rising the men (aogu) run off (//hã, -ra particle of progressive action), that is, seek out their own bed so that day will not surprise them in an improper bed of love. This is expressed even more clearly by the synonymous designation *hũ-/aogu/ga/mirob (hũ/ signifies extramarital intercourse).

Venus, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, is followed by Mercury; Mercury is closest to daybreak (//go-ai) and is therefore called "daybreak star", //go-a/ga-/miros, the "daybreaker" of the Boers. Another name for Mercury is *//go-a//kyau-ris; this indicates that this planet comes early in the morning when the udders of the cattle (which are milked in the morning and in the evening) are full again.

The Hottentot, who looks at the eastern sky late in the night so as to break camp before day, pays primary attention to Venus. It is easy for him to overlook little Mercury, which changes its position more frequently with respect to the sun and is therefore often not where expected. This is especially true when Mercury, contrary to the rule, rises before Venus. And he overlooks Mercury all the more carelessly the later Venus itself appears because then it becomes less necessary to wait for the straggler (since they still believe that Mercury follows Venus) and less possible to determine its appearance in the breaking dawn. One must take these conditions into consideration to excuse the natives in their contradictions which can be easily figured out by astronomy and the lack of clarity among the whites about these questions.

821 Number of Hours and Minutes which at 25° Southern Latitude

Mercury		Venus		
Rises Before the Sun	Sets After the Sun	Rises Before the Sun	Sets After the Sun	Date
—	0h 33m	—	0h 35m	1. I. 1903
—	—	—	0 36	2. II.
2h 3m	—	—	1 9	3. III.
0 31	—	—	1 39	4. IV.
—	—	—	2 6	5. V.
—	0 37	—	2 32	6. VI.
—	0 19	—	3 07	7. VII.
1 40	—	—	3 11	8. VIII.
—	0 39	—	3 44	9. IX.
—	1 56	—	—	10. X.
—	0 21	1h 11m	—	11. XI.
0 34	—	0 44	—	12. XII.
—	0 37	0 33	—	1. I. 1904
—	1 20	0 53	—	2. II.
0 44	—	0 53	—	3. III.
0 30	—	0 28	—	4. IV.
—	—	1 54	—	5. V.
—	0 18	1 23	—	6. VI.
—	0 46	—	—	7. VII.
1 43	—	0 47	—	8. VIII.
0 43	—	0 7	—	9. IX.
—	—	—	0 30	10. X.
—	1 37	—	1 7	11. XI.
—	0 41	—	1 43	12. XII.
0 49	—	—	2 21	1. I. 1905
—	0 3	—	2 46	2. II.
—	1 20	—	3 19	3. III.
0 4	—	—	3 53	4. IV.
1 45	—	—	4 3	5. V.
0 33	—	—	3 5	6. VI.
—	—	—	2 20	7. VII.
—	0 49	—	—	8. VIII.
0 34	—	0 28	—	9. IX.
1 45	—	1 58	—	10. X.
—	—	2 29	—	11. XI.
—	0 36	3 09	—	12. XII.
—	0 3	3 8	—	
0 25	—	0 10	—	
0 24	—	0 33	—	
—	—	1 33	—	
—	0 58	1 33	—	
—	1 38	1 3	—	

821

The Hottentots do not observe that Mercury also appears as an evening star since this planet is of significance to them only as a harbinger of day.

Venus, however, is not to be overlooked even in the evening (!u-ib); it is recognized by the Hottentots as being identical with the morning star. Because it never tarries long in the sky as the evening star but, as it were, hastens away (!kʒo-e), it has received the name °!u-!!kʒo-eb, that is, "the fleet one of the evening."

Jupiter is likewise known to the Hottentots. They occasionally identify it with Venus since they say that this star, in the course (368) of the weeks, wanders through the skies like the moon. But regardless of how the relations of the two planets to each other may be interpreted by the individual, in every case the Hottentot sees Jupiter, in contrast to Venus, "in the middle" (//e-egub) of the sky and of the night as well as in the east and in the west. In accordance with this conception he calls Jupiter the "middle star," °//e-ega/ga°mirob.

γ) Orion is the most striking constellation in the fixed star heavens of the Southern Hemisphere as well as the Northern. Of these stars the Hottentot, ignoring those of first magnitude, includes only the six which correspond to the belt and the sword according to our fantasy. He calls this group !go-regu, that is, the zebras: the stars δ, ε and ζ represent to his eyes three zebras in flight, at the middle one of which the hunter, ι, shoots his arrow, β and ϵ.

I heard the Pleiades, because of their closely clustered stars, called °/hũ/neti (/hũ/ - "to assemble"). More widespread is another name which shows more than mere dialect difference from the first: /xũ/neti. The Pleiades become visible in the middle of June for an observer at the 25th degree Southern Latitude, thus in the first half of the cold season. I heard a native of the upper Aub territory call the Pleiades °gao-/g/amiroti, that is, "frost stars," because at the time when they become visible the nights can already be so cold that there is frost early in the morning. For the Bushmen of the above-mentioned district the appearance of the Pleiades is supposed to be the sign for setting out into the tsam a fields.

The glitter of the Milky Way and the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentots of the weak glow of the ashes dying away in their hearth or campfires. Hence, they call the Milk Way °tsaob, that is, "the ash" (with a masculine ending corresponding to its long slender shape); the two luminous clouds on the other hand are called °tsaoxa (with a feminine ending in the dual corresponding to their lumpy form and small size). The Magellanic Clouds are also called "the two testicles of the lion," ǂkamma-a/rakʼka.

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Of the individual fixed stars I heard only Sirius mentioned by Hottentots: it was called "ǂnaːǂm/gaʰmirob, and sometimes also "ǂnaːǂmiaːǂna, that is, "side star." I could not determine the significance of this word with any certainty, and only a supposition can perhaps be justified: "The Hottentot, as we have seen earlier (p. 61), calls the east wind ai-ǂo-ab, because it comes from "in front." Hence, if the east, as the point where the sun rises, is the front of the world for him, then north and [369] south would be the sides. From this conception it would be comprehensible that Sirius, the brightest star of the Northern sky of the Southern Hemisphere, is regarded as the "side star." Its partner in the southern skies would be Canopus.

b) The time division of the Hottentots is based upon the change of the seasons, of the phases of the moon, and of the daily position of the sun. 805

a) They have, to be sure, the concept "year," guri-b, which refers to the period encompassing the seasonal changes, but they do not calculate according to years in our sense. I got the impression that they recall the age of their cattle according to calf and lamb periods. Their own age is of no interest to them, and if they perchance want to date something further back, then they use well-known local events (the outbreak of cattle plague, hostilities with neighboring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc.) as sufficiently general points of reference, from which they can then date a specific moment by figuring in the birth or size of the children in the family at that time.

β) The change of the seasons, ga-mage, determines the division of the whole year. They distinguish the following seasons:

1. An early spring. When with increasing warmth (!o-ba, vb.; also said of the early sun that warms the eastern sides of the rocks and bushes after a cold night) and independent of the rainfall the trees and bushes begin budding and, in good years, wintery early rains or early spring rains (cf. Climate, p. 154 ff.) revitalize the meadows, the blossoming time, "ǂkhoã///aeb, or spring, !aka-b, has come. It begins as early as August and ends in October.

2. The season that the Hottentot calls //kʰõ-nab (in the Bergdamara dialect "nowb, that is, "the sun time") comprises the first half of a hot period, during which the so-called "little" rainy season occurs if the year is good. If these rains do not come or if they are sparse, as is usually the case, then the land remains extensively barren, without growth of grass and plants. This period of drouth, like the drouth itself, is called /kuru-b. The //kʰõ-nab of the Hottentots extends from October through

December and thus corresponds astronomically to the spring of the Southern Hemisphere. 805

3. The season upon whose abundance the welfare of the Hottentots primarily depends is called //ha/o-b (3, m.); we can call it the grazing season (since the word is also used in the same concrete sense as tib, "pasture"). It comprises the so-called "big" [370] rainy period of the year and the time immediately following, during which the fodder plants retain their greenness. It falls, generously estimating, between the months of January and April, hence into the southern summer and the beginning of fall.

4. The winter of the Hottentots, sao-b, comprises the cold season from May to August and therefore includes the last two-thirds of the fall and the first half of winter by astronomical calculation.

7) A more detailed organization of the year is based upon the observation of the phases of the moon. When, after the new moon, the crescent again appears (ǂkxani-, vb.) in the western sky, they consider the month //kxãb begun. For the Hottentot the phases of the moon are symbols of his own development and passing away (cf. Folk tale XXX): the crescent which is just appearing and still scarcely recognizable is called °ǂkxa/m//kxãb, ǂkxa/m with the meaning "unripe." The word is also used to designate a fruit which is prematurely born. [321]

The narrow glittering crescent in which the moon, as it were, comes alive (that is the original meaning of !gĕ), is called °!gĕ-go//kxãb.

The first two quarters have two names that are common to both of them. The first is °gai-//kxãgai-ra//kxãb, "the moon that becomes big or old (gai)." The other name is °gĕ/ai-ra//kxãb, "the moon that becomes clever (gĕ/ai)."

Thus, they cause the moon to increase in age and wisdom until it ripens into the full moon, °gai//kxãb.

In the last quarters only the narrow crescent is characterized as °//ĕa//kxãb, "the dying (//ĕ, -ra, participle of progressive action) moon."

Proportionately as our twelve months and the dates of the Christian festivals gain prominence, the Hottentots gradually forget the time reckoning of their ancestors. It is definitely established that they gave names to the individual lunations of the year in close connection to the change of the seasons. In Kroenlein's "Wortschatz" (57) Hottentot

57, J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1809.

to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening. And dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

*Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (Stictoenas phaeonota Gray, ǂnabu-s), probably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: *ǀhai kχoēse-, ǀhai ǀhuru-, !gaba //kχāb gom !kχai χōbe o! "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, *!huriē, b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a Calandrella cinerea (Gm.) or a Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.), has a zig-zagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zigzag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words ǂim-dire!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the !kχe-ririeb bird (which seems to belong to a species of Pycnonotus): *ǀGo-rub ǂkxa-rib, /gu-ri //goē-, hū-dire /gu-ri //goē-!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hudire lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the Corvus capensis Licht., *//hū-rab, which is derived from //hū, ra, "to scratch around the ground

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726 789 Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped." Schultze mentions another practice, which almost seems to be a fragment of what may have been a developed ceremonial performed preparatory to a warlike expedition. To steel himself to his bloody work, he says, any man who has not yet killed an enemy must drink the blood of a slaughtered animal before going out against the foe.[1]

726 787 Omens enter very largely into the life of the warrior. Sudden ringing of the ears or the flying of an insect into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune. A halo round the moon signifies that somewhere a decisive battle has been fought and the cattle of the vanquished [824] driven off.[2] The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties or an expedition of war will certainly return home. *//Gaunabi ge dake ka*, they say, "we are overpowered by *//Gaunas*"; and they commence to cry aloud, *torob ni ka, //o ge ni*, "war is approaching, we are going to die."[3] Dreams are usually regarded as of great import, and the faculty of seeing in them the future or events taking place at a great distance has driven many Hottentot [643] leaders into taking a decisive step. Hendrik Witbooi, perhaps the greatest of the Nama warrior chiefs, is said to have first received the idea of making himself the dominant native chief in South-West Africa, an idea which he strenuously strove to convert into reality, through a vision in which he saw all the Hottentot tribes united into one nation under his leadership, fighting against and annihilating the OvaHerero.[4]

727 559 One other practice is mentioned by Hahn, which hints at something similar to the rites formerly observed in connection with big game hunting, but of which there is unfortunately no further information. "Bravery was highly admired," he says, "and girls used to meet the victorious heroes who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. [309] The priest or */gaiaob* cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint (*sic*) stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as *Xamo-/gaoaob*, Lion-killer, *//Oaǂkaoaob*, The One who cannot die, *Aogu-//ãb*, Destroyer of heroes, etc." Names of places and rivers up to this day, he adds, tell us of battles once fought, such as */Khami* and */Khamis*, Battlefield; */Kho-//oo-xas*, "You cannot catch me"; */Khoxoas*, the one last caught; */Kaixas*, peace; and */Huritamas*, "I am not afraid."[5]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90, 82; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 378. [2] Schultze, *loc. cit.* [3] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 89. [4] Schultze, *loc. cit.*; Kuhl, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," 52. [5] *Op. cit.*, 83–4.

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To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarás*, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarás*, the whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */kai /aun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forebode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze,

[1] Op. cit., 129–30. [2] "The Nama," 133. [3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 128–29.

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821 775 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat, etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm, or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place, are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the putrefying body.[1]

769 782 775 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people. The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep" at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered, 'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps, that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise not from the "soul", as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse, since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

[1] Op. cit., 107.
[2] Op. cit., 83, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112–13.

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There is, however, some ground for supposing that, like the Bushmen, they formerly invoked the Moon. A number of the earliest writers state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing, and merrymaking,[1] and Valentijn also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the bank of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water.[2] It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of this proceeding; one suggestion is that it was a rain-making rite, but there is no evidence to support this view. Kolb, again, says that the Cape Hottentots looked on the Moon as their visible God, which they called *Gounja* or "Great Chief". At new moon and at full moon they would dance, jump, and gesticulate all through the night in its honour, and looking towards it would sing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk."[3] And similarly Roos and Marais write of the Namas: "Their religion consists principally in worshipping and praising the new moon. For when it appears the men place themselves together in a circle and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, whereupon the women begin to clap their hands, and dance round the men, continually crying out that the last moon had protected them and their cattle well, and they hoped the same from this new moon. In addition the first Cabonas [//Habona or //Haboben] whom we met praised the moon especially for having brought into their land a people from whom they had received so much good."[4] The dance described here is the ordinary reed dance of the Namas, but the invocation of the new moon shows clearly that the occasion was more than a mere social festivity.

The facts noted above, sketchy as they are, seem to indicate beyond doubt that the Hottentots revered the Moon. Nowadays the prayers are no longer heard, and the worship has ceased, but the new moon is always hailed in welcome, and at full moon "the old heathens with the young people" still hold their dances to the music of the reed pipes, rommelpot, or the fiddle.[5] The Moon, as we have seen, also figures in the mythology of the people, where it is associated with the origin of death: it promises immortality to men, and when they are deceived by the hare, it is also the avenger, punishing the fateful messenger. Both it and the sun are said to have lived on earth before

[1] Dapper, op. cit., 277; Wilau, "Reisige aan van Pleteenberg," 104; Thunberg, op. cit., 8, 91; Hahn, op. cit., 79–91 (quoting Pfeilschmt and Vogel).
[2] *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën*, part v, 138 (quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 58).
[3] *Vervolgh der Caapse Beschrijving*, 101–2.
[4] "Rapport van den Heere van Tulbagh," 56. [5] Olpp, op. cit., 91.

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there were people,[1] but no other myths connected with it have been recorded similar to those found among the Cape Bushmen.

The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. "One would almost believe that a great calamity had befallen a kraal," writes Hahn, "such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertaking."[2] The same dread significance is attached to the eclipse of the sun. Like that of the moon, it is believed to herald much sickness and even death. Other celestial phenomena are also ill omens. The appearance of the Aurora australis or of a comet threatens war and death—"we are overpowered by //Gauna," say the people, "war is approaching, we are going to die"—while a shooting star indicates that sickness will spread among the stock, and the people on such occasions move to another locality, and implore the star to spare them.[3] The stars, as we have seen, are said to be the eyes or the souls of the dead; but there is no mention of prayers for food or rain to either them or the sun such as are found among the Cape Bushmen. It may be noted, however, that a religious dance is held at the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset, when prayers are offered to *Tsui //Goab* for rain.

Supernatural Beings

Apart from the invocation of the Moon, the religious cult of the Hottentots seems to have centred mainly in the worship of Heroes, derived partly from animistic beliefs, partly from a personification of the natural forces producing rain. Of the beliefs and observances connected with these beings we have much fuller information, and it is apparent that they played a more prominent part in the religious life of the people than did the Moon. Three names stand out in Hottentot ritual and mythology: *Tsui //Goab*, *Heitsi Eibib*, and *//Gaunab*. All three, it will be observed, are masculine in form, as is also the name for the Moon, *//Khab*.

Tsui //Goab is the great Hero of the Nama and other Hottentot tribes. The name is usually translated "sore (or wounded) knee", from *tsu* or *tsui*, sore, wounded, and *//goab* or *//khoab*, the knee. Its origin is told in the following myth: "*Tsui //Goab* was a great powerful chief of the Khoikhoi; in fact, he was the first Khoikhoib,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 387. [2] Op. cit., 377; cf. Ibid., 89.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 89; Campbell, Travels in S. Africa, 2nd S., 208.

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Ede ade /Khowe Maisire, That we may bless thee,
ade tsas, Thou Father of our Fathers,
Ade /Khowe, Thou, our Lord,
Tsui /Goaub! Thou, Tsui /Goab!

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-/Goanas,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find sustenance."

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui /Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abob*, father, and */khaib*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Namab*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurib*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Namab*. Grevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui /Goab*) and *Khourrwa* (*/Gurib*).[3] The cloud */Namab* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Grevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 138, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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let rain "[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a */gei*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:— 776 782 821 [539]

/Gurib se /Gurib	The Hymn of the Thunder
/Hanamane!	Son of the Thunderbeast!
/Guri-khoi, /Gurusa!	Thou brave, loud-speaking /Guru!
/Oase gubare,	Talk softly, please,
/Hawiā t'am o-kā-amaē;	For I have no guilt;
/Uhasare	Let me alone! (Forgive me!)
/Oasage mūge.	For I have become quite weak.
/Gurusa!	Thou, O /Guru!
/Hanse ase!	Son of the Thunderbeast!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrou* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thakwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khaib*, i.e. *Tsui ||Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4] 773 776 821

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui ||Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tsaib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narra, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Bushman[6] with white hair, and who can do 753 776 782

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129-30. [2] Ibid., 73-80. [3] Leo, 18.
[4] Op. cit., 30-2. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 135.
[6] "Bushman," *Saan-khoib*, is another name used for themselves by the Hottentots, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *Saa-khoib*, "black men," and the Europeans as "white men" *Sab-khoib*.

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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oup is the
821 rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /hubo ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Namab*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 322. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of *//nam*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui //Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigum*, *Heitsib* or *Kaibib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," *passim*; Alice, "South-West Africa," 29.

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says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *kowmaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gaunа- //o-khoin*, *//Gaunа*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Sarib*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further intimately connected with the */hai /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the dead; in fact, *//gaunagu* in the plural is simply another name for */hai /nun*, and even the term *//gaunab* in the singular may be used for a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Naman are considered in some way connected with the */hai /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hai /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hai /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Beyträge zum Volk Namaqua," 1780.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 66.
[3] Ibid., 67; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," pp.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., pp. 67.
[5] Ibid., 68.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

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The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

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Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hai /us* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Heava* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

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Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaua* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 120.

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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 1924; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 1915.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hiaka*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gaunab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gaunab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gaunab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *The Bergdama*, I, 57 sqq.; Schultze, "The Burg Damara," 60 sqq.

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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, bark-pipes, is *!aba naiye*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it."[1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gais*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui !Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */nau* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances[4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 55-6. [2] Ibid., 58-60, passim.
[3] Ibid., 28; cf. Wilms, "Reise aus der Namaqua," 330.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 311-2; von François, op. cit., 208; Lichtenstein, op. cit., 372.

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823 trees, and rock formations. Later when he goes with his family on longer marches in search of pasture, he is forced owing to the barrenness of the land to seek his way from one waterhole to another. His wanderings consequently consist in treks, each having as its daily goal a spot relatively near by and fixed upon according to local conditions. As a result the Hottentot needs no other points of orientation in the sky apart from the sun, and his knowledge of the stars is therefore very limited.

821 823 The sun, *aeros*, also gives the Hottentot points of control for distinguishing positions of the horizon. The East is named *aeroxa //hai /khaiǂ*, "the side on which the sun rises," the West *aeroxa /gu /khaiǂ*, "the side on which the sun sets"; while for North and South there is a common term, *aeroxa /naiǂ*, since when one faces in either of these directions the sun shines on (*/na*, in) the cheeks (*naiǂ*). The names */khaibgaiǂ* and */akhas* for the south and north winds respectively are sometimes also used for the abstract points of the horizon, but this Schultze regards as a later transference. The sun itself, how it rises and sets, the wind blowing from here or there, the place to which he formerly wandered—these are the elements of the Hottentot's geographical notions, and they suffice for understanding.[1]

821 The moon and its phases are more appropriately discussed in connection with the calendar, in which it plays an extremely important part. Of the stars,[2] */gamiros*, the Hottentots know most accurately the two planets Venus and Mercury, whose closeness to the sun and regularly-alternating positions in the morning and evening sky make them readily observable. Venus, *//khamas*, is also known as "the Forerunner" of the sun, *ai/gaos*, or as *angaro //haiǂ*, "the star at whose rising men run away" (i.e. from illicit sexual intercourse). Mercury is the Dawn Star, *//gos /gamiros*, or the star that comes when the udders of the cows are filled again; as an evening star he is not observed. Venus as an evening star is recognized to be the same celestial body as the morning star, and is then called the "Evening Fugitive", */ui /khaiǂ*, since it does not remain long in the sky. Jupiter is also known, but is sometimes identified with Venus; when, however, he is seen "in the middle of the sky" he is called the "Middle Star", *//angu /gamiros*.

The six stars of the belt and sword of Orion are grouped together as the "Zebras", */gaugu*; δ, ε, ζ, are three fugitive zebras against the middle one of which the hunter ε shoots his arrows θ and ι. The

[1] Ibid., 363. [2] Ibid., 368-9.

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Pleiades, on account of their thick cluster of stars, are called by the name */khûsi* or */kuûsi*, derived from the verb */kû* to assemble, or are otherwise known as */ao /gowiroti*, "Hoar-frost stars," since at the time when they become visible the nights may already be so cold that hoar-frost is found in the morning. 821 •

Of these stars Hahn gives the following myth, which he names "The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women":[1] "The /Khuuseti (Pleiades) said to their husband, 'Go thou and shoot those three Zebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home.' And the husband went out with only one arrow, and he shot with his bow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed the Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, and the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. And because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there he sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger. And the /Khuuseti said to the other men: 'Ye men, do you think that you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, we defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed game.'" 821 773

In explanation Hahn states[2] that Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the husband of the myth, and the */Khuuseti*, or Pleiades, are his wives. His bow is ν ν Orionis; his sandals, *//karos*, are ε and δ of the Hyades; his kaross in θ and γ of the Hyades; δ, ε, ζ, Orionis are the zebras, */gaoga*, and Leo is the Lion. The arrow */ab* is marked by ζ, δ, ε, Orionis, of which again ε is called *//aoxa*, the arrowhead, and ε in the opposite end, where */aoxa*, the feather is fixed.

The gleam of the Milky Way and of the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentot of the weak glow of the embers of a hearth fire. The former is therefore known as *aoxû*, Ember, the masculine singular ending reflecting the large slender shape of the constellation, and the latter as *aoxa*, Embers (fem. dual), the ending reflecting the clumpy form and the smallness of the constellation. The Magellanic Clouds are also called *aoxa /khoiseba*, "the two lion testicles." Of single fixed stars Schultze heard only Sirius named, as the "Side Star", */aoxi /gamiseb*. Two other names of stars are recorded by Hahn: *aoxa*, "the two eyes," for α and β Centauri, and *aoxû di aoxa*, the eyes of the lion, for μ 1 and 2 Scorpionis.[3] It will be remembered that he also speaks of the stars as the eyes of the deceased. 821

The calendar of the Hottentots[4] is based on the change of the 805

[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 74. [2] Ibid., 108-9. [3] Ibid., 109. [4] Schultze, 99, 181, 369-73.

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seasons, the phases of the moon, and the daily positions of the sun. They are well acquainted with the concrete phenomenon of the year, */gariś*, as a single period of seasonal variation, but they do not reckon in years of this sense. The year, that is, is empirically given by them, but not limited in the abstract. Above all, it is not a calendrical and numerical quantity. They keep in mind the age of their cattle, which they reckon by calving and lambing periods. They have, however, no interest in their own ages. When they wish to date back somewhat further, well-known events, such as the outbreak of rinderpest, hostilities with neighbouring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc., furnish them with satisfactory points of control, from which, coupling them in particular instances with the birth of their children or the stature of these at the time, they can arrive at a date.

The major divisions of the year are the seasons, *gamaǂ*, of which there are four. In determining these the Hottentots seem to keep in mind the vegetation rather than the climate. They distinguish, first, early spring, (*/kuu//aiś*, blossoming-time, or */aiśab*, spring), which has come when with increasing warmth, independently of the rainfall, trees and bushes break into leaf, and in good years winter or early spring rains have revived the grass. It begins as early as August and ends in October. The following season, *//kuiśaib* (in the Bergdama dialect *soraś*, "sun-time") embraces the first half of the hot period, in which, when the year is good, the so-called lesser rains fall. If these are failing, or, as is usually the case, are scanty, the land is for the most part desolate, without grass or herbage. This time of drought is sometimes called by the same name as drought itself, */kuuraś*. It prevails from October to December inclusive, and thus corresponds to the astronomical spring of the Southern hemisphere. The season upon the productiveness of which the welfare of the Hottentots most depends, *//kaaś*, may be called the pasture season; it includes the period of the greater rains and the time immediately after this, when the fodder has not yet lost its freshness. It comprises, loosely speaking, the period January to April, thus corresponding to summer and the beginning of autumn. Winter, *aaś*, or the cold season, lasts from May to August, and thus embraces two-thirds of the autumn and the first half of winter.

Further divisions of the year are based on observations of the moon. The month, known by the same name as the moon itself, *//kuiś*, begins when the crescent of the moon appears in the western sky. The phases of the moon symbolise to the Hottentot his own growth and decay.

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The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called *//kxaxa//kxáb*, *//kxaxa* meaning "unripe" in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon "revives", is called by a name with that significance, */gûgo //kxáb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gui-//kxâguiro //kxáb*, "the moon which becomes great or old (*gui*)," and *guairo //kxáb*, "the moon which becomes wise (*guai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as "the dying moon", *//ôro //kxáb*.

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows:—

I. (January) *//kxoaxoa //kxáb*, "the moon which follows upon the *//koa* (*//koáob*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gaoxa //xáb*, not translated.
III. (March) *//kxai xáb*, "when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *//gaxo //xáb*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that "the legs blister".
V. (May) *//oa //kxáo*, the "black month," common in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) *//kai //kxáo*, not translated.
VII. (July) *//oa //kxáo*, "the month of the Pleiades," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *//kxáb*, not translated.
IX. (September) *//oa //gaob*, the month "when the leaves are curled up" by the cold.
X. (October) *gui //kxaxa*, not translated.
XI. (November) *//gao //kxaxa*, not translated.
XII. (December) *//kx'//gaob*, named from the fall that when, after the few productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young green shoots up, the meadows, *//gaob*, appear to be dappled, *//kx*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsîs*, and the night, *tsîkxab*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsî //gâb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of

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night distinguished is midnight, *tsîxaâ /gâi*, "the back of the night." On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//gao /arosen* and */aisitsudaâ* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named */kaai //gaagaâ*, because about dawn (*//gaaâ*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*/kaai*), and evening brightness, */aka /kobaâ*, the "red twilight". "Little children's twilight," */kaaru-/gao-/kobaâ*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/gaon*) are born. Afternoon, */aisaâ*, and morning, *//gaagaâ*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, */aiâ*, and late evening, */oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

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The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *kakgye kais*, "week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.

773 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as
778 in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heimb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures
778 at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Un-
621 less all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heisb lingers.

773 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology.
● 821 It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-
762 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions
535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious
178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

6: Howrah E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

753 774 761 the Namas, either themselves, or through the /Gâi /Aogu, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Hoë /Nûn, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Hoë /Nûn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Hoë /Nûn come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Hoë /Nûn were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelswart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "/Gâu ani, tsi /hûp gûbas te go ore" (no fault, a white man alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die.* Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Hoë /Nûn that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water. The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Narin, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Red Natie, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old /Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Pho—e, hê re, tsin hê hê hun 'hun 'hun pho—e' (Pho—e, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, pho—e) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in the path. This expression, pho—e, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Namas, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

* See p. 224.

6: Howard E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Name

The other name for Siaris, the whirlwind, is //Gôaob, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gôaob. In the mythology of the people //Gôaob is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Namas and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gôaob and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be, //Gôaob is also connected with the /Hoï /Nûn, in fact, //Gôaonaqn in the plural is simply another name for /Hoï /Nûn, and old David Zwartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Hoï /Nûn were simply //Gôaob. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Hoï /Nûn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Hoï /Nûn or //Gôaob can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Nâoan, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:

'Ti //Nâoaan 'Huter, (My ancestors' territory).

!Oâsa !khoi !ûa te re, (Run nicely to meet me).

Then all would have been well."

ôâe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a T'gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Kama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "doobe," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D'aip jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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How the Hottentots honour the Moon. [After Kolb.

[Facing p. 70]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karkhouriquas and the Hessaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaaquas and Heinnequas, are under a king[**]). 619 622

RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them 't *Humma*[**]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him: for why, say they, should they pray to this 't *Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner***). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick 776 821 821 789

**) On the political organisation of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. 36.

**) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama /*hoeë*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits 't *Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsuni-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

***) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Hassan until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Cape Hottentot

high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[*]).

They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the rommelpot used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[**]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[***]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

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as /khais, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, VI, 183-188.

[**]) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1686 when going on an expedition to Polar Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intending to say it is a marthee." (D. Oct. 3, 1686.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

arborum. 9. ad [9] casas insertus. 10 ad [10] *flumen* latum. 11. ad *paradisum*, locum propter amoenitatem ita appellatum: ubi ex argillaceae terrae, aquas inquinantis, copia magna boni latitis longa est. 12. Ultimo denique ad [11] *cunctatorem* diem, qui circiter locatis a *Propugnaculo* distat.

CAP. XIX.

De modo saltandi.

Tripudiis, quae nobis gesticulationibus exercent, summopere gaudere videntur: cum, si vel minimus in illis religionis sensus sit, illum saltationis ritu maxime peragant. Quamprimum enim luna exsurgit, undique concurrunt. Mares primo corpore pedibus leviter pulsant humum, unisono, sed vel remissione vel intentione, ejulatu bonates, valde semper aegre gravi; ubi feminae circumsedentes manibus plaudunt canentes. Quod si forte in nostrarum aedibus *speculum* offendant, ridiculo gargalismo animum titillant, propria cum *Narcisso* delectati forma, mimicis gestibus in effusos dissolvuntur saltus, ut saepe defessi prosternantur; sicuti saepius ab *Hottentottico* juvene, in nostro hospitio famulante, conspexi.

CAP. XX.

De Religione.

Barbara licet & plane brutalis haec natio, ut inter eas [a] gentes, quae legum [b]iamai non habent, naturae quae legis sunt, faciunt, recognosci non potuit erier. Attamen *summi* cujusdam *Entis* vel leviculam cognitionem habere videntur, saepe de *supremo* quodam *Capitaneo* memorans:

[a] de gente hralam.
[b] hreda riviet.
[c] Idmeri-hacy.
[d] Roman. cap. 2.

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[487] *I take this to be a mistake for Kafferkulls riviet. Mossop (V.R.S. 13, Appendix C) identifies Caffer Kulls riviet (doubtfully) with Palmiet River in the Caledon district, which suits this passage. Mossop's notes to his translation of Schrijver's journey to the East (*op. cit.*) give the best information available on this whole itinerary. (R.F.)*

[535] [a]) *Most of the early writers on the Hottentots state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking. None of them, however, declare explicitly that the Hottentots worshipped the moon, except for Kolb, who says that they looked on the Moon as their visible*

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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River;" (9) to Knoflocha Kralles; (6) to Botter River; (7) to Rivier Sander Ryude; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragel's Boom; (9) Ganse Kralles; (10) Brede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charm, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 136 leucae distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they most show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, lustily chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fixed expression of seriousness on their faces; the women sit round in a circle clapping and singing.[1])

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is numbered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

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God, which they called *Gounja*, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Ross and Marais, in 1783, also record an invocation to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in association with the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the Moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 278-9.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 ubi enim corrugat aeris frontem spissius coelum, ut tonitrua mugiant, vel frendentia rutilent fulmina, fulgurave praemicent, inquiunt illi, *summus* ille iratus est *Capitaneus*. Tum ubi quis ex illorum amicis in bellis a nostris conficitur, atque superstitum aliquis ejusdem necis intentatur minis, haec corruptis *Belgicismo* affatur: Dat is doet: Was makum? Duytsman altyt kallum: Ieke Hottentota doet makum: Maaky doet, Ieke struck nae onse groie Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geune. Quae ita verbotenus donantur latio: *Ague! quid facitis? Belgae semper situnt; Ego interficiam Hottentottos; Ita occidite! Ego si moriar, statim ad summum nostrum Capitaneum proficiscar. Vir ille meinet albis donabit bobus.* Illi quippe sacra armeniorum ornamenta illis habentur: ubi vero serenus micat aether, dicunt: Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geune; h.e. *Optimus est ille Capitaneus, albis qui nos impertiet bobus.* Sed haec fortuito pronunciant rogati. Ast ordinarium eorum cultus cum omnibus fere antiquis gentilibus, quarum primi in ea sententia fuere *Aegyptii*, in hoc convenire videntur, ut [r]) *Solem* & *Lunam* pro *Diis* suis habeant. *Soli* hunc cultum deferunt: [s]) illum orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur; quandoque ad fluvium conficiunt ex pruinia argilla totos glomulorum cumulos conficientes, quos magno cum strepitu in aquam projiciant, idque, ut illi praeterunt, in *Solis* honorem. *Lunam* vero, ut dictum saltando venerantur.

r) videatur Plato in Cratylo &c. (See Plato, *Cratylus*, etc.)

s) ut Plinius lib. 5. cap. 8 de Atlantibus. (As Pliny, bk. 5, chap. 8, says about the Atlantes.) (His words are: "solem orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur". B.F.)

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776 ● 821 [t]) Similar statements are made by such reliable authorities as Valentyn and Hahn. The former speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khoutyou* (i.e. *Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thaikua* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui-||Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great God is angry with us." Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord is speaking; he is scolding them." (Quoted by Schapera, op. cit., 381.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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Heaven thickens and gathers its airy brows into a frown so that the thunder peals or the red bolt falls crashing down or lightnings flash, then they say the Great Chief is angry.[47]) Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doet: Wat maken? Duytsman altyt kallom: Ieke Hottentota doet maken: Maaky doet, Ieke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geene." Which words may be thus rendered: "Come! What are you doing? Dutchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen." These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

But when the sun shines clear, they say: "Braves onse Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geene." That is, "Great is that Chief who will give us white oxen." But these words they pronounce perhaps only when asked. Their ordinary worship seems to agree with almost all the pagans of antiquity, among whom the Egyptians were the first to adopt the opinion that the Sun and Moon are gods. To the Sun they offer this worship, that at his rising and setting they gaze on him with dreadful cursings[48]). Sometimes they sit down by a river and from the nearest clay they make whole mounds of little balls which, with a great noise, they hurl into the water: this they allege they do in honour of the sun. The moon, as has been said, they worship by dancing.

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[47]) Hahn quotes from Baar (1871) the following statement: "One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, when the day dawns, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens," upon which he comments: "This is nothing else but the *Tsui-||goab* worship" (*Tsuni-||goam*, pp. 48, 49); adding further on (*op. cit.*, 134) "when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: 'Oh, Tsu||goa, All-Father'". In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Ten Rhyne is mistaken in regarding the "worship" he records as directed towards the sun; its object is rather *Tsui-||goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. (Cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 376 f.)

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Afr. F417

affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose bedroom is beyond reform he puts away.

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[67]) The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population.

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun sore, the moon cha, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.[67]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness.

(The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[68])) They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

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67) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Namas use the terms aoxa for the sun, and //kaob for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is aoxab.)

68) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Negro FX17

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It is very probable that it is from their own ancestors the native priests learned the practice of slaughtering victims large and small in the case of sickness, marriage, and the ratifying of treaties.

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It is difficult to say, and they themselves do not know, whence they got the custom of celebrating merrily under the full moon feasts of circumcision, purification, purgation, betrothal, and others, and of varying these solemnities and the honored holidays and sports of marriage festivals with regular funereal dirges of mourning women and banquets for the dead, and of performing various rites and covenants.

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An opinion that obtains among our Africans,*) a superstitious belief which infects the race, is that nobody departs this life by disease, by destiny, by a natural death, but they believe that all are taken off by poison, except those who fall at the hands of the enemy, or are torn by wild beasts, or bitten by snakes, or stung by some other poisonous animal. Consequently when someone dies after an illness it often happens, among those who live near Natal, that they consult a soothsayer (more properly a false-sayer) and ask him who removed the dead man from among them by poison. The witch-doctor then denounces somebody, just as it comes into his head, at the bidding of hope, annoyance, anger or jealousy. Whoever this Calchas accuses on a false charge of an imaginary crime, be he father, son, brother or other near relative, friend or neighbour of the deceased, him straightway, never doubting the witchdoctor's word, without examining into the case or making any further enquiry, unheard, undefended, they hale away to punishment, and, prolonging his torture, naked, on his back in the public road, with his hands and feet bound and buried in the earth, they expose him to the rays of the sun, to the chill of night, to the mockery and insults of spectators and passers-by, till he be worn out by them, and sometimes upon his belly they put a nest of red ants, which gnaw the flesh of the living man, when, after innumerable tortures he dies in hideous agony. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

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*) This description of witchcraft and its punishment is again taken almost verbatim from the accounts given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the Amsterdam (cf. Molsbergen, op. cit., III, 63). Condensed as it is even in the original, the description is on the whole very accurate. Sage (op. cit., 180) describes a form of punishment of sorcerers identical with that mentioned in the text, and gives additional details omitted by G.) which are also mentioned in the "Stavenisse" accounts.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Nama

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[44]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean. 752

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[44]) 757 782 [824] [579]

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[44]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below. 824 278 821

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[44]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, ii, 77-9; *cf.* Schapera, 466-7, 236 ff.).

[44]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1879-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and those sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Dioσma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsĕĭ‖goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (‖hamab, trade, ‖hamaga, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Dioσma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Langa Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-‖khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǂAmas tribe), and of the ǂKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-‖hoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǂ*Khâseti* (ǂKhunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ‖gweya the Zebras, α Orionis χ*oasi*, the Lion, α Tauri (Aldebaran) *aoè*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterizes their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *toroè*, from *tora*, to *tore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (‖gari-b, ‖gob, ‖ĕ-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ‖gaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-‖gamteb, Lion-killer, ‖Otaĭtamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ŏb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

!Koranaiam, where Heitsi-eibib has changed names, and 788
the worship is offered to !Garubeb or Tsûi-!goab.

Worship of Tsûi-!goab (Dawn), !Khab (Moon) and Heitsi-eibib (Dawn-tree).

Dapper, as early as 1671, speaking of the Khoikhoi 776
at the Cape of Good Hope, says: 821

"They know and believe that there is *One*, whom they call *humma* or *tumma* (*i.e.*, in Nama or !Kora *!homi*; *heaven*), who sends rain on earth, who makes the winds blow, and who makes the heat and the cold. . . . .

"They also believe that they themselves can make rain, and can prevent the wind from blowing. . . . .

"It appears also that there is a certain superstition about the new moon. For if the moon is seen again (the new moon) they crowd together, making merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, and singing; clasping their hands together, and also murmuring some words (singing hymns). . . . .

"Nay, their women and children are seen to kneel before erected stones and bow before them."—(O. Dapper, "Umbetändliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa." Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 626, 627.)

Heitsi-eibib, or Tsûi-!goab, Worship.

Nicolas Witsen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, commu- 776
nicates to his learned friend Jobst Ludolf, in Germany, the following interesting letter, dated Cape of Good Hope, February 19, 1691, forty years after the landing of Governor Jan van Riebeeke at the Cape:

"Nobilissimus vir miscebat sermonem cum aliquot Hottentottis, qui pro sua erga ipsum familiaritate docebant nihil dissimulando "se *adorare Deum certum aliquem*" cuius caput manus seu pugni magnitudinem haberet; grandi eundem esse et deducto in latitudinem corpore; auxilium vero eius implorari tempore famis et anonae caricie aut alterius cuiuscunque necessitatis. Uxores

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 suas solere caput Dei conspergere terra rubra,-(toroo) Buchu et aliis suave olentibus herbis, oblato quoque eidem sacrificio non uno. Ex quo demum intelligi coeptum est, Hottentottos colere etiam aliquem ? Deum !

Tsŭi-||goab, |Guru-b, and ||Gaunab.

Valentyn, a very trustworthy authority, who was a man of high education and of a classical training, and who had an eye to observe what many others overlooked, tells us in the fifth volume of his great work "Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, &c. &c., vol. v. p. 109: "I heard from the chieftains and various others that they call 'God' in their language not only the '*Great Chief*,' in saying, if it thunders, the *Great Chief* is angry with us; but they generally call 'God' in their language *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (Tsŭi-||goab); but the *Supreme Ruler* they call *Khourrou*; the *Devil*, *Dangoh* and *Damoh*; a *Spectre* whom they fear very much, *somsoma*." And p. 158 our author continues: "I must say, that I really observed many things amongst them which looked like religious worship. . . . .

776 821 "It is certain, when the new moon reappears, they have that whole night a great merry-making and clasping of hands. They also, ten or twelve of them, sit on the banks of a river together, and throw some balls or dumplings, made of clay, into the water. . . . . It also is certain that I often heard them speaking of a *Great Chief* who dwells on high, whom they call in their own language *Thikwa* or *Thukwa*, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning. They also know of a *Devil*, whom they call *Damoh*, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often persecuted them; but in carefully examining this, it is nothing else but their *somsomas* and *spectres*. Some of them also call the Supreme, *Lord* (Nama |Khūb) from which it is evident that they believe in more than one 'Khourrou."

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

'Valentyn then continues telling us that he had a conversation with a Hottentot who had been trained by the Dutch clergyman van Kalden, and he (Valentyn) found the man so well informed about the Christian religion and discovered in him such an understanding of religious matters that it was quite a pleasure to hear him speaking. As to Valentyn, he touched on his return voyage from the East Indies, in 1705, at the Cape. He ha[illegible] been a minister of the gospel in Amboina, &c., for mor[illegible] than twenty [illegible]rs, and took a great interest in native customs and manners, of which he had acquired a great knowledge.

ǂKhûb, the Moon, and ǂKhûb, the Lord.

The missionaries Plütschau and Ziegenbalg, sent by the King of Denmark, Frederic IV. to India in the commencement of the eighteenth century, touched at the Cape, where they had an opportunity of intercourse with the Hottentots (Khoikhoi).

Plütschau saw how the natives danced in the moonlight, singing and clasping their hands together. The missionary asked whether they worshipped the Moon? The answer was, that they could not exactly say this, but it was the old custom of their ancestors to do so. *They worshipped a Great Chief.*—(W. Germann, Ziegenbalg und Plütschau, Erlangen, 1868, pp. 62.)

ǂKhûb, the Moon, and ǂKhûb, the Lord.

Another traveller of the seventeenth century, Wilhelm Vogel, tells us about the Khoikhoi he met at the Cape: "Of God and His nature they know very little or nothing, although one can observe that they have some worship of the moon. At new moon they come together and make a noise the whole night, dancing in a circle, and while dancing they clasp their hands together. Sometimes they are seen in dark caves, where they offer some prayers, which, however, a European does not understand. While doing this they have a very curious behaviour, they turn

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

821 their eyes towards the sky and one makes to the other a cross on the forehead. And this is, perhaps, a kind of religious worship."—(Wilhelm Vogel, "Ostindianische Reise," p. 67.)

||Khâb, the Moon; Tsûi-||goab, the Dawn; |Khûb, the Lord; ||Gaunab, the Destroyer.

776 We now come to the worthy German Magister, Peter Kolb, whose reports have been repeatedly doubted by European writers, but without any good reason. Any traveller or missionary who is well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Bergdamaras, a black tribe in Great Namaqualand, which entirely has adopted Namaqua manners and language, and which preserved these elements even much better than the Namaquas themselves, will endorse the greater part of Kolb's book on the Hottentots. The good and kind-hearted old Magister bore no hatred against the natives, and he is a great admirer of their simple and unvarnished manners. He has paid special attention to the religion and worship of these savages, and his observations on this subject deserve well to be noticed. Kolb quotes first from other authors, and gives last, but not least, his own observations:—

"Saar, an officer of the Dutch Government (p. 157), distinctly says: 'One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, *when the day dawns*, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens. From this one may conclude that they must have some idea of the Godhead.'"—(Peter Kolb, p. 406. German edition. Nüremberg, 1719.)

From Father Tachard, Kolb also quotes: "These people know nothing of the creation of the world . . . . nothing of the Trinity in the Godhead . . . . *but they pray to a God.*"—(Kolb, p. 406.)

The contemporary of Kolb and Ziegenbalg, was also a Danish missionary, Böving, who says: "*There are some*

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

rudera and traces of an idea (perception) of a God. For they know, at least the more intelligent among them, that there is a God, who has made the earth and heavens, who causes thunder and rain, and who gives them food and skins for clothing, so that also of them may be said what St. Paul says, Rom. i. 19."—(Kolb, p. 406.) 776

Kolb's own experience runs thus: "It is obvious that all Hottentots believe in a God, they know him and confess it; to him they ascribe the work of creation, and they maintain that he still rules over everything and that he gives life to everything. On the whole he is possessed of such high qualities that they could not well describe him. . . . . Then our author continues, that nobody has given better information on the subject than the above-mentioned Böving.

"Because the station of a chief is the highest charge, therefore they call the Lord '*Gounia*, and they call the moon so, as their visible God. But if they mean the Invisible, and intend to give him his true name, they call him Gounia Tiqûaa—*i.e.*, the God of all gods. He is *a good man and does not do any harm to them*, and therefore they need not be afraid of him?" Kolb affirms that his own experience, gathered during a long residence among the natives, is, "*that the Khoikhoi give the moon the name of the Great Chief.*" He had observed how they performed dances in honour of the new moon, and how they address the moon in singing: "Be welcome, give us plenty of honey, give grass to our cattle, that we may get plenty of milk." In offering this prayer they look towards the moon. 776 821

After our author has described the whole performances, and all the rites connected with the religious worship of the Hottentots, he exclaims: "And who now dares to deny that this dancing, singing, and offering invocations at the time of the full moon and new moon, is not a religious worship?" (P. 412.)

I need not quote any more authorities on this subject

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 821 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, *who promises men immortality.*

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of less power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, ǃgai-aogu) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the ǁGauna worship of the ǂAuni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to ǁGauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Touqûoa*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaquas [777] believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also ǁGaunab, as they call the Enemy of Tsûi-ǁgoab.

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

"Once on an occasion," says Kolb, "a Hottentot 778
||Kamma, whom I caught in the act of dancing and singing round such a spot, told me, that he, on a journey, slept at this place, and was not devoured by a lion who approached him during the night at a few yards distance only. He, the Hottentot, could not help thinking that a saint (ghost) inhabited the spot, and had protected him, and he considered it his duty not to forget this kindness." (P. 419.)

Tsûi-||goab, and |Khunusetî, the Pleiades.

The first Khoikhoi missionary, George Schmidt, was 821
sent in 1737 by the Moravian Mission to the Cape. He settled amongst the Hessaquas, a tribe inhabiting the present Caledon district, on the banks of the Zondereinde River. The place formerly called Baviaanskloof, now Genadendal, is still occupied by the United Brethren.

"At the return of the Pleiades," says Schmidt, "these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones on their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors.

"The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, &c.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"—(*Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12, and Burkhard's "Missionsgeschichte," Africa, vol. ii. p. 9.)

Tsûi-||goab.

In the Appendix to his Travels, De Jong, commander 776
of a Dutch vessel, who spent a considerable time at the Cape, quotes from George Schmidt's reports, and says: "They have no religion or rites, and they only believe

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 that there is a Lord, whom they call Tui'qua. They also believe in a devil, to whom they give the name 'Gauna, but they do not care much about him."—(De Jong, "Reisen nach dem Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung," Hamburg, 1803, vol. i. p. 274.)

!|Khâb, the Moon, and !Khub, the Lord.

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821 By order of the Dutch Governor, Ryk van Tulbagh, an expedition was undertaken to the Great Namaquas, which reached as far as the Kamob river, about lat. 27°. In the "Journal of Hop, the commander of that expedition, we find the following remark: "Their (the Namaqua) religion chiefly consists in worshipping and praising the new moon. The men stand in a circle together and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, and the women, clasping hands, dance round the men. They continually sing in a praying manner, that the last moon had protected them and their cattle so well, and they hope the same from this new moon. The Cabonas (very likely the !|Habona or !|Haboben) whom we met, praised the moon, particularly that *he* (in Hottentot the moon is masculine) had brought them into contact with a nation from whom they had received so much kindness. Although these were the only rites, *we also observed that they had some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Chuyn* (the Nama !Khūb or !Khunib), and who is great and powerful. For if they want to express that something is beyond their conception, then they say it is a work of *'Chuyn.*"—("Hop's Journal," pp. 88, 89.)

Heitsi-eibib, !|Gaunal, and !Gurub.

609 We should have expected that the Swedish travellers, Thunberg and Sparrmann, men of great learning, would have been able to give us more particular information about the religion of the Khoikhoi. It, however, appears that their great learning on the one side made them underrate the natives. On the other hand, the natives, as sensitive as

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Heitsi-eibib ǁKhāb, ǂGama-ǂgorib, Tūsib and ǀAub, the Serpent.

769 Captain James Alexander, later Sir James Alexander, had, no doubt, a very fascinating way of gaining the confidence of the natives. The Namaquas even now speak of him in the highest terms, and praise his social and familiar habits. An old Namaqua said to me of him "ǀAva-khoiï khemi ko tsā ǀhūb ke,"—That man had the flavour of a Redman,—meaning to say that the English traveller knew how to fraternize with them.

Alexander's observations, therefore, we must consider very valuable. He was the first to supply us with specimens of Khoikhoi folk-lore. In these pages we can only reproduce his notes on the mythology and religion of the Namaquas:—

"These Namaquas," says Alexander, "thought that they came from the East. In the country there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones on which had been thrown a few bushes; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap. They mutter, 'Give us plenty cattle.'"—(Alexander, "Expedition of Discovery," i. 167.)

821 "There is a strange story about the moon which is a little better than their usual ignorant notions. The moon, they say, wished to send a messenger to men, and the hare said that he would take it. 'Run, then,' said the moon, 'and tell men that as I die and am renewed, so shall they also be renewed.' But the hare deceived men, and said, 'As I die and perish, so shall you also perish.' [262] Old Namaquas will not therefore touch hare's flesh; but the young men may partake of it—that is, before the ceremony of making them men is performed, which merely consists in slaughtering and eating an ox or a couple of sheep."

773 amongst the Namaquas, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-||goab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-||goab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-||goab, Tsûi-||goab, and Tsuni-||goab in Namaqua; and Tsū-||goam, Tsûi-||goam, Tsûi-||khoab and Tsûi-||goab amongst the !Kora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-||goab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
533 the !Gami-‡nus in the ||Kharas Mountains, amongst the ||Haiobes or so-called Veltschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ||Kharas, and by the Gei-||Khous, ||O-geis, and the ‡Aunis of the !Khomab Mountains
[821 East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
539] Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a !gei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

533 "*Tsûi-||goatse!*
539 Thou, oh Tsûi-||goa'
Abo-tse!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida tse!
Thou our Father!
!Nanuba |arire!
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud!
Ẽn "χuna ûire!
Let please live (our) flocks!
Ẽda sida ûire!
Let us (also) live please!
‡Khaiuta gum goroẽ!
I am so very weak indeed!
||Gâs χoo!
From thirst!

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

533
539

!As χao !
From hunger !
Ẽta ⁿ χurina amre !
That I may eat field fruits !
Sats gum χave sida ǂtsao ?
Art thou then not our Father ?
Abo ǂtsao !
The father of the fathers !
Tsūi-!|goatse !
Thou Tsūi-!|goa !
Ẽda sida gangantsire !
That we may praise thee !
Ẽda sida !|khava !khaitsire !
That we may give thee in return (that is, that we may bless thee).
Abo-ǂtse !
Thou father of the fathers !
Sida !Khutse !
Thou our Lord !
Tūsi-!|goatse !
Thou, oh, Tsūi-!|goa !

If a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness, they also assemble for a *!gei*, and, while dancing, sing the following :— [521 535]

!Gurub di !Geis.
The Hymn of the Thunder.

!Nanumatse !
Son of the Thundercloud !
!Gari-khoi, !Gurutse !
Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru !
‡Oūse gobare !
Talk softly please !
!Haviẽ t'am u-hā-tamāō !
For I have no guilt !
!Ũvatere !

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

What the same old Khoikhoi told me about the Pleiades.

If the Pleiades set in a thundercloud—i.e., covered by a thundercloud—then they call this cloud the ǃnū-ǃauib ǃnanub. ǃNūb is a certain mythological Being, who makes in the winter the hoar-frost, and this hoar-frost they call ǃNub di χouba, the excrement of ǃNūb.

Superstitions and Charms.

In giving the fragments of the Khoikhoi religion and mythology our chapter would be incomplete if we omitted what we know of the superstitions of the Khoikhoi. No religion is without superstition, and there is hardly a man, be he the most radical freethinker, who, if he only carefully observes himself, would not find that on more than one occasion he has been influenced by superstitious fear. If anything proves that we are linked in an unbroken chain to primæval men, and that our religious ideas are rooted in the past, this fact, that the most cultivated mind cannot rid itself of superstition, should convince us of such a connection.

Goethe, who makes Faust say:

"From faith her darling miracle hath sprung,"

certainly speaks from experience. Superstitions, no doubt, are like belief in miracles, because they do not explain events naturally. And as long as man exists on this earth, and hearts crave for an explanation of the wonderful works of the Invisible, so long will there be religious faith with superstition as her darling child. Even where the religious ideas have been developed to the purest conceptions of the Invisible, the heart clings stubbornly to some old superstition, because we imbibed it with the mother's milk: "No nation has yet completely purified itself from superstition—that is to say, from the remnants of earlier religious notions."

And where the religious sentiments of a race are still

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

10. The root of a shrub called ǃ*Kharab* is taken and cut to pieces, and minced on stones. If one is hungry, he takes the dust and goes to his neighbour's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the *hoǂûtes*, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub ǂ*abus* are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (ǂgāǁgoeb), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, as far as I could ascertain, the northerly breezes are called tuǂoab—*i.e.*, rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns

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821 to the north it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

224 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
787 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

224 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (ǂaroχab) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
825 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which we already met in Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then scream out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the breeding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden cutting pain, runs off. Then reynard approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

224 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game, into the air

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which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaũa ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǁã, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǀhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁõra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

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he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed 626
that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not for- 431
given him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission 789
Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 273
1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower- 222
garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-beer (!kharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ǂ|Naiχab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad 821 ●
omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will 787
certainly return home, and they say, "||Gaunabi ge dahe hã," we are overpowered by ||Gauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "toreb ni ha, ||õ ge ni," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (huri-ǂoaib) is blowing,

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821 787 the Namaquas say: "| Hūb ke ni hā," or "Smaub ni hā," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

825 787 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

789 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

832 34. Another most powerful charm is the Duba, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This duba is generelly found in ant heaps. The duba is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

177 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the !Gona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-|khosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the !|Khosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

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000 [1] I must remark, that from what I observed and could gather, on the graves of *Heitsi-eibib* branches are thrown only, and not on any other.

[2] *T'gutseri* is nothing else but *!gûtsere*, the imperative form of *!gû*, to go, and therefore means, "Go—thou—please," *i.e.*, "Get away, be off!" *T'gaunasi* is the interjectional form, or, as we should say, vocative of *||Gauna*, formed by the suffix tse or ze (msc. 2 pers. pron.); thus *||Gauna-tse* means *!gauna*, thou—*i.e.*, Oh! *||Gauna*; and *!gûtsere ||Gaunatse* is, "Be off *||Gauna*," or, in Biblical language, "*Get thee hence, Satan.*"

● [821] [3] The Namaquas nowadays still shoot with arrows at the lightning, and tell him to be off.

174 [4] The learned Doctor shows by this remark simply that he had not carefully enough studied the works of former travellers, like Dapper, Kolb, Thunberg, Sparrmann, as can be seen from the foregoing pages, where I quoted from them. It will appear from the following pages that we meet these graves (*Heitsi-eibega*) all over South Africa, wherever in pre-historic times the Hottentot race had lived, and that the multitude of these cairns in the East corroborates the opinion, stated by traditions and customs, that the nomadic Khoikhoi, to whom this stone-worship is peculiar, had spread over South Africa, coming from the East. The very fact that those graves are heaps of stones, and not of earth, also serves as a proof that the pre-historic Khoikhoi lived in a mountainous, rocky country, and not in sandy flats like the Bushmen. And the word *!Hô*, rock, which appears in names like *!Hoaχa!nas*, "Fountain in the rock," or *‡Nuhoas*, "Black rock" and *!Aa!hoas*, "Red rock," or *!ho-ab*, a single conical granite hill, and *!ho-mi*, mountain (rock), is common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and shows that it was in existence before they separated; while in the *!Ai* Bushmen (North-west Kalihari) the *!Koän* of the Okavango Dorstveldt, there is no word for stone, because there are no stones to be met with. An *!Ai* Bushman, to whom I showed a stone, and

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out, in which *milk* and other drinkables are carried. The Khoikhoi use the calabash also for churning purposes, and produce butter by shaking the calabash. In Namaqua the calabash is ābas; the root is ā, to drink, consequently ābas, the tub for drinkables, German *Trinkgeschirr*. One place is called *Ababis*, on account of calabashes growing there in abundance. In Spain these calabashes serve as wine vessels, and are called either *calabaza* or *calabacino*.

" *Thy body looks like a cow's body*, means thou hast a beautiful, fine, fat body.

" How strong the belief is among the Khoikhoi that animals even are revengeful, can be seen from the following historical fact:—When the ǃAmaquas had settled at Bethany, they went out to shoot the Hereros or Cattle Damaras, and to rob them of their cattle. Once they had a wholesale massacre amongst the Damaras. One man especially distinguished himself by extraordinary bloodthirstiness and cruelty. They had returned home, when after some time a black lion came and took that man out of his hut, tore him to pieces and killed him. The distance from Bethany to Damaraland is about 250 miles. Still up to this day the ǃAmas believe that that black lion was a Damara who had taken the shape of the beast, and had come that distance in order to revenge his people. Also of elephants and snakes, especially of the so-called dassies-adder, it is said that they can detect the criminal among hundreds of people, and kill him, without turning their ire on anybody else.

" I have called this legend the Orion myth, because most of the stars belonging to the constellation Orion act a certain part in it.

In the sequel of the third chapter I shall give an explanation of the names and the meaning of this myth. The Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the aob of the myth, and ǃKhunuseti, or the Pleiades are his wives. His bow is

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π π Orionis; his sandals, ǂharon, are ε and δ of the Hyades; his kaross is 9 and γ of the Hyades; β, ε, ζ Orionis, are the zebras, ǁgoregu, Leo is the lion. The arrow ǂab is marked by i, d, c, Orionis, of which again it is called ǁnaus, the arrowhead, and c is the opposite end, where ǂama, the feather is fixed. It is very strange indeed that the Pleiades, the rainstars of the Khoikhoi, stand so close to the Hyades, the rainstars of the ancient Greek. And that Orion among the Greeks, as well as among the Khoikhoi, served as a base for a myth of a hunter. Certain it is that the Hottentot myth is of very old date, as the ǁKora, for instance, had still, in Burchell's time, the same names ǁKhûseti for the Pleiades, and ǁgoregu for Orion. And another Khoikhoi tribe, the Gei‖khauas, who formerly lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape, have still these names and the same version of the above-mentioned legend.

The Namaquas call the stars the eyes of the deceased. One star is ǀgûaros, the little daughter; α and β Centauri are called mûra, the two eyes. (Whose eyes? certainly of some being; and here we have a remnant of an old myth.) Then μ 1 and 2 Scorpionis are called Xami di mûra, *i.e.*, the eyes of the lion. (There seems to be another lion in the Orion myth.) Venus has various names, one is ǂonob, *the man with the fingers cut off*. The New Zealanders believe the Pleiades to be men with one eye (Bastian). And in Australia, according to Ridley, the Pleiades are called worrul—*i.e.*, *bee's nest*. In Greenland the Pleiades represent dogs chasing a bear (Bastian). And among the Bambaras, Bapedis, and Ama‖khosa, the Pleiades are the messengers of the rainy and planting season. The Indians of North America believe these stars to be dancers.

It is interesting to see how widespread is the superstition connected with the umbilical cord of a child. After the cord has fallen off the New Zealanders place it in a mussel—that is to say, in the same shell with which

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||goa-b, the knee—*i.e.*, the walker; in the same way there is no difference if we say ǂ||Kha-mi, ||Kha-m, or ||Khā-b, he-is-returning, or the return-er—that is, the moon. When after a few dark nights the silver crescent of the moon appeared again on the western horizon, the ancient Khoikhoi would say, "*Ah, there he is again.*" And when, in the course of time, the pronoun of the third person had also accepted the office of a sex-denoting classifier or article, then the predicative, ||Kha-m or ||Khā-b, he-returns, he-is-there-again, became the appellative, ||Khāb, or ||Khām, the returner *par excellence*. When even this meaning was lost, the next generation beheld ||Khāb as a *nomen proprium* of the moon.

The resemblances between ||Khām, the Moon, and Tsūi||goam, the Dawn, are very striking. We said in the second chapter that the moon promises immortality to men, and when they were deceived by the hare, he is also the avenger, punishing the latter. Tsūi||goab every morning gives life to men, and from the battle with ||Gaunaŋ he received a wound; also the hare scratches the moon's face. Of Tsūi||goab it is also said, like the moon, that he often dies and rises again. He (Tsūi||goab) being a person of supernatural powers can take all kinds of shapes, he also can disappear, or become suddenly invisible. It is the same again with the moon, who assumes different shapes, and sometimes disappears altogether. The disappearing of the moon is called ||ō, to die; on the dying or disappearing of the moon, especially if there be an eclipse of the moon, great anxiety prevails. One would almost believe that a great calamity has befallen a kraal, such is the disturbance on such occasions. I have seen the people moaning and crying as though suffering great pain. Those prepared for a hunting expedition, or already hunting in the field, will immediately return home, and postpone their undertakings. Does it not sound to us as if we hear the old Psalmist praying:—

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776 Have mercy upon me, O God—
821 Cast me not away from thy presence;
Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation!

That the Moon is identical with Tsūi||goab, as the "Lord of Light and Life," can, after these explanations, be no longer doubtful. And it is also obvious from the antiquated and obliterated nature of the name itself, that the Moon was already worshipped as *the Visible God* of the Khoikhoi before their separation.

196 776 We come now to Heitsi-eibib. As to him, the etymology of his name offers considerable difficulty. Generally, interpreters translate it "prophet," "foreteller," "the one who can predict what will happen." And this translation or etymology is based on cutting Heitsi-eibib up into two words—*Heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order; and *eibe*, before, beforehand, previously. Consequently Heitsi-eibib would mean the foreteller, the prophet. Here, again, as we remarked in the analysis of Tsūi||goab, if the word Heitsi-eibib is so transparent as to be so easily explained, the whole mythology in regard to him would collapse into a meaningless and insipid fable. We therefore must look for a more satisfactory and rational explanation.

To the linguist it will be quite clear that only two roots, *hei* and *ei*, are contained in the word *Hei-tsi-ei-bi-b*; all the other syllables are suffixes. *Hei* means everything that belongs to the *wood or shrub line*, anything that has a wooden nature. We have thus hei-b, a pole, a stick, a staff, a collection of trees (German, *Gebüsch*); hei-s, fem., a tree, and hei-l, a tree in general, a piece of wood, or a shrub. From this *hei* we have derivatives like *hei-χa*, rich in wood, full of shrubs, full of trees; heitsi or heisi, wood-like, having the appearance of a tree, (as adjective derivative), and heirab, the juice of the mimosa tree (gum arabic). But there is also a verbal derivative, *hei-si*, to send a stick (from hei, stick, and si, to send)—that is, to order, to send a message. This *si*, to send, must not be mixed up with si, suffix pronominal

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|Khunuseti, the Pleiades.

821 196 It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of this name. |Gu, or |khu, or |go, and |kho, also |ko and |ku, in the various Khoikhoi idioms of Great Namaqualand, mean close, next; hence |khu or |gu, to come, to heap, to cluster, to join; |gu-khoib, the nearest man—*i.e.*, neighbour; |gu-se, adv., closely; |gure or |gore to approach the gods—*i.e.*, to pray, as we have in German, *Jemanden angehen;* in Latin, adire deos, adire regem. From this |gu or |khū we have the derivative |gunub (|khunub or |kunub), meaning both finger and reed, and also joint of the finger and joint of the reed. Thus the original meaning of finger is the one who closes himself up to the other, the one who approaches the other, the one who joins the other—*i.e.*, the join-er, the link, the branch, the twig; and speaking and thinking in the way of a primitive man or a child—nay, even in our own phraseology—are not the fingers the twigs and branches of the hand? Hence, also, a shrub-like acacia, which branches off like the fingers of the hand, is called in the plural form |kunuti and |kununseti. Here we have the same name for the accacia and for the Pleiades, and I think we are with this in the possession of the key to unlock the original meaning of the name Pleiades. |Khununseti, or |kunuseti, the Pleiades, mean exactly the same as the Latin Vergiliæ—that is, the stars of the offshoots, the stars of the branches (Jupiter Viminius). As we have seen in the second chapter, at the return of the Pleiades, Tsūi|goab is particularly invoked to give rain. After the rain, the earth shoots forth herbs; branches link to branches, and leaves join to leaves. This is the one explanation of |Khununseti.

But |Khununti is also applied in the meaning of branch, lineage, family. Thus, I once heard a man speaking of the |Khununti—*i.e.*, families of a clan. In the Orion myths we have |Khununseti, the Pleiades, the daughters of Tsūi|goab; and if they are the daughters, the Father's—*i.e.* Tsūi|goab's—name must have been |Khunusib. Thus, we get |Khununseti, the *Offshoots*, the *primordia* of

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the Khoikhoi. Now in Khoikhoi the clan or tribe is never called after the father, but always after the mother; the same with families. Thus we have the Nama-*s*, !Amas, ||Khaus, !Gami‡nus, ‡Khaχas, never Nama-*b*, &c., in the masculine form as a tribal appellation. Thus !Khunuseti means nothing else but primordium, *Uranfang*. This explanation is supported by the fact that the Pleiades, like Tsûi||goab, the All-Father of the Khoikhoi, come from the East, where the Khoikhoi say is their "*Fatherland*." Very curious to say, in Zulu we have Uthlanga—that is, reed. It is not impossible that, as so many things and customs have been adopted by the southern Bantu from the Khoikhoi, this Khoikhoi word also, *!Khunusib* or *!Khunuseti*, was misunderstood or, better, misinterpreted in a one-sided way, which lay nearest to the grasp of the Zulu mind; and thus !Khunusib Uthlanga was explained reed, while it meant offshoot. Thus it is that the Zulus say they take their origin from Uthlanga, the reed. Inquiring from the natives of Great Namaqualand the true meaning of !Khunub and !Khunuseti, I received the following explanations:—

(1.) Those who stand together.
(2.) Those who are heaped.
(3.) Those who stand together like fingers.
(4.) Those who cluster together.
(5.) The thorn-stars.

This latter explanation again brings to our mind the name the Lion gives to !Kurikhoisîb Tsûi||goab. He calls him ||Khu!nomab, Root of the Thorntree.

Now, I do not mean to say that my explanation is absolutely right, but I can at least claim as much right and notice for it as others claim for their explanation of this name. My opinion is also supported by the fact that the Khoikhoi calculate their time according to the rainy season. With the setting-in of the rains commences their year, a new turn of life. We can also now understand the meaning if it is said of Tsûi||goab and Heitsi-eibib

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● 321 196 that they are possessed of plenty of cattle, The Pleiades in a certain sense represent a flock. Dr. Callaway correctly remarks that the meaning of Uthlanga has been lost, while the word has come down to the present generations. And it is the same with the word ǀKhunuseti. That the Namaquas have not borrowed this name from the Bantu (Herero) is quite obvious, because they have been too short a time in contact with the Herero, who, besides, have no myth about Uthlanga, and also have no clicks in their language. In ǀKora we have the form kũseti (contracted from ǀkunuseti), and in Cape Hottentot we have ǀgõti and ǀkũti (contracted from ǀgonoti and ǀkunuti). This confirms beyond doubt that the Khoikhoi not only had the same name for the Pleiades previous to their separation, but that, in those remote days, there already existed among them a sidereal mythology and worship. In the second chapter we saw that in George Schmidt's time, at the return of the Pleiades, the same prayer was uttered which is still annually heard among the heathen Khoikhoi of Great Namaqualand.

000 Among the Israelites ideas seem also to have existed which connected the Lord with the Pleiades and Orion. "Seek him," says Amos (v. 8), "that maketh the Seven Stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into morning, and maketh the day dark with night: that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: the Lord is his name."

And again, "Which maketh," says Job (ix. 9), "Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades." And the same author (xxxix. 31) asks: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?"

[This translation is not quite in accordance with the Hebrew text. It should be, "Canst thou *join* the *links* of the Pleiades?"]

It is certainly to be considered of extraordinary importance that the Pleiades and Orion are mentioned

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

treating lupus, and consequently known as */nomi heip*, "lupus stick," must be treated with great deference. "When a person comes to the bush, before digging he must put down a bracelet, a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to do the same lest all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not wholly disappear." [1]

Laidler has described at some length the herbal lore of the half-breed Naman of Little Namaqualand.[2] From the details he gives it appears that the principal ailments treated with herbs and roots are internal pains and fevers, classed together, he says, as "fires", and distinguished only by locality, certain women's troubles, flatulence as an entity, diarrhœa, and, among the accidental injuries, burns. In anæmias and weaknesses red substances are used, such as *Pelargonium anceps*, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are employed, several of his informants stated, because they are red, and the blood is red, and, therefore, they strengthen the blood; and, of course, when grown on red ground their value as drugs is increased enormously! All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. *Sutherlandia frutescens*, another red plant, was formerly used in decoction for washing wounds, and given as drink for fevers; nowadays it is used for consumption, chicken-pox, etc. *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, is considered a good poultice on bruises and cuts, and here again the colour appears to have been the chief attraction. Other decoctions for coughs and colds and fevers are made from the leaves of various Sages (*Salvia sp.*), as well as from the leaves of one species of wild olive, which are administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid. Other wild olives are used as sweating draughts, as is also *Grassula lycopodioides*.

Another species of wild olive is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and the leaves are also used as a plaster. Pains in the stomach are also treated with decoctions of *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens*; pains in the back are treated with *Boscia fœtida*; and shooting pains with *Passerina filiformis* or *Berkheyra sp.* For toothache the people chew the alkaline

[1] "Conception of Insanity among the Hottentots," 79.

[2] Op. cit., 434–5, 440–6; cf. for the Naman of S.W.A., Schultze, op. cit., 223 ff., Nolte, op. cit., 630–2.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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argument, be a good " blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; " there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai* aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloom, Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Barend makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of " scientific " and " sympathetic " lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

*For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus :—D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

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ǀAmo, eternal, endless, ǀamosib, eternity. This ǀamo is derived from ǀā to be sharp, to be pointed; hence ǀamo, the end, the point; *o* is used as the *a privativum* in Greek, and means without. Thus ǀamo, what is without end. 196

ǀKhom, to have mercy; ǀkhoms, mercy.

ǀu, to forget; ǀū, to forgive—*i.e.*, to forget the hatred.

ǂKhā, to refuse; ǂkhaba, stubborn, wicked; ǂ*khabasib*, wickedness, badness. Why missionaries have committed the absurdity of forming from a Hebrew root the word *eloχoresa*—*i.e.*, being without élohim—is to me a riddle, when we have a very pregnant Khoikhoi word to express wicked and wickedness.

Tsā, to feel; *tsāb*, the feeling, taste, sentiment; *tsâǀkha*, to feel with—*i.e.*, to condole; tsâ-ǀkhasib, condolence (German Mitgefühl).

ǃ*Anu*, clean, neat; but *anu*, sacred, pure, refined, handsome, beautiful; also *anuχa*; anusib, holiness, sacredness, purity.

To show what the Khoikhoi mean by *anu* and *anuχa*, I may give the following conversation I once had with an old Namaqua. A girl, a niece of his, used to bring daily some milk to my camp. Her lovely face and the pure expression of the eyes had struck me repeatedly, and I could not help being complimentary to the old man. It was indeed one of those faces

> Which tell of days in goodness spent,
> A mind in peace with all below,
> A heart whose love is innocent."

I used in my conversation the word ǂsa (beautiful), when the old man almost indignantly said, "No, every girl can be ǂsa, but such an appearance as hers we call *anuχa* (full of purity)." This was amongst Khoikhoi who had no missionary yet, and who still lived in national primitive independence.

Nothing, however, is more convincing of the abstract power of the Khoikhoi language than the great number 196 822

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of names for the various divisions and subdivisions of colours. The colour itself is *tsib*—*i.e.*, appearance. It must be remembered that the colours named in the following are not all which are known to the Khoikhoi, which must surprise the more if we recollect that they have been collected in the most barren territory of South Africa, in Great Namaqualand. For this reason we need not doubt that, among the other tribes, not only the same words were in existence, but that also more subdivisions were known. Be this however as it may, we are told that Demokritus knew only of four colours, and that in China the number of colours was originally five, while we shall learn from the following that the Khoikhoi distinguished very strictly between [1]ǀuri, white, [2] ǂnū, black, [3]ǁam, green, [4]ǁawa (ǁaua, ǁava), red, [5]ǂhoa, blue, [6]ǀhai, fawn-coloured, [7]ǀhuni, yellow, [8]ǂgama, brown, [9]ǀkhan, grey, [10]ǀnaiǂu, [11]ǀgaru, dotted. Then we have the following subdivisions—[1]ǀuri-ǀhuni, whitish-yellow, [2]ǀurisi, whitish, [3]ǂnu-ǀho, black-patched, [4]ǂnu-ǀgaru, black-dotted, [4]ǂnu-ǂura, black-shining (German, *schwarz-schillernd*), [6]ǁava-ǂura, red-shining, [7]ǁava-ǂgani, with white and red patches, [8]ǁawa-ǀho or ǀgi-ǀho, chestnut-colour, [9]ǁavara or ǁavaχa, reddish, [10]ǁam-ǂura, green-shining (for instance, the colour of the Naja Haje); [11]ǂgama-ǀho, brown-dotted, [12]ǂgama-ǀgaru, the same, [13]ǂgama-ǂhoa, brownish-blue (the colour of Bucephalus Capensis); [14]ǂgama-ǂura, brown-shining, like the Vipera Cornuta. The colour of the rainbow is always ǁam, green; only in two cases I heard that it was considered to be ǁava, red. The name of the rainbow is tsawirub and dabitsirub. In Bible translations of missionaries we read ǁavi-ǀhanab. This is very incorrect, and nothing else but a verbal translation of *rain-bow*. As to tsawirub, the etymology is not quite clear; tsawib is the ebony-tree, which much resembles in appearance the weeping willow; the leaves are *dark green*, ǂnu-ǁam, and *tsabaχa* bile-coloured, from tsabab, the bile. Now it is difficult to say whether the

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ebony-tree has been called after the green colour of the bile, and also whether the rainbow, *tsawirub*, received its name from *tsabab*. ǃUri is a derivative from the original ǃū, and certainly has with ǃ*ubus*, egg, the root ǃu in common; consequently ǃuri means egg-coloured, and the egg *par excellence*, the ostrich egg, is white. The same root for white and egg we had in the ǃAi Bushman language. ǃAm, green, means originally *springing up*, or *shooting forth*, like in German *ausschlagend*, used for the fresh green leaves; ǃa, to hit, ǂnou-ǃa, and ǂnou-ǃan, to beat —to hit, German, *treffen*; ǁnau-ǃa and ǁnau-ǃan to hear —to hit, *i.e.*, to understand; mū-ǃa and mū-ǃan, to see or to look—to hit, *i.e.*, to observe, to perceive, to acknowledge. ǃAva, red, is nothing else but ǃaua, blood-coloured, from ǃau, to bleed, or ǃau-b, blood. ǃHuni is yellow, that is, the colour of clay or ground, from ǃhu-b, ground, earth, clay. ǂGama, brown, is the colour of ǂgāb, originally ǂgamab, the colour of a *vley*; the vley is a water-pond, which is dry in the winter, and then the bottom shows a brown colour. ǃKhan, grey, is the colour of the ǃkhani, Bos elaphus. ǃNai-ǂu is the colour of the ǃnaib, giraffe and also of the zebra. ǀGaru is dotted like a leopard, hence this animal is called ǀgarub. The other name of ǀgarub, leopard, however, is more significant; he is also called χoasaūb, the mark—scratcher, from χoa to scratch, and saū to mark, to imprint.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adding some remarks on Khoikhoi poetry, and on the so-called "*Reed-dance*," ǂāb, to which in the following chapters repeatedly reference will be made.

The Khoikhoi have two kinds of poetry, sacred and profane. The sacred hymns, as well as the profane songs, are sung accompanied by the so-called Reed-music or Reed-dancers. The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations, and songs of praise in honour of Tsuǁgoab, Heitsiebib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs,

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Likewise, the good anatomical knowledge of the Hottentots can be better portrayed only after the biological basis has been worked out.

2. Astronomy

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From childhood on the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way on his own out on the range. As a child he orients himself by means of close, familiar things like groups of bushes, trees, and rock formations. Later, when he undertakes longer migrations with his family in search of pasturage, he is compelled by the lack of rain in the land to help himself along from one water hole to the next. His migrations thus are composed of treks, of which each one has as its daily goal a relatively nearby spot that is determined by local conditions. Therefore the herder does not need to seek for his journey any points of orientation in the sky except the sun.

a) The starry sky therefore is little known to the Hottentot. It is an open question whether it was always this way or whether also in this field traditions have paled with the general decline of folk character.

α) The sun, so·res, gives the Hottentot, too, his points of orientation for distinguishing the points of the compass: the east is called °soresta//hai·//kχãb, that is, "the side on which the sun rises." The west is °sorestaǂgã·//kχãb, "the side on which the sun sets."

I learned a common designation for north and south: °soresχõ·!nab; for if one looks in one of these directions, the sun shines upon (!na) one's cheek (χõb). I learned the words !kχa·bagab and /aba·s only as designations for the winds from the south and the north; in other parts (57) of

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin. Berlin, 1889.

the country they may serve also for the designation of the abstract directions. But I consider this to be a later extension of the terms. Close contact with the Hottentots demonstrates how remote they are from all abstract concepts if the senses alone suffice. The sun itself, its rising and setting, the wind which blows from here or from there, the place to which they previously wandered--these are the elements of their geographical knowledge, and they suffice for mutual comprehension.

[366] The moon will be treated in connection with time calculation.

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

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753 776 782 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 776 821 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1] But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 776 773 796 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personification of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 751 784 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of */nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui //Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigaib*, *Heiseb* or *Kaiib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," *passim*; *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey and honey beer are left at his graves. The Nama say that when he returns in the evening from his walks in the veld he is glad to see that they thus honour him. He still gives the people good advice, and tells them how to kill the lion's children and other wild animals, and he prevents danger from befalling them if they honour him.

Hahn identifies *Heitsi Eibib* with both *Tsui ǁGoab* and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, and that is why the doors of the huts and the graves are found in that direction. The bodies of the dead are also placed towards the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise. Even those who possess wagons place them in such a position that the front is open to the morning sun. And the Naman, when asked why they do so, always answer, "Our grandfather *Tsui ǁGoab*, or our ancestor *Heitsi Eibib*, came from the east." Both are invoked as "Father" or "All-Father"; both are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.[1]

This identification cannot be accepted. In spite of the resemblances noted by Hahn, the differences are more numerous and far-reaching. *Heitsi Eibib* appears as the central figure in a cycle of myths; he has a family, and has dealings with various other people and animals. Moreover, like the Mantis in Cape Bushman folk-lore, he is full of tricks and his character is not altogether blameless. *Tsui ǁGoab*, on the other hand, figures only in the combat with *ǁGaunab* which gave him his name. He is also looked upon with far more respect and reverence than is *Heitsi Eibib*. He has creative powers, which *Heitsi Eibib* has not. The latter seems to be in no way connected with the rain, whereas *Tsui ǁGoab* is essentially the rain god, and is worshipped as such. *Heitsi Eibib*, again, is prayed to only at his graves, and there is nothing at all to link up these graves with *Tsui ǁGoab*. The two, moreover, are always spoken of by the natives themselves as separate beings. It appears, therefore, that they must be regarded as distinct from each other.

It is difficult to determine exactly what graves are specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*. Alexander, as we have seen, distinguishes *Heitsi Eibib's* graves, "large heaps of stone on which had been thrown a few bushes," from "the common graves covered with a heap of

[1] Op. cit., 134-5.

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755 small animals, such as a species of chameleon, the shrew mouse, bats, and a small bird of the family *Sylvidae*. These ingredients are dried and cut up or ground to powder, and are then mixed with the raw goat's fat which fills the medicine horn and which is thought to absorb the effective principles of the other substances. The goat's fat has curative powers only, and is rubbed into cuts made in the patient's body, but the other ingredients, secretly mixed in tobacco or smeared on the mouthpiece of a pipe, can be used for affecting a person's emotions, as in love magic, or for injuring his health.

791 The principal function of the */gai aob* is to cure people who have
755 been bewitched.[1] He is considered as in some way connected with the */hei /nun*—we are nowhere told how—and therefore has an immunity which ordinary people have not from the sickness caused by the */hei /nun* or by their human agents, the witchcraft practitioners. This immunity he can impart to others, and so cure them of the disease, by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which is contained in the dirt and perspiration of his body. He scrapes the dirt off as he requires it, and it forms an essential ingredient in all his medicines and cures. The treatment he follows when called in to a patient is nowhere fully described.[2] Generally, it seems, he first extracts from the patient's body, by massaging and sucking, the foreign bodies held to have been secreted there and so to be causing the illness. Then, to complete the cure, he makes cuts in the patient's body, into which he rubs some of the fat from his medicine horn mixed with dirt and perspiration scraped from his own body. Sometimes he gives the patient decoctions made from his medicines, and invariably the patient has to provide him with one or more slaughter animals, certain internal portions of which are necessary ingredients in the medicines, and the meat of which he keeps for himself.

791 As long as the */gai aob* uses his powers in this way for good,
754 he is much respected, and is an important person in the community.
823 But he can also use it for evil, and by resorting to witchcraft make people ill or kill them, instead of curing them. If it is suspected that he himself is causing illness, the community has a sure way of protecting itself from him.[3] Cold water is absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touches it on any account. Should it be decided that he has caused sickness or death among the people,

[1] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 29; Wikar, op. cit., 122–3; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] The most serviceable account is given by Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama," *Deutz. KolZtg.*, iii (1886), 629–30.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 320–1; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gai aob* can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a /naip*, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gei* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gei* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gai aob* has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gai aob* formerly officiated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gai aob* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (*/gu//goob*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," 322. [2] Op. cit., 23, 24. [3] Ibid., 23.

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752 278 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and faeces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff-[159] adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in this way are known as */aa/ga aon*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *lop* diseases.

278 789 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, [823] harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the protective power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, op. cit., 478-9; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water among the Namaqua," 520.

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is a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain. Of vegetable substances the root of *Sarcocaulon Burmanni*, ground fine, is used as a poultice which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster; the stem of *Cotyledon Waldii* is pounded after spine and bark have been removed, and applied to abscesses; and *Berkheyra sp.*, powdered, is used as a plaster for burns and boils. Another favourite, and indeed the first, application to burns is nasal mucus; and the cast skin of a snake, burned to powder, is also used for the same injury. Goat dung as a poultice on a sore stomach is widely used; the underlying motive seems to be that since the goat eats a large variety of plants, many of which must have medicinal properties, these properties will be to some extent retained in its dung. For the same reason the stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. The porcupine eats so many "bush things and strong things", said one of Laidler's informants, that its stomach contents must be very good medicine! Schultze notes also that among the Naman a patient suffering from chicken-pox is given several times daily a decoction made up of a handful of goat dung cooked in about half a litre of diluted milk; while powdered hyena dung is given to children for convulsions.

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Star Lore and Calendar

The nature lore of the Hottentots, revealed in their foods and medicines, their industries, pastoralism and hunting, is based more or less directly on material needs and intimately bound up with them. Apart from the knowledge empirically derived in this way from the cares of everyday life, there is little trace of organised conceptions of the world of nature. The only other provinces, according to Schultze, in which the rudiments of scientific synthesis may be seen are, first, biology, of direct import to the hunter and herdsman, and, second, the division of time, whose periods in their change of season and far-reaching influence on the living world likewise force the attention of the herdsman. The former of these Schultze does not discuss at all, but of the latter and its astronomical foundations he gives a valuable detailed description.[1]

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From early childhood the Hottentot is accustomed to find his way about in the open, on the pasture fields. As a child he relies for the means of doing so upon adjacent objects, on groups of bushes,

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[1] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 364–77.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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823 trees, and rock formations. Later when he goes with his family on longer marches in search of pasture, he is forced owing to the barrenness of the land to seek his way from one waterhole to another. His wanderings consequently consist in treks, each having as its daily goal a spot relatively near by and fixed upon according to local conditions. As a result the Hottentot needs no other points of orientation in the sky apart from the sun, and his knowledge of the stars is therefore very limited.

821 The sun, *sores*, also gives the Hottentot points of control for distinguishing positions of the horizon. The East is named *soresta*
823 *//hai /kxub*, "the side on which the sun rises," the West *soresta /ga /kxub*, "the side on which the sun sets"; while for North and South there is a common term, *soreaxo /nab*, since when one faces in either of these directions the sun shines on (*/na*, in) the cheeks (*xob*). The names */kxulagab* and */abas* for the south and north winds respectively are sometimes also used for the abstract points of the horizon, but this Schultze regards as a later transference. The sun itself, how it rises and sets, the wind blowing from here or there, the place to which he formerly wandered—these are the elements of the Hottentot's geographical notions, and they suffice for understanding.[1]

821 The moon and its phases are more appropriately discussed in connection with the calendar, in which it plays an extremely important part. Of the stars,[2] */gamiroti*, the Hottentots know most accurately the two planets Venus and Mercury, whose closeness to the sun and regularly-alternating positions in the morning and evening sky make them readily observable. Venus, *//khenus*, is also known as "the Forerunner" of the sun, *ai/guns*, or as *aogura //hab*, "the star at whose rising men run away" (i.e. from illicit sexual intercourse). Mercury is the Dawn Star, *//goa /gamiros*, or the star that comes when the udders of the cows are filled again; as an evening star he is not observed. Venus as an evening star is recognized to be the same celestial body as the morning star, and is then called the "Evening Fugitive", */ui /kxoeb*, since it does not remain long in the sky. Jupiter is also known, but is sometimes identified with Venus; when, however, he is seen "in the middle of the sky" he is called the "Middle Star", *//aegu /gamirob*.

The six stars of the belt and sword of Orion are grouped together as the "Zebras", */goregu*; δ, ε, ζ, are three fugitive zebras against the middle one of which the hunter ι shoots his arrows θ and ε. The

[1] Ibid., 365. [2] Ibid., 366–9.

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Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where these different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Ab, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."* Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáma, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xoréa, or Xorébos, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgâs, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garûb, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ŝp, or vlei, and the !khowîs, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garûb, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the gâi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa!nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

* "Geographische Bezeichnungen in der Namasprache," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der König Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin*. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57—63.

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789 796 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of such rains since the white man came into their country. I have given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,* and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could, gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this guriba ‡ap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

182 823 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely important to the Naman, I wish to show that they believe it to have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the powerful protection which society gives them. Thus the social character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Naman. Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown† writes: "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being." The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the necessaries of social life provided for him by others.

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* *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

† "*The Andaman Islanders*," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V. p. 264.

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might take them more or less for granted, that is to say, as Professor Brown puts it, " he does not of necessity consciously and directly realise that value. He is made to realise it indirectly, through the belief impressed upon him by tradition, that the thing in question affords protection against danger."* And, further, I would stress, that this same protective thing is dangerous apart from the full social life. It is not claimed that the leaders of the tribe have wittingly used these means to make the individuals in it appreciate the blessings they have, but an analysis of primitive ceremonial enables us to conclude that this is the psychological basis of many of the customs, and that they are the means used to maintain the cohesion of the tribe, by making its members realise that to society they owe the things of value they have, so that they are willing to keep up the old customs and traditions on which it is believed the well-being of the whole depends. "So that the protective uses of such things," says Professor Brown, " are really rites or ceremonies by means of which the individual is made to realise (1) his own dependence on the society and its possessions, and (2) the social value of the things in question."† Things which are useful to the community, important for its existence, come to partake, as it were, of the strength of the community, and by this power they afford protection to its members.

Let us first consider the protective power of water. Among the Topnaars of Walvis Bay and the Zwartboys of Franzfontein, and probably among all the Naman, cold water is, or was formerly, thrown on the grave of a person newly buried, and often the men return again the next day to throw more water on the grave. The reason given me was that it hardened the grave, so that no wild beasts could dig there, but the reason given to Theophilus Hahn in the seventies of last century was that it " cooled the soul of the departed."‡ Further, when the people return from the grave to the kraal, all the inmates, except the bereaved family and the near relatives, who must on no account touch water, wash their hands in cold water, and cold water is sprinkled on the place in the hut where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried. In itself the washing of the hands with water might not be significant, especially as each person is obliged by custom to pick up handfuls of earth and throw them into the grave, and one might suppose that they were merely washing the dust off, but we have noted that the near relatives do not touch the water, and, further, the reason given for the washing on the part of the other inmates is that they would get sick if they did not do so. The cold water sprinkled in the hut also prevents the sickness that was there from spreading.

Now, one of the great dreads of the Naman is the /Hei /Nūn, the ghosts which hover over the graves, or come from them, and who formerly were thought to cause most of the sickness among

* *Ibid.*, p. 284.
† *Ibid.*, p. 284.
‡ *Tsuni-/Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoin*, T. Hahn, p. 113.

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753 774 761 the Naman, either themselves, or through the !Gèi Aogu, the medicine men. Nowadays, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the /Heí /Nûn, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is in there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the /Heí /Nûn would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them. When people are alone the /Heí /Nûn come chasing them, and I have had many an instance given me of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the /Heí /Nûn were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them. Further, old Christian, a Bondelzwart, told me that often when a man has died he appears to a member of the family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes he will say, "//Gán osi, !uri ǂkóp /gûiba ta go mu" (no flesh, a white bone alone I saw). The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them; one of the family will die. Relatives, then, especially near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people. They are likely to sicken and die, and it is from the /Heí /Nûn that this sickness and danger are thought to come. These relatives must go through a much longer process of purification which will be mentioned later on,* but the ordinary inmates, as we have seen, protect themselves immediately by the use of cold water.

823 821 [753] The next instance of the protective use of water will make the first one clearer. When a whirlwind, a Sarés, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. Did they not take this precaution someone would surely die. I have exact statements that this is so among the Topnaars, the Zwartboys, the Rooi Natie, three of the aboriginal tribes of Great Namaqualand. This is the description that old //Kabib, the Topnaar, gave me. "In the old days when a whirlwind came by, the people would shout, 'Phu—u, bé re, taës ôã hũ kun !kun !kun phu—u' (Phu—u, please depart, what do you seek here, go, go, go, phu—u) and cold water would be quickly fetched and sprinkled in its path." This expression, phu—u, is used only by the Topnaars, so far as I know, among the Naman, and the other tribes say the Topnaars got it from the Klip Kafirs or Hau Khoin. Of its exact significance when used by the Klip Kafirs I have at present no information, but by the Topnaars it is often used when making a solemn address of this kind.

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* See p. 524.

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The other name for Sarés, the whirlwind, is //Gãuab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gãuab. In the mythology of the people //Gãuab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Nama and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gãuab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be, //Gãuab is also connected with the /Heí /Nũn, in fact, /Gãunagu in the plural is simply another name for /Heí /Nũn, and old David Zwartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Heí /Nũn were simply //Gãuab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Heí /Nũn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him. 821 773

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Heí /Nũn or //Gãuab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that those precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path. 751 821

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Náon, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said: 751 823

'Ti //Náoxan !Hutse, (My ancestors' territory),
!Gãise !khoi ǂon te re. (Run nicely to meet me),

Then all would have been well."

eibe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal 751 823 182

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751/ territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes
● 823 place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The
182 head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Heí /Nûn. and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751/ The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life

754 The next example is a little different. In the old days, there
756 were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could
823 cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their
[797] training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Heí /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by //Gãuab,* or the /Heí /Nún, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1719, p. 438.

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ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //A !naip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: " A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye huí te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams !na ni áo ǂgā tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

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* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter, p. 419.

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823 271 782 Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Naras, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 126.
* *Tsuni ||Goam*. p. 77.

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three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khard, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

841 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she
823 is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled
[272 to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares,
177] formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gâra
823 dama goure ǂhaba ǂhabare"* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as
[844] the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will
[755] be the older women who have looked after her who will free her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When
823 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a
841 neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain: it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* ǂHaba is *Pachea damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 93 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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white people and who told me that they were now sickly, and never got any children, because they had been made to work with cold water, when they should not have done so. 823 841

The sea as the greatest accumulation of cold water is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. I was given a very graphic description of a tragedy that occurred not so very long ago. Three young girls were walking along the beach at Swakopmund very happily and merrily, when all of a sudden the sea became angry and seemed to be on top of them. Two of the girls calling out, "Who here has her period?" rushed up the beach in safety, the third just had time to shout out, "I have," when she was dragged under by the waves and drowned! The woman who told me this lives inland from Walvis Bay. The other woman who had been with her was afterwards my cook far north in Franzfontein, and she confirmed the story of the drowning. In these degenerate days, the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, only they must not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be !Khai !na, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things, and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she kharus. If she is !Khai !na, the sea will rush out towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food, or the milk she had milked. For there is this great difference between most things a woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water. Cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, be she !kai !na or not, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them !nōu, taboo. Thus, if a girl should kharú cut in the veld when she and her companions are gathering roots and berries, her companions contrive turn by turn to carry her back to the kraal, for if she walks among the bushes she will scorch them, the succulent roots will shrivel up, and the leaves wither from the bushes. If she milks a cow, its milk will turn to blood. (I am told that a cow does sometimes give a reddish fluid instead of milk.) If she cooks a meal those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Always after a girl has been reintroduced to the water, she and the old woman take a branch which they dip into a bucket of water and scatter it over the whole kraal, bushes, pens, sheep, goats and cattle.

We have dealt now with the cases in which water is a protection against dangers, and with those in which water itself is dangerous. There are just two other little rites connected with water which seem to me a little different. 823 852

Both in Walvis Bay and in Franzfontein I was told that babies are taken out into the first rainstorm which occurs after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, that is, after

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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823 852 the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, "Hei-a Hei-a Tú gaba tai" (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

823 881 [842] Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: "The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: "I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

823 182 Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

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* *Texts* //*Goam*, p. 87.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

and worshipped up to this very moment by the inhabi- 776
tants of Great Namaqualand and the North-western Cape Colony.

Every Nama from whom I inquired told me that this Heitsi-eibib is their great-grandfather, and a great powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the East, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. Therefore they make the doors [122 342] of their huts towards the East, where the sun and moon rise. This custom is so peculiar to them that those who possess waggons always put these vehicles alongside of their houses, with the front towards sunrise. All the graves are directed towards the East, and the face of the [764] deceased is also turned to that direction. Heitsi-eibib conquered and annihilated all his enemies, who killed his people. He was very clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in future. Amongst the Bundle-Zwart, or ǃGami‡nus, I heard the following story, which I afterwards traced, more or less varied, among the ǁHabobes, ǃKharagei-khois, and ǁO-geis.

Heitsi-eibib's battles with ‡Gama-‡gorib ǃHaũ-ǃgai-ǃgaib, ‡Amab and the Lion.

Heitsi-eibib lived on one side, but ‡Gama-‡gorib, 773
ǃHaũ-ǃgai-ǃgaib and the Lion lived on the other side, on three roads, in the middle (between him and his people). There were also people living in the neighbourhood. And these people were Heitsi-eibib's people. Heitsi-eibib sent for them, but he waited in vain. At last he heard a rumour why they did not come. He then started to look after them, and came first to the place of ‡Gama-‡gorib. But he passed and did not call, as a Khoikhoi generally does when he is travelling (and passes a kraal of another). ‡Gama-‡gorib sent his messenger the Hare to call Heitsi-eibib. But the latter gave no answer. Again the Hare was sent, and Heitsi-eibib, following the invitation, said to ‡Gama-‡gorib: "I have come to look after my people." But on the place of ‡Gama-‡gorib there was a hole, and

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die. 944 372

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful. 224 372 777

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station, Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success. 224

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâbeb*, "the one which lives in a hole." 823 825

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year. 825

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally seen*, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The colour red, |ava, also takes its origin from |au, to bleed; hence |ava or |aun, blood-like, blood-coloured—*i.e.*, red. 196

And at last, *to milk* is also |*au*—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—viz., the milk.

To return now once more to |*aub*, snake, and |*aus*, fountain, we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying *he* or *she flows* or streams—viz., the water, which in Khoikhoi can be either masculine ||gami, or feminine ||gams, according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words become appellatives, meaning the flow-er. And as these words came from the same root, |au, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herbs, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of |*aub* and |*aus*, and made sure *that in every fountain lived a snake.* 196 823 825

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo-European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "*a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon.*" All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernaic Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:— 171

ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίῤῥοος, ἵνθα ἔρακαναν
κτεῖνεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱός, ἀτὸ κρατεροῖο βιοῖο·

At the fountain of Ares watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Müllenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once

The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hâ, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [242] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai·ǂadai·b) or cooled (°/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (°/kǂabib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, °/ũdaib. °aũdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kxao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kxao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/xãb) of the plant is well covered (xa) with hairs (/ũ·ǂgu) it bears the name /ũ·ǂxa/kxã·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuanas corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (xhũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kxaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

137
262
name to the place Karibib (ǂga·ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. 221
The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called */ũ-/ robis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (ᵑha·/ob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L. f. (called !kʒa·ros) is [252]
considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be 137
mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The 221
!ha/ni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "ǂgara-!goreb kʒoma !hanʒa tanasa ǂ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, */ao-beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call *!kʒõ-aireb, and which plant corresponds to the */a·mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to 137
the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is 262
usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: *!kʒu·ib, or *ᵑnãi/nadgai·eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture, Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

252 262 415 137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[329 771] The cup for mashing ǃhai-os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush [412] wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //ō-ab (-arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call 137 tsa/ma-b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. 252 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, 262 ǃnō'robe-tsa/ma-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for naras seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma-s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond., called ǃa-nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaiǃs) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [222] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Kniphofia capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped [illegible], are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa-/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called °!go-bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name °/gĩ-gye/ga-mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible [824] ●
blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Mariothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai-rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kũã/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

302 303 415

//guru-s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

302 415 237

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ-ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell. [829]

302 [515 84] [832]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

[854 764]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ha(e)ti) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

[381]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

[384]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/u-i aos-(e)ti (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 386
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gu?b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [283
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 289
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na-bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [137
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

Syphilis claims many victims.

Although probably based on superstitious fear, the custom of the Hottentots of destroying a hut after a death has occurred in it and rebuilding it somewhere else on new ground is of great practical hygienic value.

Capitulum II

The Hut and Handicrafts

A. The Hut

The hut, o-mi, of the Hottentots is characteristic of nomadic housing. It is airy, yet protected against wind and sun, light in weight, [228] simple in material and in construction and therefore easy to take down, pack up and rebuild in another place.

1. Material and Construction

a) The framework of the hut is best made of thorn tree wood because of its elasticity. Next to be used is the more brittle hakjes (Acacia detinens Burch.) thorn. Other woods are used only as a last resort.

The dome shape of the hut demands that the framework of the hut have a definite curve.* The freshly polled and trimmed branch (about

*This curve is the basis of a Hottentot designation for rainbow as tertium comparationis: ǂa-biha-/nab, i.e. "rain hut-pole."

5 centimeters across at the base) is placed flat on the ground. One end and the middle are weighted down by heavy stones. The free end is bent and braced against a stone block and kept in this position until the wood has dried and therefore stays bent. Or they place the branches in bundles upright in the ground, tie the free ends together, bend them down and hold them with a strap which is anchored to the ground. [Picture. Framework of a Hut].

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as °!na/nihaigu. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called °/gurihaib or kx̃ã!nab, also °/naĉhaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rush, a Mariscus species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called /hu· mi·haru s by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view. 2/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried.

Piecing and hemming (kx̃u·iam or °kx̃u·im) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, °/kx̃a·ru nã·b, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point so that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row."

"In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (°/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũ!) with a piece of tanning stone (°/kyoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (°basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ǂgo'a·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo'a·s. ǂgo'a·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

word stem doro· which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari). 196 372 [111]

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.] 281

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa·ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu·rib, not sinew thread, //aba·b, is used. 283

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips. [824]

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro·b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /ãb, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. [516]

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, °//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones °ga·rab. Ankle rings, °!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai-daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called °tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk °tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop. 233

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //ha/mi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (°ǂhirasãǂb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called °!kã//gyere//ha/mi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called °da//ha/mi. [824]

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals. [312]

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, go/ma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

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*//kχao//an//gõ!b. //kχaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see [824] p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground.

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

e) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called *kχamgo/mab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep, 1/4 the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

The Hottentot who has the job of catching the young untamed ox, quickly makes his way through the crowd of cattle in which the ox is standing and places a stick between its legs. On the stick is the noose of a "catching strap" about 10 meters long. The frightened animal jumps forward with one foot, it does not matter which one, and is caught. Four to six men hold tightly to the other end of the strap and wait until the animal has more or less worn itself out with raging. Then two men approach the ox cautiously from behind, the one to the right, the other to the left, holding a long strap right across the back of the ox. When the strap is across the horns of the ox, one man goes [262] around the ox at a respectful distance, makes a noose and lets the other man tighten it. While the animal is now drawn to one side by the men with the "catching strap" and by the one who holds the noose on his horns, another man twists the animal's tail in an arc across its back in the opposite direction with such violence that the ox falls down and gives up all resistance. The Hereros are said to do the same [171] thing.

I have not observed how the Hottentots castrate, dabi·, the animals. I found out from the natives that formerly rich Hottentots celebrated the successful conclusion of a mass castration by slaughtering a calf. The meat was supposedly boiled with the testicles of the castrated animals and mashed. When the horns of the calves are between the length of the little finger and a hand, they consider it the proper time for castrating. A bull that is castrated later is distinguished from the other oxen by the term *kχoa·kχoa·dabi·b, because he has become

232 233

1/4 [i.e., whip. -Analyst]

§)Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	=	the annoyance
	/ara·b		=	rib
	/a·ʔrab		=	the crack
2.	//a·ri		=	yesterday, tomorrow
[359]	//aʔri·		=	to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oʔʔn)
3.	!a·ba		=	to climb up
	!aǂba·	(3, st.)	=	to scratch
4.	χoa·		=	to scrape
	χoʔa		=	to write
5.	χuru·b		=	powdered coals
	χuǂru·	(3, st.)	=	to pull out
6.	χu·bu		=	to pulverize tobacco
	χuǂbu·	(3, st.)	=	to drink from [sip]
7.	gara·		=	to be cool
	gaǂra		=	to have German measles
8.	gaǂro·	(3, st.)	=	bend, bow
	ga·ro		=	to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		=	to sprinkle
	/gaǂbi·s	(3, st.)	=	the cup
	(/gabi·		=	to be high)
10.	//gaǂe		=	to imitate
	//gaɛ·		=	to chew
11.	//ga·mi		=	water
	//gaǂmi·	(3, st.)	=	to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		=	the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaʔna·s		=	name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

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*539 "mouth part") of the ax broke (ǂkχõa). Then he said: "How (matisa) is this, mother?" (ais). And she replied: "That [is] no (toma "not," ǂ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) thing that is supposed (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to sound (ᵓ!naũ) like that (ti) [when it] talks" (mĩ). Then they uncovered it and saw that (!kχaiẽ) it was a stone. Then they killed (!gam) the woman (tarasa) immediately (/ãse) and ate (õ) her up.

[396] [Text omitted]

Translation of II

The Two Women Who Were Taken Along by Aigamuchab

And it happened this way (hĩhe "was done"): Two (/gam) women (kχoẽra) had gotten lost (!kχoẽ "to hurry," /ari "to lose"). And they came (/kχĩ) to (ai) the place (!kχaib) where Aigamuchab refused (//hã, ta = ra) cattle food (//ũna, neut. pl.).* Then they

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*The smooth, shiny, yellowish, inner-most layer of fibers of the bark of the thorn tree, which tastes sweet, is sucked and then twisted into twine.

[called]: "Man, [you] who (-ẽ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) are hammering (!gõ!gõ) there (nẽba), take (ũ) us* to the (//ga) kraal!" (//gãũs, p. 232).

*Literally: "one," kχoẽẽ = "person" in the neut. sing., corresponding to our impersonal "one." This indefinite manner of expression is preferred to the personal pron. of the 1st pers. if the request is made to a stranger. In this form I heard women ask strange Hottentots for tobacco.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 184–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 220–22.

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and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

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As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

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[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, "Berigt aan ... Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, "Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96–7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.
[6] "The Nama," 129.

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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1a] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104-5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[1a] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocrata. — Analyst]

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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 [842] [825] Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in [824] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate 847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody 682 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Leidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.
[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

815 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in • [829] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

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233 the early morning they are again allowed to drink, then are driven out into the veld in a different direction from the cows. Here they remain under the continuous watch of the herd-boys, who drive them back to the kraal in the evening. Only when a calf grows really thin is it allowed to accompany its mother in the veld.[1]

Occasionally, if the pasture round the settlement is poor, the cattle are driven far into the veld under the care of a few herdsmen, who keep them at outlying posts for weeks and even months. A wealthy cattle-owner may have several of these cattle-posts, which either he or his chief herdsman inspects from time to time by personal visits.[2] As a rule, however, each family remains and moves with its own herds, sometimes even acting independently of the rest in the search for water and grass.

[824] It may be noted here that herdsmen often carry as charms pieces of a certain shrub called */akib*. If cattle have gone astray one of these pieces is burned in the fire, in the belief that this will keep the animals safe till they can be found the next morning, and will prevent their being destroyed by wild beasts.[3]

No attempt is made to control the breeding of the cattle. The bull is at all times allowed free access to the herd, in the veld and at water. The months at the end of the second rainy season, March and April, when the pasture is at its best, are the favourite time for jumping, and the bull then follows close on the heels of the cows. At the beginning of the dry season it separates from the herd and roves in the veld till the next rains, only coming to the fountain when there is not enough water elsewhere. Its movements are apparently quite unrestricted.[4]

The proportion of bulls is nowhere indicated, but is almost certainly quite small, since a large number of oxen are required for domestic purposes. The young bulls are gelded when their horns are just beginning to show. The Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, bound the scrotum closely and tightly, so as to cut off communication with the spermatic vessels, the calf then being allowed to run in that condition till the testicles rotted off.[5] Schultze was unable to learn the method of gelding employed by the Naman. He mentions, however, that according to his informants the successful "castration" ("Kastrierung") of a number of calves was formerly celebrated by a feast, consisting of the meat of a specially-slaughtered calf cooked

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 79; von François, op. cit., 277-8; Schultze, op. cit., 258-60; Fidelskio, *Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand*, 83-4.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 261; Wanderer, op. cit., 678. [3] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 82.
[4] Schultze, op. cit., 260, 277. [5] Op. cit., 79.

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fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 125–7; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48–51; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 149; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 43.
[2] Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii. Schinz, op. cit., 102.

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making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Lashes for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

In other cases the skin of the animal is not specially treated, but is simply converted into bags of various kinds, such as knapsacks for carrying objects needed on the march, and smaller bags for *buchu* roots, herbs, tobacco and so on. An interesting bag of this kind is that used for holding milk or water. A freshly-killed goat, calf, gemsbok, or steenbok is cut open all along one side, from the left foreleg right up to the shoulder. Through this opening the whole body is shelled from the skin, head and legs having been first cut off. Then all the openings are sewn up, with the exception of that for the right foreleg, which serves as a spout for pouring the liquid in and out, and has a stone cock which can easily be tied fast. The fresh skin is turned inside out, the inner side cleaned of all particles of flesh and fat, and then it is dried. The hairs remain on the inner side of the bag.

The thread with which skin objects are sewn together is generally animal sinew, and so formerly was the bowstring. Strings of varying thickness are also made from the bark fibre of the *Acacia horrida Willd.* The branches of the tree are chopped off by the men, freed of all twigs and thorns, and rapidly passed through the hot ashes of a fire; then the bark is loosened at one end by hammering, and the whole pulled off in strips with the hands. Next the women separate the innermost white layer of fibre from the rest of the bark, and after

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Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly 755
enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this 757
hoani bilp has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, [824]
(somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging
he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the
root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process
takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to
do the same when I received a piece but all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not
itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes 783
place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of
life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hotten-
tot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'anbeenaikwe' is performed by
killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to
the circumstances of the family"[9]. This may be a feast similar to the one in which
all partake when the Ixazis leaves her khoti first.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with 768
death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described.
They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many
of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old
writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite
definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and
that the camp or kraal was moved. My informers state that in the earlier days of their
recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays
the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish
Bay, and one while I was in Bamaba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet
where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is 764
done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the
larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband
who has died, the wife becomes taus, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also
to perform certain rites before the communial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of
the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purifica-
tory rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

[9] Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley; London, 1738, p. 215. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Nuremberg, 1719).

Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground leaves pipe, goats' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with honey, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the /drap, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "delbe /ske", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaxais.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by Hahes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "Xarí dama kaure ǂaka ǂaheb", "don't get thin, get fat like the ǂaka onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xarí dama kaure ǂaka ǂaheb", and, filling the water pot, //ha-ǂa, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlieb gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and //aheb* juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //garib, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //garib. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dibi and //ghaab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become taus, and have to be dealt with similarly.

* * *

I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

* A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[1] [ǂa. A young marriageable woman. See cat. 46, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

461 357 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 146 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 797 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this 411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [828] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are 262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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ordinary duties of !Gêi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gêi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened: one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gêi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gêi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gêied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gêi methods. This is the //A lnaip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gêi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gêi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: " A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye hui te damats, gara i o, !hâi //gama !na ni ke !gê tai." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

* *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, 7th Letter, p. 62.

7:Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

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Abstract.

Grevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Grevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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argument, be a good "blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; "there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai° aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloem, Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Bereud makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of "scientific" and "sympathetic" lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

[104] °For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus:—D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1922 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aiq jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Quickgrass, P/arre, which has jointed roots of tremendous length, is used in decoction for coughs.

Baboon rope, P/nyra sooriep, a species of liana, is burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms. Several of the modern herbalists use it in decoction for boils, administered internally, as also they use the smaller climber, bakker bosch, *Cynanchum capense*, Thun. *Passerina filiformis*, P/tou, which when lighted disappears in a blaze of flame, whence its usefulness to the baker after whom it is named, is used in decoction for shooting pains.

Suitduizel, *Berkheyra* sp. a holly-like little bush about three feet high that grows near rivers and springs, is used in decoction for the same ailment. Sam uses it in powder as a plaster for burns and boils.

Candle bush, *Sarcocaula Burmanse*, a smaller variety *Patersonii*, is gathered, pounded fine, and used as an astringent for diarrhoea. Because of its laborious method of preparation it is named D/nou D/nou, which Sam translates as "work-work," but which is evidently an onomatopoetic word representing the sound of the stamping. The root is ground fine and used as a poultice, which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster.

Gums and resins are used to only a small extent.

[824 262]

Heyra, the exudation of the acacia tree, is used as a food, and when boiled with fat as a salve for whitlows and boils. Possibly the ease with which the tree exudes this substance was the starting point of this use.

Scaap rapayce, D/ta dou, a resin greener than the others, is eaten by animals, but not used much by man.

D/Goonu, the resin of several species of Euryops, is gathered in the sands of Bushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath; this is the reason that it is thought most of. It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used. The stems of this plant when old are reddish and inflammable, even in wet weather.

PURGATIVES.

Purgatives are in great request. P/gameroo, a whitish tuber with flat, green leaves not unlike those of the pumpkin, is cut and boiled, and the liquor is used as emetic and purgative, in stomach complaints.

Kraaibosch, D/nareeree; *Roycna hirsuta* L.; wild gentian, known as the Ambiaer bosch, or piles bush, *Chiroma baccijeca*, of the decoction of which two mouthfuls is an efficient dose, have a rapid effect. It is also used in decoction for boils.

SNUFFS.

As well as snuffs to drive out the infection of death there were snuffs that cured headaches.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guaap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluities-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

619
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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

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The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

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[302
824]

619
Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

231
726
The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[56]).

* * * *

619
was known of them in 1661 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters dasp.*, iii, 243). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumquas, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (op. cit., 462). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

[55]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters dasp., iii, 243). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-13, 1661.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[50]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera*, *op. cit.*, 139 ff.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Borem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etiam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.P.

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[48]) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

[49]) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia resinifera* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

[50]) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203) was at least eight days.

[51]) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [48]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
NAMA

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[44]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean. 752

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[44]) 757 782 [824] [574]

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[44]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below. 824 278 821

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[44]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, ii, 71-9; *cf.* Schapera, 406-7, 255 ff.).

[44]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[44]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?). S 428

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge. H 291 H [554]

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable. H 302 H [824]

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians cetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them. H 276

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to daughters" (Kidsbergen, III, 68). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property alloted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72). S 428

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ho:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sâb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khais* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */haep ;* (ii) */ui sâb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */harɔb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !hûb ;* (v) */gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the */homabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*/gâi haes*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the ǂɛ:ɔ:di and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ho:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !hoab kurib !na Iis hje !hhoub kx'ai !nas ha. ihje !houb hxoa kx'omina !go kx'ai. //na: //kas, kx'omina /harukxoa xu die ha. ihje /harukxoa /hâb xu die, ihje tarakhxoedi !garib !na /hâkxoa di /hoa /hoa.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133). 114

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !harib* (honey beer) 273 539

dausa u: ≠he:i.

||nâib ina !hûe, ina |kû |kûe, ina ||karae, ina thamsa !haib ab u:e. ina dausa |kua ≠gobe.

ina |hamsa ||gammi ka ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx'aie. ina |kû |kûe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *||nâib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey. [824]

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels.*" II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " dregs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *koap* or " hasrwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *||nâib* was described by *Tabab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms,*) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places. 114 273 824

Games

(i) The *||kuːs*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The 524

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29½. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Kowana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂâs* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂ'îs* and the reed-dance *ǂ'îs-s/aŝ-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lore" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

534 824 115 type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about 15½ inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No "ictus" could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

534 115 I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds.

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsuiǂgoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (ǂhamab, trade, ǂhamagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-ǂkhara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǂAmas tribe), and of the ǂKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-ǂhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǀKhâsti (ǀKhunusetí) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreya the Zebras, ε Orionis χamí, the Lion, ε Tauri (Aldebaran) aob, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *toroh*, from *toro*, to *love*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǂgari-b, ǂgob, ǂi-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǂgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received them on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǂgamteb, Lion-killer, ǂOtaitamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ǂb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

7. To ground on some account of superstitious customs and manners, Dapper, in his description of Africa, p. 621, tells us:—"Some of them wear round the neck roots, which they find far inland, in rivers, and being on a journey they light them in a fire or chew them, if they must sleep the night out in the field. They believe that these roots keep off the wild animals. The roots they chew are spit out around the spot where they encamp for the night; and in a similar way if they set the roots alight, they blow the smoke and ashes about, believing that the smell will keep the wild animals off.

I had often occasion to observe the practice of these superstitious ceremonies, especially when we were in a part of the country where we heard the roaring of the lions, or had the day previously met with the footprints of the king of the beasts.

8. The Korannas also have these roots as safeguards with them. If a Commando (a warlike expedition) goes out, every man will put such roots in his pockets and in the pouch where he keeps his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy have no effect, but that his own bullets will surely kill the enemy. And also before they lie down to sleep, they set these roots alight, and murmur, "My grandfather's root, bring sleep on the eyes of the lion and leopard and the hyena. Make them blind, that they cannot find us, and cover their noses, that they cannot smell us out." Also, if they have carried off large booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat. Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped."

9. Another sort of shrub is called ǂâ-ǂâ. Herdsmen, especially, carry pieces of its wood as charms, and if cattle or sheep have gone astray, they turn a piece of it in the fire, that the wild animals may not destroy them. And they believe that the cattle remain safe until they can be found the next morning.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

10. The root of a shrub called ǂKhoraḃ is taken and cut to pieces, and minced on stones. If one is hungry, he takes the dust and goes to his neighbour's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the *Aoǂâtes*, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub ǂaḃus are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (ǂgôǁgoeb), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, as far as I could ascertain, the northerly breezes are called tuǂoab—*i.e.*, rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i-b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kxao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (!kxao//nu/i-b) or fried (/gē-be//nu/i-b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari, is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/xāb) of the plant is well covered (ǂa) with hairs (/ū-/gu) it bears the name /ū-ǂa/kxa-s. 234 252 [328]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuana corresponds to the °/hu-nin/hu-ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare-b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē-s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (/hūi-b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kxaru-s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 242 [255]

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner.

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [325] [327]

[201] Finally, the food called //kʰuni-b, which consists of the seeds of the candle bush (Sarcocaulon) are eaten. The Hottentots, with whom I collected these seeds, maintained that a snake, called //kʰa-/aibe-b, often lives with the ants that gather these seeds. Another name for this questionable snake, that is more interesting from the ethnological standpoint than from the zoological one, is °!ga-rias!ga-/'mi. !gariaob is an alert, hard working, young man; !ga/'m is to kill. The name thus means "young man killer." According to the story, this snake winds itself around the ankles of the ant food thief and holds him tight until a poisonous snake comes at its whistle to kill him. [Picture. Wooden winnowing basins, the lower one decorated with a burned in pattern. 1/4 natural size.]

Cleaning the ant food from dust and stones is done in a flat, long wooden vessel (°/nu-bi!o-reb). The mass is purified from the dusty admixture by simply swinging the vessel up and down in the air far out from the body. The dust flies up in the air while the heavier parts fall back into the vessel. The food is cleaned from stones by a peculiar double motion of the vessel. The right hand holds the dish loosely on the narrow side and pushes the vessel forward and up. The left hand supports this motion, while it lets the vessel glide upwards in the rhythm of the right (holding the middle of the long side loosely with the thumb and grasping the under side with the rest of the fingers). All the stones collect way in the back and the food in the front part of the dish.

d) Several plants will be mentioned here, the leaves and blossoms or meaty stem of which are eaten as vegetables.

An Asclepiadaceae, Trichocaulon pedicellatum Schinz, forms thick meaty knobs, shaped like a club or a pear, which has given the plant the name !na/ha/!gia/rab, which means rhinoceros testicle. After pressing out [202] or sucking out the unpotable juice, the meat is eaten raw. And the other hand, two thorn-covered succulents (called /ga/a-b and !kao-hais) are sought out because of their juice. A somewhat sour juice in the meaty leaves of certain Geraniaceae is also refreshing.

The wrinkled branches of Pelargonium crithmifolium Smith, P. carnosum (L.) Ait. and P. zonale Willd. (called °//ha/'ms), which are covered with a greyish brown bark and are reddish inside when freshly cut, are roasted in hot ashes.

A Liliaceae, Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schinz., called °/kao-rob, furnishes a pleasant tasting vegetable.

[Picture. Farob, a tea fern. 5/4 natural size.]

Tobacco is indispensible to Hottentots of both sexes. It is the first thing they reach for after waking up in the morning. They have it in the form of large rolls or in firmly packed flat American packets. Because the smoker first cuts (xao) it, then stuffs (//hi) it in his pipe, they call it xao//hi/b, unless they prefer the foreign word ta-bagab. Wild hemp, da-ab, which the Bechuans are so fond of smoking, is not unknown in Namaland but is more rarely used. The Hottentots are economical smokers. They inhale the smoke deeply, and keep it in as long as they can and let it slowly trail out of their mouth and nose. Particularly economical smokers wipe the tobacco tar into a little leather wallet, #nuni-//ga-/rus. If their supply of tobacco is used up, they cut up the leather that is drenched in nicotine and smoke the pieces mixed with chopped straw.

Alcohol was always known to the Hottentots. When they live way out on the veld and cannot get this stimulant except as their ancestors did, [205] they still brew their honey beer, !hua/rib.

The wild African honey bees (called !habu-b) in Namaland usually build their honeycombs in caves, more rarely in hollow trees. The Hottentot knows exactly the individual parts of the bees' house. He differentiates exactly the pollen (#ua/o-b) stored up in the comb from the virgin honey (hũ-/danib). His generic term for honey is dani-b. The waxy bee cells which are joined together into a comb and which float to the surface after being emptied when one makes sugar beer, are called "/ha-/mi. The honeycomb in which the brood lies is differentiated by the word /ha/b, and "naib or nairab is the word for the material which the bee uses to roof over the honeycomb.

The cave, near which the bees are seen, is first poked with a long stick as thick as one's finger. If honey sticks to the tip of the stick, a firebrand is placed in the entrance to the cave to drive the bees as far away as possible. Then a man creeps into the cave and breaks off the honeycomb with a wooden forked bile.

If the cave is too small for a man to creep inside and if the only entrance is a slit the width of a hand, then they use a special honey stick, "!a-rub or !a-nib. They cut a long stick about the thickness of the little finger from the branches of the taai bush or even better from the roots of the thorn tree and attach to the front end with strips of leather two lighter little pieces of wood //gaĩnixa, the length of a finger, that have a sharp point and are faced towards the back. This

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 304
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 829
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then
a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those
who prefer red make a powder called "!gaib from the dry heartwood of a
giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the
face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror.
Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered
as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and
nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show,
according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yolks of raw penguin
eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone
with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with
the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief 290
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 295
a bundle of ostrich feathers. "!un-hes or gams is the name of this handker-
chief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [212]
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only
isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the
body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick
body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 767
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward. 845

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning. 757 278

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties. 757 278 825

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kxo-ras, consists in the following: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have. 757 278

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[124] The dried body of the so-called "jump" snake /kho-/bo/ao-/s, Scolotes capensis Gthr. is considered an infallible antidote for snake bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of 752 825

the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni- //hui- b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [751] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gã aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind 757 278 tasting and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives.

The excrement of rock rabbits, °!aũ- /aru- b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

136 forehead of the bull, the well-developed dewlap and the hump on the back over the shoulders rather give the impression of a gigantic bull. The long thin tail with its (black) tassel is also similar to that of a bull. The antlers of the male consist of strong stubby cones, of the female of less strong, slimmer and somewhat longer cones, which go up at an angle towards the back with a markedly protruding spiral twist in the lower half. Eight to ten thin whitish stripes across the back, which dissolve into the lower parts of the flanks, recall, as does the greyish-yellow of its general coloring, the skin of the kudu. The eland seems to be restricted to the extreme northeast of Namaland and even there is rare.

11. The "gemsbok," Oryx gazella (L.), called /gaŝb, is the antelope of the flat semi-desert country. The border territory of the Namib and of the hinterland is at the time of the best pasturage his favorite territory.

The gemsbok has the size of a small deer. Next to the springbok, he has the most varied coloring of the south African antelopes. The basic color of the trunk and neck is a light grey-brown, that becomes whitish on the flag. A dark-brown stripe goes along its back, continues forwards to the short mane of the back, backwards broadly along the small of the back and into the long bushy tail, that at times seems very dark-black. A similar dark stripe extends from the throat down the middle of the neck and forks between the front legs. The prongs of the fork diverge as broad bands along the stomach and proceed to the hind legs. The white wedge-shaped field, which they have a tendency to bite into, continues to the area of the knee of the hind legs. A broad dark-brown band surrounds the upper leg of the front legs. The white area of the knees and hoofs is interrupted on the front side by a long, dark-brown spot. The black-brown marking of the face resembles a deep and richly cut mask which contrasts sharply with the exposed parts of the face that shine a brilliant white.

Young gemsbok, with little horns about the length of half a finger and bent at the ends, are colored an even light-brown. Only the bushy [273] end of the tail has a lot of black hair. A dark stripe that extends from the front edge of the eye towards the corner of the mouth, indicates the black facial coloring of the grown animal (blurred over the forehead and nose). The Hottentot calls an oryx calf up to this stage /xga-reb. 136 8225 An older calf, the horn of which is the length of a small arm is called ‡aeb. Finally the hunter differentiates the grown animal before the first

pairing as ǂnũ///nãǂseb, i.e. "black horn," because the horns still have a fresh dark color, not the grey flaky surface of the older animal. The native hunter calls the old gemsbok bull that has been driven from the herd, //naisib. [Picture. Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm. Young springbok ♂]

The horns (in the male stronger and stubbier) are like two strong spears, ringed in the lower half, up to one meter long, which diverge slightly on the flat of the forehead and then rise towards the back at a slant. The Boer name, "gemsbok," which has been accepted everywhere in South Africa, shows, as do so many other names, what a childishly vague memory of his school-days the Boer had when he approached the animal world of his new homeland.

12. The springbok, Antidorcas euchore Zimmerm., called //gũʔb, is in build, marking and size the prototype of the delicate light-footed gazelle. It has the size of a large deer. The symmetrical body rests on tall, slender legs; a slim neck bears the little head with the lyre horns. From the lower shoulder a dark-brown, wide band rises up obliquely and continues to the hips and separates sharply the light yellow-brown of the back from the snow white of the belly. In front, the brown of the back continues to the neck and the outer sides of the front legs. In back, it extends along [276] the outer side of the upper hind legs, but leaves the whole front half of them free. The flag is also white. From it a sharply drawn white stripe runs down the middle of the back and ends shortly before the center. The white of the belly also covers the breast and extends as a narrow band down the middle line of the neck to the throat. The face of the springbok is also white. The large dark eyes peer out expressively. A dark-brown band, that unites the upper lip with the front corner of the eye, enlivens the features. A spot over the eye and one on the forehead (at times, especially in young males, extended over the whole bridge of the nose) complete the simple, yet lively marking of the little animal.

The springbok lives on the open plains in herds of many hundreds, sometimes of many thousands. His striking movements have given him his name. The animals jump so high that in spite of the speed of each motion, a measurable length of time passes before they touch the ground again. They seem then, when they have nearly jumped straight up into the air, to stay up there for a second with all four legs. Even more graceful are the motions of these animals when they are suddenly disturbed and are propelled into the air as if by an invisible power, now to the right, now to the left, expressing their excitement in whimsical jumps which go half-forwards and half-sideways. Then they

set off in full flight. And then sometimes one sees them jump straight up into the air in the middle of the speediest gallop, leaping over the bushes like a kangaroo. The back is bent, the head outstretched and the broadly unfolded flabellum, a bundle of long snow-white erect hair, shines out. 136

The lamb of the springbok is called //gu·nib by the hunter. The old ram who has been pushed out of the herd is called */gu·riseb or */gurimāb, i.e. "he who stands alone." [425]

13. The steinbok, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thunberg), called ǂa·ris, is a small (the size of a fawn) reddish-brown antelope that usually grazes alone. The male is armed with straight, thin, smooth, black, pointed spearlike horns that rise straight up. There is often a striking black spot on the bridge of the nose, that extends halfway up to the eyes. Sometimes one hears a Hottentot, who wishes to make fun of someone's dirty nose, say: "ǂaris kxoma ǂnûi ǂgnise ũ," i.e. "you, with a nose black as that of a steinbok." [522]

[277] 14. The klipspringer (see illustration p. 278) Oreotragus saltator (Layard) (Cape D. kliphok), called //kxaî·is or //kxaî·sis, could be called the chamois of South Africa. It lives in small herds exclusively in clefted mountain country. With certainty and grace it climbs over the cleft rocks. Without taking a running start, only bending the hind knees slightly, he jumps nearly straight up into the air the height of his own body to ascend the steep steps of the weathered gneiss and granite hills. He knows how to judge distances so accurately and so to judge the amount of strength needed, that even after a bold leap he can land with extraordinary certainty on an edge scarcely a handsbreadth wide. The hoofs of the little animal do not extend flat towards the front in a pointed triangle, like those of other antelopes, but are shaped like powerful cylinders that go up at a slant. The animal stands on the outermost tips of these hoofs as though on cothurni. [Picture, Rhaphiceros campestris (Thbg.) Steinbok ♀]

The skin of the klipspringer is also remarkable. Thick bristly hairs form a soft, elastic cover, which rustles peculiarly when a hand runs over it. The tips of most of the hairs are colored a light yellowish and are set off sharply from the exposed dark parts of the shafts of the hair. The skin, that from a distance seems to be uniformly greyish-brown, proves on closer inspection to be brilliantly variegated. The male has horns like those of the steinbok.

136 chestnut-brown that is darkened on the head and front legs, especially on the outer side. A blackish-brown broad stripe extends over the bridge of the nose to the forehead and two wads of hair stick out obliquely right under the eyes like dark warts the size of a walnut. They seem to be more pronounced in the male than in the female as is the marking of the head.

[533 825] [280] The tail is insignificant: "!naēsi gye ǂkʼaris ǂaresa ī" "it has gotten a small tail from its trotting (because of its many motions wiggling its tail)" sang a woman in a hunting song about the hartebeest.

Whereas the antelopes are hunted both for their meat and their skin, the hunting of predatory animals, if one does not consider it as self-defense, is exclusively for the skin.

136 825 18. Of the predatory animals of Great Namaland, the leopard, Felis pardus L., (Cape D. tijger), called /garu·b, is the most dangerous. [Picture, Bubalis caama (Cuv.) The red hartebeest] The Hottentot distinguishes two kinds of leopards. One of them, called !hurdu·/garu·b, is supposed to have smaller spots and to be generally yellower than the other kind. Since this leopard not only plunders, but kills all the cattle in the kraal that he can get hold of, he is especially feared. He inhabits the flatter lands and the valleys. The second kind, which is less bloodthirsty, darker, and simply called /garu·b, inhabits the mountains.

According to the beliefs of the native hunters, the leopard, unless he is attacked, only springs at people who look at him [281] but leaves unharmed the person who walks by him without glancing sideways. Thus because the leopard does not wish (ǂkxā = to refuse) to be noticed (ǂkxau) (-ku pass. ending, -sa adj. ending, gye auxiliary vb.), the (old) Hottentots call it ǂkxau-/hessgyeǂkxā·b. Apparently also an old hunter's name for the leopard (for I heard it only from old men) is ǂkxūseb.

136 19. The cheetah, Cynaelurus guttatus Herm., (Cape C. luipard), called !a·rub, may be recognized at first glance by his dog-like, slim legs which are made more for running than for jumping and clawing. His skin has small round black spots that are undivided, not grouped together but far apart on a light brownish-yellow background. Its back [522] seems to be stretched out lengthwise. Occasionally one can hear a Hottentot teasing a tall man with the words: "!arub kxoma gaxu !gāba ā," i.e. "You with a long back like a cheetah." The animal is a rarity in Namaland, more numerous near Kalahari.

20. The wildcat, Felis caffra Desm., (Cape D. graauwkat), called /hūa·b, is the commonest of the small cats of Great Namaland. It

hunted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, distinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kx̃ĕ.aob, "scout," and the oldest leader as °/ga⸗/ro /nē⸗/rab, because it presses toward the water first [288] (!ga⸗/ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in the herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill. 136 224

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of baboon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the Orange bush country. They call it °/hai·/nē⸗/rab, i.e. "pale baboon" because of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mischief). [Picture, Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack a leopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to every native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously that the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth. 136 825

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an expedition, !ha⸗/mi·, that takes several days or weeks. 224

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game]. Only the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game (/ĕ‡uri·, //ga⸗/m, u°ru). First he sights the game at great distances and, in spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes, recognises it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has developed the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intellect to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One need only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has been shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the trail is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly covered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a hundred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards the sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it and will then point out the direction with his finger where the search must continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground is overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the surrounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings back a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal has brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours [151]

In Lüderitz Bay and around Keetmanshoop half-grown boys and young men, when they wanted to make fun of girls, used to sing: 533

[Translator's note: four bars of music and text omitted.]

The teasing is implicit in the ambiguity of the text. The words in themselves, "you, my cheek (ǂŏse)," are straightforward. But not [383] ǂŏa is intended, but ǂũũs, that is, a possession, a "thing" (of any sort) and here specifically: the most preciously guarded possession of the virgin body which the boys boldly call their own.

4. The Dance Without Accompaniment 535

Dances without musical accompaniment came to my attention only once. It was a nocturnal dance with the name ʼnũũ.ǂu tsa.ǂbe --- da.ǂba tsa.ǂbe. These at the same time are the words that the dancers constantly repeat in time with their steps. The dance is performed by young and old, even by the oldest people of both sexes. Three people take part in it: two who approach each other in a hostile manner and a third who tries to separate the quarrelers by dancing between them every time they approach each other.

The step itself is simple: the right foot is scraped forward and then again half backwards in short paces. Immediately after every such scraping motion the left foot, stamping with the whole sole, is brought forward; at the same time the body sinks into a slight knee bend. The movement goes along slowly and jerkily, but it is not ponderous and it is even graceful when a young body executes it lithely. The movement of the right foot accompanies the words tsũ.ǂa- and da.ǂba-; the stamping of the left foot occurs on the first syllable of the word lying between them, tsa.ǂbe.

D. Beginnings of a Literature

1. Point of Origin 528 525

Outside of the narrow circle of his daily needs, and second to his interest in his own kind, the animal world is the favorite playground of the Hottentot's phantasy. He comes into close contact with domestic animals from the very first day of his employment as a herd boy. Left

to himself day in and day out, from early in the morning until evening. and dependent in his watchman's duties and for his amusement exclusively upon his observation of nature, he soon becomes acquainted with every bird call and he gets to know the habits of wild game and predatory animals as well as the hiding places of all the little animals that spice his scanty meals. All of this comes to him at an age when a childish desire for knowledge and games makes him receptive to everything around him. Later the hunt is his preceptor in natural history. The Hottentot never lacks leisure time in which these impressions can develop, and thus he spins out what he has seen and [384] heard and interprets it in human terms. In its most modest form this takes place when he thinks that he hears words * in animal voices.

> *Syllables that are to be sustained are marked with a musical hold. An accent mark is added where the rhythm is especially noticeable in imitation of the animal voice.

A. Animal Voices

Thus a wild dove (Stictoenas phaeonotus Gray, ǂnabu·s), probbably from the time when it was hunted with thorn-tipped arrows, calls to the man: "/Hai kχoētse·, /hai /huru·, !gaba //kχūb gom !kχaī χūba o!" "You good-for-nothing (literally "pale") man, you are playing a good-for-nothing game, the gaba thorn is a poisonous (forbidden) thing!"

A lark, "!hurīē. b by name (I cannot determine whether it is a Calendrella cinerea (Gm.) or a Clothilauda semitorquata A. Sm.), has a zig-zagged flight that rises and falls, and at the peak of its zig-zag it makes a clattering sound with its wings and produces an extended rising tone. In this call the Hottentot hears the words Om·dīie!, that is "fix up the hut!", which is an admonition to the women to tighten the rush mats of the hut, for this bird call is supposed to be heard especially when a storm is approaching; I heard it in all sorts of weather.

The Hottentot finds an admonition to negligent parents in the cry of the !kχu·riseb bird (which seems to belong to a species of Pycnonotus): "/Gu·rub ǂkχa·rib, /gu·ri //goē·, hū·diros /gu·ri //goē·!" "The Gurub lies alone, the Hudiros lies alone!"

The Hottentots call the black corn crow, the Corvus capensis Licht., "//hō·rab, which is derived from //hō.ra, "to scratch around the ground

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "ǂu·rigye go /a·os gye, hõ.gye go ǂnã·ef gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (ǂuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hõ) a spring-

* The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

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bok (ǂnãef, neut. sing.)."

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra·b (3, π.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hõ.rab, //hõ·rab, /kǂĩ·ẽ·kǂ(u)m ǂau·sa !kǂã !ã·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "rob," !kǂã, and "separate, !ã.) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra·b, go/ra·b, kǂi· ẽ·kǂ(u)m !ha·ma !kǂã· !ã·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (ǂna/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pterocluras namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words ":" !hau·s !ga·mase, !hau·s

"Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

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Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

!ga·mmase, !õba /x'u·bi te, ǂ·ta tsaũ.ba !na·n !ã·, ta·naba ǂnũ.i si !" "You filthy beast (!garab is the penis, used as a curse word), land (/x'ubi) me (te) the ax (!õba); let (ǂ) me (-ta) chop up (!naan!ã) the calf (tsaũba)." "I will split (ǂnũi) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

8. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), ti·ti·ses, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nuru//x'oan gaise, ni gye tiǂises si ǂaiba se ǂba !" "You old Nurukuan (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the *//x'aobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib //nao - se, ǂkb t(u)mi //gos se," "Hey, you, Hansib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.") 533 857

A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - hã, //nao - hã o /aru ai ǂui - ũi," "Naobas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

λ 539 took the stone, put it in the spot where he himself had lain, and fled (bē).

[399] Now she came and began (//hã̄ "to come hither") to chop up the stone. Then she hurried (!kχoē) after (!gon) him and caught up with him (sao "to follow," //are "to come together"). But he climbed (!aba) up a tree (hais). Then she (//hã̄ nã) chopped the branches (//naũga) with (/kχa) the ax. But when (o) only a single (/gui/guib) branch was left (!gau), he signaled (≠gai "to call") the two lions with the sweat brush (!nabes, see Care of the Skin, p. 212), and the lions came up and caught (*!kχõ) her.

Then the man escaped, and when he came (si) to his kraal (//gaũs), he slaughtered three (!nona) cows (gomate). But when the lions began to eat (õ) of (doba) the third (!nona //(e)ĩs) cow, he struck them dead* (≠noa!an).

●[525] *For he was afraid of the blood lust of the lions after they had tasted human flesh, namely that of the man-eater, who is conceived as being anthropromorphic.

[Text omitted]

Translation of IV

The Aigamucha People and the Hottentots

To (ai) Aigamuchab's kraal (//gaũs) people (kχoĩn) had come (/kχĩ), and (tsĩ) an Aigamucha girl (-aa, personal suff. of the fem. sing.) was slaughtered (≠ãbe) in their honor (-ba, verbal particle, emphasizing in this case the connection with the ind. obj.). But when (o) the time (//aãba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed to be called (≠gaihe) [to the meal], [400] they take (õ) their own* (//(e)ĩ, root of the

*Because they do not trust the hospitality.

[539] pret.) the hare (!ãaas fem.) away: "Announce (mĩ "to speak," -ba stresses a relation to the obj.: "to report") to mankind (kxoĩna, neut. pl) that they should do (ẽ "and," imperative, with the personal suff. of the subj. -n, neut. pl.) just as (kxomi) I (tita) do (hi, -ra verbal particle of progressive action), pass away (//õ) [and] reappear (!gã)." Thus (tumi) the hare was commissioned (ãhe, here probably a true pass.).

And (ũ, with the fem. personal suff.) the hare [said]: "As my (ti) grandfather (//naob, respectful term for the moon) does (ta euphonious for ra), so [you, too] pass away and reappear (imperative). That is my commission (goma, interjection). When (ũ) he, however (tĩ with personal suff.) spoke (mĩ) thus, then the boys [cried]: "What (tarẽ) are you (-s in tis) saying (ta euphonious for ra) there (ti "so, thus")?" Then said the hare (indicated by the s in os): "Just as I do--thus goes my commission--so [you, too] shall die goggle-eyed."

"The hare, therefore, intimidated by the boys who interrupt him, proclaims just the opposite of what the moon had ordered him: As the moon sets, so people were to die.

Then he goes home (//aru, vb.) and comes (ũ) [to the moon]. And the moon questioned (tẽ) him (ti, personal suff.); he, however, remained silent ("speak" kxoa "not" toma), well knowing (daa, tã verbal particle of the pret. participle) that (!kxaiẽ) he had (go, verbal particle of the pret.) lied (ãhumi, with the personal suff. of the subj.). Then the moon shattered (ãnau "to beat," dari "to hurt") his mouth (ama)."

[525]

"Ever since hares have had a "harelip" on their upper lip.

[Text omitted]

[486] Translation of XXXI

Urieb's Father

Urieb's father (ĩh) digs (kxao, narr. pass.) a pit (hia) and has

539 (gai, narr. pass.) the people (kxoetsa) look for (-re is added to the stem to make the vb.) firewood (/aǂhe) and throw (ao) them down (ǂai) into (!na) the pit and sets (!kxǂ) them on fire (ǂnuhi "to ignite," narr. pass.). And when (ǂ) a person comes (/kxi), he chases (!kxoe) after (ǂ) "with" him (expressed by the personal suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. sing. -i) round about (//namibe, vb.) the pit and shoves (ǂhi) him down into (ǂgǂ "to stick into") the pit.

But one day (gui tsi) the jackal came, after (tsi, particle of the pret. participle) he had smeared (ǂkxau) himself (-sen, refl. particle) with fat (//nuiha) and had made himself wet (/ǂ ǂ); and the two of them (-kxa, suff. of the dual masc.) chased around in a circle. Then that one pushed the jackal, but slipped down (ǂkxaru) and fell (//nǂ) down (//gona) [himself] and burned up (kxaa). Then the jackal went home (//aru, vb.).

But the other dies (//ǂ) and comes to life again (!gǂ) and eats (ǂ) from the Nara bush and [sings]: "Bury (//kxǂ) me (te, suff.), won't you (re), me, Urieb's father (here without a personal suff.). Bury me in big (gai, with the personal suff. of the related substantive because it is post positive) nara bushes." "I (-ta, suff.), Urieb's father, have died, [but although] dead, I am alive."

c) Animal Tales

538 The belief that certain people have the capacity of transforming
535 themselves, while they are asleep, into animals and, as such, to
776 wander about unrecognized and to observe things that otherwise would be concealed from them, is encountered not infrequently.

The legendary being that the Hottentots call //gaũ-b also possesses this capacity to assume any desired animal and human shape. They imagine this being in human shape as a skeleton covered with skin and with feet as long as an arm. "As quickly as a flame flickers up from the glowing ashes and then dies out," -- this is how fast, as a boy told me, the being steps into a hut at night and steals a child. It hastens with him into a cave that it has dug in loose soil and rides upon its prey until it has suffocated in the dust. By day the //gaũ-b can also assume animal form. [451] Such a klipspringer, jackal or

whatever else it may be, does not flee, for it is invulnerable. The being appears to people in human shape only at a distance since he would be recognized by his facial expressions despite all disguise.

The emphasis of the Hottentot animal tales, however, does not lie in these arbitrary fantasies that are only loosely connected with the animal world, but rather in the animal characterizations, which are executed with sharp individual characteristics, and in the transferral of the characteristics to human types. Because the Hottentot reveals himself in these animal portrayals as a sensitive observer of himself--because, in the manner in which he brings the stories to an end, he gives clear expression to his moral evaluation of individual types--because here, finally, he does not need to disguise himself because of anxiety or utilitarian considerations--for all these reasons I regard these tales as the purest reflection of his inner self.

Among the animals behind whose words and deeds the Hottentot conceals himself the jackal claims a predominant position. Excelling all others in cleverness, he plays his deliberate game with the strongest as well as the weakest. The hyena, his opposite, is the symbol of stupidity; with the hyena he can allow himself any old joke (Folk tales XXXII and XXXIII) and even deceit (XXXIV), insofar as the transgression does not offend the feelings of piety that are conceded even to a stupid person (XXXV).

The guile of the jackal is crowned with success especially in cases when it is linked with personal courage (XXXVI) or where it skillfully exploits the cowardice of the opponent (Folk tales XXXVII and XXXVIII); in these cases the hated leopard or the more harmless baboon. When the narrow-mindedness of the opponent is combined with avarice, as in the adventure of the jackal with the Boers (XXXIX), the sly fox is allowed to escape from the noose successfully at the last moment. When half measures are applied in indecision (XL) or in mildness that is badly out of place (as is told of the missionary in Folk tale XLI), the jackal is even allowed to get away with deceit, murder and theft. But every once in a while they do not begrudge the old rascal a good beating when he approaches the "dwarf" impertinently and conceitedly (Folk tale XLII) or when he is all too domineering with the flamingo family (Folk tale XLIII).

The jackal has the Hottentot's unlimited sympathy when, as the underdog, he is clever enough to get out of the clutches of the stronger

538 ●925 one (the lion) [432] (Folk tales XLIV and XLV); and even more so in cases when he is taking vengeance for injustices that he has suffered personally (XLVI); and most of all in cases when he breaks the tyranny of the strong simultaneously as an avenger and benefactor of all weak people (XLVII).

The jackal's slyness is regarded from the humorous side when, as both referee and liberator, he teaches the serpent and the porcupine a lesson (XLVIII).

The jackal appears as a Don Juan with varying luck: successfully in the salacious Folk tale XLIX and as the cheated lover in Folk tale L, where he falls in love with the sun.

Next to the jackal the lion is most sharply characterized and humanized in the tales. Everywhere hate or ridicule are showered upon him. He is hated because of his brutality, which makes him the murderer of his own children from the marriage with the ostrich (LI) and because of his violence, which makes it unpleasant even for the peaceful baboon to be his neighbor (LII). In consequence, his punishment overtakes him all the more easily, the more he considers himself superior to the others: even the little zoo-lizard leads him around by the nose (LIII). And at the same time he is so lecherous that he does not hesitate to feign illness in order to rape his masseuse (LIV).

He is ridiculously conceited about his power and considers himself invincible. He has to be taught better by the ostrich (LV) and even by the little swinbok (LVI). The silver jackal pays him back so well for his arrogance that his sham authority finally loses all its glory (LVII).

The theme of the triumph of guile and skill of the weak over the crude superior strength of the stronger is constantly repeated in Hottentot tales in ever-new variations and animal portraits. One of the best tales, one that gives us deep insight into the emotional life of the Hottentots in its most varied aspects is LVIII, which deals with the fly and the elephant. Furthermore, the story telling how the "dwarf" frees himself from the tyranny of the elephant is, despite all anthropomorphization of conditions, still kept close to the animal's manner of living (LIX).

As in the preceding stories the fly and the "dwarf" in the two following tales, a bird about the size of a black-bird, called

538 gē-/tsi/ha-maben, plays the part of the weaker party. However, it
825 is superior in battle because of its cleverness. The bird, which appears in the shape of a young lively girl, frees itself and its family from the plague [453] of the python (LX); in another story its attentiveness and guile rescues the girls from murder by the honey badger and his companions, who go dancing with them to the growling reed music of the dorbeetle (LXI).

A simple ruse (similar indeed to the one used by our hedgehog with the hare) aids the tortoise to victory in the race with the ostrich (LXII). Even the giant antelope, the eland, must pay with his life for his arrogance to the tortoise (LXIII). In Folk tale LXIV (as in the Bergdamara adventures) the motif recurs that an important decision or change is placed in the hands of the weak.

In conclusion I offer four tales that, in part crudely naive and in part with a somewhat greater supply of fantasy, are to be interpreted simply as an illustration of certain peculiarities in the external appearance or in the natural history of certain animals (zebra, iguana, baboon, etc.: Folk tales LXV through LXVIII).

13 In order to avoid explanations in the translations, I take this op-
538 portunity to present a list, briefly and generally in simplified spelling, of the animals that figure in the legends. (Those that are only mentioned incidentally and that do not play an active part themselves are given in parentheses.) In the index at the end of the book one can ascertain in which tales the individual animals appear:

1. Elephas africanus (Blumenb.), the elephant, /gxaob.
2. Giraffa capensis (Lesson), the giraffe, !naib.
(3.) Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), the rock-rabbit, !aib.
4. Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), the eland, !kxaus.
(5.) Antodorcas euchore Zimmerm., the springbok, //gūb.
Folk tale name, /haēb.
6. Rhapiceros campestris (Thunberg), the steinbok, !aris.
(7.) Ovis aries L. platyura, fat-tailed sheep, gub.
8. Bos taurus L., domestic cow, gomab.
9. Equus zebra L., the zebra, !goreb.
(10.) Equus caballus L., the horse, hâb.
11. Felis leo L., the lion, ami. Folk tale name: gai!gâbe, that is, "Big back."
12. Felis pardus L., the leopard, /garub.

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13. Canus mesomelas Schrb., the jackal, /gîrib. Addressed by the hyena in the tales as "my brother Pale," ti !gâ /haintse because of his yellow fur. In the tales the jackal child has the proper name ûngyeb.

[454] 14. Hyaena brunnea Thunberg, the brown hyena, ghâras (specifically 'aoâbe ghâras), also called "my sister Poisned Sun," ti !gâ ǂgoîbese, by the jackal in the tales because of its posture in running.

15. Vulpes chama (A. Smith), the silver jackal, !kxamab, hunters' name: 'gaihetoma-b (see p. 282); puzzling folk tale name: "hoegye-!gâ-hâkx.oî ûâb, that is "the son (ûâb) of the sister (!gâs, kxoin, "woman") of all (hoe) [mankind] (gye and hâ, verbal particle)."

16. Felis caffra Desm., the wildcat, /hûab.

17. Mellivora ratel (Sparrm), the honey badger, /haerebab.

18. Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.). [Mierkatze], the "dwarf" /êb (specifically: 'uri/êb).

(19.) Canis familiaris L., the house dog, arib.

20. Hystrix africae-australis (Peters), the porcupine, !noab.

21. Lepus, the hare (see p. 283), !oas.

22. Papio porcarius (Noddaert), the baboon, /nûrab.

23. Struthio australis L., the ostrich, /amib. Puzzling folk tale names: hubeis and hîngatu-hus. Proper name of the ostrich child in the tales: hanûbab.

24. Saxicola pileata (Gm.), Kochlar, 'gûrin/hamabes.

(25.) Numida spec., guinea hen, /kxînas.

26. Phoenicopterus, the flamingo, fala-migub (a borrowed name that is also applied, as it seems, to a heron of the interior).

27. Gallus domesticus Bois, domestic chicken, hûnes (borrowed).

28. Corvus scapularis Daud., white crow, gorab or !uri gorab.

29. Python sebae, python, 'gai/aob. The rudiments of the rear extremities of this animal are regarded by the Hottentots as testicles, and hence they call the python also 'gu/ma-/kxka-raeb, that is "the one with the oxen testicles." I heard old people call the python 'i ga-/nigyen!gû/b because the animal squeezes its prey to death (!ga/hi) and because its "testicles" are attached in the rear like an apron (!gû/b).

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ride where people are." (Likewise substantively expressed by attaching the personal suff. to the vb. hã̄ "to be"). Thus he spoke and ran away. But the hyena was deposited (literally: "came" ǂî, "with" ǂî, "jumped" ui, "has been" -he, pass.) by (xa) the young horse in the horse kraal (!hũ̄ab). Then she was caught and beaten and chased away ("told" gaihe, "to go").

[Text omitted]

[480] Translation of XXXIII

The Hyena and the Jackal Jump after the Clouds

Once (nũ̄a) when the hyena and the jackal, the two of them (tũ̄a), were in (!na) the field (!aob), clouds (/naaga) appeared (//hao). Then the jackal said: "Sister (pointed Run (see page 454), there (//nẽ, with the personal suff. of the subj. in the masc. pl.) some balls of fat (gauga, masc. pl.) have appeared (/kxũ̄), so (ǂnigye, with the personal suff. -m, 1st pers. dual masc. -fem) let us jump (ui) after them (!gũ̄)!" So he said and continued: "I (tita, pron.) will (nĩ) jump first (aihe), and (ã, with the personal suff. of the addressed pers.) you catch (ǂhõ) me (te, suff.) nicely (ǂxase, adv.). for (ǂnigye) then I will catch you nicely."

Then he jumped and she caught him well. Then the hyena jumped. But when (//gaai) she came down (hã̄) the jackal cried: "Alas, (ĩ, interjection) wait! (//nam) a thorn (//kxũ̄ĩ, neut. sing.) has stabbed (!kxã̄) me, therefore [wait]." Then the hyena fell (//nã̄) to the ground and sprained (!oē) her hip joint (/gobus).

Since that day (tsãe) the hyena has been lame" (/garusa.

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"If one follows the tracks of a fleeing hyena, one occasionally sees that the animal has scarcely touched the ground with its left hind foot. Instead of a track only a light scratch is to be seen in the sand. The folk tale proceeds from this observation.

adjective, /nãsa "leg").

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Then the baboon (I heard the term /ǂdraba only from old people; the younger ones all say /ǂdraba) was afraid (!ae) and went (!gûng) away and came (nî) to (doba) the wildcat (/hûab) and said: "The jackal there (ti, demon. root) wants a knife when (o) I ask about the debe." [468] Whereupon the cat: "He is only pretending (/hûmi "to lie") that (//as). The High Supreme Dung Chief! (literally: "the unique turd," ǂgam /guias). That is just like him! (ǂ "to be like," -b pers. suff.). So (!îigye) come on, let (ǂe) us go." So she said, and the two of them went and got there. But again (//ŋǂaba) the baboon was not prepared for the sight ("had not" tama "provided" mî "himself" -ma, refl. particle, "for this," with the objectifying particle -ba) and ran away (//hai-nî).

Then the cat called (ǂgai) to him again: "The jackal is lying; he will do (dî) nothing (ǂî "something," tite particle of the fut. negative) to you (ti, suff.); so come, let's tie our tails (ǂkeiǂa, dual masc.) together." (//ae "to unite," !gai "to bind"). So she said and they came there. But the jackal leaped (ǂkam) at both of them (ŋǂâ, suff., in the dat. acc. case) with the knife.

Then the baboon fled while (hîa) the cat cried (mî, te o ra, ti "thus," with the pers. suff. of the subj.) "wait!" (//hâm). And when (o) she wanted to hold onto ("it lyiddawes) herself to (ai) the bushes (hain), he pulled (!hum) her out (dai) along with the bushes. Then finally the baboon stopped (ǂî, vb.) running, and the cat said: "Come, let's go back (oe), the jackal is pretending, believe (ǂgum) me, won't you!" (o, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) But the baboon refused (ǂkâi) and did not go back."

"Here, too, the Hottentot sets up a causal relationship between the tale and the animal--one which is so well known to the natives that the narrator no longer stresses it: when the two animals unknotted their tails again after their wild flight, it turned out that the baboon's tail was bent. As punishment for his cowardice it has remained that way ever since; see the illustration on p. 288.

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the refused (ǂhoǂ) and remained." Then the lion went [himself]

But the jackal dragged (ǂae "to climb up," ǂ "to take") all (ǂoa) the meat (//gaa) up into (n) the giraffe tree and left (//haǂa) the skinny giraffe behind. Then he rammed (xire) out the fat and rammed a round quartz stone (//garoa) into (ǂan) the grease (//nuiǂ). Now the lion came (/hoǂ) and cried, and the jackal answered (ao). [Then the lion cried:] "Pull me (te, suff.) up (ǂaba "to climb up," ǂ, see above)!" Then a thong [490] (ǂaraba) was let down (ǂ//hai) to him (-ba, in the predicate, objectifying particle), and he was drawn up (/'/aoan). But just when (ǂâa) he arrived (ǂ, ta + an) [above], the thong was cut (ǂkai and !gai) and he plunged down." Then the jackal

> ǂ aǂ signifies: a) the pressing of running cattle against the udder; b) to drop, with the suff. ending -ata: to plunge down.

said [to his mate]: "Give me a newly (/hai) prepared thong. -- [and whispered:] "give me an old thong!"

But when the lion could not manage (//ae "to be unable," ǂoaba "to come forth"), the jackal said: "Sir, open (ǂaiba) your jaws (ta ǂaoǂ and ǂ, with the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) catch (ǂhâ) this (ǂâ) piece of fat (masc. sing.) neatly (ǂaiwa)! And be sure that it does not (ǂâ + tama) fall (ǂoa) "to set," ǂ "to happen") on the ground (!hâba, for ǂaigare if ga, ga particle of the potential) it falls, it will go to pieces (/hoa)!" Then the [lion] opened his jaws, and the fat [with the red hot quartz stone in it] fell right down (ǂâǂ, vb.) into his mouth.

Then the jackal cried: "Sir, [run] to (//ge) the water! (//gaoa) To the water!" But he did not get there (ǂaba) to the water, but died (//ô). (Literally: "while he did not get there, he died.") -- The stone plunged through his intestines and tore open his anus. For that reason -- this is what the Hottentot told me whom I asked for further details--every lion, when it has killed an animal, first gulps down a piece of hide in order to close up the hole that the glowing stone made.

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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 [842] Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated [843] urine and faeces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in [829] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded white and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate 847 pregnancy. According to Wanders, both the woman and anybody 832 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women managing her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the foetus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Van Reenen, *Notes and Diaries*, 1141; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 273; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 398-9.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Leibbr, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 1158, 1168; Wanders, "Ueber das Recht der Hottentotten," 488.
[3] Wanders, 511-12; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 503.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gui /gui*, big brother, the latter as *!gui-kenneub*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, there ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] Vedder, op. cit., 171. [2] Op. cit., 168.
[3] Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Kaffern," 40-1; Rehm, op. cit., 60-1; Schultze, op. cit., 283.

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and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Namas that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde paarde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[1]

Campbell[2] describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."

[1] Op. cit., p.
[2] Travels in S. African ...

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773 from the roots *hei*, tree, and *ei*, face, likeness, appearance, arriving thus at the meaning "the One who has the appearance of a tree". In support of this he notes that another and shorter name of *Heitsi Eibib* is *Heigeib*, Great Tree, from *hei*, tree, and *gei*, big.[1]

Heitsi Eibib is said to have been a great and celebrated magician among the Hottentots in prehistoric times, who did miraculous things. The Namas all describe him as their great-grandfather, and as a powerful rich chief. He lived originally in the east, and had plenty of cattle and sheep. He conquered and annihilated all the enemies who killed his people; he was clever and wise, and could foretell what was going to happen in the future. He was born, according to one tale, of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice, thereby becoming pregnant. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother; he fought and killed various evil monsters; he conquered great lions, and put enmity between the lion's seed and mankind. He could change himself into many different forms, and was able to go through
[829] mountains and rivers when pursued. He cursed the lion, the hare, and the vulture, and to his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again; and another legend represents him as being reborn as a young bull from a cow impregnated by eating grass.[2]

773 His "graves" are found all over the country, in the Cape Colony
778 as well as in South-West Africa, generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the oxen, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap.[3] This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, muster the following prayer:—

[828]

O Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let my bad luck and curse,
That I may blow them again,
Not thou nor our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!

[1] Op. cit., 130-9.
[2] Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, 111-60; Rheinallt-Jones, in Marloth, "The Bushmen (and their Lore) in the Dutch South African Literature of the Seventeenth Century," 1917; Hahn, op. cit., 60-73; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170-7 (Nama text); Walton, "The Bushmen," 170-6.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, ii. 340; Alexander, op. cit., i. 167; Bleek, op. cit., 96; Rheinallt-Jones, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 89, 130.

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the chief will therefore order him to be deprived of all his power. He is taken to the nearest pool of water and ducked completely. His power, residing in his body dirt, oozes away from him into the water, as it were, and he is an ordinary man once more! Mrs. Hoernlé states that she knows of two instances in which this course was adopted.

In the same way, the medicines of the */gui and* can also be rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water. Mrs. Hoernlé records the case of a girl who had been bewitched and who nearly died as a result. She was finally cured by the medicine which is all powerful against all witchcraft methods. "This is the *//a /naip*, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating that it is too much even for any */gui* medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little */gui* sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever."[1] Here we have another instance of the protective value of water, to which attention has already been drawn.

It is difficult to determine what other regular functions the */gui and* has apart from the curing, or causing, of disease. Hahn speaks as if the */gui and* formerly obligated at the boys' puberty ceremony, at the reception of warriors returning home after battle, and at the slaughtering of a cow or sheep "as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being"[2]; but he gives no further details and there is no other statement definitely connecting the */gui and* with these rites.

Elsewhere Hahn mentions "a class of sorcerers" chiefly occupied in making rain, "who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes."[3] "Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country," he says, "they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They crush a kind of capricorn (*/gui/gaub*), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and rain. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications

[1] "Social Value of Water," etc. Op. cit., pp. 60. [2] Ibid., 63.

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away from the spot, the people gathered hope that the patient would recover, but if it remained lying where it was, they abandoned both hope and any further treatment.[1] 787

In addition to these more or less standardized methods of divination, the Hottentots also place great faith in omens. Of these there are a great variety. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the wind, celestial phenomena, the beat of the pulse, nervous twitchings, forebodings—all these, according to Olpp, can have significance.[2] Some kinds of omen we have already described in connection with hunting, war, and the moon. Vedder records one or two others.[3] Many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and, above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, are regarded as precursors of death. Again, if the corpse of a living acquaintance or a relative appears to a person in a dream, "he has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate his dream, as by then the time for its realization will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly." 787 763

The appearance of the mantis, again, is an omen of extreme good fortune. This little insect does not appear to enjoy the same reverence among the Hottentots as it does among the Bushmen, but the Namas believe that it brings luck if it comes on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it.[4] The Cape Hottentots, according to Graevenitzeck and Kolb, regarded it as a favourable omen of the highest significance.[5] If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, says the latter, the farmer on belonging to the kraal was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and the fat, and wore the caul twisted about his neck till it rotted off, or until some other person was honoured in the same way by the mantis. The flesh of the ox was cooked, and the man or the woman feasted upon it, according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into one of disaster and destruction. The insect, however, does not appear to have been prayed to (although in South Africa it is still popularly spoken of as the "Hottentot's god") nor does it figure at all in the mythology of the people. 787 825

[1] Op. cit., 170. [2] Olpp, Passim, 35. [3] "The Herero," 175-6
[4] Op. cit., 40. [5] Graevenitzeck, op. cit., pp. 6-8; Kolb, op. cit., 13-4.

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752 278 a solution of tobacco juice diluted in water as an emetic. Tobacco juice taken from the stem of the pipe may also be rubbed into the bite or into a cut made near it, and Schultze seems to think that this really may be an effective antidote. Another favourite remedy is white [825] potassium chlorate, in the form of the inspissated urine and faeces of the dassie purified by the action of the atmosphere, which is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings.

752 The immunization against snake bite reported of the Bushmen is also practised by the Hottentots.[1] One of Laidler's informants, the "poison doctor" for the northern parts of Little Namaqualand, learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been similarly taught. He stated that when he was a boy—and to begin with the boy must have a good constitution—his father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, into which he rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom containing several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery". This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until it reached the size of a pin's head, and this dose the informant was still taking every day. The only venom not used in this process was that of the puff- [159] adder, which his father told him rotted the flesh. Men immunized in this way are known as */oe/ge oes*, snake-bite men, and they treat others bitten by snakes. Apart from the regular antidotes and cures already mentioned, they often use the perspiration from their body and clothing, either rubbing it into small cuts made near the bite or mixing it with water which the patient is required to drink. This form of treatment is, of course, reminiscent of that employed in the *hep* dances.

278 789 For internal and certain other troubles the Hottentots use a great variety of herbs and roots. When any of the roots considered really powerful medicines are dug from the ground, states Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person a present must also be given. When taking the root, one addresses it with [823] the words: "Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water"—another instance, it will be noted, of the proselytic power of water. Elsewhere Mrs. Hoernlé mentions, by way of example, that the root used in

[1] Laidler, op. cit., 238-9; Schultze, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Values of Water among the Hottentots," 522.

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757 argument, be a good "blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

758 The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the 60th day of this treatment; "there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gu" sap.

P24 278 Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Columbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal leaders in the country is but small.

757 B22 278 Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Root wartle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloem. Root rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

[B24] [B25] ● Burned makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of "scientific" and "sympathetic" lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

759 279 B24

[108] The scene is primitive and exciting! I have counted the clicks that: a/ the dancer, b/ the patient, c/ the conductor, d/ the blood and e/ the patient.

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Toxicology.

The snake stone has been a famous antidote in all countries. The South Africans imported them from India, but few farmers could afford to purchase this remedy because of the expense. Barrow examined specimens and pronounced them to be pieces of fire bone charred round the edges leaving a white speck in the centre. When thrown into water, a snake stone caused bubbles to rise and this test was a proof of genuineness. It adhered to the snake bite, sucked out the poison, and was cleansed by soaking in water which it turned blue. Country people believed that it was obtained from the head of a snake. The snake stone of the Hottentot is quite a different matter, though it also is believed to be part of a snake. A young Richtersveldter gave this description: "I saw a snake's light. If you see it afar off it looks like a person's fire, but I know that there are no people there. Go nearer, and then it is seen that the light walks about. Then I keep away. I have heard that if a snake's hole be closed with earth that the snake then bites himself to death. Next day the snake stone is found in front of the hole where he dropped it when he went away."

Sam, two hundred miles south of the last informant, says that at night a twinkle is seen on the rocks, and that is a snake stone; and it is seen because the snake is away at the river. Then, to procure the snake stone it is necessary to keep a good look-out, and to approach cautiously with a handful of horse dung, which is to be thrown so that it puts out the light. Thereupon the absent snake becomes blind and cannot see, and can only creep aimlessly to and fro. Next day the dung is picked up and the snake stone, which is the snake's strength, taken away. He is ordinarily a strong-tempered fellow, but after losing his stone he becomes weak, and cannot sit up to bite. The stone is used by the Natives together with herb medicines for poisonous swellings. Probably it is one of the numerous quartz crystals, loose or embedded in the rocks, which occur in profusion all over Namaqualand, and that reflect light at evening time.

Jacob Klaas, whose father was a full-blooded Nama, is the Poison Doctor for the Northern portion of Namaqualand. He learned his profession from his father, who in his turn had been taught by his father. He states that a boy must be strong to begin with, that is, he must have a good constitution. His father made two small cuts above the elbow of each arm, and into them rubbed a small portion of the dried venom of the cobra and night adder. Two weeks later his father prepared a lump of venom that contained several varieties, and gave him a piece to hold upon his tongue until he felt "funny and shivery." This was repeated twice weekly. Then he was given a piece to swallow. The dose was increased daily until the size of a pin's head was reached. Though now about forty years old, Jacob still takes his daily dose. The only venom

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not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

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The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that it vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

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Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no hand cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, crushed head of his old hut and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to control the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipwortel or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

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The gecko lizard, the D'ang D'ang, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

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Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus: after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor's used clothes.) Here, once again, the sympathy between opposites.

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In a country that Nature has covered with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kabeen, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kolly wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a poultice. In such case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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White Kafir-wood. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is smelled for fetishism, and is a very pungent snuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter.

White vergalt, a white chicory-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Harrod declares that this is "first class" for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of "driving out" by means of an explosive sneeze.

POULTICES.

Plasters and poultices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether cow-dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C. kous P. nelson, wakkerboom bloor or field clove leaf, a large soft cole-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. P. comm ghanna has been mentioned. D. tenuis D. pore was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is peppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of herbs contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopoeia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern goat-dung poultice is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, worn and ready to hand of unlimited bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such poultices have been applied by white people for pneumonia, appendicitis, peritonitis, and innumerable other complaints. For who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigines? And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a goat or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused if required. Its action is diaphoretic. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many "fresh things and strong things" that his stomach contents must be very good medicine.

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

Lion's urine. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists is dassiepis. Lion's urine, or D'gamm, the supposed urine and faeces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the clefts and crannies inhabited by them. Boiled and strained the liquor is given in tiny quantities, during parturition generally, and for irregular cases of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of Dassiepis acted upon by the atmosphere, which gradually removes all the organic matter, form a dark pitch-like mass the dassiepis of commerce which

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse swart ho meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, ho meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into gerified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

Klipewoet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever he his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1913. 92, among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

C/gnoma, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Natives to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the fasted snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

The Kanker koeste, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to remove.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is called C/aamop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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aquarumque, quâ imprimis delectantur. Tuberum infantes aeque ac senes, feminae ac mares, in maximis deliciis habent, ita ut quamvis sale inviderint, fumantium tamen fatalem escis per vices distribuunt. Cruenti in his oris *) *Arî Africani* radix, tanta pollens acrimonia, ut linguam non modo adurat, sed & acerrime lancinet, venenis meritò accensenda. Hanc *Hottentotti* cunctando mitigant (ignis nostrum expellente calor, volatilem simul & acrem ligante salem) ut essi apta sit haec radix, *) *artocacorum* (qui hic mirae effigiei sunt,) dapes. Nonnullibus, veluti arefactis & pulverulentis pellibus (quarta pro calceis saepe die fuere usi) quin & exuviosellis, modo non nisi, vestiuntur incompositi omnes ad unum, etiam non exclusa *Regia*, vilissima mendicabula, ut singuli fere *Nigritae* sunt.

CAP. XVII.

De Morbis Hottentotti.

Nihil est hac plaga infestius, ubi tempestatibus atrox coelum, saevique mortes incolarum ingeniis congenere sunt: unde saepius & in fugitis aestivae messis cum multi mortalium indole haud convenirent, bellum levissima de causa susciperetur. *Arma* illis sunt praeter curtaceum lanceam (qua clypei loco utuntur) arcus & tela: Haec vel *) projectoria, quale adeo accurate ad scopum collineare solent, ut ad quadraginta passuum distantiam, proposition offendant punctum, quemque primo jactuti hexubio; vel furatoria, quibus hipposillen magno ictu ad arcum vibratis, lumbos transverberant. Ita plerumque impune venatio huic in modum infestat: vigorum alludre luctamen

*) Alibi a me delineati. (Illustrated by me elsewhere.)
*) Quorum figuras alibi quoque dedi. (I have given drawings of them elsewhere.)
*) Vulgo Assagayes.

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*) The use of poisoned weapons is very generally associated with the Bushmen, but there is sufficient evidence that the Hottentots also knew and practised it. Ten Rhyne's description of how the snake poison is applied need not be taken as the best extant. A more reliable account is given in the description given to the Dutch accompanying the journal of van der Stel's journey to the Namaqua (1685-6). On one of the plains he found a snake, called Aukamba by the Hottentots (and rather dreadful, and impressively described by Wikkerhuus in his version). The accompanying note says: "The natives set large traps for this snake and poison their arrows and assegais with the powerful venom. They first remove the skin from the upper jaw-bone, and discharge beneath it a small shining bladder, full of little glands.... They

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in those shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur), and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the characters of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition suits ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assagais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then bite the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop the head off.[1] It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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[1] Not to us the aforesaid bladder near to the teeth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the dipped weapon with it" (Wahlenberg, *Journ. v. d. Stat's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also Schapera, *op. cit.*, 126 ff.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they beat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.[1])

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Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the Dutch, which are here very common [2]). In rainy weather, which puts our muskets out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on running for their criminal success, the natives bestow themselves in thickets and tough undergrowths; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. But in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to raise a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of these encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the irresistible ardour which barbarians mistake for valour, sometimes shouting horribly. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Flacus made about the Insubrian Celts finds a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Flacus) and bodies more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The hollow of a mountain folk bred amidst moist clouds have a resemblance to their native snows. They warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a sweat, and are dismayed by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the flinty rocks and shuddering woods match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots keep about the mountains, scouring every part of them by night and day.

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[1]) A further description is given below, p. 151.

[2]) A more minute explanation of these tactics is given by Dapper. See above, p. 13. Van Riebeeck's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records. Cf. e.g. D. July 26, 1672; Schapera, op. cit., Bib 2.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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for this except as a gift, and black and cheaper stuff, which they think better; also of glass and bronze beads; and, in addition, a few jars of brandy, for most of the natives are great drinkers. For these goods they get in exchange oxen, cows, and sheep, sometimes panther skins, etc. At first the traders display a big portion of tobacco, generally about two spans long, for the ox or sheep that is to be exchanged, always adding a little bit (this they call *kortom*), otherwise the natives do not think themselves bound to keep the contract. The natives also often demand a lot of brandy. Then the portion of tobacco must be gradually reduced to at most one quarter. 439

On their first arrival, especially to the powerful Essequas —the Governor sends his men to them only once a year, so that by means of the long delay they may be the more eager for their tobacco, etc., and on these occasions they come a long distance to meet our traders, bringing with them a prime wether (they call it *stom schaap*) — a portion of the tobacco must be given as a present, for which their return is the gift of the wether. On an occasion like this as many as 100 or 200 oxen, in addition to sheep, may be acquired by our men. But care must be taken not to let them see the supply of merchandise; otherwise our men would be in instant peril of death. They were taught this lesson by the brother of the King of the Essequas, who, if the old king himself had not prevented it, would have killed them all for the sake of plunder.[*] A son of the old king is at present on the throne, and rivals his father in his love for us. None of them will ever exchange a white ox or cow, which they look upon as an invaluable leader of the herd.[**] This observance they perhaps adopted from the Egyptians, who worshipped Isis in the likeness of a white cow, and who inhabit the same quarter of the globe as they do. Their first prayer is that the Great Chief (for they pray to God) should send them a white ox. [825]

The usual halts which these disciples of Mercury make on their journeys from the Fort are: (1) de Ruyterwacht, beyond which none of our people owns a farm; (2) de Kuylen, hence to the first river in Hottentots Holland, which is the limit of the control of the Noble Company; (3) across the lofty mountain in the same; (4) to Kaffenbuis 487

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[*] I have been unable to find any official account of this incident.

[**] No other contemporary writer, as far as I am aware, mentions this special reverence for white cattle, nor is it found confirmed in the works of later authorities.

114 his death is not known, but it must have occurred some time before 1728, when his will was filed with the Cape Orphan Chamber (*Cape Archives O.C. 4 No. 14*). In it he directed that his body should be buried not in church or churchyard, but in the courtyard of the house where he died; and he chose as his own epitaph the words: "Hic expectat resurrectionem J. G. de Grevenbroek C. F."

That Grevenbroek had been engaged in compiling an account of the Cape and the Hottentots seems to have been fairly well known during his lifetime. The earliest reference to his work appears in Peter Kolb's *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (Nürnberg, 1719), the most detailed and serviceable treatise we have on the early Cape Hottentots. In discussing the Hottentot customs relating to the Mantis, Kolb says: "For long I did not know what to call this insect, as I had never seen it, nor could I believe that they worshipped such an insignificant creature, although I had occasionally heard this stated. At last Mr. Johann Wilhelm de Grevenbroek, a man of remarkable industry, understanding and knowledge, who after serving several renowned ambassadors had finally come here as Political Secretary to the Illustrious Company, taught me from the notes, which he had likewise made concerning the Hottentots during his residence here, that this insect was really a sort of beetle" (p. 418). There is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work.

Valentyn's *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoope* (Amsterdam, 1726) tells us more about these "notes" of Grevenbroek's. Writing of the Hottentots, Valentyn says: "I have seen a Latin treatise by Mr. Secretary Grevenbroek, who had taken the trouble to write an elaborate and able account not only of their manners and customs, but also of their language; this treatise he allowed me to read in Stellenbosch in 1705" (p. 196). He adds that from it he learned about the dialectical differences of the local native languages as illustrated by the forms of the numerals; and also extracted a small Latin-Hottentot-Dutch vocabulary, which he then prints (pp. 196-8).

There is no further mention of Grevenbroek's work until 1763, when in his posthumous *Journal historique du Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* the Abbé de la Caille, who was at the Cape from 1751 to 1753, violently attacked Kolb as unreliable and inaccurate, and went on to assert that everything Kolb had written about the Hottentots was derived from Grevenbroek. "M. Grevenbroek, . . . an extraordinary man," says de la Caille, "had made some researches into the manners and customs of the Hottentots. After his death his papers were sent to Kolb, who pieced them together without any skill or judgement. This I was

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy. 142 732

Our countryman went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wife were not all of wood; for when our man, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous sniff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages!*) 522

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize*). 151 222

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey*). It is said that other birds give [222] 825

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search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as the man with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of sight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 15 or 18 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Worcester who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc., 1880, Edin. Pres. p. xvi). 151 222 [273]

*) Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (Indicator spp.). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment. 222 136

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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South Nguni FX17

warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as maned-ones, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish[7]). They live also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed the use of it[8])

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7) This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Slavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, III, 62).

8) [See pp 180-81 for footnote. – Ann/pb]

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or mountain. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[17] By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[18]

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[19]

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[17] G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hottentotgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (op. cit., 414 f.). The modern Namaqua still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 243).

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0800 Vulnus letharum cuncta per symptomata et lacrimas, aut earundem fellis, aut bulbarum quarundam tunicis, etiam insuper butyro antequam obligatum curant, acutissime urinâ ferventi, et in dimidium sui partem decoctâ abluunt; si quem venenatum animal pupugit vel momordit, aut si quis virulentis armis laesus, protinus ejus ora, pedem aut brachium supra vulnusque plagam vinciunt, nervi, funiculi, aut loris arctissimè ligatumve sanguinis circulationi, et ne virus per venas latius serpat cessationique, vulnusque intestinibus cultro aut spinula circum vulnus recta descendenti non transversâ linea per cutem factis, continuò vir aut mulier accurrit, ore ejus plagae admoto, virus omne exsugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope media praestantius? quid hac fide majus? (quid hoc alexipharmaco salubrius?

Cupido animadvertionem Butyri dicam. Utrum lacte interrumpi verè lacte propemodum compleri, lacrymae ejus orificium constringant, quem dextrâ laevaque, et utraque extremitate subtilem, ultrà citràque divaricatis cruribus clausa communiunt, quamvis ei contrahant, donec cremor in butyrum congelatus concretusque sit.

Si forte contingit contra haec remedia malum ingravescere, illico insectantur viperam, aspidem aut serpentem qualemcunque olivum, quem secretum apud secretum ferunt, aperiuntque effractaque ejus ora, omne virus ei adimunt, quod duabus vesiculis quantum vel avellana capiunt, ori albumini assimile, in utraque maxilla juxta dentes situm, qui morsu lethi hominem letiferumve corpori, per foramen, quo victimam ab virus reseruerint, concavi illud vulneri inspirant: has vesiculas cum aliquot serpentinibus alliisque lentis simul mistas et elixas cum vaccino lacte, tanquam sacram anchoram aegro pro potione medica dant, adhibentes malo huic modo malum remedium, serpentque hoc clavo clavum feliciter pellunt! ultimoque serpentem totum quantum candentibus carbonibus in cinerem in pulveremque ingeniosè commolunt, quo morsi corpus, praecipuè vulnera perfricant, hocque medicamentum usu experimentoque.

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752. *) cf. Ten Rhyne's description, p. 148 f. above.
234 *) See above, p. 126.

752 **) The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the
● 835 snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered
178 spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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They treat wounds by introducing into them through a pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the leaves of plants or the coats of certain bulbs, using also unsalted butter and lard. They also wash the wound with the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal, or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading along the veins; then they make various incisions in the skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not across but in descending straight lines; then immediately a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and sucks all the poison out[47]). O noble deed! What could be better than this medical aid? Where shall we find greater loyalty? What more effective antidote exists? 752

If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart, and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been massed and hardened into butter[48]). 234

If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in them the poison they draw from the glands nearby. It is these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons, boil in cow's milk, and administer to the sick man as a last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the toughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded man, especially the wounds[49]). Experience has shown them the great worth of this remedy. 752 825 278

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[47]) Snippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, 480. O's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough. 752 825 278

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character"[1]). And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver numuli, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf."[1]) The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

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offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 6 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

14 Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1821 PX13 Flemming PX13

776 821 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, *who promises men immortality.*

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of his power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, ǂgai-oogu) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the !Gauna worship of the ǂAuni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to !Gauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Tsoqôoa*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

● 825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaqua believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also !Gaunab, as they call the 'enemy of Tsûi-!i goab.

[777]

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

14/Stein L-S (pa. 1870-1880) 1881 FX12 Hottentot FX13

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 609
rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into
their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and
fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwil-
lingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still
characterize the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly
failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In
justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they
have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who tra- 786
velled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed
a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs,
on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, "threw
some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing
so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there.
(Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.)
"Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) 825
the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer
to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hotten- 776
tots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs
us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi them-
selves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they
never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does
not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no
God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain
what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the
nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pre-
tend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one
knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It
is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a
native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent
native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at
once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger,
especially if he shows any hauteur.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-

14.9Table 1-8 (ca. 1878-1880) 1881 PX13 Namaqua PX13

On the 3rd of August the waggon went on to Aonip 778
(IAn-‡aib) or Westfont, and I went out of the way, with Jan Boys and two or three men, to see a hole which was supposed to be inhabited by Heije Eibib, or the Devil, and was the wonder of the country."—(Alexander, vol. ii. p. 250.)

Again: "This water-place was called Kamm Kamm (Gomm-‡gomm), or the water of the beast tribe, and near it was a heap of stones, eight yards long by one and a half high, in a *cleft between two eminences*, which the Namaquas said was a heap over their deity Heije Eibib (Heitsi-eibib). . . . .

"I turned aside to get water at the fountain, 'Abuas, or 778
blood (IAus). In this was said to dwell a snake, which 825
guarded it; but, strange to say, when the fountain was reached it was found to be dried up, and a water-snake, about six feet long, brown above and yellow below, lay dead beside it. The Namaquas immediately cried out, 'Some one has killed the snake of the Fountain of Blood, and it is therefore dried up.' Not far from the Fountain of Blood a young Bushman and his wife was met, and the woman accused her husband of having committed a great crime. She said that the day before they had drunk at 'Abuas, and the Bushman, seeing the snake there, killed it. He excused himself by saying that he was a stranger in that part of the country, and did not know that the snake he had killed at the edge of the water was the snake of the fountain.

"'Abuas was not the only fountain in Namaqualand which was superstitiously believed to be preserved by a snake. It was singular enough that it should have dried up immediately after the death of the snake.

"Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring 778
under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisip, in the bed of the Kuisip River, near our

34/Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the firedrill (dewik). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die. 171 172

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful. 224 372 777

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station, Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success. 224

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gabé*, "the one which lives in a hole." 123 125

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snake move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year. 125

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally* seen, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14:Nama L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hemeimet FX13

125 equal to that of a waggon wheel; *and when it visits the Orange River mouth*, it *is a sign of a good season for rain.*"

126 The name for snake is ǂnu-b (sing. masc.), and for fountain ǂnu-s (sing. fem). Blood is also ǂnu-b; bloody, full of blood, saturated with blood, ǂnu-χa. According to Khoikhoi custom, as I pointed out in the first chapter, the *daughter* is always named after the *father*. It is therefore obvious that the fountain water ǂnu-s, is considered to be the daughter of ǂnu-b the snake. But ǂnu originally means *to flow*. And ǂnu-b, the snake, or ǂnu-s, the fountain, is nothing else than saying, *he flows* or *she flows*. The snake, however, is the one who *flows* over the ground, and in German we say, "Der Fluss oder der Bach *schlängelt* sich durch das Thal" (*i.e.*, the river or the brook *meanders* through the valley—*i.e.*, *it moves like a snake, winding*). It is now quite transparent that the original meaning of ǂnu-b, snake, was *the one who flows*, and was identical with ǂnu-b, blood, which also meant *that which flows*, the "*flow-er*." It does not require an explanation why the blood flowing through the veins should be called the "*flow-er*." A similar idea connects in the Teutonic languages, *blut*, *blood*, *blood*, *blód*, *blóth*, *plaut*, *blaut*, with the Latin *fluvius*, and *fluitare* and *flutare*, although the change of consonants does not appear to be quite in accordance with Grimm's law. (*Vide* Weigand's "Deutsches Wörterbuch, Blut.")

The streaming and flowing of the cloud—that is, the rain—is also derived from the root ǂnu. ǂAu-ib, or, as it is generally written by the missionaries, ǂawib (it should at least be ǂavib), is the rain; to rain, is ǂnu-i or ǂavi—that is, to be streaming, to be flowing. ǂAu signifies also *to bleed*, and consequently *to be angry, to have an ill feeling*. Thus one often can hear, ǂAutsi-ra khoîb ke, That man bears an ill-feeling against thee—*i.e.*, that man has been hurt by you, he bleeds, he feels sore, and craves for satisfaction. This phrase expresses extreme pain. We say also, *My heart bleeds.*

14:91ahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Horizontal FX13

The colour red, javа, also takes its origin from jav, to flow, 96
blood; hence java or jana, blood-like, blood-coloured—*i.e.*, red.

And at last, *to milk* is also jav—that is, to cause to flow, to make streaming—viz., the milk.

To return now once more to jivah, snake, and jivas, fountain, 196
we see how both words were predicative expressions, saying 123
he or she flows or streams—viz., the water, which in Khoikhoi 125
can be either masculine ligami, or feminine ligama, according to the emphasis of the speaker; afterwards these words became appellatives, meaning the *flow-er*. And as these words came from the same root, jav, the object which made the greatest impression on the human mind—and this was certainly the poisonous fiery snake, whose bite caused pain, and sometimes immediate death—became masculine; and the soft cooling water, which refreshed the exhausted wanderer, and nursed the trees, and gave life to the plants and herbs, received the feminine suffix. Then, when the original meaning of *to flow* and *to stream* was forgotten, mythology got hold of jivah and java, and made sure *that in every fountain lived a snake.*

In German, or, better, in the whole realm of Indo- 171
European folk-lore and mythology, we see, all over, the serpent and the water brought into connection. When Winkelried killed the Dragon, "*a rivulet suddenly streamed out of the hole of the Dragon.*" All legends of dragons and serpents have their origin on the banks of lakes or rivers. We refer to Hercules, who killed the Lernaic Hydra. Apollo kills Python close to a fine flowing fountain, as one of the Homeric hymns tells us:—

ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίῤῥοος, ἔνθα δράκαινα
κτῖνεν ἄνελ Διὸς υἱός, ἀνὺ κραναῆσι βοῶσα·

At the fountain of Ares watched a dragon, who refused water to Kadmos and his followers. In Switzerland, if rivers break down from the mountains after a thunderstorm, the people say: "A dragon has come out." In Denmark Müllenhof found a legend, "that in the spot where once

14.State L-S (ss. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

[71] a Lindwurm's (i.e., a dragon's) trail was to be seen, now a brook is "winding. Beowulf kills the dragon who lives in the lake. Achelous, the River-god, became a serpent when Hercules fought for Deianeira. Siegfried kills the dragon in the cavern on the Rhine: and many more instances too numerous to mention. (See on this subject, Schwartz, "Ursprung der Mythologie," Berlin, 1860, especially pp. 58, 59, &c.; Peschel, "Races of Man," p. 252; "On Serpent Worship," Lubbock, "Origin of Civilization," pp. 186, &c.; Müller, "Amerikanische Urreligionen.")

● §25 So much as to the Serpent and Fountain superstition among the Khoikhoi. I have eagerly searched, but in vain, for indications of a serpent worship among the Namaquas, as we find among the Kafir tribes, especially the Ama-Zulu. What I heard and saw with my own eyes amongst the natives may here find place at once.

§25 756 Not so many years ago a sorcerer died. When he felt his end approaching, he whistled, and all at once snakes of all sizes and of all descriptions came and assembled round their master, and crept over him, so that the eye-witness from whom I have this, and other people who were in the hut, cleared out as fast as their feet could carry them. The same person told me that he had a dispute once with that sorcerer about the power he exercised over the snakes, when the man told him that, if he doubted his witchcraft, he would call as many snakes as he wished to see. Upon which he whistled, and snakes of every kind approached from all directions, and the sorcerer took them from the ground and put them round his neck.

§25 In January, 1872, I was on the mission station Warm Bath (or Nisbet Bath), in Great Namaqualand. I offered payment to the value of three and four shillings for large snakes, especially for very poisonous animals. No sooner was this known than a young fellow, of about twenty-two years of age, came to me and said he would bring as many as I liked, but he wished a goat for each pair. I agreed, and after some hours he returned with a pair of

14.Nahn 1-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PX13 Norwood PX13

yellow cobras. Not seeing them, I asked, "Where are the §25
snakes?" And he opened the shirt over his chest, where I saw the heads of the two dangerous animals. He took them each by the neck, and I applied a dose of tobacco-oil with a brush to the mouth and nose of each, when they immediately fainted, and were secured in large bottles. Afterwards the same fellow brought me ever so many other snakes, all alone.

On another occasion we were travelling, when a large yellow cobra moved towards the waggon with the intention of attacking one of my bullocks. I immediately grasped the shot-gun, and jumped down from the waggon, when the snake took to flight. I, however, gave her a very good charge in the neck and head; and in her agony she flung herself a distance of more than thirty yards into the bushes. It struck me that my people after this treated me with a certain awful respect, and telling each other, "!gai-aob ka, !gai-aob ka," he is a sorcerer—he is a sorcerer, kept always at a respectful distance. I had some trouble afterwards to convince them of the contrary.

Snakes are also said to be very fond of milk. They go at night to the cows in the kraal and suck there, or even to women in the house. And if a woman refuses they bite her. The same thing happens when a cow kicks them off.

Another snake, the ǂGanin-!gub, is said to have genitals, and while women are asleep this snake tries to have connection with them. I was once at a kraal, and the people were in great excitement, and sate up the whole night, because a girl while milking had seen the ǂGanin-!gub approaching her. Not a single woman was to be persuaded to go to sleep, and everybody had some weapon to defend himself against the ǂGanin-!gub.

Another kind of snake, the ǁHuitaibis, is said to live on the forehead of the eland-antelope.

7. To proceed in our account of superstitious customs §27

14.Blake L-6 (ca. 1878-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermannus FX13

10. The root of a shrub called ‡Khowab is taken and cut to pieces, and minced on stones. If one is hungry, he takes the dust and goes to his neighbour's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the ‡Aitse, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub ‡gaise are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (‡gâ‡gorib), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and rains. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, as far as I could ascertain, the northerly breezes are called tu‡oab—*i.e.*, rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns

14. Hahn I.-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1961 FX.3 Hottentot FX13

221 to the north it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

224 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
787 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

224 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (Jaroxab) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
826 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which we already met in Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then scream out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the breeding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden cutting pain, runs off. Then reynard approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

224 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game, into the air

14.Maha 1.-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermannst FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǂGaunа, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǂGaunа; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnua, on the banks of the Geiǂāb

the Namaquas say: "‖Hôb ke ni hâ," or "Gnoab ni hâ," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chewed to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

34. Another most powerful charm is the Duba, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This duba is generally found in ant heaps. The duba is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the ǂGona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-ǂkhosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the ǂKhosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hereroot FX13

cut, in which milk and other drinkables are carried. The Khoikhoi use the calabash also for churning purposes, and produce butter by shaking the calabash. In Namaqua the calabash is ǂhas; the root is ǂâ, to drink, consequently ǂhas, the tub for drinkables, German *Trinkgeschirr*. One place is called *Abobis*, on account of calabashes growing there in abundance. In Spain these calabashes serve as wine vessels, and are called either *calabaza* or *calabarina*.

" *Thy body looks like a cow's body*, means thou hast a beautiful, fine, fat body.

825 " How strong the belief is among the Khoikhoi that animals even are revengeful, can be seen from the following historical fact:—When the ǂAmaquas had settled at Bethany, they went out to shoot the Hereros or Cattle Damaras, and to rob them of their cattle. Once they had a wholesale massacre amongst the Damaras. One man especially distinguished himself by extraordinary bloodthirstiness and cruelty. They had returned home, when after some time a black lion came and took that man out of his hut, tore him to pieces and killed him. The distance from Bethany to Damaraland is about 250 miles. Still up to this day the ǂAmas believe that that black lion was a Damara who had taken the shape of the beast, and had come that distance in order to revenge his people. Also of elephants and snakes, especially of the so-called dassie-adder, it is said that they can detect the criminal among hundreds of people, and kill him, without turning their ire on anybody else.

821 " I have called this legend the Orion myth, because most of the stars belonging to the constellation Orion act a certain part in it.

In the sequel of the third chapter I shall give an explanation of the names and the meaning of this myth. The Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the sob of the myth, and ǂKhunuseti, or the Pleiades are his wives. His bow is

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gu!b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na-bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the excellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do·mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [292]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [844] Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [262] are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kʇuru·s. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/nu·b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hās. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hās, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhōs. They often explain

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b) Delivery (//ora·s, giving birth, !na-/es, being born; one also hears the word ᵓsu/bu·s, relief, ho/s, getting. oa·s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority.

844 They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth.

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A rosin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ho·ras, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps [278] with a rough surface. This mass, */nunu·b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body.

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's [278] forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because [753 826 they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily.

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, 846 dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of 278 Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */ho/abe·s). If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat.

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of 853 the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor

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857

The children try to enchant the chameleon with the words: "!no·mtsi !no·meba, ǂ·ma !nu·rubas õ·ab !" "Humpy old hunchback, child of grandmother (*amas) Nurubas!"

The baboon is honored by an especially exhaustive address. In a deep wadi near the Orange River we heard the apes calling on the surrounding cliffs. To the first one that became visible one of my Hottentots called the following greeting which is widespread among the people*: 533 539x

*Cf. Bleek's translations of animal songs from the manuscripts of the Grey Library in Capetown.

"herẽ·tse, hẽ·retse!
/hu·mi /ha·rutse,
//a·retse, //a·re /kχã·baĩtse,
!na·ohe gye //ga·ns //(e)ĩ /na·os(e)n !
ǂnabu· !nani·b ai gye mã·tse
/nabu· a·maĩtse !
ǂoa·ba gye ǂgaẽ·s !"

"For heaven's sake!* You are gleaming with fat!**

*Actually something like: "Good God!" from heere, the Dutch designation for "lord" with the Hottentot vocative ending of the masc. sing.

** The blades of the /hu·/mi/haru·s rush (see p. 229) glisten like fat; a hide that glitters like this is supposed to be the ornament of the young baboon. The opposite address which I also heard goes: "/no·ro /kχo·nibetse"; /kχo·nibeb is an edible underground bulb with a pale exterior.

"Old Lefty*! You are loaded down, you are loaded down with

*The use of the left hand is considered a sign of dexterity.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis, ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is */aisena*, "sickness," which they regard
[824] as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *!op*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are *//autas*, paralysis, *//keis*, "fever," *!urub*,
783 varicose veins, and */nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any one of these or the other diseases called *!op* becomes *!nau*, and the treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before* 1795, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.
[2] "Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 77–9.
[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup of witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aip jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1918. 82. among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

C/ngama, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

The Kanker beeste, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is oubae C/namop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kxao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (°!kxao//nu/i·b) or fried (°/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari, is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kx̃ãb) of the plant is well covered (x̃a) with hairs (/ũ·/gu) it bears the name /ũ·/x̃a/kx̃a·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the °/hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (≠hũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kxaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and serve honey beer to the guests. 881 [582]

[296] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota rubbed with buchu power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called */na·ra‡kxa/ra·. (‡kxa/ra·b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle stroking of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.) 881 751

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord. 881 515

Thus cleaned, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. This coming forth of the girl, *//a‡m‡ui (//a‡m is the special term for the above-described method of cleansing with manure. ‡u·i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is called ouxes (not ou‡ais (57)). 881 582

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the development of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called *//gu·rurubeb. 832 827

*539

for the sound [485] that the ax makes when the jackal chops off the flamingo's head).

Then the jackal went away with (ũ) the head (indicated by bi), and when he came to the hen he said: "Have you (-s, personal suffix after mũ "to see") seen that !kʗaiẽ) I have killed (!gam) your (sa) husband (aoba)? Throw down the eggs!" But she said: "I won't do it!" Whereupon he: "In just a moment I will fly into the tree! Don't you see that I flew after (!gon, adv.) your husband and killed him?" Then she threw down three (!nona) eggs. But he gobbled (habu) up the eggs and said: "Throw down some more (noʗoba, probably borrowed from Cape Dutch and assimilated)!" But she said: "I won't do it." Whereupon the jackal: "In just a moment I am going to climb up to (!gã̃) you." But she replied: "Go ahead (o, interjection) and try (tsã̃) it (ti "so"), let (ẽ) me see." Now he tried to climb up, but he did not get up.

Then she [cursed] him: "Never (/nĩ "another of the same sort," tsẽ "day," tite, particle of the fut. negative) shall you (-ts) find (hõ) your fortune (!gaĩ !gãẽ, neut. sing.) on the earth! And may you (-tsi, rare form of the suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) eat (≠ũ) the vermin (≠unina, neut. pl.) that men (kʗoĩn, neut. pl.) squash (dã̃, tsautsau "to make soft") with their feet; we (-da, suff. of the 1st pers. neut. pl., and sida, pron. of the 1st pers. neut. pl. exclusive) will remain (hã̃) with men and eat food (≠una, neut. pl.)!" -- In this way the chickens became domestic animals and the jackal became omnivorous. --

[Text omitted]

Translation of XLIV

[486]

The Lion Couple That Pretend to Be Dead to the Jackal

A lion couple (ʗamra, dual masc. -fem.) comes (!goaʗa) along foot weary (≠ai //õ) and saw (mũ, narr. pass.) a jackal coming along (hĩa "while," used here in the sense of the present participle). Then they pretended to be dead (//õ//õsen, narr. pass.), and he came (hã̃) up. And he [gently] touched (!kʗã̃) the anus (tsoas) of one (literally: "an anus"), and the anus contracted.* Then he knew (≠an) that (!kʗaiẽ) the two of them were [only]

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*go$^{?}$m is the reflex blinking of the eyes as well as the reflex contraction of the sphincter ani.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1923 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aiq jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǃGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǀāb

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ran off to play and tumble about. In these extremely harmless words the lion clothes his intention of revenge.

And when it was still dark (!kχaē) over (aí) the land (!hūb), the lion went away; and while he climbed (!aba, hā "to come to") up a tree (hais) that stood (mā̃) in(!na) the water (//gams), [420] the hermit came. But the dogs, when they went to drink (ā), saw (mū̃) the shadow (somsa) in the water, and each (hoaba) dog that comes down (//gõaχa) growls (literally: "becomes angry," //aiχa) and stands.

But he (//(e)ĩb), the hermit, drank. Then [the lion] leaped (urí) down (//gonaχa, down), but he jumped out of the way (ǂgõ), and the dogs bit [the lion] to death (nā̃!an).

b) The Bergdamara or the Mountain Kaffirs

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The Hottentot, as we saw earlier (p. 323), has no high opinion of the Bergdamara. This is also expressed in the short folk tale in which he makes fun of the baboon-like appearance of his black servants (Folk tale XV).

There is only one characteristic that he ascribes to them without reservation: the precocious independence and fearlessness of the Bergdamara child that is celebrated in the war story in Folk tale XVI and in the lion encounters of Folk tales XVII and XVIII.

On the other hand, the Hottentot, with his strong sense of family discipline, is struck by the lack of parental authority and filial respect among the Bergdamara. Anyone who hears stories XIX and XX from the mouth of a Hottentot sees clearly that here only a satire on the degenerated family relationships is intended. Likewise the dirty joke in XXII has the same intention.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name "soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

under the chin and on the neck is lacking. It is only suggested here and there by separate hairs. 142

[Picture. Herero, about 20 years old (the same person that is pictured on page 178)].

The physiognomy of the Hottentot receives a heightened expression through the premature appearance of wrinkles. The corner wrinkle from the mouth to the nose and a fine wrinkling of the skin under the eyes, appear very early, along with forehead wrinkles. With age the lines increase and develop into wrinkles to such an extent that they rob the face of all expression and extend over the neck and breast in long, parallel stripes (cf. Plate XVII). The skin of young and healthy individuals of both sexes is stretched stiff and fresh across the soft parts (cf. Plates XII and XIII). 142 145

The fatty padding of the female body is generally considered ornamental. The breasts are fully developed. Accumulations of large masses of fat on the buttocks and on the outer side of the upper thigh (steatopygia) often produces a distorted figure in the matrons. Such enormous development and such definite localization are a peculiarity of the race as [180] is the enlargement of the small lips of the vulva to form an apron, which will be discussed in another place. 142 [832]

B. Posture of the Resting Body

However neglected the external appearance of the Hottentot seems to be at first glance, I still discovered here and there certain rules of deportment, concerning the posture of the resting body. It is forbidden to lift the knee above the level of the head as is the case when lying on one's back with the knees bent. The designation for such a position is !hõ!//goa *. 516 576

* I could not find the word "!hõ!" listed anywhere; it is as sharply differentiated from !ho!- to be bent, as from !hõ!- to mock. As far as I could determine the meaning . . . [Picture. Hottentot woman of Bersaba, 1.48 m tall, about 40 years old with well-developed fatty buttocks.] from the native usage, it has the sense of "uncouth." A man speaks thus to another with a noticeably large set of teeth: [181] "sa arii kxoma !hõ! //gũga (e)ĩs" i.e. "Your

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//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

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The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

[829]

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The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

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[832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/is(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

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To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

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A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," */u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

[386]

1. The Wild Animals*

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*This will only be a list, and when it seems valuable in the interest of lucidity for those not familiar with local conditions, there will be a brief description of the huntable animals of Great Namaland [Footnote goes on to p. 269] according to their most obvious characteristics. Closer observations about their way of life and a completion of the list from the zoological standpoint will be given later.

The wild animals which the Hottentot still hunts represent only a skimpy remnant of the wealth of his former hunting grounds. All the wild animals which can be hunted are called am/nēn, [269] ǂa·manin, ᵓǂabaran or ǂamaren. The large wild animals of the Hottentot hunter are, except for the ostrich and the zebra, only of historical interest. Foremost stands:

1. The elephant, Elephas africanus (Blumenb.) (Cape D. ½ Oliphant) called ≠kxoa·b.

Although for two generations or longer no Hottentot has seen an elephant in his homeland, I still found a few recollections from the time when it was hunted. It is supposed to have been a major rule that none of the hunters should have intercourse with his wife the night before a hunt; otherwise the elephant would point at him with his trunk and throw earth at him. The guilty one could no longer take part in the hunt then.

The position of the teats in front on the breast and the shape of the vulva awoke the easily excited sensuality of the Hottentots. One Hottentot told me the following hunting story: Two brothers-in-law went out and after a successful hunt the older one warned the younger one not to approach the downed elephant from behind, but he paid no attention to the warning and was punished by an uncontrollable erection which made him walk lame (*/i) and still makes him the laughing stock of all hearers of the joke. The wording of the story was: kxoē /uiguki‡a ǂa i gye gye !auhe ≠kxoana. okᵓa gye ≠k oasa gye !gam. ob gye gaiba go sĭ tsi: "tā kxaos /kxāb ai ĭ," ti go mĭ. ǂabeb gye ≠kxama go ĭ tsĭ ≠kxoas di /oasa mũ tsĭ ≠gũi tsĭ /ĭ go /kxĭ. ob gye gaiba: "tareē dĭ tsi?" ob gye: "m'm, ǂũ tomaĭ" ti go mĭ.

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½ [i.e., Engl. Dutch or Boer. – Analyst]

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and serve honey beer to the guests. 881 [582]

[296] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota rubbed with buchu power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called */na·rafkxa/ra·. (/kxa/ra·b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle stroking of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.) 881 751

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord. 881 515

Thus cleaned, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. This coming forth of the girl, *//a/m/ui (//a/m is the special term for the above-described method of cleansing with manure. /u·i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is called oaxes (not oaxais (57)). 881 582

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the development of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called *//gu·rurubeb. 832 827

841 [145]

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called °//kx̃ã/a·es(e)ni, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture. Plate XII. Topnaar Hottentot Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a [302] dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 210).

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I know of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general [145] the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race.

581 b) Marriage, !ga·meb, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization.

584 A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the °taob of the girl, the girl the °taos of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word (tao = to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom.

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways; openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

584 Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians, 832

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "ǂã̄gu hã̄ kxoëra gye nĩ̄ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/ãs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂsamago/mas. The term kxã̄/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxã̄/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /naʃm/naʃm means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself ǂâ//nâǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaiχaba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara χãba ũts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." ("!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩǂnũisõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (ǂnũis, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse sa !gãsa χaẽ "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "ǂgũits go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

mutual avoidances. They are not supposed to meet or speak to each other, and may communicate only through an intermediary. This period of betrothal may be of considerable duration, and it is often several months or even a year and more before the marriage actually takes place. In the meantime the necessary negotiations will be going on between their parents, the boy's people taking the lead. After the young couple have come to an understanding, two or three old women from the boy's family go to the mother of the girl, and ask for her consent. This by custom she is required to withhold. After some time, during which the boy will occasionally bring small gifts to his future parents-in-law, the proposal is renewed, the girl's father also being approached this time. Finally, after a more or less prolonged show of reluctance on the part of the girl's parents, their consent is at last obtained, and the day for the marriage ceremony fixed.

In connection with this custom of wooing, reference must be made here to the employment of love magic among the Naman. A man wishing to win the favour of a girl will pound up a certain charm known as *duba* (a white substance the size of a fowl's egg, generally found in ant-heaps), and mix it with tobacco, which he then puts into a pipe. If the girl smokes this mixture, she will fall in love with the man who offered her the pipe.[1] Or he will secretly smear the mouth-piece of a pipe with some of the contents of a medicine horn, smoke the pipe, and then pass it on to the girl whose love he wishes to arouse.[2]

On the other hand, magical means are also employed to separate lovers. Of these one of the most effective is found in the legs of the locust. A girl who is to be alienated from her lover is asked, as often happens in the normal course of daily life, to grind to powder a heap of dried *buchu* roots—but among the roots a locust leg has been secreted. When the girl, having finished her task, rubs her *buchu*-stained hands in her arm-pits as usual, she unwittingly rubs in the magical means which kills her love. In other cases locust legs are pushed into the interior of a bone pipe, which is then handed round as usual. If care is taken that both lovers smoke of it, the magic will prove effective. In another instance quoted by Schultze,[3] the girl's parents consulted a magician, who smeared a small stick with some of the contents of his medicine horn, broke the stick, and threw the pieces apart, at the same time uttering the words: "The two who love each other must separate."

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 90. [2] Schultze, op. cit., 319–20. [3] Op. cit., 297–8.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

821 787 the Namaquas say: "| Hūb ke ni hā," or "Smaub ni hā," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

825 787 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

789 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

832 34. Another most powerful charm is the Duba, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This duba is generally found in ant heaps. The duba is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

177 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the ǃGoas-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-ǁkhosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the ǃǁKhosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[25]); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[26]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori*; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 215-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the sermonising reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'tabaij' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) *Three weeks later* the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron, not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print dress.

Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered, although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gei /gab*, big brother, the latter as */gai-hetomab*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, there ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] *Tsui-/Goam*, 77. [2] Op. cit., 269.
[3] Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 41–2; Hahn, op. cit., 84–5; Schultze, op. cit., 283.

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224 554 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the [54] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." [216] The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, [301] and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best [634] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. [262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was [594] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 128–9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [43]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [44]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [45]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 220).

[44]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Africque*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters (" Geschwister ") is punished by death.[4]

572 838 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, " Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, " Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, " Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, " The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Haitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: " The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged " (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] " Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is
● [835] not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years
[838] of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

are rich and possessed of plenty of cattle and sheep. 776
They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear.

Heitsie-ibib, however, is full of tricks, and his character 773
is not altogether blameless. The sacred legend accuses 835
him of the same crime as that for which Hippolytus and Œdipus have become famous.

It is impossible to deny that the story of Heitsie-ibib committing rape on his mother, taken in its literal meaning, is very repulsive, and not at all in accordance with the code of morals and decency among the Khoikhoi. The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called "Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry of indignation against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom was cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged.

The myth of Heitsi-eibib and his mother is certainly not 773
of a recent date; it could not even have been formed at the time when those abstract words "humanity, purity, truth, faith, self-respect, friendship, love, decency," and many more of those beautiful abstract expressions with which the Khoikhoi abounds, were formed. It is one of the oldest mythological relics brought down to us, like an erratic block, and shows that there was a period, below the first layers of culture, when the feelings of morals and decency among the Hottentots were still a *tabu wanbolu*, similar to a period in the primitive history of our own race.

The Namaqua, from whose lips I gathered that legend, told me that when he heard it from his grandfather, the

until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," "!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added. 222 252

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "!ga/e-hu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "!kũ/i-hu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen. [262] 222.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw. 252 [262]

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense. 786 731 [836]

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of 262 576 [753] 262

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "ǂâ/gu hã̄ kxoēra gye nī /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, ǂgū/ǂâs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂamago/mas. The term kxā/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxā/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

In bringing up she children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/oss, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti·dãb or dã·tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dãda·b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whereas one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 524

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 85 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is chasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[2] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104-5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[2] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, leonotis leonurus or L. ocrata. — Ayal Kok]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] 848 Should pregnancy follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[582] [4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse [773] between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks[79]). 757

Punishments of Theft.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *choeque* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *choeque* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else. 685

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant. [684] 836

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[79]) For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 149, 241 below.

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Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur. 836 [848]

INCEST.

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:— 684

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain *'s Humma*, as will be related below.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[102])

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[103]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prover, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104–5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his guests. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence [578] of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground 684 for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 342.

[2] Von François, op. cit., 212, 214; Olpp, loc. cit.; cf. Schultze, op. cit., 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 75.

[3] Kohler, op. cit., 354; Kolb, op. cit., 71; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144.

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And Wikar, as far back as 1778, described what almost seems to have been a form of wife exchange among the Little Namaqua tribes. A married man, he says, will come at night into the hut of another, and lie down next to the latter's wife; whereupon the husband gets up to make room for him, and goes to sleep in another part of the hut. The following night this process is reversed, but, as Wikar delightfully adds, if the wife of the man who first initiated it is ugly, the affair is soon ended (" maar is de vrouw van diegeene die 't spel eerst begonnen heeft leelijk, dan wil 't tog niet braaf lukken met deeze handel ") ! This form of intercourse is naturally of quite a different order from adultery, for although it is an encroachment upon the husband's sexual prerogative over his wife, it takes place with his full agreement, and he himself obtains a reciprocal liberty. It appears from Wikar's description that the relationship is formally agreed upon by the two husbands, for he speaks of it as being accompanied by slaughtering and rejoicing, but it is not clear if we have anything here in the nature of the *sore* relationship.[1] In any case it is a good illustration of the freedom of sexual life among the Hottentots. A similar instance is mentioned by Alexander: " If a Hottentot has been out hunting and on his return finds his place occupied, he sits down at the door of his hut, and the paramour handing him out a bit of tobacco, the injured man contentedly smokes it till the latter chooses to retire." [2] This statement one would certainly question were it not compatible with the description just quoted from Wikar, who is on the whole so accurate an observer that there is no good reason for rejecting his evidence on this particular point.

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The only ground for divorce is ill-treatment, which has to be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council, in whose hands the decision lies. A wife deserting her husband is forced to return to him, and similarly a husband abandoning his wife is requested to return to her. Should he refuse or neglect to do so, his property is taken from him and handed over to her.[3]

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Marriage, in addition to establishing the household with all its accompanying social, economic, and legal functions, also creates social observances of a special type with regard to the relatives-in-law. A man not only lives, as we have seen, with his parents-in-law for some time after his marriage, during which he has to render them

[1] Op. cit., 103.
[2] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 196. Cf. also Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42, 64–5.
[3] Kohler, op. cit., 343, 354.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Bushmen (*sic*) named Ougaa came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bond brother ('*opligtbroer*'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices, where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *soregus*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

[1] Op. cit., 85–6.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's */Hèis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nûri //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[13] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[13] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1856, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]).

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[102])

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In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[103]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillés bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prouver, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.

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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [849] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 836 even the children of brothers and sisters (" Geschwister ") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, " Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 319.
[3] Kohler, " Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, " Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, " The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: " The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and these among the so-called Oetam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fault of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged " (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Ratzel-Hauch, *Das geschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] " Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925-6), 209-10.

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practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gamsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gamsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*oa /huru* or simply */huru* in the case of men, */goe-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gai-guisen*, to make oneself stiff) is also found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wendres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 331; cf. Falk, *op. cit.*, 211.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 183.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

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him or get all his valuable cattle out of the way; and yet not the least suspicion would be awakened that there was any villainy or dishonesty in the matter."

Wikar, himself a party to such a compact, speaks of it in far more generous terms.[1] "An old father and captain of the Bushmen (*sic*) named Ougas came to me this evening and proposed to take me on as his bond brother ('*oplighroer*'), to which I was agreeable, but I said that I had no cattle to give him. He replied however that tobacco would do just as well as cattle from me; if I got cattle during his lifetime then we could give them to one another, if not he would still be my brother and never leave me in the lurch but would help and be faithful to me. And this was indeed the case, for I must acknowledge before God and man that he was to me not merely as a brother but even as a father in all my sorrow, distress, hunger and bodily danger. According to Hottentot practice I might now refuse him nothing for which he asked me and which I had, I must help him and stand beside him in everything, and so too must he act towards me."

The information relating to this custom is on the whole too fragmentary to enable one to determine its full function in Hottentot life. That it is not limited to exchange of goods is shown by the fact, as we have seen, that it easily lends itself to homosexual practices, where the two persons are of the same sex, and possibly even to wife-exchange, if Wikar's description of the latter can be regarded as another illustration of the usages associated with the *soreguz*. But nowhere is any analysis made of the respective social status of the two persons concerned, of the circumstances under which the compact is entered upon, of the extent to which it is practised, and of all its implications. In the absence of such an analysis, and even of the full concrete data upon which it can be based, speculation as to the real meaning of the custom can only be tentative. Tindall's description may possibly furnish one of the underlying motives, in the sense that the compact may be regarded as a means of ensuring protection and hospitality when one is visiting a distant locality; but there are obviously other motives inducing people to enter into such a relationship, and the custom is well worth studying in more detail than has yet been done. As far as the present discussion concerning property is concerned, the very fact that such a system of exchange and even exploitation as is implied in the compact must be

[1] Op. cit., 83–4.

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 ● an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ǂ//nāǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaixãba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara ǂãba ũn," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." (!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩǂnũĩsõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (ǂnũĩs, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse sa !gãsa ǂãs "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "ǂgũĩts go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũĩ, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

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[2] Op. cit., 283.
[3] Loc. cit.

//guru·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing. 302 303 415

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell. 302 415 237 [829]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder. 302 [515 84] [832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ĩs(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves. [854 764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in. [386]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly. [386]

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" ǂnuǂhum, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [841]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [777]

841 [145]

Menstruation usually begins between the thirteenth and fifteenth years. From then on it is called *//kχã/a-es(e)ni, i.e., "moon sickness," from the regularity of its recurrence. It supposedly lasts three days on the average and is scanty. [Picture. Plate XII. Topnaar Hottentot Girl.] At this time they often [297] paint their faces with a dark greasy salve. (See Care of the Body, p. 210). [302]

Those who are menstruating are not allowed in the kraal, let alone to do the milking. It is difficult to get reliable information about the end of menstruation. I know of two women who had children when 47 years of age and of another aged 55 who still had periods. In general the appearance of the climacteric does not seem to deviate from the norm for our race. [145]

b) Marriage, !ga-meb, is the goal which the girl seeks. I was astonished how carefully regulated customs have still been maintained in secrecy where the ethical customs have not degenerated or have not been clothed in Christian guise. Chance observations and occasional remarks of my companions gave me the clues which I had only to pursue with patience to find out the remnants of original folkways that are still well preserved under the varnish of semi-civilization. 581

A man who wishes to find out if a girl reciprocates his feeling of love hands the girl of his choice a little stick. If they are both in agreement, they break the little stick, each holding on to one end, and throw the broken stick towards each other's breast. The man is now the *taob of the girl, the girl the *taos of the man. They then enter into a love relationship as the word (tao - to be ashamed) indicates and as the old custom actually demands, which places on them the following duties of modesty. The betrothed may not speak to each other nor hand each other things. Anything they wish to say or give to each other must be done through an intermediary, a man or a woman. Violations are expiated by atonement presents -- they are actually love tokens and so the whole thing is a game of hide and seek that has become a fixed custom. 584

This can continue for months, a year, or longer before the relationship becomes closer. That can then happen in two ways; openly by asking the parents or secretly by a symbolic action which indicates the girl's agreement to complete surrender. The lover takes off a skin shoe when the two of them are alone and throws it to the girl. If she leaves the shoe unnoticed, the offer of a premature union is rejected. If she wishes to accept the proposal, she returns the shoe.

Magic is also involved in intrigues of love. An effective means of separating lovers, according to the opinion of informed [298] magicians, 584 832

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the */naras* and *tsama* are preferred most of all, on account of both the water content of the flesh and the food value of the kernel. The Topnaars in the vicinity of Walvis Bay still live for a considerable part of the year almost exclusively on the */naras*, and hence are often known by the tribal name of */Naranin*.

All the food obtained is generally shared in common. If game is brought home, the whole camp gathers about the hut of the possessor till all the meat is consumed, and so too with everything else. Even to-day in South-West Africa if a Nama has anything to eat, e.g. a piece of meat or bread, he is bound by old custom to share it with anyone coming up to him. Failure to do so would expose him to the greatest contempt. The communal meal, as we shall see, is one of the outstanding features in the ceremonial life of the people; while in ordinary life their hospitality is so generous and far-reaching that their economic system has in consequence been termed by several writers a sort of communism.

There is as a rule no fixed time for eating. Only the morning meal, taken after the cows have been milked and driven out to pasture, has a special name, *sobas*. The time and place of the other meals are regulated according to circumstance: in camp by the return of the herds from pasture, on the march by outspans, on the hunt by a successful shot, and so on. The preparation of meals is the task of the women, and generally each woman prepares the food for her family on the fire in the hut. Normally both men and women now eat together, each family by itself, but there are certain communal meals in which the sexes are strictly separated or in which only the members of one sex may take part. According to Kolb, however, men and women among the Cape Hottentots always ate apart, all the people of each sex eating together. This separation of the sexes at meals he attributes to the fear that one of the women might be menstruating, and would thus contaminate any men associating with her or coming near her.[1] There is evidence also, as we shall see in discussing the boys' puberty ceremonies, that among the Naman the men at least formerly ate together and apart from their wives.

There is little information as to the existence of food taboos among the Hottentots in more recent times. The only well-authenticated instance is in the case of the hare, which in all the tribes might be eaten only by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men

[1] Op. cit., 102–3.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there. 587

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots. 783 784

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die. [841 843]

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and */naop* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls. [302 386]

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gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba tards*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */nau*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other */nau* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba tards* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

881 574 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ǂap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ǂap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarǂs* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[841] [843] [535] 881 783

First, during the day, the *aba tarǂs* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axa /uip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarǂs* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-kaross slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-kaross* (lit. breeches-kaross) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarǂs*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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water. The *aba tarás* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again */nau*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them */nau*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 87 (also quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schinz, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water," 324–5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmachen* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 114.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vailland, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of *!nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

841 783

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

881 [178]

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

881 835 [582]

[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 147, 206–7.
[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 41.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 19 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.
[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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neither must she speak above a whisper. All informers lay great emphasis on these two points. !Amatis declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view.

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or root or leaves to make powder (*ǂâp*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entreated to send back a special sweet smelling resin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. *!Naop*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The time during which the girl must remain in the *khará ǂâs* has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says !Amatis. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *khará ǂâp*. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and chief of all must be a heifer. The entrails, pluck, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This *khará ǂâp* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Berseba tribe said to me: "That killing is as great as the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing[10] to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings[11] to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never

[10] Vide infra, p. 72, and n. 16.

[11] Vide infra, p. 72.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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881 stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to re-
844 turn." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the abá taráa takes
843 her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the kharú ǂ̃ns, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is ǂnau and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must ǂharuin for the
[784] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the kharú ǂ̃ns. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

881 As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger pro-
535 portions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

881 First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the ǂnau fire, and is cleaned[28] with moist cow dung (ǂhoup) and ǂnaop from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the ǂ̃ns /urîp.[29] The abá taráa smears the ǂhoup all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, ǂhoup and /urîp, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the abá taráa. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the kharú ǂ̃ns. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the abá taráa and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the abá taráa takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from
[374] another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use tinder boxes nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[30] The fire thus lit is now no longer ǂnau. *Nomsi ǂ̃ns ke ǂnau*[31], *orike tara usi ni ǂnaxa* ("now the

[28] //*An ǂkâise*, "the cleaning before going out".

[29] Literally "boy dirt".

[30] Cf. T. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 77.

[31] ǂ*Ai*, "true" or "right", e. g., ǂ*nau ǂnare* "the right path".

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [754] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [755] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 574

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291 [177]

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls.

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [618]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "burku" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [351] [813]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 538 [521]

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Name

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khaxé, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa-/urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares, formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gâra dama gôure ǂhaba ǂhabare"* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will be the older women who have looked after her who will free her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain; it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* ǂHaba is *Pachas denuensa*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. 95 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

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white people and who told me that they were now sickly, and never got any children, because they had been made to work with cold water, when they should not have done so.

The sea as the greatest accumulation of cold water is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. I was given a very graphic description of a tragedy that occurred not so very long ago. Three young girls were walking along the beach at Swakopmund very happily and merrily, when all of a sudden the sea became angry and seemed to be on top of them. Two of the girls calling out, "Who here has her period?" rushed up the beach in safety, the third just had time to shout out, "I have," when she was dragged under by the waves and drowned! The woman who told me this lives inland from Walvis Bay. The other woman who had been with her was afterwards my cook far north in Franzfontein, and she confirmed the story of the drowning. In these degenerate days, the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, only they must not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be !Khai !na, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things, and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she kharus. If she is !Khai !na, the sea will rush out towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food, or the milk she had milked. For there is this great difference between most things a woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water. Cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, be she !kai !na or not, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them !nâu, taboo. Thus, if a girl should kharú out in the veld when she and her companions are gathering roots and berries, her companions must strive turn by turn to carry her back to the kraal, for if she walks among the bushes she will scorch them, the succulent roots will shrivel up, and the leaves wither from the bushes. If she milks a cow, its milk will turn to blood. (I am told that a cow does sometimes give a reddish fluid instead of milk.) If she cooks a meal those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Always after a girl has been reintroduced to the water, she and the old woman take a branch which they dip into a bucket of water and scatter it over the whole kraal, bushes, pens, sheep, goats and cattle.

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We have dealt now with the cases in which water is a protection against dangers, and with those in which water itself is dangerous. There are just two other little rites connected with water which seem to me a little different.

Both in Walvis Bay and in Franzfontein I was told that babies are taken out into the first rainstorm which occurs after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, that is, after

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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Massage.

757 755 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

[841] [842]

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing any animal. The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentots, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

[278] 232 142

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away.

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[56]) The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population.

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, the moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.[57]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness. [The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[58])] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

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[57]) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 139, 141. (The Namaqua use the terms *aores* for the sun, and *//kaob* for the moon; and so do the Korannas, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *zoab*.)

[58]) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

Birth

Pregnancy

The ideas of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception do not appear to have been specially investigated. The fact that in cases of premarital pregnancy the girl's lover is expected to marry her, and in any case has a claim to the child, seems to indicate that physiological paternity is recognized. But there is no concrete information that the Hottentots are acquainted with the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. In their mythology we even meet with a few instances in which women have conceived without having connection with a man. Thus it is told that on one occasion, when some young girls had gone out to fetch firewood, one of them took a kind of sweet juicy grass, chewed it, and swallowed the juice. As a result she became pregnant, and was delivered of a son, Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth.[1] An instance of this kind, however, can, owing to its mythological character, hardly be interpreted as reflecting the normal beliefs of the Hottentots regarding the causes of conception.

On the whole there seems to be a general desire among the people to have children. A barren woman, as we have seen, is looked down upon, and may even have to suffer the mortification of seeing her husband take a concubine. There are also various indications of rites specially designed to secure the birth of children. Graevenbroeck and Kolb, in their descriptions of the Cape Hottentot marriage ceremonies, both state that the person officiating publicly expresses the wish that the young couple will have offspring; and similarly the slaughter of only female animals for the Nama marriage feast is interpreted as due to the desire that the marriage may prove fruitful. Wikar, again, mentions that a barren woman will have recourse to a magician, who strokes her on the abdomen with pieces of horn and wood, and also smears her there with the contents of his medicine horn. Moreover, an ewe heavy with lamb is slaughtered, and the woman must carry the amnion of this unborn lamb on her back, like a child. Also, according to Schinz, women during confinement (*sic*) must eat only goat's flesh in order to promote their fertility.[2]

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 69. Another myth of the same kind relates that Heitsi Eibib was born as a young bull of a cow impregnated by eating grass (ibid., 68. The original Nama text is given in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 177).

[2] Wikar, "Berigt van den Heere van Plettenberg," 104; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 97.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 [842] [825] [824] Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

847 682

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Laidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.
[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

The [latter's mother]

gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *'kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba tarás*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */nau*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other */nau* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba tarás* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

[1] [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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water. The *aba tarás* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again */nau*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them */nau*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 87 (also quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schinz, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water," 324–5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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759 the nature of the complaint. But there is nowhere any full statement as to who all the persons are who may respectively act in this way. The only mention of professional healers, apart from the "herbalists" referred to by Laidler, is Kolb's statement that in every Cape Hottentot kraal there was a man chosen by the old men of the kraal to act as physician and surgeon, because of his knowledge of herbs and surgical and medical treatment. His office was not hereditary. On his death the old men selected another man with similar qualifications; and if no one suitable could be found in their own kraal, they fetched him in from another. In the meantime such of the old women as had a knowledge of herbs and could make the surgical cuts undertook the treatment of the sick.[1] How far this statement can be regarded as accurate in all its details is difficult to say. The whole social aspect of medicine among the Hottentots has been somewhat ignored, and it is not always possible to reconcile the different statements as to the practitioners employed. Nor, except in the case of the *top* diseases, can we ascertain clearly how far the practitioners profess or are believed to cure all diseases, or whether they specialize on particular cases. And, apart from the account given by Mrs. Hoernlé, there is no full description of the ceremonies attaching to the cure or attempted cures.

757 On the actual methods of treatment adopted we have more adequate information, thanks mainly to the detailed descriptions given by Schultze and Laidler, as well as the older writers such as Graevenbroeck and Kolb.[2] Massage, as we have just seen, is widely used for diffuse pains attributed to the wanderings of the internal organs, the object being to restore each organ to its proper place. We have also [842 841] previously noted its use in connection with pregnancy, and, according to Laidler, unfruitful women or those behind their time with menstruation are likewise massaged on the abdomen, in the former case with a downward, in the latter with a rolling movement.

752 The knowledge of surgery is limited.[3] Dislocations are reduced by rubbing the joint briskly with fat and then moving the limb up and down vigorously. A broken limb is first wrapped in skin, care being taken to allow free circulation of the blood; then narrow splints of wood are tied round it to form a sort of sheath, and left until the 752 bone is firm again. Amputation of the finger joint, a common practice 304 in the past, was cleverly performed with the aid of a ligature. Kolb

[1] Op. cit., 44–5.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; 233–6; Laidler, op. cit., 424–36; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 19 ff.; Kolb, op. cit., 148–55; cf. also Nolte, op. cit., 630–1.
[3] Kolb, op. cit., 149–53; Schultze, op. cit., 211–14; Laidler, op. cit., 436–7.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂáxais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with ǃnaop and /quasab ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[1] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂáxais. She takes her /táros ǂnas ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (ǂharún). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is /táros ǂnas /a /naru ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[2] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂáxais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǂáxais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The ubi taris must accompany the ǂáxais in all these rites, but often her friends go

[1] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 208.

[2] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

881 with her too. First a visit is paid to the cattle kraal where sáp is strewn on all the male animals, also on the trees and bushes which they pass by. This was great luck, said one old man to me, and the day after such a girl had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land; "now the white men have come, the rain has ceased, and the people are miserable." Then a cow is milked with the help of the old woman. If possible this is a young cow calving for the first time. The old woman supports the girl's arm while she milks. This milk is ǃnau, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity. Next a visit is made to the spring. The girl carries her water pot, (//ko-ás) on her head. Arrived at the spring, the woman with a branch from a tree strikes the water, scattering it over the girl. She then rubs the girl's legs and arms with clay (ǂgoáb), fills the pot, and places it on the girl's head. The girl is then free to draw water as she pleases.

Hahn [18] states that when the relatives appear for the feast at the end of the seclusion, her nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of the heifer which has been killed, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish. Further,[19] [842] the girls who have come of age must after the festival run about in the first thunderstorm quite naked, so that the rain pours down and washes the whole body. The belief is that this causes them to be fruitful and have many children. He says he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.

881 When men are giving an account of this puberty ceremony for women, the chief
783 thing they lay stress on is the *ǃnau dêip*, i. e., the milk obtained from the first milking by the girl who has just come out of the khará óms. Indeed, it was in this context that I first lit on the word ǃnau and all it means. Gottlieb had been describing the ceremony from his point of view, and when he mentioned the ǃnau dêip and the serious consequences which would follow if any man were inadvertently to drink it, I asked him what ǃnau meant and he burst out: "What is absent from this ǃnau? Everything is ǃnau, or used to be; warriors returning from a battle were ǃnau, a sick man is ǃnau, a widow," etc. etc.

783 Should anyone infringe any of the ǃnau injunctions during these puberty rites, some sort of sexual disease would beset him, and this could only be prevented from proving fatal, if he were able to persuade the abá tarás to inoculate and so free him. The method of this inoculation, which is much the same wherever it occurs, will be fully described in the next section.

[18] T. Hahn, loc. cit. [19] Cf. Idem, Tsuni //Goam, p. 87.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

823 852 the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, " Hei-a Hei-a Tú gaba tai " (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

823 881 [842] Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: " The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: " I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

823 182 Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

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* *Tsuni //Goam*, p. 87.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Massage.

757 755 Where pain was felt, fat was rubbed in. If this was unsuccessful, then the doctor performed passes over the part with his hands, and then let drop a piece of wood from the nose and asserted that it was out of the patient's flesh. (Campbell.) Plasters of fat were applied from a freshly killed animal, and motions made with the hands over the plaster, so that medicine was combined with magic. Should that fail, then incisions were made. Massage was, and still is, in common [844] use, and is called P/kouroe. When women are behind their time with menstruation a rolling movement of the hand on the stomach is the correct method of treatment, and presumably it was a loosening motion. For pains and sprains, punching, kneading, and rolling are employed. P/koo is the transference of heat from a fire to the part affected by the intermediation of the hand, which is warmed and applied gently. In the case [842] of the unfruitful woman, she is massaged downwards on the abdomen. If this does not produce the desired effect, then the P/gai aup may be consulted, and he may do the rubbing.

Surgery.

752 The Hottentots' knowledge of surgery was limited. They successfully reduced dislocations. The joint was rubbed briskly with fat and the limb then moved briskly up and down. For example, a dislocation of the right shoulder would be reduced by gripping the patient's hand as though about to shake, and then vigorously pulling him towards and then pushing him away from one. Campbell says that they tied splinters of wood around broken limbs and left them until the bone was firm again.

Amputation of a finger joint was common and possibly led to experiments upon larger limbs. Kolben states that the head of the joint of the finger was tied up with sinew, and then [278] cut through below. To the raw surface, leaves of myrrh and sweet herbs were applied and tied on. He suggests that this method was used for the removal of larger limbs, and a skeleton found near Garies showed that a limb might be removed or lost and the patient live for at least a while afterwards. Our old Nama woman stated that the "old people," when a leg was badly broken, amputated it through the knee joint after tying a thong tightly around the lower end of the thigh. It is common knowledge that the native is an expert at disjointing any animal. 232 The operation of gelding animals, especially bull calves, was in daily use and was performed by bruising the testicles between two stones. The monorchism, so frequently 142 referred to by early travellers when writing of the Hottentot, was doubtless the application of the same method to male babies with the intention of reducing the number of twins born —once again a sympathetic reason.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǂGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǂGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǁāb

[215] 2. Midwifery

One can gain an insight into the intimate problems in this field only after one has acquired the confidence of the older women after a lengthy stay in the country, making a serious broach of the question possible. Once one has this confidence, one is probably safe from deliberate lies. However, one should never depend on the information of one person, but always test the reliability of what one has heard on other people in different places, without ever revealing the least bit of information which one has already acquired. In this way with time and patience I was able to acquire information that was plausible and not contradictory about a series of points from the natives. It was impossible for me to make direct observations in this area. I have tried to fill out the gaps by having a trusted person show me personally the techniques which I had learned were used with pregnant women, those giving birth, and those who have just given birth.

a) Pregnancy (!kũ·i, !go/m, v.). The Hottentot woman does not usually consider missing a period the first symptom of pregnancy, but rather the discomforts of pregnancy, *//gao·rab, such as loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, etc., assuming that the person concerned otherwise does not suffer from these disturbances. The loss of color in the face during pregnancy they designate with the same word that is used for make-up: /ho/bo. Whether the afore-mentioned custom of painting the face originally had some connection with pregnancy is difficult to decide.

The Hottentot women claim that they can definitely determine pregnancy in the second month by massaging the abdomen and by feeling the changed uterus through the wall of the stomach. As soon as pregnancy is suspected, the greased abdomen is massaged 2 to 3 times a week by two women for 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The massage begins at the middle line between the breasts and works downward. They work sideways along the curve of the ribs with wide spread thumbs, and work back again with all five fingers flat, from the area above the iliac crests to the front wall of the abdomen. They listen very carefully to see if they hear a gurgling in the large intestine. If they have found gas, [216] they are satisfied. They push it down on the left side of the body until it escapes to prevent it going "to the head," because there it would produce fever in the woman. The massage ends with a gentle pressing upwards of the groin on both sides of the middle line between the breasts.

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do-mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [242]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [874] Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They [263] are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging.

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kxuru-s. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/nu-b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hãs. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hãs, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhoa. They often explain

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 18th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b) Delivery. (//oa-s, giving birth, !na-/es, being born; one also hears the word !na/ha-s, relief, ho/s, getting. oa-s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I [578] have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been [129] active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority.

anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become /nau, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain /nau, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and /naup (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in small balls.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 [842] [842.5] Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated urine and faeces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in [842.4] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate 847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody 842 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women managing her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

● 843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the foetus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 114; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 87; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 208–9.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Leidlein, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 449, 451, 508; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," 686.
[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 515.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The fœtus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognized to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with upstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a /*nas* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 213–17; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 226–7.
[2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 216.
[4] *Tsaob-//Gams*, 85.
[5] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," 668.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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The latter then
gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *obe tarib*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also */aus*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other */aus* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *obe tarib* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is visited by her older girl friends, who grind sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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881 574 Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu ǂap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu ǂap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarás* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[841] [843] [535] 881 783

First, during the day, the *aba tarás* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axu /aip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarás* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl *changed* her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-karoos slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-karoos* (lit. breeches-karoos) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarás*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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neither must she speak above a whisper. All informers lay great emphasis on these two 881
points. !Amatis declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view.

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old 881
days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or 302
root or leaves to make powder (*olp*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entrusted to send [324]
back a special sweet smelling resin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. *!Naop*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to [324]
powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The time during which the girl must remain in the *khaxa* hut has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the *chief* things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says !Amatis. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *khaxa olp*. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and *chief of* all must be a heifer. The entrails, pluck, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This *khaxa olp* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Berseba tribe said to me: "That killing is as great as the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing[a] to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings[b] to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake [341]
of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never [343]

[a] This index, p. 72, and n. 36. [b] This index, p. 70.

881 [844] [843] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the aba tarie takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the khari ôms, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is ham and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must ‡karesin for the [796] girl. Thus no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the khari ôms. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

881 [835] As the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

881 First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the ham fire, and is cleaned[1] with moist cow dung (ǂhoup) and lump from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the ôya /urîp.[2] The aba tarie smears the ǂhoup all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls, ǂhoup and /urîp, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole when no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the aba tarie. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the khari ôms. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the aba tarie and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the aba tarie takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use tinder boxes nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.[3] The fire thus lit is now no longer ham. *Nomibi dama ke ǂaes*[4], orthe tara uni ni ǂnaya ("now the

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[1] //Ao ǂrûsen, "the cleaning before going out".

[2] Literally "hay dirt".

[3] Cf. T. Rubin, Tweel./Eisen, p. 77.

[4] ǂ da, "then" or "right", e. g., ǂnae ǂnaes "the right path".

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-
treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [341 843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 535 [521]

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

881 river, among the Gei !Khauas at !Nuis, and among the !Ōgeis, on the banks of the !Kham river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

843 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, geitaras), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 431 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repeatedly and apologise, until he hears the word "!ûtago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; *do not think that*, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me!" He laughed, and thought that I was in fun. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

While doing this they can feel the uterus and determine each time how much it has been enlarged. 843

Pregnant women sometimes tie a leather band, do·mrob, around their body to prevent the abdomen from drooping. [292]

They do not say anything themselves definite about the sex of the expected child. They suspect a boy when the opening of the uterus is broad.

The child is not considered living until it is seven months along. [761] They are well oriented about the position of the child in the uterus. They distinguish precisely whether the back of the child is turned towards that of the mother, and correspondingly, the forehead of the child is facing the abdominal wall of the mother. One can therefore say that they distinguish readily the first and second head position (each in its most customary sub-type). They know that these positions are the only normal ones.

It can be assumed from the above that they recognize abnormal positions but they do not correct them either before or during birth. [844] Inserting the hand into the vagina to examine it is unknown.

The pregnant woman does not have to follow a special diet. They are only careful to avoid constipation because that makes delivery more difficult and hinders the lochia from discharging. [262]

Precautionary rules of another kind are linked with the deeply rooted belief in the "mistakes" of pregnant women. The stories that the Hottentot women tell correspond in principle with those of the women of our race. As is characteristic for a pastoral people a pregnant woman who still honors the customs of her parents may not be present when an animal is slaughtered; otherwise her child would be born with a slit throat. The woman may not do anything on the mat house with her arms raised up high, in order to protect her child from being strangled by the umbilical cord.

Their ideas about the location of the embryo in the body are in remarkable contrast to their good anatomical knowledge [217] of animals. 843 826
According to their belief, conception occurs in the bladder, //kxuru·s. A second bladder forms there in which the embryo is enclosed. The uterus is merely an appendage of the embryo, which disintegrates during the ejection of the water, tsa/nu·b, the afterbirth and blood. It grows again during the next pregnancy. Because of this opinion they often have one word for the uterus and the afterbirth, //hãs. More enlightened ones distinguish the two, calling the uterus //hãs, "that which stays in the mother" and the afterbirth in our sense, ǂhõs. They often explain

bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this. 843 826

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 25th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October. 843 805 221

b) Delivery. (//ora·s, giving birth, ǃna·ǂes, being born; one also hears the word ˢuˀbu·s, relief, hoˀs, getting. oa·s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 meters in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [218] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority. 844 ● [578] [124]

Cases of Hottentot women giving birth in the fields and cheerfully carrying the babe home in the evening or delivering herself in a warm cow stall (66), cannot be considered average. Sufficient number of 844

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII, 1867.)

cases of Boer women giving birth under equally primitive conditions while traveling are known, but that would not allow one to draw conclusions about the customs of our race. Birth among the Hottentots, as with us, occurs in orderly circumstances and is an event they prepare for carefully.

Whoever can, has an experienced midwife, even if she must come from far away. The Hottentots give this important woman various names. She is either the !kx̃o·ris, i.e., "she who catches the child (!kx̃oǂ)," or the ǂnũ·ris, i.e., "she who sits there (ǂnũ)," waiting hours, even half a day until she can take hold. Corresponding to our chief midwife, insofar as she makes the decisions, is the °!kx̃ai·/naɓaos, "the woman who cuts the umbilical cord." 844 759

Usually there are several women present at a birth and not merely as observers. When the first strong pains begin, the woman in labor lies on her left side. The women now group themselves, as far as I could determine, in the following way. One sits behind the woman in labor at the head of the bed and supports her shoulders and back with one knee to keep her in a half-upright, half-lying position on her side. Opposite the first sits a second woman who puts her right arm around the upper part of the woman's body. Her job is to bend the woman's upper body forward as soon as a pain begins, to hold the head against the breast and to place a cloth on the woman's mouth [219] so that she cannot scream out. It would mean the death of the child if the mother should lie on her back or stretch her legs. Her left leg, bent at the knee, lies flat on the floor. The right leg, also bent, is straight up, its thigh spread out as far as possible, its foot braced against the knee of the left leg. The third woman, who sits near the foot of the bed opposite the woman in labor, has two jobs. With her left hand she must hold the woman's leg in the position just described. Her right hand presses on the abdomen with spread thumb against the uterus to control the progress of the delivery. The old woman, who takes her place opposite the third woman behind the woman in labor, has charge of the delivery. Her left 844

hand, constantly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. 844
Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain.

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt 845
is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked.

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which 844
covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not.

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of [821]
a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?"

[220] Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end at the cord. A span's width from the navel of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger), [804]
the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily.

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She [791]
is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl.

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly [787]
dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ga·baras (lateral clicking sound), our good luck caul.

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth. 844

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A rosin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ho·ras, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */nunu·b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body. [278]

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily. [278] [753 826]

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */ho/abe·s). If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat. 846 278

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor 853

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" *xuihum, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the case of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [841]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [771]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she [562] receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all over with fat, then laid on the ground, [278] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 107–13; Schinz, op. cit., 57; von François, op. cit., 114–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Capa Hottentots

852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in [829] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with herbs.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 194, 197–8.

[2] *Vergelegen der Caapo Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Gutmann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, iii, 324–6; Gutmann, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 1–4 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

fat, and powder themselves with *kucha*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of */nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *undersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever */gui aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 50

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Name

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, are fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of the life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The woman a parent has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his semmer, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khoré, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

§91 §23 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip, her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled [272 177] to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares, formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind, as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs, and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own, puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home. After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gkara §23 doma gkoro !haba !habare"* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as the !haba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will • [144] be the older women who have looked after her who will free [755] her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When §23 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a §91 neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I do not know for certain; it may have been heart failure, as it was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

* !Haba is *Fockea domeraica*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber, 95 per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. !Haba !Haba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

leaves is used for pains in the eyes. Its growth for commerce is now prohibited by law. It is still used with tobacco for smoking. A decoction of seeds boiled and allowed to stand is used for bronchitis and headaches.

Kraalbosch, D/kooi dabee, Kraal bosch, *Galenia africana*, is chewed for toothache in small quantities. If too much is used it blisters the mucous membrane of the mouth. This bush is now used in a mixture in decoction with Aister bosch for toothache and also for venereal disease.

Sages. Aromatic sage, Afrikaanse Salie. Blaauwblom, *Salvia africana* and *Salvia paniculata*. Geelblom or strand salie (sand salie), *Salvia aurea*. Decoction of leaves used for coughs and colds and also for women's troubles. Wittie blom. *Nuxia congesta*. Salie prout. Leaves resemble those of a sage. *Buddleia salvifolia*. *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*.

Stink sali, (small grey whitish leaves), dried leaves used in decoction for common colds and externally as a lotion for sores. Berg salie, or mountain sage, green or dried leaves in decoction for coughs and colds, is evidently an expectorant, as it is stated it makes the cough ripe. Also used in decoction for washing sores. To-day these salies are used in combination with Katakruie and plein hout and veal bosch for fevers, such as measles.

Wild olives are used to make diaphoretic mixtures, or sweating draughts. One species, named in Nama, P/hoom, is used in decoction of leaves for dropsy, flatulence, and pains in the stomach, as a lotion for sores, and also the leaves are used as a plaster. The most prized is the sand olein hout, the Nama D/houbi, a decoction of the leaves of which is administered in any cold or fever, from a common cold to typhoid.

Klein koorts bosch, little fever bush, *Grassula lycopodioides* L. is used in decoction as a diaphoretic.

Taaibosch, L/ or P/guara, *Rhus* sp. or *Rhus undulata* Jacq. The leaves of this plant are boiled and the liquor given for the troubles which arise after parturition. Of the two species of bush, long and short, the latter is preferred.

Vogelent, *Viscum capense* Lin. Nama Aie L/ kwse, a Taaibosch parasite, is used as an emmenagogue. Barend uses it for amenorrhea, mixed with P/su, wild celery. By the Cape Boers it is used for epilepsy, chorea, and diarrhœa.

L/oiser, a bush not identified, is used in decoction for puerperal fever. It is strongly purgative, and as the Native doctor says: "works the fire out of the stomach." It is never used for the young, but only for adult women. One informant states particularly it is used, when the patient is delirious, to "work it out."

Paierrank, Nantsi amma (Nama), a red tipped false rank. *Mesembrianthemum edule* or *acinaciforme*, is used for delayed labour, or retained after-birth. It is stamped and given as a pulp.

[i.e. Dagga leaves — Analyst.]

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

White Kafir-wood. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is snuffed for flatulence, and is a very pungent snuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter.

White vergult, a white chicory-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Barend declares that this is "first class" for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of "driving out" by means of an explosive sneeze.

POULTICES.

Plasters and poultices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether cow-dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C/koxa P/mahoo, veldschoon blaar or field shoe leaf, a large soft sole-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. P/numa ghama has been mentioned. D/nun D/neu was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is peppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of bushes contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopoeia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern goat-dung poultice is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, warm and ready to hand of selected bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such poultices have been applied by white people for pneumonia, appendicitis, peritonitis, and innumerable other complaints. For who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigine? And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a goat or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many "Bush things and strong things" that his stomach contents must be very good medicine.

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

L/oan uru. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists, is dassiepis, L/oan uru, or D/gaeus, the inspissated urine and faeces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the clefts and crannies inhabited by them. Boiled and strained the liquor is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of Dassiepis acted upon by the atmosphere, which gradually removes all the organic matter, form a dark pitch-like mass the dassiepis of commerce, which

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

Klipswoet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is bumped and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of fauces without pausing to pick it up.

Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1918. 83, among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

C/gamma, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the fasted snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

The Kanker beetle, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much prized remedy is called C/aamup, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

291
301
415
~~844~~
847

How one Bantuman treat Hottentot Bones.
(Notice in the background the child exposed to death in the grave, and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
(After Kolb.

[facing p.57]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

If the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [1].

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [2]. I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [3]. They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a knives, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [4].

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[1] See illust. "An ox roast as a meale is here his mother carefully contriues him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and behaues to eat" [2] cap. xvii, fol.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselves. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[44]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[47]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amulon or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[48]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. These Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in -kom: as tabagkom, tobacco; kowtom, a little glass; kerom, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

[44]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wool fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the body to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 304, 305).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

both with a powder of the bucku shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock.

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free foot begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in special quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.[206]) Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest for her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time exulting with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with the bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Locina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever.

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here the drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after calling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is in childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the

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206) This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note: Henceforth, explained *Ia* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ho:n* and became an *oansi*, until her marriage when she became a *tawa* or wife. *Ia* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wurm (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ôâ* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khais* brought me some and she and *Ia* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) */kaup*; (ii) */ui ôâ*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *kaurâ*, "veld biscuits," roots only; (iv) */ha /khâi*; (v) */gnaukoh* grown in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the */kaukoh* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*/gâi kaus*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *qaiâi* and dancing. The *ôhe gamas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */kaus /ho:na gamab*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */kaus /ho:na gamas*.

The life history of *Ia*

gai !kaub kaurâ /kaa Ia /kâi /khâub kaiâi /kaa ka. /kâi !kaub /kaa kaiâmima !go kaiâi. !ka: /kaa, kaiâmima /kaurâkaa ka ôâ ka. /kâi kaurâkaa /kâb ka ôâ, /kâi tawakkaub !gaurâ /kaa /kâkaa di /kaa /ka:a.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Horremot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house 371 372
with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die.

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle 224 372 777
a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful.

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station 224
Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:—
"They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success.

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great 123
Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives 125
a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâsib*, "the one which lives in a hole."

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season 125
snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year.

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally seen*, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

hand, commonly feeling, lies on the buttocks of the woman in labor. 844
Her hand follows the forward movement of the child's head across the coccyx to the perineum and on to the vaginal opening. As soon as her right hand, which is between the legs of the prone woman, feels that the head is coming through, she has the woman bear down as hard as she can at the next pain.

Once the head is out, they do not wait for more labor, but draw the child out, taking it by the chin.

The only definite interference in the delivery which they attempt 845
is enlarging the vaginal opening if the child is not delivered after strong labor-pains. First they try to enlarge it sideways. If that does not help, they stretch it lengthwise. In one case four women are supposed to have had their fingers in the vulva. If this stretching is not successful, then the perineum is deliberately torn, often up to the anus, to make room. No attempt is made to heal such a tear, because, as a Hottentot woman explained to me as an obvious fact, the path of the next child would be blocked.

All the motions of the hands are done under the skin blanket which 847
covers the woman in labor. During the delivery she is given soup to strengthen her. Assistance at birth is exclusively the domain of women, whether old or young, mothers or not.

Here and there they vaguely connect the east wind with the labor of [821]
a woman. When the east wind blows, one can sometimes hear the question: "Which woman has delivered today?"

(220) Cutting the umbilical cord is done without delay. The cord is tied approximately in the middle with sinew or bast from a thorn tree and then the long end thread is fastened to the left leg of the mother to prevent the cord from slipping back. Sometimes they tie the thread to a pole. Right behind the place where it is tied the cord is cut, leaving the knot on the mother's end of the cord. A span's width from the navel of the child (they measure between their spread thumb and middle finger), [804]
the cord is tied again and cut. The mother is given some of the blood that drips from the cut, if she is bleeding too heavily.

The old woman who had charge of the delivery cuts the cord. She [791]
is also the only one who is paid. The usual payment was two goats for a boy and one for a girl.

They do not differentiate between dead children and seemingly [787]
dead ones and do not know any methods for resuscitation. Prophetic gifts are ascribed to children who are born with a "helmet," //ga-hara (general clicking sound), our good luck caul.

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 847

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" *Hinsthum*, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [811]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [771]

in the place called Spektakel. The Hottentot woman, Anna Marie, bore during her second marriage two boys and a girl, who were still alive in the year 1902. Her husband was Johannes Fortani, the descendant of a freed Negro slave. I also heard about a case of quintuplets in the year 1884 or 1885. The father, Jacobus van Neel, was a Bastard, the mother, named Trein, produced three girls and two boys. The children were alive at birth but died immediately afterward. 845 ●

3. Use of Medicine

Hottentot medicinal knowledge and methods of healing become less clear, the nearer they approach the field of internal medicine. The use of medicine is all that seems to me worth mentioning. 757 278

The Hottentot leaves nothing untried. Aside from practical success, either imagined or real, another consideration also guides him at times. He knows that among the plants of his country there are many healing ones. He also knows of many ailments for which there is probably some healing plant with which he is not acquainted. Further, every herd boy knows that the goat is not dainty in the choice of the plants it eats; it eats nearly everything and so probably, (as the Hottentot reckons) it also eats the healing plants that he is not yet acquainted with. The effective substances of these plants are transferred to the goat and are partly retained in its manure. Therefore goat manure is believed to contain healing properties. 757 278 825

Thus the treatment of chickenpox, /kgo-ras, consists in the following: the sick person is given a drink several times a day, in which about 1/2 liter of diluted milk is cooked with a handful of fresh (or double the amount if old) goat manure. Lean goat meat is the only other nourishment that he may have. 757 278

Whether the following treatment reported to me by two separate eyewitnesses, is used very much, is uncertain. Several men killed a goat, pulled off its skin as quickly as possible in order to place it on the sick person's body while still warm. It may well be that this wrapping works as a beneficial irritant to the skin.

[224] The dried body of the so-called "jumpy" snake *Rhinchocalamus Scholtzi capensis* Gthr. is considered an infallible antidote for snake bite. A few finger widths above and below the bite a deep cut is made, each about 1 centimeter long and the blood is sucked out of each of these cuts for about a half hour with the bleeding horn. Then a small scrap of 757 825

been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically prosellive. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a prosellive rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Wulz, *op. cit.*, 884 *sq.*

[2] Wulz, *op. cit.*, 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Seelenleben der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 97-9; Wikar, *op. cit.*, 57-61; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Sex among the Hottentots," 67-9 *et passim*.

[i.e., circum. of the left testicle. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 849 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in [829] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it ruddy and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When that flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 856 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Rhenish, "The Social Value of Water among the Namas," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 527–8.

[2] *Vergeldige Aanmerkingen*, Part I, ch. Concerning, "Bidden aan den aanstaanden Heelmeester," *Caabische and Cambodjaansche*, 66, 304–6; Grevenbroeck, "Uit den Oosten Tijd," 214 *passim*.

fat, and powder themselves with *kuiku*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut. 846 [876]

Graevenbeerk adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast. 851

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of Tsuni. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a ceremonial meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published. 847 848 783 784

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever *Igai aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child; 845 791

[1] Op. cit., 50.

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others, however, said that the child became a *gubo aub* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Namas are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andermaaltes* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Women," 320; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 100.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Pinkerton, *Supplementary Stat-Africa*, 394; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i. 319.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 103; private information from Miss. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 60-4; cf. Pinkerton, loc. cit.; Tim Rhynse, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 840; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii. 150.

if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Name

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Graevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Graevenbroeck naively puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and then, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Namas, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gei khoi /ons*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomaxiŝ*, and that of the mother *//khamides* (*-ô* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khamides* and a daughter *gomaxia*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khamides-gomaximaô*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if found follows the same principle; hence *gomaxia-//khamidomaa*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khamides gaiŝ*, the second son *//khamides /xagumaô*, the youngest *//khamides /kaxiŝ*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., pt; cf. Ten Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., pp-p.
[2] Op. cit., [illegible].
[3] Op. cit., [illegible].

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But *||Gaunab* also figures in the myth as the opponent of *Tsui ||Goab*; and there it is further said, by the Namas, that "*Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven, quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab*", while the Korana told Warm that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.[1] Two of the old writers, Valentijn and Wikar, also speak of *||Gaunab* as a "black chief", while Graevenbroeck calls *Dawab* the "god of the underworld". The interpretation of this myth is difficult, as we have no further information at all about the two "heavens" referred to. Hahn reads into it a metaphor illustrating the change of day and night, and identifies *Tsui ||Goab* with the Red Dawn and *||Gaunab* with the Black Night.[2] An alternative explanation, if we remember that *Tsui ||Goab* is not only the rain-giver, i.e. the fertiliser, but also the creator, while *||Gaunab* is the cause of sickness and death, may be that the myth symbolises the conflict between life and death. But this is mere speculation, as we need to know far more about the beliefs and practices relating to these two beings, and, it should be added, about the beliefs relating to the fate of the dead, before interpretations of their significance can be advanced with some prospect of accuracy.

Magic and Divination

In common with most primitive peoples the Hottentots have amongst them certain individuals who are specialists in the art of magic. Of these magicians, */gui oaga*, we have extremely little information. Nothing at all appears to be known about the method in which a person becomes a */gui aob*, or of the training he has to undergo. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants said that a child born with a caul might become a clever */gui aob*, if given the caul to eat whilst still young; others, however, said that such a child became a *gabo aob*, a seer.[3] It is not even definitely stated if these magicians are of either sex, or men only, but the fact that the name by which they are known is always written with the masculine suffix seems to imply the latter.

The name */gui aob* itself, according to Schultze,[4] is derived from */gui*, the magic medicine used by these men in their work. This medicine is carried about in a small box cut from the horn of some animal. It is made up of vegetable ingredients taken from the roots of a large diversity of plants, and of the flesh and bones of various

[1] Hahn, op. cit., p. 9.
[2] Ibid., p. 98.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama", p. 520.
[4] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 468.

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[757] 276 leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[805] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia tenuissa* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus* sp. are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is */au /aruḍ*, the condensed urine and faeces of the *damin* (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "damispis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition [917] generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the ashes of the atmosphere, is given internally [782] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhoea is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanni*, powdered fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chironia baccifera*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Gymnosiphon capense* Thun. and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

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CAP. XXI.

De Magistratu.

Quilibet cunularum vicinus suum *Praefectum*, & ille plerumque superiorem, quos uno nomine *Capiteneos* vocant, agnoscunt. *Exequata*, tamen, sed nulli, *Regem* habent. Juxta horum magnatum placita gubernantur omnia; ita ut subjecti nil magni eorum praestare audeant, ad nutum *Capitanei* semper paratissimi. Migraturum cum est, a *Praefecto* monentur; Inire matrimonium cum volunt, a *Capiteneo* libertatem petere coguntur, summa cum observatione dicto ejus obedientiae.

CAP. XXII.

De *Jure gentium*.

Quamvis non *Numinis* neve pudoris vinculis adstricti sua se lege exsolvant, [1] sibi ipsis saepe sunt lex, ea quae fecere majores, casco impulsu, consuetudine magistra, imitantes. Ita si gemellos pariat mater, masculum & femellam, hanc *Jure gentis* occidunt in cunis. In eo fere tantum a *Scythis* distinctus, quod hi in *Amazonum* regno mares interfecerint: distinctus in eo priscis in *Africa* [2] *Carthaginensibus*, qui vivos praesertim pueros, & immolam aetatem *Saturno* sacrificabant. Omnes vero quotquot nascuntur masculi alterutro castrantur statim a nativate testiculo; ne in frugiferi terra, plures, quam alere possit, incolas recipiat; atque ut illi adsint, quo tanto velocius possint currere.

[1] Romans, end. cap.

[2] vt de Scythis Justin. (lib. II. 4, 19: *Si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant.* lib. II. 2, 8: *Justitia pretia imperio culta, non legibus.* D.F.)

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[1] Grevenbroek describes this custom somewhat more fully. See below, p. 181. A.

[2] Many of the early writers on the Hottentots mention this practice, some saying that it was done in early childhood, others that it was a puberty rite, and still others that it was performed upon a youth before his marriage. Kolb actually gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Marvell, more soberly, says: "Being inquisitive to know the truth of this I had the curiosity to search several of 'em (who will readily suffer you for a double stiver to do it), in two of which I could find but one testicle, they I suppose being married, as the rest who had two were not: which however shews the mistake of Marshall and others who assert that the Hottentots cut out one of the testicles of all their male children.

[Sue W. Grevenbroek, this File, CAT-Hyp 181. — Translator]

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CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognizes its own chief, and the chief generally recognizes a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequas, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission. 622

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [47]). In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn. 845 ●

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [47]). 304 856

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as soon as they are born (according to Nieuhoff) or at the age of 9 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Soc. 8, 51). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb [and also Maxwell] may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (op. cit., 233-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were monorchs. 304 856 [147]

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repudiant, factumque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve truves, quandoque plures, jugulant coeo, carnem exuviatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dirtis cillis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre sat's ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus furie ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae planiam, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadrisetribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* ostimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc demandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etiam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.P.

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585 [40]) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

824 [41]) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in
● 845 cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restitata* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 413.)

846 [42]) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 202), was at least eight days.

[847] [43]) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers.
276 Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Analyst]

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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [17].

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [18]. I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [19]. They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [20].

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this that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat" (*op. cit.*, 382).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the use of it.[1]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of want living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[2]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to ourcountrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[3]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" Olfendio, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 43) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

[2]) Sleen (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, utywala, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and umcwewa, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amazhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and have beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Olfendio, *op. cit.*, 418).

[3]) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godde-Meinbergen, *op. cit.*, 97).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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defodere; consuetas gemelliparum duobus liberis paribus alendis impares: quae si parientes aut continuo postquam partum ediderit extinguitur, vam sine mora cum caeteris rei infantis, etiam vivo, non minori crudelitate sepelliunt. Aliquando quandoque pater genere diros, natalium filiolae superstiti(1) condicit, atque alendam tradit.

Hic silentio neutiquam praetereundum mihi videtur, quod faber ferrarius quidam, vigesimo a Promontorio bonae Spei lapide equitanti, cave vagientem in arbore infantulum exclamavit, et non procul inde reperiam matrem probe dolumbatam gnatum diligere et στοργὴ* durantem.

Cui addendum reor, quod Europaeus quandam in ipso Promontorio, defossam ab Afris filiolam tempestive accurrentes effodentibus, collatilio collectoque aere nutrici eandem educandam detulerint.

Ubi vacca vitulum cum vitula simul enititur, illum in partes sectum canibus devorandum abjiciunt, hanc fatuè servant licet nunquam emolumentum, inanilia quippe res Afris his, juvenculam gemellam peperisse.

Pedicâ, laqueo, casside, telaque, cuivis leonidarum magnam partem virtiliant: quamcumque ferax, etiam elephantem cominctores venenatâ sagitta sauciarunt, hinc fugientem insequuntur eminus, eamque si non tempestivo, saltem post satis cruentum, et sub crepusculum membris venenis ei vegetiuo frigore jam obrigescentibus ei sanguine coagulato, cadentem venatores assequuntur, exuviasque dilaniatoque, illius cor (cujus valvulis aut orificio virus concretum adhaeret) exsindunt, omnique lurido abscisso rejectoque, carbonibus semiustum, et in buccas sertum, pro primaria dape praeda(1)tis, promiscide, et laeta gustatione

* The copyist did not know Greek. The word attempted to be written here is probably στοργὴ natural affection. B.F.

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(1) The existence of this practice among the old Cape Hottentots is well-authenticated, although among the modern Namaqua twins, though regarded as unlucky, are no longer killed. Kolb (op. cit., 443 ff.) describes it at some length. Cf. also Schapera, op. cit., 266.

10. Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[1]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[1])

If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs. the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[1]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1800): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 294).

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth. 844

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A resin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called *ho-ns, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */nuno-b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body. [278]

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursing. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily. [279] [952 826]

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */ho/abe-i). If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat. 846 278

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor 853

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [279]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 877

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" [illegible], is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed sooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [811]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [771]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1950
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It will be remembered, however, that a similar custom was reported by Seiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course, be said.

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water. Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also[2] that at a child's birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked by a feast, provided by the father.

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Franzfontein Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e. after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay, among the Topnaars, it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the

[1] From other accounts it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.
[2] Op. cit., 77.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots
187 agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter
[783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually
757 protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels
877 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in
[829] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is
● 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 514-526.

[2] *Vergelykje der Caapse Hottentots*, 64-6; cf. Gutmann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324-6; Grauwenbroech, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2-4 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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fat, and powder themselves with *kuku*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of */naun*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever */gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 54

[853] they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, [896] the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The [851] christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days [881] every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- [893] stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the [892] Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

[857] [871] b. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

[841] 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [714] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [767] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

[593] [576] 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Abstract.

Grevenbroek (1695) and Kolben (1786), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of diseases into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth at pieces of bone cut of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Grevenbroek to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and lues cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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repellant, factisque divertium. Habitarum solennis haec est: *Bovem*, binasve boves, quandoque plures, pugnant emti, carnem emeritatam & tantillum aeti expellunt cum propria pervulia adipe in dicta olla exsequunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque epyaretis epulis necessaria invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, ceu ut chirurgicum more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalis vinculo destro nat's ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quendam mirandae efficaciae pharmacum, fortiam evomendo expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis aliv per me aliv per alios, redimere potui. Id enim commentitiae legi prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae aeo diu latent; liberos sine ordine & intempestive admodum educunt barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis exquisitis laetitiae involucris, donec appendant sua; quadrisetribus paulo majores fumare petum,* octimestres pedibus incedere, calebbo lente demandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennalis hujus regionis hospes; octennes juventutemque tractare arma, arcum ejusque à tela; ubi parvulos cibum sanguine suinos colloquant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tandiu perferre cogunt.

* Petum is unknown to me. B.P.

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585 [a]) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 361.

824 845 [b]) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia resinifera* for tedious labour. (Schapera, op. cit., 413.)

● 846 [c]) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 361), was at least eight days.

[847] 276 [d]) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, His File. — Analyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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If the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [1].

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [2]. I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [3]. They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [4].

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[1] He adds that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat" op. cit., 322.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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both with a powder of the bucku shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock.

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free foot begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in special quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.[***] Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest for her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time quaking with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with the bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Lucina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever.

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here the drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after calling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is in childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the

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[***] This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
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OBD conveniens virisque nexus propinquos et affines, lecto suo exripit, ubi quum consedere de nomine puero indendo primò uxorem suam pervunciatur, eique ut plurimum assentitur, et post illum reliqui ad unum omnes, ingeniosque puerperae applaudunt, eoque nomine appellatum infantem salutant, eique et parentibus felicia precati, genethliacis celebrandis diem terunt.

Natus mihi Barbarus Gonda dictus (ejus nomine Latinis Dama venit) quia ea die qua natus, mater ejus de cibo valdè sollicita, pater à venatione operatus damis domum redibat, quorum carne exurientes convivas, nebridibusque recentem natum commodè tanquam fascia exripiebat: hinc mater occasionem arripuit, Filio Gondoe nomen imponendi. Alia media aestate parturit, quum Soi radiis suis terram percuque matutè uri, adeò ut illa arescat, lacque ubera lacte siccata habeat, quamobrem puerpera, dum semper mamillas suas exsiccatas videt, misericordia tacta, filiolae *Sikhatè* nomen indidit, voce compositâ ex *Si* quod lac, et *khatè* quod penuriam significat: appellatione valde opportunâ.

Herili patrifamiliae res pecuaria ampla est Herum per sacrificulum victima caedit, cujus adipe infans cum matre ab ariolo vaporante circumlinientur herbâque Buchu, pari quo dixi modo perspergunter, natalitiaque data, maritus in unam alteramque hebdomadam se foras proripit, et nisi infans mammâ disjunctus aut lacte depulsus sit, vir cum mulere sua etiam toto anno non cubat, eaque gravida secubat: interim pellicibus agi vagae veneri litans, nam Afris hic plures solent esse nuptiae, quae singulae suis mapalibus separatim degunt, remque familiarem maritique juxta religiosè curant, eique certatim vultu vertâque blandiuntur, qui in binoctium trinoctiumque pro cujusque venere, gratia maritique, mox hanc mox illam complectitur.

H 846 553 [47]) This description (together with the following paragraph) also applies to the Hottentots. It is of course by no means complete, but is correct in suggesting that the mother is secluded for some time after the birth, and that before she leaves her hut she is ceremonially cleansed (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 262 ff). There is no other record of a name-giving ceremony similar to that mentioned by G.

H 553 [48]) Wrede's Hottentot vocab. gives the word *k'goede* = steenbok (Latin *capricornus*, not *dama*, which is given as the Latin equivalent of klipspringer = Hottentot *k'goyde*); Kolb's vocab. (said to be based on that of G.), gives Hot. *kdoude* = steenbok. (Mölenbergen, *op. cit.*, I, 222, 227).

S 834 545 [49]) This statement, although applicable to most primitive peoples, seems in the present instance not to refer to the Hotten-

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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water is according to the seasons of the year, hot in winter, cold in summer. Then the husband calls together his kith and kin of both sexes and receives them in his hut. When they are all seated the matter of a name for the child is broached. First he asks his wife; as a rule he expresses his agreement with her, and after him they all do likewise, praising the wit of the young mother. They then greet the child by his new name, pray for happiness for him and his parents, and pass the day in celebrating the birth.[1])

A certain native of my acquaintance has gotten the name of Gaudo (in Latin *dama*, or buck)[2]) from the following circumstance. On the day on which he was born, his mother being very anxious about food, his father came home from the hunt laden with buck. The hungry guests were fed upon the flesh, the newborn babe was swaddled in the skins. Impressed by the timely relief, his mother improved the occasion by naming the boy Gaudo. There is a tale of another woman who gave birth to a child in the middle of the summer, when the sun with its rays most scorches earth and cattle, so that the earth is parched and the udders of the cattle are empty of milk. The young mother, beholding her own dry breasts, was touched with pity, and gave to her daughter the name *Hithaiba*, a word compounded of *Hi*, milk, and *Thaiba*, lack. Surely a very happy choice of name.

Any father who is well stocked with cattle again offers sacrifice on the occasion of a birth; the mother and babe are smeared in the fat of the victim, which is warmed by the priest; and they are sprinkled with buchu in the manner described. After the birthday feast the husband takes himself off for a week or two, and until the infant has been taken from the breast or weaned, he does not sleep again with his wife even if it be for a whole year.[3]) He always sleeps away from her when she is with child. In the meantime he goes with concubines, paying homage to a roving love, for these natives generally have several wives, each living separately in her own hut, looking after the household and scrupulously obedient to her husband's commands. They vie with one another in flattering him with word and look, and he embraces now one, now another, for a space of two nights or three, according to the passion,

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title, but to be derived from the account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa. They say: "As soon as a woman is confined in childbed, her husband must stay away from the hut for 13 to 14 days, and not sleep with his wife as long as she is suckling the child, even if it be for a year. In the meantime he must console himself with his other wives" (Mohlenpan, op. cit. II, 60).

14.Hahn 1-8 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hagenest FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGoam, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGoam, and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiǂâb

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [634] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ǂ//nāǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaixāba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara χ̃āba ũts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." ("!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩǂnũisõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (ǂnũis, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse sa !gãsa χaẽ "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "ǂgũits go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 [842] [825] [824] Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

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843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Laidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 668.
[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 320; cf. Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 142; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

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551 with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same "great name", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this "great name" derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

853 A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old.
[854] When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby
[862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the
[847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still
262 dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its
[145] environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *Idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, op. cit., 303–8; Hoerald, *Rietavveld*, 14–15.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 76; Schinz, op. cit., 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, op. cit., 222, 293.

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[757] [278] leaves of *Mesembrianthemum tortuosum*, also taken in the same way for pains in the stomach, or the leaves of *Galenia africana*; headaches are treated with a decoction of dagga seeds (*Cannabis sativa*), also used for bronchitis; and for pains in the eyes an ointment made from raw fat and pulverized dagga is applied.

[845] *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, is used for delayed labour or retained afterbirth; *Euphorbia restituta* is given for tedious labour; and for troubles after parturition the leaves of *Rhus sp.* are boiled and taken in decoction. But a more common remedy for women's ailments is *!au |arub*, the condensed urine and faeces of the dassie (commonly known among the Dutch farmers and the Dutch-speaking Hottentots as "dassiepis"). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses [847] it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. The same substance, finally purified by the action of the atmosphere, is given internally [752] in decoction and infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness in the back and pains in the stomach.

Diarrhœa is treated with a decoction made from the powdered and boiled roots and stem of *Royena pallens*; and *Sarcocaulon Burmanse*, pounded fine, is used as an astringent for the same complaint. Purgatives, Laidler remarks, have a strange fascination for the natives, and are widely used for pains in the stomach or "fevers" "to work them out". A tangible removal, it is argued, must always be productive of good, for the Hottentots, according to Laidler, "firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something." One of his informants, a professional herbalist, said that the same medicine prepared in different ways may have different actions. Thus if *Royena pallens* is cut in an upward direction it will act as an emetic, if cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative! Other purgatives are *Royena hirsuta* and *Chiroma baccijeca*, two mouthfuls of which taken in decoction, are an efficient dose and have a rapid effect. The latter plant is also used in decoction for boils, as are also *Cynanchum capense Thun.* and a species of liana. The latter is also burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms.

Plasters and poultices are in common use, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether of goat dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs,

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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[847]

Haakiesdoorn, P/ahbi, is also an emmenagogue.

P/ngoona, a thorn bush, *Sarcocaulon* sp., pounded whole and boiled, is a successful abortifacient according to many. Barend says that it is exceedingly good, but that he uses it only for parturient troubles in sheep. Klip melk bosch, *Euphorbia restituta*, given for tedious labours. When the treatment is continued for two or three days it "helps and strengthens."

Roode rabassam. Pappe, in his "*Flora Capensis*," mentions two Pelargoniums that are used medicinally in the Cape and Namaqualand, *Pelargonium antidysentericum*, in Nama D/kanie, which is boiled in milk and used as an astringent, and *P. anceps*, known to the Coloured and Afrikanders as *Roode rabassam* and used by the Cape Malays to produce abortion or for helping on a confinement. In Namaqualand this is known as rabass, which appears to be the original Nama name for it, or a corruption. The Afrikander names it rooi wortle or rooi storrm. It is used for anaemias and weaknesses and repeated doses are given during fevers. The Boer uses it boiled or "set op brandywijn." Baviaan's oor, Baboon's ear, Bol (Nama), *Eriospermum latifolium*, a red tuber, rasped up raw, used as a cold poultice on bruises and cuts, is considered good. The colour in each case appears to have been the chief attraction.

[847]

Kalkoen blom, or turkey flower, *Sutherlandia fructescens*, was used in decoction for washing wounds and given as drink for fevers. To-day it is used for consumption, chicken pox, etc. Rooi rainkie leaves, red again, are used as a poultice when thorns have pierced the foot, a common occurrence in a country covered with *Acacia horrida*.

Stinkbosch, *Nymania capensis* was, and is, given for convulsions. Stink bosch, Ou meide's bosch, or Old Woman's bush, P/kabou, *Boscia foetida*, is possibly used as an emmenagogue, but mainly, in so far as I can gather, as a decoction for pains in the back. There are a large number of aromatic bushes in the African veld, and many of these, in fact most, are in use, or have at some time past been used medicinally.

Rosemary, Nama name not identified, *Eriocephalus umbellatatus*, is used in decoction for pain in the stomach.

Stinkkruit, is used in decoction for stomach pains, in cases of scorpion sting, pounded, moistened and applied cold as a plaster.

D/khammae or P/tkamma, "something that grows near water," aromatic thyme, used as a tea, as a diaphoretic.

The common fire bush, L/naroo, so named because of its domestic use, combines the characteristics of aroma with redness of its small thick, juicy, finger-like leaves, which are chewed for pain in the stomach.

Kattendoorn, or cat thorn, D/nuance, and the use of its roots in decoction in wasting diseases, has already been mentioned. It is probably a modern application of the ancient principles of sympathetic medicine.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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White Kafir-wood. A bush with a red flower, unidentified, which grows around the Orange River, powdered fine, is snuffed for flatulence, and is a very pungent snuff. Also used in decoction for the same purpose—slightly bitter. 278 757

Witte vergeit, a white chicory-like root, is powdered and used by some as a plaster, by others as a snuff. Barend declares that this is "first class" for headaches. Here, again, the principle is that of "driving out" by means of an explosive sneeze.

POULTICES.

Plasters and poultices are of common use to-day, and it appears that a soft hot application, whether cow-dung, the inside of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat, or a preparation of herbs, was a favourite remedy with the Hottentots. The bulb of the C/koos P/naboo, veldschoon blaar or field shoes leaf, a large soft sole-like leaf is warmed, smeared with fat and applied to any swelling. P/nums ghans has been mentioned. D/nou D/nou was also used as a plaster, and this particular preparation is peppery, and has the same action as a mustard plaster.

The large number of bushes contained in the Hottentot Pharmacopoeia is the reason of certain seemingly filthy remedies being used. The modern goat-dung poultice is an animal preparation of immemorial repute, a preparation, too, warm and ready to hand of selected bush leaves. What then could be better to apply to a sore stomach? Such poultices have been applied by white people for pneumonia, appendicitis, peritonitis, and innumerable other complaints. For who knows more concerning the medicinal herbs of a country than its aborigine? And where could finer ground, ready to hand preparation be obtained than from the stomach of a goat or sheep? The stomach of the porcupine is dried and portions infused as required. Its action is diaphoretic. One man said that as long as he had that medicine he would never need any white or black doctor's help. Again the argument is that the porcupine eats so many "Bush things and strong things" that his stomach contents must be very good medicine. [825]

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

L/am uru. The most famous animal product, one that figures even in the price lists of the modern wholesale chemists, is dassiepis, L/am uru, or D/gaous, the inspissated urine and fæces of the rock rabbit, gathered from the clefts and crannies inhabited by them. Boiled and strained the liquor is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregularities of menstruation. In large doses it is believed to be the perfect abortifacient. Deposits of Dassiepis acted upon by the atmosphere, which gradually removes all the organic matter, form a dark pitch-like mass, the dassiepis of commerce, which 278 757 825 [844 847]

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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gradually changes into white potassium nitrate. The black intermediate product is called in Afrikaanse zwart bo meester, big black master, and the final product purified by air, bo meester, or grand big master, is potassium nitrate; it is the "big boss" of all medicines, dassiepis being given internally in decoction or infusion for all sorts of poisoning of whatever origin, and it is rubbed into scarified snake bites and scorpion stings. It is also used in such minor complaints as stiffness of the back and pains in the stomach.

Klipsweet is boiled, strained and given as a tea in insufficient flow of waters during parturition, and also for unhealthy menstruation. In large doses it is used as an abortifacient, in smaller doses for pains in the back. To-day it is considered an ideal medicine for children.

Nasal mucus is an old Hottentot remedy, a handy one and probably the first ever used, for burns. The cast snake skin is burned and the powder used for the same complaint. The ease with which the snake leaves its old skin and its similarity to the thin cuticle covering a blister are probably the reason of its use.

Hyaena dung is precious, and in powder is given to children for convulsions. Among its modern uses is that of an insufflative powder in cases of diphtheria. So strong is the faith in this remedy that no man, whatever be his colour, will see that white patch of faeces without pausing to pick it up.

Skins drawn warm off the living animal were used as an application for any severe pain. The use of such remedies has been world wide. It is mentioned by Miss Durham in "Man," 1918. 82. among some Balkan remedies, and the explanation for the use of warm sheep skin is similar to the Hottentot's explanation of his use of the porcupine's stomach—that the animal eats all sorts of herbs and that by this remedy the mixture thereof is enabled to soak into the patient.

C/ngama, a small greenish lizard about four inches long, is believed by the Native to be very poisonous. It is quick in movement and is called by the Nama, who kill it by thrown stones, the footed snake. The body is dried and powdered, and this is rubbed into scarifications over snake bites.

The Kanker beeste, or cancer beetle, is a small red and black flying insect which appears in decayed wood in spring. It is rubbed to pieces on warts—when the wart is expected to rot or to fly away. The more modern-minded Barend uses Euphorbia milk for this purpose, but goes a step further with the beetle, for he applies it to cancers.

PRESCRIPTIONS.

An old and much praised remedy is oubas C/namop, which consists of burned and powdered ostrich egg shells mixed with tail fat of sheep or goat. This is rubbed into the chest of

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How the Hottentots treat New-born Babes.
(Notice in the background the child exposed to death in the grass, and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
[*After* Kolb.

[facing p.54]

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the use of it.[8]) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

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Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9]) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10]) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

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If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (op. cit., 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

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[9]) Sour (*The Amaxosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kaffir beer, utywala, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and amarewu, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, op. cit., 418).

[10]) Kaffir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 67).

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defodere; causantes gemelliparam duobus liberis pariter alendis imparem: quae si parturiens aut continuo postquam partum exdidit extinguitur, eam sine mora cum embrione aut infante, etiam vivo, non minori crudelitate sepeliunt. Attamen quandoque pater pecore dives, nutricem filiolae supersti(ti) conducit, eique alendam tradit.

Hic silentio neutiquam praetereundum mihi arbitror, quod faber ferrarius quidam, vigesimo a Promontorio nostro lapide equitans, casu vagientem in arbore infantulum audiverit, et non procul inde repertam matrem probe delumbatam prolem diligere et στοχγὴ* docuerit.

Cui addendum reor, quod Europaeae quaedam in ipso Promontorio, defossam ab Afris filiolam tempestive accurentes effoderint, collatitio collectoque aere nutrici cuidam educandam detulerint.

Ubi vacca vitulum cum vitula simul enititur, illum in partes sectum canibus devorandum abjiciunt, hanc fatuè servant licet nunquam concepturam, inaudita quippe res Afris his, juvenculam gemellam peperisse.

Pedicâ, hamo, nassa, teloque, cultu tenuissimo magnam partem victitant: quamcumque feram, etiam elephantem consectores venenatâ sagitta sauciarunt, hinc fugientem insequuntur eminus, eamque si non tempestivius, saltem post solis occasum, et sub crepusculum membris veneno et vespertino frigore jam obrigescentibus et sanguine coagulato, cadentem venatores assequuntur, excoriant dilaniantque, illius cor (cujus valvulis aut orificio virus concretum adhaeret) exscindunt, omnique lurido abscisso rejectoque, carbonibus semitostum, et in buccas sectum, pro primaria dape praeda(ti)cia, promulside, et lauta gustatione

* The copyist did not know Greek. The word attempted to be written here is probably στοργήν natural affection. B.F.

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11) The existence of this practice among the old Cape Hottentots is well-authenticated, although among the modern Nama twins, though regarded as unlucky, are no longer killed. Kolb (*op. cit.*, 443 ff.) describes it at some length. Cf. also Schapera, *op. cit.*, 266.

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a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[11]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

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To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[12])

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If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

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For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[11]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1689): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 334).

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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

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428 temporary service rendered him by the newly-married husband. He also inherits a greater portion of his father's estate than do the other children. In particular he acquires all the live stock, with the exception of those animals previously allocated by the father during his lifetime to other sons and daughters. These animals with their increase pass at the division of the estate into the full possession of the children for whom they had been set aside. The rest of the property—presumably the material objects—is divided equally between all the children, under the supervision of the chief. The widow, however, retains all the objects brought by her into the marriage (this would, therefore, include the hut), as well as everything, including cattle, given her by her husband during his lifetime. Here, it will be noticed, all the children, both sons and daughters, participate to some extent in the inheritance, and the concept of individual possession is fully illustrated in both the distribution of the goods and the retention by the widow and minor heirs of property acquired by them from the dead man during his lifetime.[1]

Wandres, and following him Vedder, specifies more minutely, and also somewhat differently, the Nama laws of inheritance. If a man dies his wife and all his children, sons and daughters, are heirs in equal portions. The estate may not be divided as long as the widow is alive, unless she wishes to return to her own people. The inheritance is then distributed by the chief, and the widow receives her portion, together with that of the youngest child, whom she takes with her. If the wife dies before the husband, her property is inherited by him and the children, i.e. it remains in the family. When both the parents are dead, the estate is divided up by the chief, who is compensated for his task, which is often by no means a sinecure. The estate is divided equally amongst the children, sons and daughters alike, the eldest son being regarded as the trustee, under the supervision of the father's eldest living brother. Children born to a woman before marriage normally pass into the possession of their real father, and therefore do not inherit from the man she subsequently marries. The illegitimate children of a man, on the other hand, are entitled to the same share of his estate as his other children. Children born to a woman in adultery can also inherit from her husband, if he pardons her and adopts them.

[848] [848]

429 If the children are still minors, their nearest male relative or the grandparents on either side act as their guardians and as the trustees

[1] Schinz, op. cit., 100; von François, op. cit., 216–17; Kohler, op. cit., 344–347.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423
At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, how- 428
ever, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643]
by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429
are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428
estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428
tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848
mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177
European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

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Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur. 836 [848]

INCEST.

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:— 684

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain *'s Hamma*, as will be related below.

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fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*. When the husband then enters the hut, he must first smoke a pipe of dagga, and not till the effects of this have worn off may he speak to his wife and again sleep in his hut.

Graevenbroeck adds the information that the woman, after the birth, must remain in her hut for at least eight days. When this period of seclusion is over, she is ceremonially washed from tip to toe in warm water, if it is winter, or in cold water if it is summer. Only then is she allowed to leave the hut. During this washing men may not be present. A feast is then held, in which blood relatives and friends participate. The birth of the first child, according to Kolb, is celebrated far more lavishly than are subsequent births, especially if it is a boy, when all the inhabitants of the kraal join in the feast.

The descriptions given above are almost certainly inadequate. But they contain sufficient detail to show that the ritual accompanying birth has at least some of the elements found in the other Hottentot "transition rites". The seclusion of the mother, her avoidance of cold water, and the observances relating to the fire during the period of seclusion, the fact that her husband becomes unclean if he enters the hut, and finally her ceremonial reintroduction to the use of water, as well as the first introduction of the baby to the source of water—all these, as we have seen, are essential details in all ceremonies associated with the conception of */nau*. From Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of these ceremonies we should expect to find also a sacramental meal in which only the new mother and other women who have borne children take part; but, although mention is made of a feast to celebrate the birth, in none of the descriptions available of the birth ceremonies is there any record of this special meal. Wikar, however, explicitly mentions it in his general account of the occasions on which women alone may take part in the *andersmaken* feasts.[1] He gives no description of the birth customs; and Mrs. Hoernlé's own data on the birth ceremonial have unfortunately also not yet been published.

Abnormal Births

Children born with a caul are credited with prophetic powers. Such a child, according to one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, might become a clever */gei aob* (magician) if given the caul to eat as a child;

[1] Op. cit., 34.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted by Steiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course, be said.

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water. Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also [2] that at a child's birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked by a feast, provided by the father.

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Fransfontein Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e. after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay, among the Topnaars, it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the

[1] From other statements it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.
[2] Op. cit., 77.

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852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

845 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in [829] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 525–6.

[2] *Vergeliges der Caaps Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbrock, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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white people and who told me that they were now sickly, and never got any children, because they had been made to work with cold water, when they should not have done so.

The sea as the greatest accumulation of cold water is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. I was given a very graphic description of a tragedy that occurred not so very long ago. Three young girls were walking along the beach at Swakopmund very happily and merrily, when all of a sudden the sea became angry and seemed to be on top of them. Two of the girls calling out, "Who here has her period?" rushed up the beach in safety, the third just had time to shout out, "I have," when she was dragged under by the waves and drowned! The woman who told me this lives inland from Walvis Bay. The other woman who had been with her was afterwards my cook far north in Franzfontein, and she confirmed the story of the drowning. In these degenerate days, the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women incapacitated so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, only they must not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be !Khai !na, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things, and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she kharus. If she is !Khai !na, the sea will rush out towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food, or the milk she had milked. For there is this great difference between most things a woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water. Cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, be she !kai !na or not, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them !nôu, taboo. Thus, if a girl should kharú out in the veld when she and her companions are gathering roots and berries, her companions contrive turn by turn to carry her back to the kraal, for if she walks among the bushes she will scorch them, the succulent roots will shrivel up, and the leaves wither from the bushes. If she milks a cow, its milk will turn to blood. (I am told that a cow does sometimes give a reddish fluid instead of milk.) If she cooks a meal those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Always after a girl has been reintroduced to the water, she and the old woman take a branch which they dip into a bucket of water and scatter it over the whole kraal, bushes, pens, sheep, goats and cattle.

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We have dealt now with the cases in which water is a protection against dangers, and with those in which water itself is dangerous. There are just two other little rites connected with water which seem to me a little different.

Both in Walvis Bay and in Franzfontein I was told that babies are taken out into the first rainstorm which occurs after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, that is, after

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

823 852 the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, "Hei-a Hei-a Tú gaba tsi" (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

823 881 [842] Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: "The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: "I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Gami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

823 182 Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

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* *Tsuni //Goam*, p. 87.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H [846] H 553

water is according to the season of the year, hot in winter, cold in summer. Then the husband calls together his kith and kin of both sexes and receives them in his hut. When they are all seated the matter of a name for the child is broached. First he asks his wife; as a rule he expresses his agreement with her, and after him they all do likewise, praising the wit of the young mother. They then greet the child by his new name, pray for happiness for him and his parents, and pass the day in celebrating the birth.[33])

A certain native of my acquaintance has gotten the name of *Gauda* (in Latin *dama*, or buck)[34]) from the following circumstance. On the day on which he was born, his mother being very anxious about food, his father came home from the hunt laden with buck. The hungry guests were fed upon the flesh, the newborn babe was swaddled in the skins. Impressed by the timely relief, his mother improved the occasion by naming the boy *Gauda*. There is a tale of another woman who gave birth to a child in the middle of the summer, when the sun with its rays most scorches earth and cattle, so that the earth is parched and the udders of the cattle are empty of milk. The young mother, beholding her own dry breasts, was touched with pity, and gave to her daughter the name *Bithathe*, a word compounded of *Bi*, milk, and *Thathe*, lack. Surely a very happy choice of name.

H 852 ●

Any father who is well stocked with cattle again offers sacrifice on the occasion of a birth; the mother and babe are smeared in the fat of the victim, which is warmed by the priest; and they are sprinkled with bochu in the manner described. After the birthday feast the husband takes himself off for a week or two, and until the infant has been taken from the breast or weaned, he does not sleep again with his wife even if it be for a whole year.[35]) He always sleeps away from her when she is with child. In the meantime he goes with concubines, paying homage to a roving love, for these natives generally have several wives, each living separately in her own hut, looking after the household and scrupulously obedient to her husband's commands. They vie with one another in flattering him with word and look, and he embraces now one, now another, for a space of two nights or three, according to the passion,

S 834 S 595

S 834 595

lota, but to be derived from the account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa. They say: "As soon as a woman is confined in childbed, her husband must stay away from the hut for 13 to 14 days, and not sleep with his wife as long as she is suckling the child, even if it be for a year. In the meantime he must console himself with his other wives" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.* III, 84).

teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ! //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ! ǂkaraga ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ! //goabats gye nĩ ʃũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question.

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kʒoma gai //goaga (e)ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ! //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (ǂnũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement.

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women.

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the

They usually bother very little about the afterbirth. They do not care whether it comes out after one hour or days later. In one case the afterbirth still had not come out after 3 days, the woman had developed a fever and the umbilical cord, which was tied to a pole of the hut, had shriveled up to a dry rope. None of the women thought of interfering. A doctor who was traveling through removed the afterbirth. 844

However, in other cases, medicine is given when the afterbirth does not appear. A rosin comes out of the lower trunk of a bush called */ho-ras, which becomes incrusted with sand and dust and hardens into dirty lumps with a rough surface. This mass, */nunu-b, (cf. Analysis in the Appendix) is crushed and brewed with hot water. This drink, especially when prepared strong, is also considered a good way to produce bleeding after birth, because they consider it fatal if it does not occur. Sometimes they try a favorite remedy, wrapping in skins, if the afterbirth still has not appeared on the third day. The tail end of a freshly removed goat skin that is still warm is pressed (the wet side towards the inside) on the woman's loins, drawn between her legs and spread out on her lower body. [278]

The afterbirth is buried in the ground.

[221] The nursling. Not much is done to the new citizen of the earth. He is not washed but wiped off with a skin, his whole body greased and wrapped in a skin after the umbilical cord has been wound in a circle. A salve made from fat and the powder of burned ostrich egg shells is always kept prepared for him. This is rubbed on the child's forehead, temples, and nose, and especially in his nostrils, to produce sneezing and thus expel mucus. The fontanels are well greased because they believe that sicknesses enter there most readily. [278] [753 826]

The newborn children of the pure Hottentots that I saw on the morning after birth had rosy, not fawn-colored skin. [Picture. A Nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 Years Old].

When the umbilical cord falls off, they rub in the wound a charred, dry, tindery powder which is prepared from the underground parts of Oxalis caledonica Sond (called */ho/abe-s). If the wound is inflamed, this mass is rubbed on mixed with fat. 846 278

A widespread prejudice that seriously endangered the continuance of the Little Namaland Hottentot race, was that the mother's milk was not considered good for a child until the third day. Until then the newborn was given thinned goat's milk or cow's milk, unless another woman who was nursing a child, also nursed him. In other cases, when the poor 853

1: Schultze--40A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p.221]

A nursing Topnaar Hottentot Woman, about 35 years old.

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" *ǂnũ̃hum, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [841]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [777]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in [562] the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all over with fat, then laid on the ground, [278] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 217–23; Schinz, op. cit., 97; von François, op. cit., 214–15.

It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted by Seiner among the Kung Bushmen, the underlying belief here being that if the child were placed too soon at its mother's breast both would die. Whether this is also the Hottentot belief cannot, of course, be said.

Immediately after the birth the mother is covered as warmly as possible, so that she perspires. Under this cover she must remain for several days, and only the skin on which she is lying is occasionally changed. It is not till the seventh, or even the tenth, day that she is able to resume her normal occupations.[1] During this period of seclusion she must carefully refrain from touching cold water. Schultze mentions that on one occasion, when a woman who had just given birth was bleeding profusely and had even fainted several times, a white woman present wished to apply to her a cloth soaked in cold water. Thereupon all the Hottentot attendants immediately left the hut, holding the white woman responsible for the death of the patient, which they expected would inevitably follow as a result of her contact with the water. Hahn mentions also[2] that at a child's birth a fire is made in the hut with a fire-drill. Steel, flint, or matches may not be used for this purpose. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child is healed, and the umbilical cord fallen off; and nothing may be cooked or roasted on it. If these points are not strictly observed, the child will die. The end of the seclusion period is marked by a feast, provided by the father.

Of the ceremonies accompanying the end of the seclusion and the resumption of her ordinary tasks by the mother we have but fragmentary details. Both in Walvis Bay and in Fransfontein Mrs. Hoernlé was told that babies are taken into the first rainstorm occurring after they are in a position to be removed from the hut, i.e. after the navel cord has fallen off. In Walvis Bay, among the Topnaars, it is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or the grandmother, "so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it." According to a Dutch informant, the baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tosses it this way and that in the rain, and says: "I toss you in the rain." This is done, "so that the rain will not hurt the baby"; it is the baby's introduction to the

[1] From other accounts it appears that the period of seclusion lasts until the baby's navel cord has fallen off.
[2] Op. cit., 77.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

551 with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same " great name ", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this " great name " derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

853 [854] A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby [862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the [847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 262 [145] From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, op. cit., 303–8; Hoernlé, *Riekerwald*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 76; Schinz, op. cit., 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, op. cit., 212, 299.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [58]). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [59]). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [60]).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there[61]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [62]).

All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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[61]) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a lambskin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 268).

[62]) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten*, 183).

302 303 415

//gurû·s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari·s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

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The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ·ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [829] [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell.

302

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder. [515 84] [832]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/is(e)n) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves. [854 764]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in. [386]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," */u·i aos·(e)ni (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly. [386]

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1; Schultze--GDA N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[Between 234 and 235]

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in an apron.

A Topnaar Hottentot woman with a child in Aba skin.

A Hottentot woman from Keetmanshoop in a kaross.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ-ǂra, to the children, /gõ-an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani-b (see Plate X).

"//Hanibe !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (s!ʃ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[306] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (ǂnaiǂam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ǂnes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same " great name ", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this " great name " derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba*'s it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allotted a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 303–8; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 76; Schinz, *op. cit.*, 97–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 222, 299.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Buchu baroosma, Letulina. Nama Sab (Tyndale). P/nkaou (name given to writer). Two varieties known in Nama as D/nhora, D/khoosa or Haas buchu, and P/kabourie. Considered by Hottentot to possess great virtues in curing disorders, and rarer forms are valuable to the Native. In powder used for dusting, for fire and sunburns. Baby powder made of D/nhora kept in tortoise shell puff box, roasted with fat and dropped in ear for earache. Powder also mixed with C/ghoosnbi, an acacia thorn sucker, and then considered a high class powder. The second rate powder used for babies was mixed with ground acacia thorn bark, and is named O/kai. D/nhora Buku is roasted with oil and fat, mixed with mother's milk and dropped into the ear for earache. P/nkaou is rare and valuable, and a thimbleful is worth from a sheep to an ox. It is obtained in mountainous districts and when used is pounded and tied in a cloth over which hot water is poured. Is this a method due to exercise of economy?

P/thau d'noep, or sweet honey, a sticky soft-leaved sweet tasting plant, is also used for powder making.

The thorn tree sucker was put to many uses. The Bushmen used its ashes to blacken his face. To-day an oil not unlike cajeput is expressed and used for rheumatic troubles.

Xghoria or Xhoua, which means "smells strong," is a plant so far not identified. The whole plant is ground up and strewed on dead bodies, and is also applied to the living body when it has an unpleasant odour. This powder is also used as a snuff to keep away the smell of the dead "so that it doesn't strike in."

Bitter Roots. Many roots are known to-day under the name of bitterbosch, or bitter wortle, that is, bitter bush or bitter root. The chief are the blue bush, *Royena pallens*, Xymalobium undulatum (*Asclepias crispa?*) and the Sand-Bitter bush, a tall bush found in the mountains. These are so much used by the present white population that the Afrikaanse name has quite ousted the Nama one. The blue-bush root is also known as the black root, the wonderful emetic-purgative. These roots are powdered and boiled, and the decoction is used for pains in the stomach; if used for diarrhoea, then the stems of the plant are included. The liquor so prepared is greenish in colour and is exceedingly bitter, with a *Nux vomica* type of bitterness.

Dagga. Two species are recognised; wilde dagga, *Leonotis leonurus*; and klip dagga, *Leonotis ovatis*. Graevenbrock mentions its use. The powdered leaves, he said, were made into a little cake no bigger than a Rijksdaler, a coin about the size of a modern shilling, which the Hottentots chewed, even as the Indians and Chinese chewed opium. In 1750 its use, mixed with tobacco introduced by the Europeans, is mentioned. A decoction of the roots is used for headaches and for bronchitis. An ointment made from raw fat and pulverised dagga

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws [42]). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill [43]). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size [44]).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there[41]). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out [45]).

All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

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[41]) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a kaabaikin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 286).

[42]) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten*, 1911).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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[766]

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[11]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

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[894]

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Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H
847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[12])

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If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

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For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[12]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1688): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Pritsch, *op. cit.*, 234).

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847

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kʗao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kʗao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē-be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/kʗāb) of the plant is well covered (ʗa) with hairs (/ū·/gu) it bears the name /ū-/ʗa/kʗa·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuans corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (ǂhũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kʗaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are re- [252]
moved, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are
eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go·bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gĩ·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [293] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned [824]
Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]●
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kχã/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. [601] k tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient stom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship tween the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necesy for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives ofially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the ife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the ereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all housebld matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to fuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supy. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the ct that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, amely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The onored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not preent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physial superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an, [601] aring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She arries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to ittle children when they sneeze (sĩ?). In other cases I heard the mother vish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (°-an eems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited irst attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its elpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again n its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (°maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ǂâbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. [585

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom[1] was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[2] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765 751] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be [587] magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarised by Walk, op. cit., 884 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Isnu among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

1 [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CAP. XXI.

De Magistratu.

Quilibet casularum *viculus* suum *Praefectum*, & ille plerumque superiorem, quos uno nomine *Capitaneos* vocant, agnoscunt. *Essequas*, tamen, sed soli, *Regem* habent. Juxta horum magnatum placita gubernantur omnia; ita ut subjecti nil magni suopte praestare ausint, ad nutum *Capitanei* semper paratissimi. Migrandum cum est, a *Praefectis* monentur; inire matrimonium cum volunt, a *Capitaneo* libertatem petere coguntur, summa cum observatione dicto ejus obedientes.

CAP. XXII.

De Jure gentium.

Quamvis non *Numinis* neve pudoris vinculis adstricti sua se lege exsolvant, [t]) sibi ipsis saepe sunt lex, ea quae fecere majores, caeco impulsu, consuetudine magistra, imitantes. Ita si gemellos pariat mater, masculum & femellam, hanc jure gentis occidunt in cunis. In eo fere tantum a *Scythis* dissimiles, quod hi in *Amazonum* regno mares interfecerint; dissimiles in eo priscis in *Africa* [u]) *Carthaginensibus*, qui vivos praesertim pueros, & innoxiam aetatem *Saturno* sacrificabant. Omnes vero quotquot nascuntur masculi alterutro castrantur statim a navitate testiculo; ne in frugifera terra, plures, quam alere possit, incolas recipiat; atque ut illi addunt, quo tanto velocius possint currere.

t) Roman, eod. cap.

u) ut de Scythis Justin. (Bk. II, 4, 10: *Si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant.* Bk. II, 2, 5: *Iustitia gentis ingenitis culta, non legibus.* B.P.)

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44) Greuenbroeck describes this custom somewhat more fully. See below, p. 181.

45) Many of the early writers on the Hottentots mention this practice, some saying that it was done in early childhood, others that it was a puberty rite, and still others that it was performed upon a youth before his marriage. Kolb actually gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Maxwell, more soberly, says: "Being inquisitive to know the truth of this I had the curiosity to search several of 'em (who will readily suffer you for a double stiver to do it), in two of which I could find but one testicle, they I suppose being married, as the rest who had two were not; which however shows the mistake of Nieuhoff and others who assert that the Hottentots cut out one of the testicles of all their male children

[See D. Greuenbroeck, this File, CAT. 116, p. 181. — Analyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognizes its own chief, and the chief generally recognizes a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequas, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle [44]). In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly [44]).

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as soon as they are born (according to Nieuhoff) or at the age of 9 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Soc. ii. 51). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb [and also Maxwell] may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (*op. cit.*, 233-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were monorchs.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

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Birds other than those hunted (cf. Hunt) are sometimes caught and eaten by children. On the other hand the adults sometimes do not despise turtles and lizards. The turtle, ǂkxuri·s (in Little Namaland: /hu·ǂrob), is killed with a stone and roasted in an open fire in its shell. Meat and eggs are enjoyed without anything added to them. If the woman wants to use the shell as a buchu box, the soft parts are scooped out, the intestines removed and the rest roasted. [Picture: Zonurus polyzonus Smith, actual size] 1/4

Several kinds of lizards, such as the one pictured here, called *//uru·s, are roasted in the hot ashes and eaten primarily by the young Hottentots. [189] The fat of the //uru·s and of a new Mabuia species which is taken from the body of a freshly killed animal, is wrapped in grass by the children and sucked like candy.

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The insect world also provides the Hottentots with several welcome dishes. The most modest one consists of a kind of beetle called *|nu/ms. These beetles are eaten only by the children, roasted or raw, after the head, legs and wings are pulled off. [Picture: larva 2/3 of Acanthophorus capensis White, on the left hiding in a passage made by itself, about 4/5 natural size). The starvelings "Bushmen" who roam around in Great Namaland eat a large black beetle, Acanthophorus capensis White, called */naori·b, prepared in the same economic way. The finger-sized larva of this beetle, the thorntree worm, *//kxũ·ǂu·ǂnis, bores into the heart wood of the Acacia horrida Willd deep long tunnels, which it fills with its excrement. The digested wood mass, often drenched with the fluid rosin of the tree, overflows out of the bore-holes and solidifies to a dark-brown crisp mass which looks as though it had a sugar coating. It is eagerly collected and eaten by the Hottentots, both young and old. [Picture: Acanthophorus capensis White. About 4/5 natural size.]

[190] The larva themselves are also a delicacy. In order to reach them, they burn the thorn tree when it is moribund or dead. With sharp sticks they pull out of the glowing wood larvae that have cooked in their own fat. Or they wait until the larva sticks its rear out of the bored hole for passing excrement and spear it with a thorn.

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Finding a home of edible termites demands sharper eyes than finding the thorn worms. One must find the place to dig down into the underground dwelling of Hodotermes viator (Latr.). The dung of the animals gives the first indication, tiny balls that lie in heaps ranging in size from very tiny ones to those as large as mole hills. In the area of these dung heaps can be found the mouths of the underground

1/2 [see p. 16(A) - Au.] 2/3 [see p. 16(B). - Au.]

136 resembles our house cat, the most but is stronger and above all has longer legs. The tail is slightly bushy at the end. The basic coloring is grey, mixed with light-brown tones, which are more prominent on the ventral side as far as the throat. The bending side of the front legs and of the hind legs from the heel down is colored more or less black. The stretching sides and outer sides of the front legs are spotted black, those of the hindlegs from the knee down have black crossbands. The rich black banding of the tail is irregular. On the belly as well as on the inside of the legs and in the area of the throat, the brownish-yellow sometimes lightens to a pure white. There are also black horizontal bands on the inside of the front legs.

21. The lynx, Felis caracal Guldenst., (Cape D. rooikat), called !hā?b, is not uncommon in Great Namaland. The tufts of hair on the ears prove the identity of the pelt at first glance. The pelt is nothing special, colored an even brownish-red with little shading. Only on the head, ears and upper lip and on a stripe between the inner corners of the eyes and nose does any black appear.

Whether the other kinds of cats known in South Africa, the so-called tijgerkat, Felix serval Erxleben and the little Felis nigripes Burchell can [282] be encountered in Great Namaland, I cannot say. The Hottentots with whom I hunted, did not know them. The former is supposed to be not uncommon in northern Namaland (51), the latter

51. K. Dove, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Ergebnisse einer wissenschaftlichen Reise im südlichen Damaralande. (Ergangzungsheft Nr. 120 zu "Petermanns Mitteilungen," 1896).

could wander over from Kalahari in the east.

[85] 22. A favorite wild animal of the youthful hunter is a Viverridae, the "dwarf," a Cynictis species, probably Cynictis penicillata (G. Cuv.), (Cape D. geel meerkat), called ?!u?ri/ēb, not unlike a weasel in flight. The little animals can often be seen sitting upright in front of the holes of their colony.

A related, but somewhat larger and darker kind, the ?nū//ēb of the Hottentots, seems to belong to the Herpestes genus.

Whether the genet, Genetta, exists in Great Namaland, as I assume it does, I was not able to discover. It does not seem to be numerous although it is common in Little Namaland, in southern Hereroland and in the Kalahari and therefore could penetrate our territory from the south, the north and the east.

begin right behind the ears, lie like a dark-brown pelt. Towards the back they change suddenly into pointed white and dark-brown banded quills that are as thick as a pencil. From the nape to the beginning of the quills there is a comb of long flexible bristles that extends down the middle line of the back. When the quills are erect, the animal seems to be twice as tall as it actually is. The rattles at the rear end of the body complete the list of the animal's weapons of terror. 136

[287] The Hottentot name for the porcupine, !noa·b, is perhaps connected with !noa- : to become grey. Both words correspond in initial tone level and rising word-tone. !noa·b would then mean "grey head," corresponding to the general impression that the nocturnal animal arouses in the dark or the pale light of the stars.

36. The mouse and rat-like rodents are hunted and eaten by adult Bergdamaras as well as by half-grown Hottentots. A study of the skins and skeletons that I collected, will tell us how to classify the rat-sized animal which they call *!haŏb, duru·s (3, sz.) is a collective name for various mouse species. They distinguish a night mouse, tsŭ·χudurus or !uru·s, and a kind with a pelt striped lengthwise belonging to Arvicanthis which they call *χoma·b. [224]

37. The ground squirrel, Xerus capensis Kerr., is called */ga·eta χnĭ/b.

38. The smallest hoofed animal, rodent-like in its mannerisms, the rock rabbit, Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), (Cape D. dassie), called !aŭ/b, often finds its way into the hunter's pot. The young are called *//gi/bigu. The rock rabbit inhabits the clefts in the rocks in great numbers near watering places.

39. In conclusion there are a number of mamals to be mentioned which the Hottentot occasionally traps rather than hunts regularly. He will not let the aardvark, Orycteropus afer (Pall.), called /kxubu·s, escape if he should happen to meet it during the day in an open field. But he must be really suffering from hunger before he will decide to undertake an uncertain difficult ambush at night in front of its hole. (See Kalahari.) 224 136

40. Hunting the elephant shrew, Macroscelides, called haus (in Little Namaland called !kxau?/guib) is an amusement for boys. They differentiate two kinds as far as I could see, justifiably so: a lazy one, which is easily caught, "sleepy mouse," *//um·haus, and the "quick mouse," *!kxoŏ·haus, which can be recognised by its bald ears that shine through reddish when it is alive. [859]

41. The baboon, Papio porcarius (Boddaert), (Cape D. baviaan), called /nŏ·/rab, or as the older people call him /nŏ·rab, is seldom

every step, and carries it as though his neck (|aos) were "wet" (/ã i.e. like a soft, flexible juicy flower stalk). His opposite, a man whose pride expressed itself in a perpetual stretching of his backbone, was called "the hollow one" °|nẽ-/b by the men; by the women: °/ã-sa|ã-b, because his penis (|ãb) was new (/ãsa) i.e. very potent. 551 522

That the bow-legged person (°//kã̃-aseb), the person with a pot belly (°//ã-etab), the person with red hair (°/a-batana-b), acquire an epithet before an hour has gone by is obvious.

Other teasing names refer to events. A high official who sometimes got off his horse during a trip to pick up a stone or a beetle was called the "junk collector," °na-boreb, from the first day of the journey. Another was named °|u-/rila-ogorab, "the white-throated raven," after he was seen in a stiff white collar and a black coat for a reception, although he was usually dressed shabbily.

Finally a soldier who spent a whole day stubbornly wooing for the favor of a Bastard girl who refused him was generally called °ǂnũ-sore ǂgã-/b by the Hottentots at his station, "he who sits (ǂnũ) there even when the sun (so-res) goes down" (ǂgã-/).

4. Children's Games

I have been able to observe children's games frequently. 857 524

a) When they are an imitation of the activities of the adults, they reflect the double nature of the Hottentot as a herdsman and a hunter. The boys sometimes catch mice alive (a simple task when they have found a nest), shut them up in little mud kraals as milk cattle and castrate the males except for one which they keep as the bull of the little herd.

[309] When hunting with little home-made bows with feathered Eragrostis stalks as arrows or with stones as their only weapons, they call the lizards their springbok, the elephant shrew are elephants, (see p. 287, no. 40) a rat-like rodent the lion and the striped mouse the zebra. The wild animals are properly skinned and cut up. Whoever has killed a bird, plucks it and makes a good trade as is done with ostrich feathers. 857 526

The Boers' ox wagon is also so popular in Namaland that the children have taken it over into their games. Large wingless grasshoppers are acceptable draught animals. They yoke the strong insects that are half the length of a finger to a little hand-made ox wagon. They attach the yoke to the rope that draws the wagon and span the animals properly, first the left rear ox with the yoke strap on the outside, then the one on the right 857 527

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 534

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 857 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is clasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of seeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

lands among them. The speared reeds are supposed to be cows and are therefore called gu/mati. The children themselves feel like victorious soldiers who are dividing their booty by games of chance. [Picture. Position of the hand in the game of raffling booty.] 857 526

The imitative games of the Hottentot children are particularly worthy of notice as they represent the only stage in their life in which an artistic drive seeks definite outlet. The half-grown boys between the ages of about eight and sixteen make toys from clay, and bake the clay in a fire to give it nuances of color as well as hardness. 857 524 323 532

The figure of a white man is in the middle of the first group, standing behind a horse. [See Figure I.][1] The narrow [311] high bridge of the nose of our race astonishes the Hottentot with his wide low nose and provokes him to caricature. On the right next to this figure is a smoking, native woman with [steatopygia]. Behind her, with the pigs, is a boy by an iron three-legged Boer cooking pot. The wooden nose piece is interesting in the riding ox. [Pictures I., II. The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.] [312] Figure II shows a pair of ostriches on the left, the male emphasized by its natural ornament of feathers and by its size. The artist, at any rate, did not see the giraffe in Namaland, but probably in some zoo in the Cape colony. The oryx antelope and the springbok are recognizable by their pointed horns and lyre shaped horns respectively. Of the two scorpions with their threatening stingers raised up, the one on the right is better made. The young herdboy has plenty of opportunity of observing baboons. The events reproduced here he has obviously observed carefully. The other figures represent a frog, an iguana and a turtle.

The last group of clay figures (Fig. III) represents an ox wagon, which the old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way. [Picture. Figure III]. I would like to point out especially the naturalistic reproduction of the lead oxen that are pushing powerfully against the yoke.

In these sculptural attempts one can recognize everywhere the ability to reproduce the characteristic element of the object from direct observation, without contemplation. It is the same primitiveness that differentiates the drawings of prehistoric man from those of our children, who reproduce objects more intellectually (with whom they are now being closely compared).

It is strange that the Hottentot's undoubted ability to reproduce things in sculpture is extinguished when the age of childish games is passed.

[1] [Figure refer to p.112B. — Analyst]

1: Schultze--1128 N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

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[p. 311]

The fat-tailed wether is bucking a billy goat. The kneeling guard aiming his rifle with one closed eye shows careful observation.

1: Schultze--112C N-6 (1903-1909) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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III

An ox wagon. The old Boer with his long whip directs from the front box, while the native guide seeks the way.

[p. 3:4]

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γ) Four beginnings are possible. You can move:
from a^7 to b^6 and b^5
or from a^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from b^8 to b^7 and b^6
or from a^9 to b^8 and b^7.

δ) Moving the tokens. Only during the first move is one permitted to take tokens from the middle of one row and place them in the other row. After that one must move without skipping a hole and only counter-clockwise. Moving from one row to another occurs only around the right hand corner of the playing field (see arrow).

Moving consists in the following. The player picks up the tokens from one of his holes and divides them singly in the following holes. If the player ends his move in a hole containing more than one token, he must pick these up. They are taken out and moved forward. If, however, he ends with only one token in the last hole, the opposing team plays. If two or more tokens end up in the last hole that is used, and if at the same time the opponent has one or more tokens in the corresponding hole (of the same number) in row b, then one does not take the tokens from the hole where one ended but robs his opponent of all his tokens, which [315] lie in the row with this hole (i. e. all the tokens which are in the holes with the same numbers of the opponent's a and b rows).

One moves the stolen tokens according to the rules that obtain for moving them in one's own holes. The number of tokens in a hole can increase at will.

The winner is the team who succeeds in taking away all the opponent's tokens in the way indicated.

c) As an imaginative game, an amusement of the children and the women should be mentioned which consists in making certain rhythmic noises. The toy is called ǂa-bubu-s. A rectangular, flat little piece of wood is pierced in two places and a leather string is pulled through the holes. By swinging the two leather strings are so twisted that the piece of wood is set by rhythmically tightening and loosening the strings in a lively whirling motion as the string twists and untwists. Depending on the rhythm used they imitate the sound of a trotting horse, then a galloping one, then one running away. By blowing on the whirling wood they make the fleeing horse snort. A thin piece of wood serves the same purpose, the name of which, //ha-bahaib (from ha-bu = the running away of a shy animal) is evident from what has been said before. A little stick or a stalk of a certain kind of grass is placed between the lips and moved up and down with a finger, so that its humming imitates the rushing hoofbeats of a horse that has gone wild.

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Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (/hā-/, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hā-/n) their life long. Each is the °//hā-/sab or the °/hō-/sab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao-tse in the masculine and a-Xase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life.

[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living as an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown.

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field.

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely.

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

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> Another way can be derived from the pleasure that the Hottentot, as probably every people does, experiences when he refines the movements of his body and makes them the expression of his emotions. Thus, the natural movements of the body, which are rhythmical in themselves, have become dance motions. And since among the Hottentots we encounter dance and music and accompanying song texts in close relation, a second source of conscious rhythmization of language appears here of its own accord.

!ga-rrrase, !õba /kχu-bi te, ĩ-ta tsaũ.ba !na-n !ã-, ta-naba ǂnu.i si !" "You filthy beast (!garab is the penis, used as a curse word), lend (/kχubi) me (te) the ax (!õba); let (ĩ) me (-ta) chop up (!nanı̃) the calf (tsaũba)." "I will split (ǂnui) your (si) head (tanaba)."

It follows that anybody who understands the language of the animals can also take part in their conversation by means of cries.

B. Cries

The name of a woodpecker (probably the Dendropicus picus cardinalis Gmel.), tĩ-tĩ-ǂes, imitates the sustained call of the bird. The Hottentots of my party always interpreted this as an erotic enticement and mockingly pass it along to an imagined Bushman by crying: "!nuru//kχum gaitse, nẽ gye tĩrĩses si χaibe ra ǂbe !" "You old Nurukum (proper name), this woodpecker is calling for you to copulate with her!"

[386] As among us, children discuss the animals with which they play. Thus, they try to make the *//kχaobas lizard lie still by singing to it: [Translator's note: two bars of music omitted.] "han - sib //nao - se, ǂãb t(u)mi //goe re," "Hey, you, Hamib's (fictitious proper name) grandmother, why don't you sit down!" (Literally, "Lie down like an arrow.") 533 857

A dung beetle, that the children spear in order to hear the humming of its flapping wings, is lured with the words: [Translator's note: four bars of music omitted.] "//nao - ba, //nao - ba o /aru ai ǂgu - ũ." "Naobas-beetle, oh, why don't you sit down on the manure!"

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The children try to enchant the chameleon with the words: "!no·mtsi !no·meba, a·ma !nu·rubas õ·ab !" "Humpy old hunchback, child of grandmother (*amas) Nurubas!"

The baboon is honored by an especially exhaustive address. In a deep wadi near the Orange River we heard the apes calling on the surrounding cliffs. To the first one that became visible one of my Hottentots called the following greeting which is widespread among the people*: 533 539x

> *Cf. Bleek's translations of animal songs from the manuscripts of the Grey Library in Capetown.

"herẽ·tse, hẽ·retse!
/hu·mi /ha·rutse,
//a·retse, //a·re /kχã·baĩtse,
!na·obe gye //ga·ns //(e)ĩ /na·os(e)n !
/nabu· !nani·b ai gye mã·tse
/nabu· a·maĩtse !
tsoa·ba gye /gaz·s !"

"For heaven's sake!* You are gleaming with fat!**

> *Actually something like: "Good God!" from heere, the Dutch designation for "lord" with the Hottentot vocative ending of the masc. sing.

> **The blades of the /hu·'mi/haru·s rush (see p. 229) glisten like fat; a hide that glitters like this is supposed to be the ornament of the young baboon. The opposite address which I also heard goes: "/no·ro /kχo·nibetse"; /kχo·nibeb is an edible underground bulb with a pale exterior.

"Old Lefty*! You are loaded down, you are loaded down with

> *The use of the left hand is considered a sign of dexterity.

[826]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*/gui //han*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 300; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland and Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 522–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CHAPTER XIV

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Decorative and Plastic Art

532 Judged by the standard of the Bushmen, the Hottentots are distinctly poor in artistic productions. Painting and engraving on rock, one of the outstanding features in the culture of the former, does not
531 appear ever to have been practised by the latter. Their decorative art at the present time is confined mainly to scratching or incising simple rows of dots or lines of crude chevron, zigzag or fishbone pattern on the outer surface of their metal armbands and rings. Occasionally also simple triangular designs are burned round the mouth of their wooden vessels, or scratched on the stems of their serpentine pipes; while the clay pots they formerly made are sometimes found decorated round the neck with rows of dots or short, broad lines, apparently produced by incising.[1] No other form of decorative art is known to occur.

532 The rudiments of a plastic art may be noticed among the young
857 boys, who often model toys out of clay, which they burn in the fire to obtain shades of colour as well as hardness. These toys consist in figures of human beings, cattle, game and other animals, sometimes also in group compositions such as a team of oxen pulling a wagon. Schultze describes and figures some of them, which are skilfully modelled and by no means devoid of artistic appeal, in some cases even showing a lively sense of caricature, as in representations of Europeans.[2] But the talent here shown is not carried over into later life, and no modelling or carving of any description analogous to this is done by adults.

Music and Dancing

533 If the Hottentots are deficient in the plastic arts, their musical
535 talent at least is highly developed. The joy in imitative representation, in the fancy-free expression of stored-up impressions, lives in both young and old. Their delight and talent in mimicry is shown in

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 249–51; Schönland, "Hottentot and Bushman Pottery," *passim* and pl. ii.

[2] Op. cit., 310–12; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335.

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

593 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

412 539 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note :

412 This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word */khares* also means a " hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. " They have," he writes, " a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored ; through the weight which the kirri gathers from the round stone " the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, " A note on bored stones among the Bantu " in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255 ; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. */Kutsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*≠:noa*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 539 *!ha:b ɪa:kwa di |kwa. ikje !horakwa !ha:b di |kwa tama. ikje |ko:kwa |ga: kha:di |kwa |kurubekwa khama |kuru ha. ikje ||hākx^{g}ausakwa torob !na gei kha:di thi ≠:a:kwa thikwa ≠:noa. ikje !hami!na, |kû:di thi gaokwa thikwa surugub !na !kxo:e. ikje gōab |kwa !hamme.*

Translation :

[85] [224] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dguli*, *Matiti* and *Kheis*.

[77] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/oss, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti"dāb or dā·tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dāda·b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

exogamy, descent and succession, chieftainship, the exercise of power, economic activities and co-operation, and between persons and objects, as in property and inheritance. All the manners and customs of the Hottentots, therefore, their moral and religious precepts, their fashions, conventional standards of etiquette and rules of social intercourse, make for law and order in the community. They determine the personal relations between people, and their existence is the basis of uniformity and cohesion in social and economic life.

These rules are not formulated in any legal code. Some of them have come into being as decisions of the tribal council in judicial trials, while in more recent times others have even been deliberately enacted, as for example in the case of the various proclamations issued by such chiefs as Hendrik Witbooi. Legislation of the latter type, however, does not appear to have occurred in the original conditions of Hottentot life. The laws of the Hottentots are to a very considerable extent inherent in the social organization and usages of the people. They have developed as a result of the more or less unconscious adjustment of personal relations, as a product of economic activities, and so on, and have become accepted as norms or standards of life and conduct which are binding as such on the community. Their existence, in other words, is derived from the authority of tradition and precedents.

The orderly functioning of communal life demands that all members of the community must conform to these rules or norms of conduct. The individual, that is, must be adapted to social needs and standards. This involves the operation of social control, a process found everywhere in society. Here again we meet with the existence of moulding forces similar in function to those already noted among the Bushmen. The Hottentot child at birth comes into a society where there are already established manners and customs, definite forms of behaviour and organization. In the household of his parents, where he remains until marriage, in his relations with other people, especially with his kindred, and in the company of his coevals, the rules of social behaviour are impressed upon him. He falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking as is expected of him, and in this way comes to conform to the existing social pattern. Moreover, first under the direct guidance of his mother, and later in tending the flocks and in hunting, he is initiated into the economic life of his people, while a girl gradually learns to perform the household duties proper to her sex. At puberty, above all, he receives a definite course of instruction

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

861 626 conveying to him the type of behaviour expected of him as a man. Later, as an adult, he may attend and even participate in the conduct of judicial trials, and in this way have the methods of procedure, the traditions and the usages of his people brought home clearly to him. Throughout his life his activities and sentiments are thus being directed and moulded into conformity with the social norms making for the law and order of the group.

626 784 The non-fulfilment or breach of any recognized norms of behaviour is penalized by sanctions of various kinds, which consequently must also be regarded as means of ensuring observance of the social standards. Some of these sanctions are of a purely ritual nature. Foremost in this category are those underlying the whole conception of */aau*. Here we have an elaborate series of observances and avoidances, pertaining to all the critical stages of life, whose infringement is followed automatically by death, sexual disease, diminished fertility or some similar evil result. There are also various usages connected with hunting, which, according as they are observed or violated, bring good or ill-fortune respectively. The rites performed at visiting old tribal localities, and other rites to be noticed later in connection with the ghosts of dead people, must in the same way be observed in order to avoid the sickness and even death which may be caused by these ghosts. In all these cases departure from a prescribed line of conduct leads automatically to evil consequences, without any direct interference on the part of the community.

626 Sometimes compliance with the social standards of behaviour is secured through unorganised social pressure. Selfishness in regard to food, for example, exposes a man to scorn, a form of chastisement to which the Hottentots, in common with many other primitive peoples, are said to be very sensitive; similarly, stealing is regarded as a disgrace, and the thief, apart from other punishment, is cut by everyone and becomes almost an outcast. Other types of norm, again, are sanctioned by the organized reaction of the community acting as a whole or through its authorities or certain groups or individuals. Thus, as we have seen, a man who violates certain prohibitions is expelled from the company of the *doro* men, and may not again eat together with them until he has been purified. In other cases the blood feud comes into operation, or again the culprit may be tried and punished by the judicial authorities of the community, 626 i.e. by the tribal council. This last type of procedure has been 171 developed among the Hottentots to a far greater extent than among

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" "[illegible]hum, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [811]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [771]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[55] with the person, others, again, are purely derisive. In any case, however, the confusion is great, since all the brothers' daughters will have the same " great name ", and so, too, will all the sisters' sons; while later generations will carry the name even further.

In addition to this " great name " derived from that of its father or of its mother, as the case may be, each child has also a baby name or pet name given it by its mother according to fancy. This name, however, may be used by none but the parents, and by them only till the child comes of age. Even a husband may not use his wife's baby name, but must call her by the baby name of their eldest son, and similarly, a woman calls her husband by their eldest daughter's baby name.[1]

Childhood and Family Life

853 [854] A child is often suckled by its mother till three or four years old. When going about her daily occupations she carries it with her on her back, *aba's* it, as the expression is, in a lambskin passed through her arms and knotted over the breast. Kolb and Hahn even state that when the baby is hungry the mother will not trouble to take it down, but simply pushes up her breast over her shoulder so that the baby [862] can suck while still on her back. To wean it the mother rubs her nipples with the bitter juice of the aloe. If the milk does not cease flowing she is milked several times directly into the hot ashes of the hearth fire; and as the milk evaporates there, so also will it dry up in her. Should another child be born before the first is weaned, the latter is handed over to another woman, generally a near relative of the [847] mother. The infanticide practised among the North-Western Bushmen under similar circumstances is not found among the Hottentots.[2]

866 242 [145] From the moment it can stand on its feet the child, although still dependent upon its mother, gradually learns to fend for itself in its environment. Hottentot children grow rather slowly, probably, says Schultze, because of the scanty nourishment. In poorer families they are shown by the mother how to dig out roots and bulbs for themselves; they learn to catch mice, lizards, and similar small animals, which they roast on the fire; seek out wild honey, and so on. In the more wealthy families each child is allowed a special cow for his own use, which he may milk for himself in the morning and evening;

[1] Hahn, " Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *Idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 303–6; Haacke, *Richtersveld*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 76; Schinz, *op. cit.*, 97–8; Hahn, " Die Nama-Hottentotten," 330; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 220, 299.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [841] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

681 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 681 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 836 even the children of brothers and sisters (" Geschwister ") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, " Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 319.
[3] Kohler, " Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, " Ueber das Recht der Naman," 624; Vedder, " The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: " The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fall of the curse[?] with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Transl. from Gesam.*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Kanitz-Hauck, *Das geschlechtsleben der Menschen* (1911), p. 133.
[6] " Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, viii (1913-6), 209-10.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[11] next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[12] a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

The arrival of the young wife, tara-s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned.

2. Inner-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Herero. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gō-ǂra, to the children, /gō-an. Caring for small children, aba-, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani-b (see Plate X).

"//Hanība !kgara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (tī). In other cases I heard the mother with the sneezing child "!o/man kgao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[304] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (mai-am, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ǂ/hes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Name

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[1] Hahn, "Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51–2; *idem*, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 19–20; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 323–4; Hoffmann, *Reiseerinn.*, 14–15.

[2] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 76; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 57–8; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 330; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 102, 299.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*ǂgui ǁkam*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the incisive terms *aoxa* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiaxa* (voc. of *axais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 207; Lebzelter, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Nama*, 208–13; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 320–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*Jgui ǁkan*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

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[2] Schultze, *Namaland and Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 322–3.

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533 the stick. The onspurring of the pursuing horse, the fatal thrust, and the death rattle of the dying animal are punctuated with gestures and inarticulate sounds; the successive monotones beaten on the chord to varying speeds only serve as accompaniment. Similarly the progress of a wagon is indicated, with such incidents as the in-spanning of the oxen and the falling out of a lame animal, while the habits of wild animals are imitated with special delight.

In all these performances the music itself is relatively unimportant, even though the bow is throughout being sounded with the stick. It is only in the reed dance songs that the notes are first arranged
534 into melodies. The reed pipes, *!ati*, are among the oldest known musical instruments of the Hottentots.[1] They are usually cut, as their name indicates, from reed; but where, as in barren tracts, no reed can be got, they are made from the hollow bark of acacia roots. They range in length from about six inches to a foot. Their barrels are like those of European flutes, but the holes on both sides meet one another and are larger than in the flute. One end of the pipe is closed with a grass cork, which is slid up and down by means of a thin bit of stick to vary the pitch of the instrument. These pipes are always used to accompany dances and songs.

533 Every large kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-!gun-aob*, who teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes. "Boys who
568 perform well," says Hahn, "are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called */kho-!kha, to touch the body*, which means, 'to praise a person in a song.'"[2] A full Hottentot orchestra has at least nine performers, each with a pipe or set of pipes tuned to a different note from those of the others. The music of each performer consists in a series of rhythmical blasts all on one note, which harmonize with those of others in the same rhythm. These notes provide the time for the dancers and singers, who lead the melody.[3]

533 Many of the songs accompanied by reed music are without words; the theme is indicated simply by actions, and the melody "trolled" aloud, i.e. sung without articulate words.[4] Others have a fixed verbal text. Hahn distinguishes two kinds of the latter, sacred and profane. "The sacred hymns are generally prayers, invocations and songs of praise in honour of Tsu//goab, Heitsieibib, and the Moon; and such sacred songs, and the performance with dancing is called */geib*, while the general profane songs are called *//nai-tsanati*, and to perform

[1] The fullest descriptions are given by Schultze, op. cit., 375–7; von François, op. cit., 228.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 29. [3] Schultze, op. cit., 376, 377. [4] Ibid., 377.

Baskets
are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day [285]
they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of 281
animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans [435] they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers 593
in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt 868
themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As 231
nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who [556] possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. 231
A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and 262
only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of 231
cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding 492
oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master 461
and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His 357
weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.P.

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49) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

50) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, op. cit., 412.)

51) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203), was at least eight days.

52) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Analyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (op. cit., 32ff).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them " boys ") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music.

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being " whipped " with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called */khon!a !hautab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana.

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows.

(1) *ǂkoːǂkoːs*
(2) */namis*
(3) *geiǂaːs*
(4) *tsoana*

The meaning of the third of these names is " the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of " tonic," since from it the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

man had married a very young girl, and her friends sung:

The geiris (first wife) is dismissed, his only great thought is the ǀaris (second wife); or, as we should say, "Age does not prevent a man making a fool of himself."

Other songs again are of a very simple character: "Don't, please, kill my antelope, my darling antelope; my antelope is so poor; my antelope is an orphan,"—and are simply an instance of the thrift of poetical productiveness. Or they are of a comical nature, sympathizing with a patient who suffers from gripes:

Poor young ǁKharis got into a fright,
She is suffering from gripes,
And bites the ground like the hyena which ate poison
The people run to see the fun!
They all were very much frightened!
And still they say—oh, it is nothing!

This reminds one very much of the style of Heinrich Heine; and even more of the way of the Middle-High-German poet, Nithart. I saw this play, "The Gripes," performed, and honestly confess that I laughed until the tears came. Helmerding could here have found his match in caricaturing people.

Every larger kraal has its bandmaster, *ei-ǂgun-aob*, the leader. He teaches the young boys how to perform and to play on the pipes, and if a boy should remain out of class, he is sure to get the whip severely. Also the girls, if they are too lazy and do not pay attention enough, receive now and then the whip, but then generally on the kaross, merely to make a noise and to frighten them. The reed-music sounds exactly like the playing on a harmonium. It is very pleasant indeed to hear it at a distance. Boys who perform well, are petted by the girls, and this kind of petting is called ǀkho-ǀkha, *to touch the body*, which means, "to praise a person in a song."

Such was the culture of the Khoikhoi before they migrated from the grave of ǀGurikhoisib, and such was it

843 they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, 846 the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The 851 christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days 551 every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circum- 843 stances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the 642 Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

857 5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a 871 help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

841 6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that [784] this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

[754] Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with [757] hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

513 7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. 576 The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 671 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

006 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the short period of one century full of wars and crisis of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 533 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on "Namaland and Kalahari"; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

attached to the top end. Down the middle of the noose, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the noose are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The noose is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the noose. The branch jerks up, pulling the noose over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows.

224

Spring traps, //nū-aga, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [296] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-n(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture. Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-n(a)das- wood, f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-n(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps °/hā/ra-s.

Capitulum IV

Social Life

A. Family

1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, kxara-b or /ha/ha-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future

98
[98]

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 88| ●
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around
her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and
serve honey beer to the guests.

[298] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl ex-
changed her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been aban-
doned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where
it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 88|
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota 751
rubbed with herbs power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl
menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called
*/ua-ra/ra/ra-, (/ra.a/ra-b = the testicles. */ua·ra is the gentle strok-
of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the
effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as
gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 88|
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the
Body, p. 397). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and
rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of
the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleansed, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 88|
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/ma-i (//a/m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure, /a-i = to go out)
is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable
age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is con-
sidered a child, /gi'as. But from that time until she is married she is
called ommes (not ommis (57)).

57. J. G. Kronlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple
with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop,
and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this
liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that
can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning
of puberty is called *//go-ruruheb.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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604 circumspection towards her, so his children have to treat her with the greatest deference. To them also she is *sàras* or *gei taras*. On the other hand, the relation of a man to his sister's children is one of the 604 greatest indulgence and goodwill. A boy can do almost anything at his maternal uncle's home without being blamed for it. He can take, 425 without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle has no redress but to take ugly misformed animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange, *//nâri //gab* or *//nâri //as*, is still practised by the Naman to-day. It extends over all aspects of portable property—karosses, utensils, implements, and so on, as well as livestock—and always the nephew has the privilege of helping himself to some fine specimen of any object in his uncle's possession, while the latter may only lay hands upon poor specimens, such as broken pots, tattered karosses, and other damaged objects. In no case is the exercise of this mutual exploitation regarded as abuse, however far it is carried by one partner or the other.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

● 881 The attainment of puberty in the case of both boys and girls was marked among the Hottentots by the performance of special rites. The boys' puberty ceremonies seem now to have completely lapsed; those of the girls, on the other hand, are even to-day carefully observe damong the Naman. They were noted as far back as 1778 by Wikar,[2] and are mentioned by a number of subsequent writers,[3] but the first comprehensive account of them is contained in the recent descriptions given by Mrs. Hoernlé.[4] Her observations in most cases corroborate the more or less isolated details previously published, and show that in their main outline at least these rites have undergone hardly any significant change in the course of the last century and a half.

[145] As soon as a girl has her first period, when she is said to *khara*, which generally happens between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, she at once tells either her girl friends or some older female relatives. Through this intermediary her mother is informed. The latter then

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 22–3; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 315–16; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 305.

[2] "Beitge aus dem Hauen von Pfannenberg," 99–100.

[3] Alexander, *Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, I, 169; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 327; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 371; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 103; Schinz, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 395–7; Vedder, "The Nama," 156.

[4] "The Conception of Birth among the Hottentots," 70–4; Idem, "Social Value of Water among the Namas," 519–26.

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gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure, *kharu oms*, inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. This enclosure is a screened-off segment, measuring two to three feet across at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut; and it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. While it is being got ready the mother goes to fetch a woman who, though now past childbearing, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back (whence she is known by the name *aba tarda*), carries her into the *kharu oms*, and cares for her while she is there. Should the period come on in the veld far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, lest all the roots and berries in her path scorch up, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about.

Once in the *kharu oms*, the girl must lie quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin kaross. The wind must on no account blow on her, nor must she be exposed to the sun. She may not leave her little hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening, with one woman behind her and one in front to screen her from view. All the time she is thus secluded she must be careful not to touch cold water on any pretence whatever, nor may she speak above a whisper. It is said that if she talks aloud she will be a chatterbox and muddle in all sorts of affairs later, and will get a bad name among the people. The hearth fire in the outer hut is now also /*aus*, and nothing at all may be cooked at it, nor may any pregnant or menstruating or sterile woman come and sit by it, lest dire misfortune befall the girl. No man or boy, again, will come near her, for fear of dread consequences to himself. It is believed that should anyone infringe these or any of the other /*aus* restrictions during this time, some sort of sexual disease would beset him; and this could only be prevented from proving fatal if he were able to persuade the *aba tarda* (the old woman officiating) to inoculate him with her "essence" and so free him.

The girl, however, is [illegible] sweet-smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, with which she is copiously covered. The time of her seclusion is variously reported as from two or three days to a month. Some girls who had recently been through the rites said they had been secluded for a fortnight; and Mrs. Hoernlé is inclined to think that most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of the girl while in her little hut is that she should get fat, with a smoothly shining skin.

1 [The girl's mother. — Analyst]

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Immediately she is in the hut, her relations commence slaughtering animals to provide in her honour the feast known as *kharu tap*, "menstruation killing." All her nearer relatives contribute to this killing, even her older married brothers, if she has any. Everything slaughtered must be female, and above all a heifer must be provided. The entrails, pluck, etc., of these animals must on no account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl. The visiting friends enjoy them. This *kharu tap* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through the puberty rites being able to take part in it. The only exceptions to this rule are that no menstruating woman may eat of the meat, "lest the girl's period never stop," nor any pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." No man or boy either was formerly supposed to take any part at all in the feast, but nowadays, owing to the extreme poverty of the people, males are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed. The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the *aba tarda* takes her share, always part of the outer flesh, inside. The girl and her friends remain in the *kharu oms*, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can. As the time of her seclusion draws to a close, the feasting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the kraal begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

First, during the day, the *aba tarda* enters the girl's enclosure, and cleanses her of all her *axa /aip*, child dirt. This is very thoroughly done with melted butter and moist cowdung, every inch of the girl's body being well scoured. The *aba tarda* smears the salve all over the body of the girl, and after allowing it to dry slightly rolls it off again with the palm of her hand. She then collects it carefully, and hides it in an ant-heap or animal's hole where no one is looking. The girl is now given a complete set of new clothing, the old woman carrying off the discarded one. In former days it was at this time that the girl changed her maiden's apron for the full woman's dress; hence these puberty rites are sometimes referred to as the *broek-karoos slagt*, from the Dutch term *broek-karoos* (lit. breeches-karoos) applied to the woman's rear apron. Next the girl is led into the outer hut by the *aba tarda*, with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled to meet her. Nowadays she prepares tea or coffee, but

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formerly a cow was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *khara oms*. The *ake tarde* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *ake tarde* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer /*nas*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *kurku* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *kurku*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both cows and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more detailed account ("Social Values of Women," 1926). In the earlier version ("Concepts of Sex," 1918) she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the little hut, i.e. in the outer hut, and gives no soot. "Meanwhile, a cow has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *ake tarde*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . . When the cooking is completed, it is eaten by the *ake tarde* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oawis* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *kucha* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tarde*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *kucha* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it rain, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young cow calving for the first time, the *aba tarde* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nas*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tarde*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tarde* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "The Nama Slaughterman," pers. communi by Hoernlé; cf. Wilms, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Reformer*, 173; Alexander, loc. cit.

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water. The *ake tarás* then fills the girl's water-pot and her own, puts the former on the girl's head, and the procession returns home. The girl is now free to use water whenever she likes, except when she is menstruating.

In addition to this rite of reintroduction to water there is, according to Hahn, another rite to be performed before the girl is finally free from the restrictions imposed upon her. She must run about quite naked in the first thunderstorm coming on after her festival, so that the rain pours down and washes her whole body. The belief is that this causes her to be fruitful and have many children. He states that he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.[1]

With these final rites of aggregation the ceremony is at an end. The girl is able once more to take part in the routine life of the community, only now she is regarded as ready for marriage. During her subsequent periods, however, she is again */nau*, and although there is apparently no feasting or special seclusion, she must observe the same injunctions as when she first menstruates. Thus she may not enter the cattle-fold, let alone milk; it is believed that if she does milk a cow, its milk will turn to blood. Similarly, if she cooks a meal, those who eat it, especially men, will be very ill. Above all she must avoid cold water, for, as Mrs. Hoernlé points out, there is this great difference between most things a menstruating woman is forbidden to do, and the touching of cold water—cold water she can never harm, it will always harm her, if she uses it when she should not, whereas it is she who pollutes other things that she touches and makes them */nau*. Mrs. Hoernlé records an instance of a woman dying suddenly, whose death was unhesitatingly attributed to the fact that she had her period, yet insisted to do her mistress's washing in cold water. Other women, again, who had been working for white people, said that they were now sickly and never bore any children, because they had been made to work with cold water when they should not have done so.[2]

Nowadays the Naman find it very inconvenient to have their women inspected so often and unable to attend to their daily tasks, and Mrs. Hoernlé goes on to say they have discovered that for most women it is quite safe to do these tasks, except that they must

[1] [illegible] (also quoted by Hoernlé); cf. Schöne, loc. cit.
[2] "Social Value of Water," 324-5.

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not touch cold water. It is only certain women who are said to be */khai /na*, forbidden or dangerous, who cannot do these things; and a sure way of finding out is to take a woman along the seashore when first she menstruates. The sea, as the greatest accumulation of cold water, is very dangerous for people in an unstable condition. If the woman is */khai /na*, it will rush in towards her, and she will have to take great care not to be drawn in. The woman to whom this happens must not dare to do anything during her period, for she would be a danger to all who touched her food or the milk she had milked.[1]

A similar discrimination is implied in Vedder's account of the girls' puberty rites among the inland Naman. During her seclusion, he says, the girl is given fresh cow's milk to drink. This milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If the cow does not die during the days of the menstruation, or if it does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if it should die, this is proof that the girl possesses special powers, and she dare not again drink milk from the herd during her period, lest she imperil the animals. The menstrual blood of such a girl, he adds, is looked upon as an effective poison, which, when dry, is rubbed from her clothes and mixed with the food of enemies in order to kill them. The blood of a harmless girl, on the other hand, is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.[2]

Of the girls' puberty rites among the other Hottentot peoples we have no adequate description. That they existed, however, is shown by Barrow's statement that although by his time many of the ancient usages of the Cape and Eastern Hottentots had ceased to exist, "one custom still remained, which seemed to be pretty generally observed: this was that of shaving the heads of young girls as soon as the first symptoms of maturity began to appear; at the same time, all the ornaments worn on the neck, legs, and arms are removed, and the body for once in their life clean washed and scoured; and during the continuance of the periodical symptoms, they are restricted to a milk diet, and not suffered to mix in the company of men."[3]

Kolb, writing nearly a century earlier of the Cape Hottentots, makes no mention at all of any special usages connected with a girl's first period, but refers several times to the fact that menstruating women were to avoid the company of men. A husband, for example, might not have sexual intercourse with his wife during her periods, or even eat with her, otherwise he would become unclean and have to purify himself by slaughtering an ox for an *andersmaaken* in which

[1] Ibid., 525. [2] "The Nama," 136. [3] *Travels in S. Africa*, 2nd ed., i, 214.

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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vaillant, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of */nau* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served directly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

[1] Op. cit., 102–3 and *passim*; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 148, and 7.

[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 41.

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in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The word *kutsive*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59-60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, II, 42.

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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blast") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beiträge zum Leben der Hottentotten," 1913-4, 54.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Hottentotten," 9.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama (Khoi-Khoin)," 296-8.
[4] From a remark made by Hahn ("Zauberdoctor," 11) it is the magician (qui sub who has "to perform the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] "Travels in S. Africa," 430.

"You may not light and smoke your pipe in the camp of strangers or with people whom you do not really know. You may not sit together at a fire and smoke with people, if you know that they have stolen cattle and cooked the meat on that fire. You may not eat the meat of the hare or the jackal, or light your pipe at a fire on which jackal meat has been cooked. Only in case of utmost necessity may you eat zebra or dassie meat. You may also not eat the flesh of those animals which do not chew the cud and have not cloven hooves. You must not catch a goat by the leg and steal its milk. You may not touch a carcase. You must not murder, steal, or lie, fornicate or commit adultery. You must respect age. Otherwise you will become ill." It is probable that in formulating these rules of observance Olpp was to some extent influenced by Old Testament ideas, as in the reference to animals which do not chew the cud, etc. There is no other mention of such a food taboo among the Naman. At the same time there is no doubt that the instruction of the initiate included rules of this nature, and Hahn corroborates some at least of those mentioned by Olpp by his statement that boys when they became of age were told not to lie or steal, and not to ill-treat the other sex or commit rape.[1]

These precepts are impressed upon the boy every day over a period of one or two months. During the whole of this time the boy is allowed to drink only cow's milk, of which he must consume great quantities daily; should he taste any other food, all that is past of the ceremony must be repeated. At the end of the seclusion another animal is slaughtered and its meat eaten by the boy and his teacher. All the meat left over from this meal must be burned, together with the bones, horns, and claws. Then the old man makes several horizontal cuts, 4–6 cm. long, on the breast of the boy, and rubs ashes into the wounds, so that a permanent blue scar is produced.[2] This operation over, the boy is taken by his teacher, accompanied by another of the old men as witness, to the river or waterhole. Here the boy kneels down and touches the water with his mouth, and then the old man hits the water with a stick, so that it splashes up in the face of the boy. The object of this rite, according to Olpp, is to frighten and splash away "the evil heart of the boy"; but there

[1] Op. cit., 18.

[2] Campbell (loc. cit.) states, however, that this scarification is made at the beginning of the seclusion, which lasts for eight days. From Mrs. Howard's general analysis of the Naman circumcision rites this would seem to be the more correct view, and the period of seclusion probably lasts only until the wounds have healed. It is almost certain that Olpp has confused the order of the rites.

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can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *doro-aob*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*doro*) and eat in the company of the other men of the camp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *doro* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *doro* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *doro* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sinning for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *doro* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Andersson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be readmitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Alberts, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, 318–9; cf. Wilm, *op. cit.*, 118.

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since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone "who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks" would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Naman the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *dore* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually ate apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Huwe* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Buschmänner im Gross-Namalande," 204.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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from those of all the Bushmen except the Heikum. In the case of the latter the general resemblance to the Hottentot rites is so marked— the powdering of the boys' scrota by the girl is especially noteworthy in this context—that one is definitely inclined to postulate Hottentot influence here. In the case of the other North-Western tribes, the central feature of the girls' ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is not found among the Hottentots, while on the other hand, the elaborate /aau restrictions and reintroduction rites present among the latter have not been reported at all of the Bushmen. The seclusion ritual of the Cape Bushmen, and the beliefs connecting young maidens with the dangerous properties of rain and water, seem more in line with the Hottentot ceremony, but the data bearing upon the Bushman rites and beliefs is too fragmentary to justify any definite assertion of similarity.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui ||Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hiska*, *Eruh* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *||Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *||gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *||Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *||Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui ||Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *The Bergdama*, I, pp. 193 ; Idem, "The Bergdama," pp. 199.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heisi* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ovahonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hisis*, i.e. *Hawe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

716 The rites themselves. As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old sanctions and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the customary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained so long as the Hottentots themselves remain, and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

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●881 Puberty ceremonies among women. In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called khoré or /habab. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's eldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (khoré doni), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to Hannie, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the khoré from myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, though past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the khoré doni, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the ebi tarin.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. Were such a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the berries would wrench up. Once in the khoré doni the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*orpdi*) and closely wrapped about with her *orudom*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] H. T. Holm, in Ethnos, vol. II, 1937, p. 302.

[2] Ebi, "to carry a child on one's back". Tarin, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

neither must she speak above a whisper. All informants lay great emphasis on these two points. Ukamûs declares that if she talks she will be a chatterbox and meddle in all sorts of affairs later on and will get a bad name among the people. The girl must not leave the hut except at night, and then it must be by the back opening with one woman behind and one in front of her, to screen her from view. [52]

Nowadays her older girl friends visit her, but I am inclined to think that in the old[55] days this would not have been allowed. They help her to grind sweet smelling bark or [302] root or leaves to make powder (*ubje*) which is freely used on the clothes and to rub on the skin. The Hottentots have a great variety of scented powders, each with its own name, and in olden days some of the rarer ones were greatly sought after and exchanged for a considerable amount. When I went inland from Walfish Bay, I was entrusted to send [304] back a special sweet smelling resin which could be had from the people I was going among. These scented powders are used constantly, and a woman spends a considerable amount of her time grinding them. *Hûmp*, a face paint made by grinding a soft red stone to powder and mixing it with fat, is used by the girls to paint patterns on their faces. The [314] time during which the girl must remain in the *khurî* does has been differently reported to me. It varies from 2 or 3 days to a month. Hottentots are vague about length of time, but several girls who had been through the experience recently, told me they were in the hut a fortnight. Most probably the time was longer in days gone by, for one of the chief things required of a girl in the hut is that she should get fat, with smoothly shining skin. "The girl mustn't be hungry while she is sitting in the hut," says Ukamûs. Indeed, immediately she is in the hut, her relatives kill for her, the feast being called *khurî ubje*. All her nearer relatives take part in this killing, even the girl's elder married brothers if she has any. Everything killed must be female, and chief of all must be a heifer. The entrails, gharb, etc., must not on any account be eaten by any relative, either maternal or paternal, of the girl — the visiting friends enjoy them.

This *khurî ubje* is the great feast for the women, all who have already passed through these ceremonies being able to take part in it. No man or boy is allowed to have any share in it at all. One woman of the Bondos tribe said to me: "That killing is no great ox the marriage killing." Nowadays the Hottentots are exceedingly poor, and cannot afford to kill recklessly as they did of old, hence the men, who formerly took part only in the feast of rejoicing * to be described below, are allowed to share the meat of all but one of the first animals killed, and this concession is made use of to force the boys to submit to a part of the proceedings * to which they would not nowadays be willing to submit otherwise. The only exceptions to this rule that all grown women may partake [54] of the meat are that no menstruating woman must eat of it, "lest the girl's period never [54]

* This index, p. 73, and n. 56. * This index, p. 73.

[FX] [FX] [FX] stop," as Katrina says, and no pregnant woman, "lest the girl's period stop never to return." The women cook and eat the meat outside the hut, while the old turtle takes her share, which must always be part of the outer flesh, inside. While the girl and her friends sit in the khart dam, drinking plenty of milk and eating all the meat they can, the fire which is always made in the centre line of the hut, just a little way inside the door, is lean and nothing must be cooked at this fire at all. Everyone must hasten for the [FX] girl. Then no pregnant or menstruating woman must come and sit by the fire, nor must a sterile woman, lest dire things befall the girl in the khart dam. All this time too, she will be careful not to touch cold water on any pretense whatever. No man or boy would come near her for fear of dread consequences to himself.

[FX] [FX] At the time of the girl's seclusion draws to a close, the hunting takes on bigger proportions, regulated always of course by the relatives. The young people of the village begin practising the reed dance, and the girl's friends, both male and female, play and dance round the hut in which she is confined. Then, at last, the day before she is to come out, a long series of purification rites takes place.

[FX] First, during the day, the girl is placed in front of the lean fire, and is steamed* with moist cow dung (*ehoep*) and lumps from head to foot by the old woman who carried her into the hut, to clean off all the dye /*urip*.* The old turtle smears the *ehoep* all over the body of the girl, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rubs it off in handfuls, *ehoep* and /*urip*, for the Hottentots allow plenty of it to gather. She then collects it carefully and hides it in an ant heap or animal's hole where no one is looking. The girl is then given a complete new set of clothing and the old woman carries off the old one. Meantime a cow has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the old turtle. This she must now cook on the fire in the house, the first cooking done there since the girl entered the khart dam. When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the old turtle and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it. Then the old turtle takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the house. She then sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth and lays a new fire. This fire must not be lit from another fire, as is usually done when a fire goes out. It must be lit with flint. Most Hottentots use timber lucifers nowadays, matches being a rare luxury. No doubt originally the fire was lighted with the firesticks which were certainly in use among them.** The fire then lit is now no longer lean. *Hoaxibi dama ka oras*[a], while tsei usi ni *oraya* ("now the

* //ke *oriam*, "the steaming before going out".

** Literally "two dirt".

[FX] V. Rahn, Tsuni //Goam, p. 91.

[a] *oraba*, "lean" or "right", e.g., *oras oraxa* "the right path".

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂaiǂain, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is heaped only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is anointed all over with the clay which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in various patterns with !naup and ǂgoamib ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[8] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂaiǂain. She takes her !hirus daos ("powder puff") full of clay and rubs their testicles (*ǂkaribe*). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. The full expression for this custom is !hirus daos /a /naes ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the customs were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both cows and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[9] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂaiǂain in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of *Jolly Miller*. During the dancing the ǂaiǂain throws clay over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The old lady must accompany the ǂaiǂain in all these rites, but when her friends go

[8] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Fleischer, *Die Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, Jena, 1887, p. 200.

[9] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

[851] with her too. First a visit is paid to the cattle kraal where slip is strewn on all the male animals, also on the trees and bushes which they pass by. This was great luck, said one old man to me, and the day after such a girl had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land; "now the white men have come, the rain has ceased, and the people are miserable." Then a cow is milked with the help of the old woman. If possible this is a young cow calving for the first time. The old woman supports the girl's arm while she milks. This milk is !nau, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity. Next a visit is made to the spring. The girl carries her water pot, (//ko-ǂe) on her head. Arrived at the spring, the woman with a branch from a tree strikes the water, scattering it over the girl. She then rubs the girl's legs and arms with clay (*ai-gaiti*), fills the pot, and places it on the girl's head. The girl is then free to draw water as she pleases.

Hahn[19] states that when the relatives appear for the feast at the end of the seclusion, her nearest male relative (usually the oldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of the heifer which has been killed, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish. Further,[19] [142] the girls who have come of age must after the festival run about in the first thunderstorm quite naked, so that the rain pours down and washes the whole body. The belief is that this causes them to be fruitful and have many children. He says he has on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning.

[851] When men are giving an account of this puberty ceremony for women, the chief [783] thing they lay stress on is the *!nau ǂkip*, i. e., the milk obtained from the first milking by the girl who has just come out of the khart ǂoa. Indeed, it was in this context that I first lit on the word !nau and all it means. Gottlieb had been describing the ceremony from his point of view, and when he mentioned the !nau ǂkip and the serious consequences which would follow if any man were inadvertently to drink it, I asked him what !nau meant and he burst out: "What is absent from this !nau? Everything is !nau, or used to be; warriors returning from a battle were !nau, a sick man is !nau, a widow," etc. etc.

[783] Should anyone infringe any of the !nau injunctions during these puberty rites, some sort of unusual disease would haunt him, and this could only be prevented from proving fatal, if he were able to persuade the old taxis to inoculate and so free him. The method of this inoculation, which is much the same wherever it occurs, will be fully described in the next section.

[19] T. Hahn, loc. cit. [19] Cf. Hahn, Tsuni //Goam, p. 97.

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the navel string has fallen off. In Walvis Bay the baby is taken out and turned over and over in the rain by the mother or grandmother, so that it will know the rain and not be frightened of it, I was told. An Africander woman gave me a rather different account. The baby is taken out by one of the women who has been present at the birth, and is laid on a piece of skin in the rain. The old woman jumps over the child and back again; then lifts it up, tossing it this way and that in the rain, saying, "Hei-a Hei-a Tú gaba tai" (I toss you in the rain). This is done, said the old woman, so that the rain will not hurt the baby. It is the baby's introduction to the source of water.

Of another type of case I have never been able to get information myself among the tribes I have visited, but Theophilus Hahn writes: "The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring." He continues: "I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the !Oami /Nun; among the gei /Khauas at //Nuis, and among the //Ogeis on the banks of the !Kham River."*

These three tribes I have never visited myself and do not know if this ceremony used to take the place of the usual method of reintroducing the girls to water, or whether it was additional. I rather think it must have been additional, otherwise the girls would be prevented from using water over too long periods in many cases. The underlying motive of the ceremony seems the same as in the many we have noticed. The girls being now full members of society, the rain will protect them and help them to attain the full life of their new status.

Such are the Nama ceremonies connected with water. I have tried to show that they are all intelligible and form an harmonious whole if we realise that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for this primitive people to provide, that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions, and is invested with great power, essentially protective and wholesome so long as social life runs its normal course, but exceedingly dangerous to all the forces which threaten society, or to the members of the society themselves when the social bonds are loosened.

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* *Tsuni //Goam*, p. 87.

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B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The dare, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Tabak*, December 1931.

Kxʔam ǂna kxʔamkxa ǂkarab ǂxa ǂkxǂna. ǂna gomab qʔakxa. ǂnaib qʔamkxa qʔgam ǂxa, ke qʔgami qʔkkǂa na dis a.

qʔa ǂaki ta ǂkaǂkxa xama ǂkǂkxa.

ke kxʔa ǂxama ǂǂxa, ǂna qʔge ke, ǂna ta. ǂna ǂxakxa ǂkǂa ǂǂaka ǂxa. ǂna " ka-a-" ki ǂǂ. ǂxama ka a, ǂka ta qʔge ke a, ǂka ǂǂaka.

ǂay gǂkab ǂǂka, garama/ ǂxama.

ǂna ǂǂnaib ǂǂka:

ta a ǂnaib ǂka na ǂxab ǂxa ka ǂǂaka.

ǂna ga ta ǂxama ǂǂxaqa ǂxaqa ǂǂna ga ta ǂǂ a, ta a ǂgaka qʔab ta. a a ka ǂǂkkǂa. ǂna ǂǂkkǂ gai ǂkaǂkxa ǂgaka qʔaq.

ǂna ta ǂǂ ǂxab ǂxaka: ka, a ka ǂǂkkǂa ǂxa, ǂi ǂǂ ǂkaǂ (na: qʔkk) ka ka: ki ǂǂkkǂa ǂxa.

ǂka qʔ ta.

ǂna ta ǂǂ ǂna ǂka a, ǂǂaka ǂǂnaib ǂxa a: qʔka ǂ.

ǂka ǂka qʔ a, ǂna ǂxaka ǂǂa:.

ǂka kxʔaaqa xa qʔkka a, ǂna ǂxaa, ǂaka qʔgaaxa ǂxama ǂxaǂna. ǂna ǂxa a ka ta. ǂka ǂxa: a, ǂ kxʔaaxa. ǂka ǂxa: ǂ a, ǂǂaka ǂǂnaib ǂxa a: qʔka ǂ.

Translation:

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is poured for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Sticks are struck together in their ear and they say " ka-a." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an assegai (knife), together with a kierie.

Then they are given instruction:

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its feet.

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Bring it home (to the mat), in order that the great men of the mat may look at its feet.

If you come across any (stranger) thing in the veld, take it home (to the mat), that the owner may obtain it in the mat.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (dove) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[171] *Note :* Mattit, the other informant added : *Ankwe ha !94 e, tkje daxa daraki,* " since the white men (the English) have come, the dove has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting Mattit to relate his facts, he only added : (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tsholi*, February 1932.

daxa ‖ae ka e: qʰâni. ‖ae ‖aki ka ‖khoekhoe ka ka ‖ae gomaxe ‖kxoe !94 ‖kae. ‖ae gaxuse/ tki gʰâb ‖khâba ǂâb.

‖ae ‖kaaib ǂâb/

ta e ‖aeb ‖ae ka.ae ae ‖akka aaseb ‖kaxe.
ta e ‖kae qʰâ.
ta e ‖aeb ‖ae ka/ ‖aixe tixta ǂâb e.
ta e ‖gaka qʰâb. e a ka ‖khâba ‖kaxe.
‖ka gai ‖khoekhoe ‖gaka qʰâp.
‖aixe ‖aeb ‖ae ‖gaka qʰâb e, ‖ka ‖kaxe, ‖ae ‖kaka e: qʰâni.
‖ae ga.xe di ‖aeb ka‖aixi, ‖ae qʰga ‖e, ‖ae ae,
‖ae ‖akkae ‖ka e ‖aka ‖ae. ‖aexe ka e, ‖ka qʰga ‖e kaxe e, ‖aka.
‖ae aaxe kaxiae ‖akae e: ‖kaikakae. ǂ ‖gare, ‖ka aaka ka: e, ka‖aaxe.
‖ka ka: ‖aexe ka e, ‖ka ‖kaka e: qʰâni.

Translation :

He is taken into the dove. Old men look after him. When they go and meet the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kiri and an assegai (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its feet. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its feet. If you look at its feet in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

The *dore* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoisan Peoples*, pp. 279-280. Olpp has given the most detailed account for the Namas. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Koranas, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Backhouse, p. 118.

(v) Meinhof, p. 17-18 and 66-67.

It is the first time that the full *dore* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bechuanas and the Mantung nations; but when a boy comes upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dooro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Koranas is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two essential points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk.

(b) the "*dook*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (i) "the knocking of the ears," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (ii) nine cuts on the body and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (iii) the "laws" given to him.

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[68] *Tsâsib* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts: *dare hoe ǂgorihoe ke tama*, "in the *dare* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tsâsib*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *gnaiǂi*, the "reed pipes" and dancing went on during the *dare*. The "laws" given by Warms are slightly different and not so full.

[77] The *dare* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Moseme Rijs Tsatlouw at the Witgatfontein meeting (1869), "The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 290).

The ǂgam ǁhoaiǂ ceremony.

[88] [324] *Hoe dire xami khamma ǂkoroe a, hoe ǁhoaiǂ di ǂkam, hoe gromoe ǂkam, ǂgorihoe mahe ǁkhe: kaǂai ǁhoaiǂ.*

Translation:

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go on for us to tell his uncle, cuts are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tsâsib explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Tsâsib* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *dare* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her "Contribution on the Juns" (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (*op. cit.* p. 309) as implying that the *dare* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tsâsib* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Warms (*op. cit.* p. 203) describes the rite under the name of ǂgamkoa & She did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The ǁkaiǂi, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

[88] [324] *ǁkaiǂi ke ke a, ǂkoa di ǁkaiǂi, hoe ǂkaiǂi dikoe, hoe ǂkaroka mahi gridoe, hoe ǂkoaa mai kaǂam ǁkaiǂi dikoe, hoe hoaa ǂkoa, ne dama gaise ǂgaiha*

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tama, ǂ ǁkaoxe tama, tsa ŋǂkoa: ta o, ǁkoa mā kʰ'ae ǁaka ŋǂkoa se, joe SW
gai khoxe ǂani. 539

tha ta o, tha ŋǂa koa tsa o, tsa ǁkhab ga.b mā, tsa ga.b ŋǂae, tsa a.b
ǂae ǂamtakoxe, tsa ŋǂgama ǂse saka dia ǂaibi, tsa gai khoxe skoie, tsa gai
mādi tsa kaba, tsa ǁkhoxe di ǂkarab a.e, tsa ǂkarab ǁkoa ŋǂkoaxe, ǁnaib
ǁkoa tsa arre, tsa are tsa tha o, tsa ǁaraba ŋǂkoaxe, tsa ǂaraba ǁkaba
ǁkaba, tsa aiba tkkoaxe.

tsa ga.b ta skoie o, tsa ǂarexe koina khoradi ŋǂae, tsa ǂkā.b ǁkoa,
ǁkabb tsi ŋǂxaxexe toikoa arae, tsa ǂaradi ǁka.e.

tsa gai khoreri koa kaxare-khoa ǂke tsi xare ǂaib toikoa, tsa xare ǁkaxae.

tsa ǂgaraba a: ŋǂkae, ǂ mai kois a.ka, tsa ka ǂaixa o, tsa ŋǂgaqp a.e, tsa
ŋǂgaraba ka ka ǂkarae tsi ŋǂgaiskhoa a kʰ'ai ǂkarae, tsa ǁna.ka ǁgamma
kʰ'ae ǂaa mba, ǁkaraba kʰ'ai mba, tsa ka: koina ŋǂxaxae, tsa kʰ'ai xaria.

tsa ǁ kkiba ǂkoa ǂkā, tsa gai khoradi ǁnae, tsa ǁam, tsa ŋǂna:.

Translation:

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a mat is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. [304]
Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *dib* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grindstone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick. When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to kneel on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the mat. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

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Note: Henceforth, explained *Ju* and *Mok*, she ceased to be a *Jhoa* and became an outsider, until her marriage when she became a *tsoa* or wife. *Ju* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Haeriäl (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ubi* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. Khois brought me some and she and *Ju* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) *Jhaup*; (ii) *Jui ubi*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *Jhawâ*, "veld bitters," roots only; (iv) *Jhu Jhâb*; (v) *Ijaushâ* grows in vleis, only found at Wayerstone on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the *Jhaushâ* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*Ijhâ Jhaw*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty cows, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *ghanâ* and dancing. The *ubi gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *Jhaoa Jhaoa gomah*," an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *Jhaoa Jhaoa gomas*.

The life history of *Ju*

gui Jhaub kuriâ hoa Ju hja Jhâmah kâ'ai Jhaoa ha. dhja Jhaub Jhaoa kâ'amâna !gu kâ'ai. Jhaoa Jhaoa, kâ'amâna Jhaushâ na dhi Ju. dhja Jhaushâ Jhâb na dhi, dhja tamakhaudi !guriâ hoa Jhâbaa di Jhaoa Jhaoa.

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǂGaunа, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǂGaunа; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race. 304 771 753 776 782 796

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive." 827

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an *ear-ring* or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die. 825 741

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife. 825 787

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǂKamiǂnas, on the banks of the Goiib 811

14-Holm L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermanot FX13

881 river, among the Gei ǂKhaoas at ǂNuis, and among the ǂOgois, on the banks of the ǂKhaun river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

848 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, gnitaras), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 631 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repentingly and apologize, until he hears the word "Stago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me?" He laughed, and thought that I was in fu.. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Name

there years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the elevions of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of the life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The more a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure in the cases is all

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khoeb, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, and during even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously annointed. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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he took part with the other men of the kraal. Indeed, any man who touched a menstruating woman or anything belonging to her, or ate together with her or even came near her, was regarded as "extremely defiled", and obliged to purify himself before he could again mix freely with other men. It is to fear of such contamination, as we have seen, that Kolb ascribes the habitual separation of the sexes at meals.[1] Le Vaillant, again, states that among the Gonaqua a menstruating woman would isolate herself at some distance from the rest of the community until her period was over, when, purified by bathing, she could again mix with the people.[2] These descriptions are obviously incomplete, but they serve to show that the conception of *//aun* or taboo attaching to a menstruating woman among the Naman existed also to some degree at least, among the other Hottentot peoples.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

Although the Hottentots no longer observe any special rites connected with the attainment of maturity by boys, there is evidence enough in the literature that such rites existed in the past. Like the other Hottentot transition rites, they involved, among the Naman at least, a period of seclusion, with all its accompanying restrictions and final reintroduction to the incidents of ordinary life. But they also embodied a definite course of instruction, in which certain customary usages and laws peculiarly applicable to men were impressed upon the initiates. These rites seem to have been essentially of an individual character, in that as a rule only one boy at a time was subjected to them. On occasion perhaps three or four boys might be found undergoing them simultaneously, but this was by no means regular or necessary. In this respect among others, therefore, the Hottentot puberty rites for boys differed fundamentally from those of the North-Western Bushmen, where, as we have seen, there must always be a group of boys being initiated together.

No man was allowed to marry until he had passed through these rites. They served chiefly to initiate him into the ranks of mature men, and above all conferred upon him the privilege of habitually associating, eating, and smoking with these men. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. It is upon this aspect of the rites that Kolb lays emphasis

[1] Op. cit., vol. i, end of preface; cf. (English trans.) *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 155, and c.
[2] *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 40.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Capt. Hottentots

in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The word *kaxire*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when applied to a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

The situation figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or caul, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wilkie, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59-60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, &c. &c.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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can be little doubt that it merely represents the ceremonial reintroduction of the boy to water, just as in all the other rites of this nature the person undergoing the rite must be reintroduced to water. Campbell's version of the rite is that the entrails of the animal killed at the beginning of the ceremony are dried and pounded to powder, which is mixed with water and then rubbed all over the boy. The latter is then in the presence of the whole kraal declared to be a man.

With this rite the initiation is brought to an end. The boy is now a *doro-eib*, a man allowed to sit at the fire (*doro*) and eat in the company of the other men of the camp. As such he is bound to observe various usages with regard to eating. Some of these have already been noted in Olpp's list of precepts, but he adds a few others. If it happens, for example, that while the meat for the *doro* men is on the fire a dog unexpectedly snatches a piece from it, then all the meat becomes impure, and another animal must be slaughtered. Again, a pot in which hare's flesh has previously been cooked must first be cleaned out with fire before it can be used by the men, and in any case it must not be used if an entirely new pot can be procured. Any man violating these prohibitions, and, for example, eating hare's flesh, whether because of necessity and excessive hunger or simply without noticing, may not again eat with the other *doro* men until he has been purified. He may not even light his pipe at a fire at which *doro* meat is being cooked, but must fetch a light from another place, if he has no matches. For the rite of purification a friend must give him a young lamb, which he slaughters himself. The blood of the lamb is then boiled and handed to him by his friend; if he cannot drink it all, the remainder must be buried in the ground. Next he washes himself with the contents of the stomach, and then he and his friend consume the flesh of the lamb. After this meal he may once more eat together with the other men. Anybody sharing for the third time in breaking these taboos, adds Olpp, is cast altogether out of the company of the *doro* men; but no indication is given as to his future lot.

Andersson also mentions the taboo on hare's flesh, adding that it is forbidden even to come into contact with a fire on which a hare has been cooked. If a man breaks the rule, he is not infrequently banished from the kraal, but on the payment of a fine may be re-admitted to the community.[1] Another obligation, mentioned by Alberdie, is that grown-up men must refrain from milking a cow,

[1] *Lake Ngami*, p. 189; cf. Wilms, *op. cit.*, 108.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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since this is beneath their dignity, and anyone "who condescends to perform this part of the domestic tasks" would be expelled from the company of the men.[1]

It will be noticed that among both the Cape Hottentots and the Namas the essential feature of the boys' initiation rites seems to be the fact that it gives him the privilege and right of henceforth associating on equal terms with the mature men of the community. This privilege is apparently of some significance, for we find that whoever violates any of the customary norms of conduct is not permitted to mix again freely in the company of the men until he has been purified. This exclusion may perhaps be due to the ritual impurity in which the man finds himself, and which will make it dangerous for him to associate with the others. At the same time it suggests that the *doro* men form a distinct social group within the community; and Kolb's general statement that men and women among the Cape Hottentots habitually are apart is of some value in this connection, as lending support to the possibility that there was in Hottentot life a well-defined alignment of the community with the men on the one side, and the women and children, including uninitiated boys, on the other. But on this point we have not nearly enough concrete information.

It is worth noting also that these rites are fundamentally different from the corresponding ones among the Bushmen. In both cases, it is true, we have seclusion, and the form of bodily mutilation is scarification; but even the nature and purpose of the scarification, as Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot rites shows, are markedly different, while the place of seclusion also differs. The Bushman boys, again, are initiated in groups, the rites are intimately connected with hunting, and they also serve to introduce the boys to the tribal religious mysteries. The Hottentot boys, on the other hand, are initiated individually, and the rites do not appear to have any connection with either hunting or religious mysteries. The moral rules and the food restrictions imposed upon the boys cannot be regarded in the same light as the revelation of *Heaven* to the Bushman boys. The Hottentots, as we shall see, also believe in supernatural beings, somewhat similar in nature even to those of the Bushmen, but there is nothing at all to indicate that these beings are revealed to the boys at initiation.

The Hottentot puberty rites for girls also differ considerably

[1] "Reisebeschreibung ins Innere Hottentotlands," etc.

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Clpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gī·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gī·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sages and tales. The address ti //nan/b or ti //nan/oa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with tI'Gâb or ti. ta, and its mother with ti ai or ai·ai: my father! my mother! The expressions //ais. b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Kaffir Bushmen address their parents ta·a/b and ta·a/oa. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa ta·a/b, thy father etc.

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[693] [551] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gaa-kaib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauas, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chiefainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

[693] [695] The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief *ex-officio* and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Berseba Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartbooie nine, and the Witbooie from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onder-kapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, in Christians, the elders [693] of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-con-[817] stituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Theobald (op. cit., 40) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 366) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The successor Joshua Abrahams, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager as successor to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (Cloete [1864], 100), was not the eldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes far from entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the rightful heir seeking shelter in different places, while Joshua with his adherents later obtained from Lieut.-Gov. Wade the farm Pella, Cradock Afrikaner and his Tribe, *P.P.* 1836 (36), Enc. No. 3, 70.]

[2] Wallace, op. cit., 173. Cf. Hahn (Tsaobis [Khomas], 1958): "If a chief died, it often happened that his youngest wife became the guardian (custodian) of the grandson, the ruling successor. As the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

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affairs, and they can sit as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrates or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at ceremonial meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the observations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 108.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," [illegible]
[3] Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. [illegible]; cf. also Schmelen & J. Aylmer, op.

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has to be a Chief even before you are born."[1] The implication, in Hahn's statement, that the chief has the special economic function of providing for his poorer subjects, is not borne out by any other writer, apart from Shaw's remark about the milk, but it is a point that does not appear to have been specially investigated.

As will have been noticed, the salient feature in the old political system of the Hottentots has been preserved in the modified system evolved by the Namas under European influence, viz. the fact that the conduct of public affairs, including the administration of justice, lay in the hands of the older men generally and that the chief had no distinctive authority. The principal modifications are the substitution of a limited elected council for the informal council of clan head-men, and the appointment of various public officials with special functions corresponding to their Dutch titles. This differentiation in governmental functions does not appear to have existed at all in purely native conditions.

It must also be mentioned that to some of the Orlam chiefs, whose military prowess had made them feared and respected throughout the country, the temptation to become autocrats was very strong, and few could resist it. They generally contrived, therefore, either to act quite independently of the council, which they treated as a mere advisory body, or, as in the case of Hendrik Witbooi, chief of the Hoikoms, they dispensed altogether with elections and nominated their own councils and officials, thus ensuring that their own trusty friends and supporters were placed in power. Hendrik Witbooi was a warrior chief of outstanding ability and enterprise, to whom democratic government was very irksome and distasteful. At the height of his power he styled himself the "Lord of the Water and the Head Chief of Great Namaqualand"; letters addressed to him as the "King of Great Namaqualand" received immediate and gracious attention; and to his death he was a firm believer in the "divine right of kings", claiming that he owed responsibility to no one except "God the Father in Heaven".[2]

The following "Proclamation", published by him in the early days of 1892, is of some interest, because it gives an idea of the system of government existing among all the Nama tribes at the time of the German annexation of South-West Africa. The only difference

[1] Papers on the Relations of L.M.S., 70, &c.

[2] Some illuminating examples of his correspondence are published by von François, op. cit. pp. 170-201; Papers on the Relations of L.M.S., 83 seqq., 96; Knöll, "The Diary of Hendrik Witbooi," passim.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gaiso eaga*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gaiso eaga*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 751 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 648 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 125. [4] Op. cit., 134.

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Clyp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gē·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gē·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sages and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/oa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with t!Gâb or dâ. te, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dâda- b and mama· s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents nao/b and nao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa nao/b, thy father etc.

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541 expelled to be of service to his elders. In company, according to
[57] Olpp, only cousins may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

541 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The
543 children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus daily dependent upon them both socially and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection
548 and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall
503 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances
57½ be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ai ||nâsi* "my grandfather", or *ai ||naisen* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

541 "Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative
57½ age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in
543 definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *auis* in the case of the eldest sister, *aiwa* or *aiaiwa* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *aboâsi* for the eldest brother, and *hoâbeb* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father."[3]

57½ Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in
543 later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *shras*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be *shy*, *aos*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Ngami Papoose*, 13.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 10; Schultze, op. cit., 300. The terms *auis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *auis*, elder; *aiwa* or *aiaiwa* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *-wa*. *Aboâsi* and *hoâbeb* are doubtfully derived from the Dutch *broer*, brother.

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ght be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes 746
be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly,
ording to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
in according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the
ers, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of
desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated."
ch people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called
ama //ore khaise, i.e. people who died the //gama death.[2]
There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already 935
ed among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their
e. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers.
hen old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest
or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission,
ch refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the
fering old person from the miserable condition to which he is
duced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the
al, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed
, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied
an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose
some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small
antity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation
to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]
This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there 938
ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was 759
mon and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring
o the reason for the practice, was told by the Namas that it was
sidered done by very poor people who had not enough food to
pport their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if
re was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle
milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the
luence of //Gamab, and did secretly mischief by practising witch-
ft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken,
e almost compelled to fly from them."[5]
Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites. 764

[1] Cf. Alvarez, p. 108.
[2] Op. cit., 56.
[3] Kolb, *Description du Cap de Bonne Espérance*, 172.
[4] Cf. Grevenbroek, "De Moribus Tod," 141; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 378; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, and; Alexander, *Expedition to the Interior of S. Africa*, ii, 1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133-4; Backhouse, *Visit to Africa*, 334.
[5] Op. cit., 60; cf. 70.

medicine. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Berseba Hottentots, a very capable man 85
who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable his people to be on less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was therefore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the statements of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke willingly of what he knew.

Common characteristics of all transition rites among the Hottentots. All periods of 796
crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admirable illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage." There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis acquires a characteristic taboo-power in the group to which he has hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and [803]
[illegible] But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclusion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be *hana*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there is a difficulty, for a *hana* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become *hana*. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the 796
stresses and strains of *hanaism* like and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and 888
evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called upon to restore the *hana* person to the community. But not any old woman or old man will do. It must be one who has the same characteristic as the *hana* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one *hana* by reason *hana* of wife or husband. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease. Preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better.

Exclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, 796
if we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

* "Take care of himself", in quite special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by rendering the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a ceremonial meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of rites, a stage preliminary to the ceremonial meal is necessary. The base person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'essence' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in connection with marriage, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the rank of heroism, in the treatment of diseases which are regarded as base, etc. For diseases the injection of the essence seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of rites is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the base person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory"[3] meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the base person and persons who can no longer become base may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

783 Some details concerning the state of base. It has already been mentioned that
● 855 there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attaching to base. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power so long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if these be lost and he is rather a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and more in which inanimate

[1] *ɔ̀ɔ̀*, lit. "killing". [2] For such a cleansing the word *ʃɔmɔ* is used.

things, because here without some individual or group of individuals being here. This 783
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly here and even 789
but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [20]
one realizes that the Holiness will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realizes how strongly this here influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As men, however, as some person becomes here certain things also become here. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is here. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the removal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the here person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The here fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Holiness hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the interior of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a here person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informers denied that water ever became here, but every 776
here person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Holiness, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its powers. The Holiness which dances, or *Iyéi-dzy*, never touches [71]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Dawson in the time of his grandfather, when a *Iyéi-dzy* who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's [48]
orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become here, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her *Iyéi*, or petticoat, when she was here.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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son. In the feminine form, /Uis, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other /Gâmirab or /Gâmab. The wives of two brothers call each other /Gâmas.

/Ouras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the uli.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the //Hakobou, the Gei //Khauas, the //Khau /Goas, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [775]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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from the fields of some few farmers over there;[1] and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[2] and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chore, who has a brother called Ockling; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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Gorinchaiquas.

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The Goringhaiquas[3] our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[4] and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Oogmoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[5]. In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the elder named Oninghaikwoma and the other Oogmoa.[6] They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Oogmoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[7]

[Bell]

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[1] van Riebeeck (Letters Dem., II, 230) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood, if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[2] In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[3] van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Oogmoa, viz. Oringhkinema (elsewhere Oninghkamma), called Schacker by the Dutch; Khamma, alias Jan; and Oogmo, alias Peter (D. Sept. 30, 1660).

[4] van Riebeeck says of them in this connection: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Oogmoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yet they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, as that we had daily had him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Oninghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1662).

19. Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Divitiae Afris omnis palmarius, arma, et pecus sunt. Pinus ambo nullos habent, migrare per arva illis mos, atque errantes circumportare penates, bobis citatis velocitatisque duros quaerunque quos, etiam homines et cistellas portantibus, et quo proia et pascua grupem. Inuerasque secta vocant, hac cum magalibus suis aperti, vagantesque circumcolluvies ire, pecuque quoad consolabuntur pascere. Illudque sepia (ut supra dixi) nocte continere, alternatim brachia pedesque plaustu, et ducere chorus lascivire corporis motu incolumitate luna, intempestà comessationque noctu canentes.

Morbo et senio confectum, solum mutantes in tugurioio proiici clausum, instructum commeatu, aquâ et igne, pro silvestribus, singulari immanitate depositum, omnique sensu destitutum. Barbarorum barbarissimi nobis visum, nullo omne sui consanguinitatis respectu, a lege alimoniorio alimentumi derelinquunt.

Femineo ex intervallo arvumque et in terram depactis figilis contextique vaticulis, transversè alii invicem vimine contexuntur, orbiculatum conveyrum, testudineumque, et circiter quinque pedes altum, ejusque diametro duodenos non excedentis, tugurioium cum bicubitali ostiolo orienti obverso aedificant, illudque craticulis seu mattis, storeisve ex junco bibliove scirpove affr]abré textis, quandoque etiam pellibus, contra coeli intemperiem aestuantesque ventos contegunt, et hoc tectum totam familiam, teneroque agnellos, adultos cum vitulis excipit, in cujus centro omnibus fovendis cibisque praeparandis foculus perennis luxet, ibique ut plurimum libero corde confabulantur, temporumque caochinis et ovillationibus Abaridas, concordiâ conjunctissimi terunt: Ita legibus cynosuram!

Hae etiam figlina sua vasa dextrè satis conflant, ex fusili argillâ, quam oblonum dorsum deportant, eamque in parietem jugiandium magnitudine sectam, pellique inpernam, aspernamque subindè quantulacunque aquiculâ, ne nimium arescat, in lutosum aut triduum insolant, hinc depulticiam in cylindrum, botellarum instar, ulnae magnitudine singulos, redigunt: primumque in gyrum, turbinemque inflectunt

[*] This custom of abandoning elderly people to their fate was still being practised by the Hottentots in the middle of last century (see authorities quoted by Schapera, op. cit., 389). Hahn, inquiring into the reasons for the practice, was told by the Namaqua that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the prevailing moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[1])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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[1]) enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 96, 74).

14:Stein L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyænas, they are also considered ǂgaunaǂ
777 khoa. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
764 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǂgaunaǂ khoa.

● 838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if
[78] people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǂGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǂGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAuni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǂGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsûiǂgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[71] is strange that the ǂGabe-Bushmen, the ǂAi-Bushmen, the ǂNumin, and especially among these the Heiǂgum (or wooden moss), all know ǂGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsûiǂgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǂGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between San and Khoikhoin. Tsûiǂgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.